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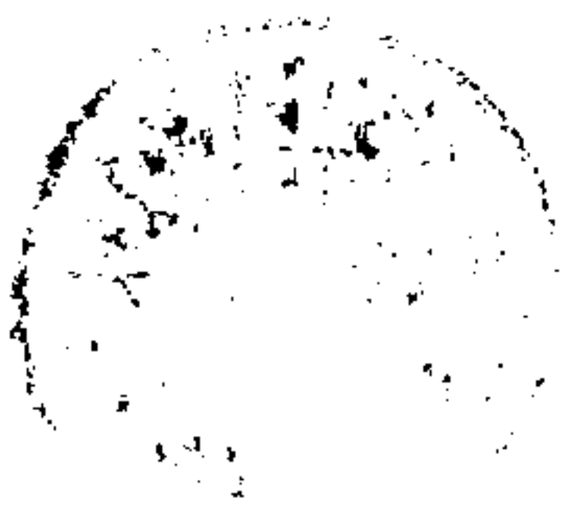
# Shāh Walī-Allāh And His Times




# Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi



# SHĀH WALĪ-ALLĀH AND HIS TIMES

*[A study of Eighteenth Century Islām, Politics and Society in India]*



*by*


**Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvī**
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TO
the memory of the
*HUKAMĀ'-I ILĀHĪ*

# CONTENTS


| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Introduction | | .. | 3 |
| Chapter 1 | Mughal Imperial Traditions | .. | 22 |
| Chapter 2 | The Eighteenth Century Scramble for Political Domination | .. | 111 |
| Chapter 3 | Eighteenth Century Muslim Society | .. | 174 |
| Chapter 4 | Shāh Wali-Allāh and His Ancestors | .. | 203 |
| Chapter 5 | Religious Mission of Shāh Wali-Allāh | .. | 229 |
| Chapter 6 | The Political and Social Thoughts of Shāh Wali-Allāh | .. | 287 |
| Chapter 7 | Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān | .. | 317 |
| Chapter 8 | The Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya | .. | 343 |
| Chapter 9 | Eighteenth Century Chishtiyya Leadership in Delhi | .. | 358 |
| Chapter 10 | Eighteenth Century Teaching Methods and Syllabus | .. | 379 |
| Conclusion | | .. | 393 |
| Bibliography | | .. | 400 |
| Index | | .. | 425 |

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| 'Aligarh Ms. | Manuscript in Mawlānā Āzād Library, 'Aligarh Muslim University, 'Aligarh, India. |
| Anfās | *Anfās al-'ārifin*, by Shāh Wali-Allāh. |
| Āsafiya Ms. | Manuscript in the Āsafiya Library, Hyderābād, Deccan, Āndhra Pradesh, India. |
| b. | born. |
| B. | *Bin.* |
| B.M. | British Museum. |
| Bānkipūr | Manuscript in the *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bānkipore*, Patna, Bihār, India. |
| Blochet | Manuscript in *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothéque Nationale*, Paris. |
| Bodleian | Manuscript in the *Catalogue of the Persian....manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford) begun by.... Ed. Sachau....completed by H. Ethé, Oxford University. |
| Corbin | *Creative imagination in the sūfism of Ibn 'Arabi* translated from the French by Ralph Manheim. |
| d. | died. |
| D.P. | Delhi Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library, London, not described in Ethé. |
| Dūshanbe Ms. | Manuscript in the Oriental Institute Dūshanbe, Tājikistān, U.S.S.R. |
| E.I.² | *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, 2nd edition. |
| Ethé | Manuscript in the *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the library of the India Office Library*, London, by H. Ethé. |
| Fraser | *A history of Aurangzib and his successors*, by Shāh Muhammad Murād. |
| H.S.I. | *A history of sūfism in India*, Vol. 1 by S.A.A. Rizvi. |
| Hujjat | *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha, by* Shāh Wali-Allāh. |
| I.O. | India Office Library, London. |
| Ivanow | Manuscript in *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, by Wladimir Ivanow. |
| Ivanow Curzon | Manuscript in *Concise descriptive catalogue of Persian* |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *manuscripts in the Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Calcutta by W. Ivanow. |
| Kh. | Khwāja. |
| M. | Muhammad. |
| M.I. | *Miftāh-i iqbāl-i Muhammad Shāhi,* National Museum, Karāchi MS. |
| M.L. | *Muntakhab al-lubāb* by Khāfī Khān. |
| M.U. | *Ma'āthir al-umarāʿ,* by Shāhnawāz Khān. |
| M.R.M.I. | *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India,* by S.A.A. Rizvi. |
| N.M. | National Museum Karāchi Ms. |
| R.I.M. | *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign,* by S.A.A. Rizvi. |
| Rāmpūr Ms. | Manuscript in the Razā Library, Rāmpūr, U.P. India. |
| Rieu | Manuscript in the *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum,* London, by C.R. Rieu. |
| S. | Sayyid. |
| Sh. | Shaykh. |
| *sh.* | Shamsi, Īranian era. |
| Storey | *Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey,* by C.A. Storey. |
| *Tafhimāt* | *Tafhimāt-i Ilāhiyya* by Shāh Wali-Allāh. |
| Tāshkent Ms. | Manuscript in the Oriental Institute Tāshkent, U.S.S.R. |

## NOTE ON DATES

Muslim dates are given according to the Hijra era or the event marking the Prophet Muhammad's emigration from Mecca to Medina. Although he arrived in Medina on 24 September 622, seventeen years later the Second Caliph 'Umar (634-44) instituted Muslim dating on the basis of the lunar months, beginning with Muharram. Thus the first Muharram was calculated to have fallen on 16 July 622. The adoption of the lunar calendar leads to the loss of one year every thirty-three years of the Roman calendar. Hence 1392 Hijra (H) or *Anno Hegirae* (AH) begins in 1972 AD and not in 2014. Of the two dates separated by an oblique in this book, the first is the Hijra (H) or *Anno Hegirae* (AH) and the second is AD. Where neither H nor AD is mentioned alongwith dates, AD is invariably implied.

All equivalent dates have been taken from *Wustenfeld-Mahler' sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen.*

## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The exigencies of the press forbid our using the full range of diacritical marks, which alone would have ensured perfect accuracy and consistency. The following list shows how we have been obliged to represent the letters: Arabic and Persian:

| ا | ب | پ | ت | ث | ج | چ | ح | خ | د |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | b | p | t | th | j | ch | h | kh | d |
| ذ | ر | ز | ژ | س | ش | ص | ض | ط | ظ |
| dh | r | z | zh | s | sh | s | d | t | z |
| ع | غ | ف | ق | ک | گ | ل | م | ن | و |
| ' | gh | f | q | k | g | l | m | n | w |
| | | ھ | ہ | ی | | | | | |
| | | h | ' | y | | | | | |

Short vowels are unmarked. Long vowels carry a macron, thus: ā, ē, i, ō, ū. The Hindi diphthong in such words as Rā'o or Badā'ūni is marked by the sign ' an apostrophe.

The d of "Ramadān", "rawda", and "Faydi" represents the original Arabic value of ض as a 'd' uttered further back in the mouth; nevertheless, in India one says "Ramazān", "rawza", and "Fayzī". The difficulties of getting right type of moulds has prevented us in using diacritics for consonants and, regretfully, d represents both د and ض; z represents both ز and ظ; s represents both س and ص and t represents both ت and ط.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 1974 the Australian Research Grants Committee made a grant to the author to appoint a research assistant to aid him in the writing of a three-volume religious and social history of the Indian Muslims (1707-1906). This grant was extended for two more years and Miss Stephanie Alsaker, a former graduate of the Department of Asian Civilizations, worked with the author. In 1977 only part-time research assistance was granted, and Mrs. Jacqueline Holyoake worked on the project. The first volume of this work relating to the period 1707 to 1762, entitled *Shāh Wali-Allāh and His Times,* is now in the hands of the readers. The next volume, *Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and His Legacy,* dealing with the period 1762 to 1831, is likely to be published shortly, followed by the third volume, *Islām, society and politics in nineteenth century India,* with *special reference to Sir Syed Ahmad Khān,* concerning the period 1858 to 1906.

The author wishes to express his deep gratitude to the ARGC for their help. He is equally indebted to the Faculty of Asian Studies for a generous subvention towards the publication of this work.

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December 1979.

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# SHĀH WALĪ-ALLĀH AND HIS TIMES

# *Introduction*

The present work seeks to examine the political, social and religious role of the Muslims in Mughal India from 1707 to 1762. Politically, it covers the two phases of the decline and disintegration of the Mughal empire, i.e. from the death of Awrangzīb to the invasion of Nādir Shāh (1707-1739), and from the departure of Nādir Shāh to the third battle of Pānīpat (1739-1761). The first period is marked by efforts, although traditional and fruitless, to inject new vigour into the body-politic of the Mughal empire. While in the second period the Mughal empire rapidly disintegrated, it also witnessed the rise of many dynamic leaders in northern India and the Deccan in whom contemporary Indian Muslims placed their hopes and expectations for the future. The low state to which the political, economic and social life of Delhi had sunk naturally turned the attention of both the Hindūs and the Muslims to religion. A number of the Muslim religious leaders called for a return of true Islām, and of these decidedly the most important was Shāh Walī-Allāh. The contributions of some other leaders discussed in this book were also of great significance. However, in order to evaluate the sort of Islamic society that they wished to recreate, it has been felt necessary to examine the Mughal imperial traditions and social values at some length.

The political history of this period has been very competently told by William Irvine in his *Later Mughals* (2 volumes) and by Jadunāth Sarkār in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (4 volumes). Many valuable monographs on different personalities, regions and policies have also been published. These have been a great help in forming an over-all picture, but all important Persian, Rajasthānī, Marāthī, Hindī, Urdū and English sources have been re-examined in order to offer a scientific outline of the eighteenth century political crises and social life in India.

The two indispensable Persian histories of the eighteenth century are the *Muntakhab al-lubāb* by Muhammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān, and the *Siyar al-mutaʿakhkhirīn* of Nawwāb Sayyid Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātabāʿī Hasanī. Both historians had access to vast source material of different categories because of their official position in the government, and both made the best use of their material. Khāfī Khān was born about 1074/1663-64, and spent his early life in the Deccan. In 1093/1682 we

find him serving under the command of Shihāb al-Dīn Khān in a battle against the fort of Ramsej[1] in Awrangābād; between 1103-6/1691-95 he obtained employment under 'Abd al-Razzāq Lārī, a former general of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shāh of Golkonda, who in 1103/1691-92 entered the service of Awrangzīb and was appointed the *fawjdār* (commandant) of Rahīrī or Rāigarh, the famous stronghold of Shīvājī.[2] In 1105/1693-94, 'Abd al-Razzāq sent Khāfī Khān to Sūrat to convey from there to Rāhīrī property worth nearly two lakhs of rupees. He returned via Manba'ī (Bombay) where he visited an English friend of 'Abd al-Razzāq and was able to learn a great deal of the English life and activities there.[3] He repeatedly visited Sūrat, gaining considerable knowledge about that place, Ahmadābād and other Gujarāt towns. The Emperor Bahādur Shāh appointed Khāfī Khān as the *qala'dār* (governor of the fort) of Champānīr. In Farrukhsiyar's reign Qilīch Khān (Nizām al-Mulk Bahādur Fath-Jang), the newly appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, made Khāfī Khān his *dīwān*,[4] but after the suppression of Nizām al-Mulk and his return to Delhi, Khāfī Khān lost his post. After three years of unemployment he was appointed the *amīn* and *fawjdār* of the *mahāl* of Mustafābād (Choprah) in Khāndesh.[5] Although modern historians assert that Khāfī Khān was a Shī'ī, he was more grateful for employment to the Sunnī Nizām al-Mulk than to the Shī'ī Sayyid brothers. He died some time after 1144/1731-2.

Khāfī Khān divided the *Muntakhab al-lubāb* into three volumes; the first volume, dealing with the history of the Muslim rulers in India to the reign of the Lodīs, was never completed; the third containing the history of different provinces is an abridgment of the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmi* of Firishta, and other histories. The second volume beginning with the reign of Bābur ends with the narrative of the events of 1137/1724. The section from 1137/1724 to 1144/1731 deals mainly with the history of Īrān. The work is important only for the account it gives of the reign of Awrangzīb's successors, for Khāfī Khān's account of Awrangzīb's reign is merely a verbatim copy of another history of Awrangzīb from 1068/1657-58 onwards, by Abu'l-Fadl Ma'mūrī.[6]

Khāfī Khān, as mentioned earlier, is regarded as having been a Shī'ī, but there is in fact no evidence to substantiate this belief; what emerges from his own original writing relating to the successors of Awrangzīb is

1 Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, II, Calcutta 1860-74, p. 282.
2 Ibid., II, p. 424-7.
3 Ibid., I, pp. 562, 593, II, p. 567, III, p. 177.
4 Ibid., II, p. 748.
5 Ibid., II, p. 798.
6 C. A. Storey, *Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, I, reprinted, London 1970, pp. 460-69, 594-95.

the fact that he was endowed with a sensitive heart, and was strongly opposed to injustice and tyranny. He was deeply concerned with the growing inanity of the Mughal empire, and with the misuse and breakdown of the Mughal institutions and traditions which had sustained the empire for more than one hundred years.

The ancestors of Nawwāb Sayyid Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātabā'i Hasanı, both on his father's and mother's side, had settled in Delhi, where Ghulām Husayn was born in 1140/1727-8. Unlike Khāfī Khān, Ghulām Husayn had not witnessed the splendour and glory of the Mughal empire. When he was only five his parents and grandparents migrated to Murshidābād to live in the prosperous and affluent state of Bengal. 'Alī Wardī Khān Mahābatjang, then governor of Bihār, was a close relative of the family. He took Ghulām Husayn's father, Hidāyat 'Alı, to 'Azīmābād (Patna), and after some time made him a deputy-governor.[7]

In 1156/1743 Hidāyat 'Alī left the service of Haybatjang, whom 'Alī Wardī Khān, then Viceroy of Bengal (1740-56), had appointed the governor of Bihār. He migrated to Delhi and in 1746 was appointed by Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrūz-Jang, the eldest son of Nizām al-Mulk, as the manager of his estate in Bareilly, known as Rohelkhand. Because of the predominance of the Sunnī Rohella Afghāns Hidāyat 'Alī was able to control the region only with great difficulty for about two years, after which the return of the Rohella leader 'Alī Muhammad from Sirhind early in 1748 forced him to return to Delhi.

Ghulām Husayn entered the service of Sa'id Ahmad Khān Sawlat-Jang, a son-in-law of 'Ali Wardi Khān, at Mongīr[8] in 1748, his father living in Delhi. After the succession of Sirāj al-Dawla as Viceroy of Bengal in 1756, Ghulām Husayn had to flee to Banāras because of his sympathies with the Viceroy's rival, Shawkat-Jang the eldest son and the successor of Sawlat-Jang. However, even Mir Ja'far Khān, who succeeded Sirāj al-Dawla after the battle of Plassey in 1757, took no interest in Ghulām Husayn, despite his being a close friend of his father. Rāja Rām Narāyan, the governor of 'Azīmābād, became sympathetic to Ghulām Husayn, and Mīr Ja'far restored some of his ancestral property.[9] In 1759 he joined Prince 'Ali Gawhar (Shāh 'Ālam) in his abortive effort to seize Bengal, and afterwards began to lead an unstable life, sometimes joining the British and sometimes joining Mīr Qāsim, Mīr Ja'far's successor. He also played the role of intermediary between the British and Indian chiefs. Many British officers befriended Ghulām Husayn and helped him in his difficulties. The Governor-General Warren Hastings was impressed with his

7 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, III, Lucknow 1282-3/1866, p. 948.
8 Ibid., II, p. 573.
9 Ibid., II, p. 649.

ability to write fine diplomatic letters in Persian, and seems to have employed him for some time as a *munshī*[10] (secretary). Ghulām Husayn died after 1230/1815. He wrote many works such as an Arabic commentary on the Qur'ān, a Persian commentary on the Mathnawī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and other theological works on his Shī'ī faith, but his fame is mainly due to his monumental *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* containing a history of India from Awrangzīb's death to 1195/1781. The work was begun in Safar 1194/February 1780 and completed in Ramadān 1195/August 1781. The first volume deals with the history of the Mughal emperors in the eighteenth century from the time of Awrangzīb's death to Nādir Shāh's departure in 1152/1739; the second volume contains the history of Bengal from the death of Shujā' al-Dawla in Dhu'l-Hijja 1151/March 1739 to 1195/1781, and the third volume deals with the history of India from 1153/1740 to 1195/1781. The concluding section of the book contains remarks on Awrangzīb's character and an account of his conquest of Golkonda and Bījāpūr. An introduction (*muqaddima*) containing a portion of Sujān Rāy's *Khulāsat al-tawārīkh* with a note dedicating the work to Warren Hastings was added later.[11]

The earlier portion of the work draws heavily upon the *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, but the later portion is based mainly on the author's own information. It is a mine of valuable information on Bengal and its administrative system. Ghulām Husayn ascribes the disintegration of the Mughal empire to the following reasons.

1. Greed and miserliness in Awrangzīb's reign gave rise to rebellions but the Emperor's ability and courage prevented any serious disruption of the rules and regulations of the empire, and the destructive elements within it were kept under control. Moreover, in order to give the impression that he was a religious ruler and a patron of Islām, and so that people might not condemn him for imprisoning his father and killing his brothers, he made the *'ulamā'* unimaginably dominant over state affairs. Those hypocrites and vicious people (the *'ulamā'*) raised insurrections to an inconceivably great extent, and the whole nation became helpless and distressed because of their wretched intrigues. The impact of their mischief on the common Muslims was left even to date.
2. In the reign of the worthless Farrukhsiyar, Ratan Chand, the *dīwān* of Qutb al-Mulk began to take over control of state affairs. The old officers, high *mansabdārs, amīrs* and other officials of Awrangzīb's reign were demoted and were unable to make any contribution to the administration. Revenue-farming and bribery

10 Ibid., II, p. 674, III, p. 129.
11 C. A. Storey, *Persian literature*, I, pp. 625-40.

were rampant. The lazy and contemptible took the opportunity to amass wealth. The ruin and destruction of the country, and the troubles and distress of the people began to increase rapidly, which in turn alienated the people from their rulers. The situation came to such a pass that the posts of *qādi* and *sadr* began to be leased. The rules of the *Shari'a* and justice vanished and all classes of common people and the hypocritical *'ulamā'* began to amass wealth in whatever way they could. The virus of the vicious *'ulamā'* was injected into the common people.

3. Thoughtless and feeble-minded rulers and ignorant but proud nobles came to power, and all sense of justice completely vanished, so that there was no way out of the impasse. The whole country was ruined and the people were left with no love for life and in an exceedingly miserable condition.[12]

Ghulām Husayn also expressed his dismay at British ignorance of the Indian administrative systems involving such things as the annual payment of revenue by *zamindārs* to the treasury. He recognized however that such things as tributes, revenue from agriculture and land, *subadāri, fawjdāri, khālisa* and *jāgir* were not to be found in Britain. Similarly, there was a vital difference of attitude between the British and the Indians regarding different types of crimes. Some crimes which the Indians considered insignificant were regarded heinous in Britain, and vice versa.

As was the case with Khāfī Khān and Ghulām Husayn, other historians of the period writing while either in the employ of individual rulers or important nobles, or merely independently, were deeply disturbed by the growing inanity of the Mughal emperors and the selfish scramble for power on the part of adventurers and ambitious leaders. Many historians wrote under the title *'Ibrat-nāma* (Book of Warnings) which were invariably designed to draw the attention of the Emperors and their nobles to the fact that their indifference to duty was transforming the body-politic of the empire into a carcass. At least four authors who wrote their memoirs or histories under such a title are known, and their study reveals the gradual disintegration of the once vigorous Mughal empire which had come to be regarded as indissoluble. The authors of the *'Ibrat-nāmas* made no attempt to conceal the facts. They freely passed moral judgments in order to teach lessons in practical politics to their contemporaries.

The earliest known *'Ibrat-nāma* was begun by Mīrzā Muhammad bin Mu'tamad Khān (Rustam) whose grandfather, Diyānat Khān (d. 1083/1672) and father Rustam (d. 1117/1706) were Awrangzīb's *mansabdārs*. The author started his political career as a petty *mansabdār* in 1115/

12 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, II, pp. 528-29.

1703, served in the Deccan wars under Awrangzīb and remained in the service of Awrangzīb's successors as a *mansabdār*, performing many important duties which he has recorded in the *'Ibrat-nāma*.[13] Thoroughly analysing about sixty monumental Arabic and Persian historical works, and drawing upon the papers of his grandfather and father, and depending on his own knowledge of the leading personalities of his day, Mīrzā Muhammad wrote a historical work entitled the *Tārīkh-i Muhammadī*. This unique and monumental work contains brief notes of political events and of the death of eminent personalities from the first century of the *hijra* to 1190/1776-7. The work is invaluable for its information of the events of the tenth to the twelfth centuries. His *'Ibrat-nāma* gives a detailed account of the reigns of Awrangzib's successors from the latter's death to the murder of Farrukhsiyar in 1131/1719. According to Mīrzā Muhammad, Dhu'lfaqār Khān was a traitor and his murder was a just retribution for his wickedness.[14] To the author, the dissolution of Īrānī control over the Mughal politics was long overdue. However, he did not defend the Tūrāni Mīr Jumla, and thought of him as mean, tyrannical and cowardly.[15] He also considered Khwāja Ja'far, the elder brother of Tūrānī Samsām al-Dawla Khān-i Dawrān, a hypocrite and impostor, and saw his role as a dervish as a big fraud.[16] The political power of Khān-i Dawrān according to the author, was responsible for the wide respect Khwāja Ja'far enjoyed. Khwāja Ja'far and his son, Khwāja Bāsit, despite their Naqshbandiyya affiliation, enthusiastically participated in *sūfi* music and dancing (*samā'*). The author condemned Khwāja Bāsit's interest in Shī'ī books, particularly the works of Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī (b. 956/1549, d. 1019/1610) of Akbar's reign.

The author of the second important *'Ibrat-nāma* was Kāmrāj, son of Nainsukh, who as a servant of Prince A'zam Shāh wrote an elaborate account of the war of succession after Awrangzīb's death.[17] In the *'Ibrat-nāma* he described the events from 1118/1707 to 1131/1719. To him, the execution of Dhu'lfaqār Khān was a great calamity and provoked lawlessness in the empire. Famine and scarcity reduced the people to unbearable misery.[18]

The third *'Ibrat-nāma* was written in 1135/1722-23 by Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim Husaynī, surnamed 'Ibrat of Lahore, and contains the history of the Tīmūrīds from the death of Awrangzīb to the fall of the Sayyids. The work says that Gurū Gobind Singh was assisted by the hill

13 *'Ibrat-nāma*, Bānkipūr Ms. 623, ff. 80a-92b, 105a, ff. 107a-118a.
14 Ibid., ff. 20a-23b, 60b-62b, 67b-73a.
15 Ibid., ff. 27b-35a, 48a-51b.
16 Ibid., ff. 62b-64a, Ethé 392, ff. 159a-160a.
17 *A'zam al-harb*, B.M., Or. 1899.
18 Kāmrāj, *'Ibrat-nāma*, Ethé 391, f. 53.

rājas and that Awrangzīb had ordered that if the Gurū, like his ancestors, were to live as an ascetic, his disciples were to refrain from giving him the title *bādshāh* (king); and further, if the Gurū refrained from behaving like a king and gave up the practice of showing himself at the window of the balcony of his room (*jharokha*), prohibiting his followers to prostrate themselves before him, no action should be taken against him. Otherwise, he should be driven out of his homeland.[19] According to Muhammad Qāsim, Wazīr Khān had hired an assassin to kill Gurū Gobind.[20] Although the author was a protégé and admirer of the Sayyid brothers, he believed that Dhu'lfaqār Khān invited his own death by not fleeing to the Deccan.[21]

Maulawī Khayr al-Dīn Muhammad Ilāhābādī (1751-1827), a protégé of the British and the author of the fourth *'Ibrat-nāma*, wrote a more detailed account of the successors of Awrangzīb. His work is valuable for the study of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II (1173-1221/1759-1806). The earlier historical accounts have been dealt with in summary only.

Other historians of the period who have authoritatively discussed the reigns of the Mughal emperors from their own personal knowledge, and on the basis of the records accessible to them, also deserve to be mentioned. The earliest among them was the satirist Mīrzā Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad 'Alī, entitled Ni'mat Khān (d. 1122/1710), who gave an account of Awrangzīb's war against the Mahārāna of Udaipūr and of the war between Bahādur Shāh and Muhammad A'zam Shāh in his *Jang-nāma*. The first two years of Bahādur Shāh's reign are described by Ni'mat Khān in his *Bahādur Shāh-nāma*.

More valuable still, however, is the *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān*, completed in 1126/1714 by Mīrzā Mubārak-Allāh Wādih, entitled Irādat Khān (d. 1128/1716). The author had served as *fawjdār* and *qal'adār* of different stations in the Deccan under Awrangzīb. He was a firm friend and supporter of Prince Bīdār Bakht, son of A'zam Shāh. After the defeat of Bīdār Bakht and A'zam Shāh, Mun'im Khān Khān-i Khānān took him under his wing. Both were deeply interested in *sūfism*. Bahādur Shāh gave Irādat Khān a *mansab* of 4,000 and appointed him *fawjdār* of Bist Jālandhar do'āb which was governed by his deputy, Irādat Khān himself staying at the court. His involvement with Jahāndār's rivals in the war of succession compelled him to retire from active service, and in Farrukhsiyar's reign, old age excluded him from politics.[22]

The *Tārikh-i Irādat Khān* luxuriates in details of war but also singles out for condemnation the undesirable innovations in the body-politic of

19 Qāsim, *'Ibrat-nāma*, B. M., Add., 26, 245, f. 28a.
20 Ibid., f. 29b.
21 Ibid., f. 54b.
22 Mubārak Allāh Wādih: *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān*, Lāhore 1971, pp. 133-37.

the administration. For example, he says that Dhu'lfaqār Khān introduced the reprehensible custom of imprisoning and annihilating the old families of the nobility whom he considered his enemy. Although there was no *jāgīr*, Dhu'lfaqār Khān awarded high *mansabs* to his own relations and favourites, so that all sections of society, retired holy men, artisans, Hindūs and Muslims began to hate him and pray for his downfall.[23]

Nūr al-Dīn bin Burhān al-Dīn Fārūqī of Multān, who had joined the army of Mu'izz al-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, the governor of Multān in Bahādur Shāh's reign, wrote the *Jahāndār-nāma*. In it he described the war of succession fought by Jahāndār Shāh against his brother, and gave an account of Jahāndār's reign, his defeat and death.

Khwāja Muhammad Khalīl who also took part in the wars following Awrangzīb's death wrote the *Tārīkh-i Shāhinshāhī*, favouring the Sayyid brothers. Mīr Muhammad Husayn Ījād (d. 1133/1720-1), who started his career in the army of Prince Muhammad A'zam when he was the governor of Gujarāt at the end of Awrangzīb's reign, was commissioned by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar to write a court chronicle. He produced an ornate history of Farrukhsiyar's early reign. An anonymous history, of which only a part survives, giving an account of Farrukhsiyar's succession, and of 'Abd al-Samad's successful expedition against the Sikhs, was also written during this period.[24]

Shiva Dās Lakhnawī's long service under the Mughal nobles as a *munshī* (secretary), and his association with the *'ulamā'* prompted him to write the *Shāh-nāma-i munawwar kalām*. The work contains an account of Farrukhsiyar's reign and the first four years of Muhammad Shāh's. It draws heavily upon official letters and *farmāns* and exhibits considerable awareness of Muslim society.

Muhammad Qāsim Awrangābādī (not to be confused with Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim 'Ibrat Lāhorī) served for some time as a *bakhshī* in the army of Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh, and wrote the *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn* highlighting the importance of his patron's achievements. Its first part dealing with the history from Awrangzīb's death to Farrukhsiyar's reign gives a vivid account of the wealth of the Hindū bankers of Sirhind and of other parts of the Panjāb. It also pays a glowing tribute to the success of 'Abd al-Samad Khān in restoring peace and a strong government to the Panjāb.[25]

The author bitterly criticizes the rise of incompetent and unscrupulous *mansabdārs* who cheated the government by falsely claiming family connections with the descendants of the leading *mansabdārs* of Shāhjahān's and

23 Ibid., pp. 131-32.
24 B. M., Add., 26, 273, ff. 137-43.
25 Muhammad Qāsim: *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, Add., 26, 244, ff. 30b-33b; 124a-b.

Awrangzīb's reigns, and by scrambling for easily manageable *jāgīrs*. However, by the early years of the reign of Muhammad Shāh, the entire *khālisa* had already been assigned as *jāgīrs* to *mansabdārs* even more unscrupulous still. The selfish *mansabdārs* now sold the grain collected from their *jāgīrs* in the imperial grain markets (*ganj*) at exorbitant prices, displacing the traditional grain merchants (*banjāras*). Consequently, despite adequate rains and good harvests, the prices of grain had escalated phenomenally. The author was full of hope that Nizām al-Mulk's competence might lead to a streamlining of the administration. He asserts that the Emperor, at his mother's recommendations, reconciled himself to Nizām al-Mulk, but the ambitious Qamar al-Dīn Khān, the son of Muhammad Amīn Khān, who dreamt of becoming *wazīr*, had estranged the leading nobles from his kinsman, Nizām al-Mulk.[26]

An untitled history of the reign of Awrangzīb and his successor to 1151/1738, written at the instance of James Fraser,[27] who lived at Sūrat from 1730 to 1740, offers very interesting comments on the main events of the period it covers. Its author, Shaykh Muhammad Murād bin Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn, was an eminent Chishtī *sūfī* and *'ālim* of Gujarāt. He was James Fraser's tutor and had left an indelible mark of his own scholarship on the mind of his pupil. The work abounds in interesting details of a religious nature; for example, it uninhibitedly criticizes Awrangzīb's interference with the *sūfī* practices of *samā'*, quotes the new *khutba* introduced by Bahādur Shāh and deplores the activities of the selfish nobles whose main concern was their own rise to power through nefarious means.

Muhammad Shafi' Wārid, whose father had migrated from Īrān to the court of 'Abd-Allāh Qutb-Shāh of Golkonda and had then joined the service of Prince Shāh 'Ālam (later Bahādur Shāh), was a poet and was also fond of writing ornate prose. He also wrote a history of the Indian Tīmūrīds to 1146/1733-4 entitled the *Mir'āt-i wāridāt*, with a detailed account of the successors to Awrangzīb's reign. In another edition of the work, he summarized its last portion and entitled it the *Tārīkh-i Chaghatāy*. He also confirms Shaykh Muhammad Murād's statement that long before Nādir Shāh's invasions, and by 1123/1711 the imperial treasury was bankrupt. To meet the imperial expenditures, he wrote, valuable articles and jewellery of the imperial stores were sold; even the gold from the ceilings of

26 Ibid., ff. 181b-183a.

27 James Fraser (1713-1754) lived in Sūrat from 1730 to 1740, learnt Sanskrit and Zend, and returned to England where he wrote the history of Nādir Shāh. After two years he again returned to India and stayed for six years, being promoted to membership of the council of the East India Company at Sūrat. He carried with him to England more than two hundred Sanskrit, Zend and Persian manuscripts which he deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian biography*, Indian reprint 1971, p. 155.

the imperial palaces was stripped and sold.[28] He considers the indolent *amirs* responsible for not implementing the reforms proposed by Nizām al-Mulk early in the reign of Muhammad Shāh.[29] The author asserts that he had no acquaintance with the Sayyid brothers and invites us to believe that his evaluation of their achievements is objective.[30] He gives a detailed account of the shoe-sellers' riot in Delhi.[31] He throws considerable light on the friendship of Shāh 'Abd al-Ghafūr with Muhammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur and strongly condemns the influence of the Shāh and Kūkī in the early years of Muhammad Shāh's reign.[32]

Endowed with a facile style and deep learning was Ānand Rām Mukhlis (d. 1164/1751), son of Rāja Hirday Rām Khattrī Lāhorī. He served as *wakil* (representative of the court) of 'Abd al-Samad Khān and Nawwāb I'timād al-Dawla Qamar al-Dīn Khān, the *wazīr* of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh. He wrote many interesting stories and anecdotes, and works on rhetoric. His letters of political importance are scattered in several different collections. His *Badā'i' waqā'i'* is a compilation of three important historical treatises. The first deals with the invasion of Nādir Shāh and the second is the *Safar-nāma*, containing an account of Muhammad Shāh's invasion of 'Alī Muhammad Rohella's territory, and his assault on Bangash about 110 miles from Delhi, which took place in 1148/1735. It is a diary of interesting events which took place on different dates. Although as a record of military events the work reads like a farce, it gives a very interesting picture of the leisurely pursuits of both the Hindū and the Muslim aristocracy. The glimpses of the carefree life in villages, the account of their prosperous agriculture and fruit gardens offer a pleasing contrast to the gloom and distress prevailing in Delhi, and most other towns of northern India.

The third tract by Mukhlis deals with Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's invasion of the Panjāb in 1748 and his retreat. The document is a most authentic, eye-witness account of a very important event.

Muhammad Muhsin bin al-Hanīf Siddiqi wrote the *Jawhar-i Samsām* at the request of Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn, a friend of Muhammad Shāh's *mīr bakhshī*, Amīr Al-Umarā' Samsām al-Dawla Khān-i Dawrān. The work gives a brief account of the successors of Awrangzīb but seeks to glorify the achievements of Khān-i Dawrān at the cost of Nizām al-Mulk and Sa'ādat Khān. The work invites us to believe that Muhammad Shāh could rule only because of Khān-i Dawrān, and that his death in the war against Nādir Shāh at Karnāl was a greater calamity than Nādir's invasion itself.[33]

28 Muhammad Shafī', *Mir'āt-i wāridāt*, B. M., Add., 3579, f. 140b.
29 Ibid., f. 167a.
30 Ibid., ff. 165b-166a, 176b.
31 Ibid., ff. 171a-172b.
32 Ibid., ff. 175b-176b.
33 Muhammad Muhsin, *Jawhar-i Samsām*, B. M., Or. 1898, f. 51a.

Another anonymous dependent of Khān-i Dawrān also wrote a highly exaggerated biographical account of Khān-i Dawrān entitled the *Risāla-Muhammad Shāh u Khān-i Dawrān.*

Mirzā Muhammad Bakhsh Āshob (b.1128/1716), who was brought up by his maternal uncle, Mirzā Muhammad bin Mu'tamad Khān (Rustam), grew up to be a soldier, a poet and an historian. In the last years of his life he served for a short period under Richard Johnson and then under Jonathan Scott[34], whose encouragement prompted Āshob to write a history of Mughal rule in India, the *Tārikh-i shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar u julūs-i Muhammad Shāh,* which still survives. However, it is obviously part of a larger history of the Mughals which Āshob was unable to complete before his death in 1199/1784-85, or the other parts of which seem to have been lost.

Āshob served the Emperor Muhammad Shāh until Nādir Shāh's invasion; then he joined the retinue of Muhammad Shāh's *wazīr*, I'timād al-Dawla Qamar al-Dīn Khān (killed in the battle of Sirhind in 1161/1748). After serving under Qamar al-Dīn's sons Khān-i Khānān Intizām al-Dawla (d.1167/1753-54) and Mu'īn al-Mulk, he served as a secretary (*mir munshī*) of the *wazīr*, 'Imād al-Mulk Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān, for fifteen years. After resigning from the latter's service he lived at Farrukhābād, Lucknow, (Fayzābād) and lastly served the British.

Like other historians, Āshob was also deeply concerned at the growing lawlessness of the *zamindārs*, and wished strong action had been taken against the Marāthas. As he was himself associated with the administrative machinery of the Mughals, his account helps to clarify the extent to which the Mughal officers neglected their administrative duties.

A number of other unimportant histories written in Muhammad Shāh's reign are mentioned in the bibliography. The histories written on the invasions of Nādir Shāh and Ahmad Shāh Durrānī are also given in the bibliography. Muhammad 'Alī Khān Ansārī, the author of the *Bahr al-mawwāj*, a general history of India, completed in 1209/1794-5, and a history of the Tīmūrīds to 1202/1787-8, also wrote a short history of Ahmad Shāh's reign in 1196/1782. A history of Muhammad Shāh and his successors was written by Shākir Khān, who during Durrānī's invasion of Delhi in 1170/1756, escaped to Banāras and ultimately went into the protection of the British. His history is known as the *Tārikh-i Shākir-Khānī*. An anonymous historian wrote an account of 'Ālamgīr II's reign called the *Tārikh-i 'Ālamgīr-i Thānī*. 'Abd al-Qādir Khān, commonly known as Ghulām Qādir Khān Jā'isi, who served under several British officers, wrote the *Tārikh-i 'Imād al-*

34 Born in 1754 Jonathan Scott arrived in India in 1772 and was made captain in 1778. He was appointed as Persian Secretary by Warren Hastings and in 1784 he helped to found the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1785 he returned to England and translated portions of *Tārīkh-i Firishta* from Persian into English. He died in 1829. *Dictionary of Indian biography*, p. 379.

*Mulk,* containing the history of 'Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrūz-Jang, the *wazīr* of Ahmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II. All these histories give a pathetic account of the fall of the Mughal empire and the disgusting scramble for power among the selfish Muslim nobles of the empire, some fighting in the name of Islām, others for Sunnism or Shī'ism, but none motivated by concern for the empire.

The provincial histories of this period also give a scientific perception of the politics, society and religion of the times. Two eighteenth century histories of the Panjāb detail the exploits of Sayf al-Dawla 'Abd al-Samad Khān Bahādur Diler Jang (d.1150/1737-8). This farsighted administrator and indefatigable warrior was a descendant of the famous Naqshbandiyya *sūfī*, Nasir al-Dīn Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh-Ahrār (806/1404-895/1490). One of these histories, *Asrār-i Samadi,* by an anonymous author, was published by the Research Society of Pākistān, University of the Panjāb, Lāhore in 1965. Another, *Futūhāt-nāma-i Samadī,* written in 1135/1722-3 by Ghulām Muhyī al-Dīn is rare and the only manuscript copy available is in the British Museum. Another interesting history of the Panjāb deals with Ādinā, or Dīna Beg Khān Arāin who first served under Mu'īn al-Mulk, governor of Lāhore, against Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's invasion of 1162/1749, and later served as governor of the Panjāb for twelve years, dying in 1172/1758.

The history of the governor of Kashmīr appointed by the Mughal emperors, and the account of the Hindū-Muslim, Sunnī-Shī'ī riots there, along with the biographical accounts of the regional *sūfis*, are contained in the *Wāqi'āt-i Kashmīr* or the *Tārīkh-i A'zamī* by Khwāja Muhammad A'zamī Dida-marī. The work was completed in 1160/1747.

The Farrukhābād *nawwābs* and the Rohella rulers were also able to obtain the services of some talented historians to record their exploits. The *Tawārikh-i Ahmad Khānī*, by Nawal Rāy, and *Muhammad-Khānī* by Mīr Husām al-Dīn Gwāliorī are brief histories of the Bangash rulers, but the *Tārikh-i Farrukhābād* by Sayyid Muhammad Walī-Allāh is very detailed. In 1190/1776 Munshi Shiva Prasād, who was in the service of Fayd-Allāh Khān, the Rohella *nawwāb* of Rāmpūr, wrote the *Tārikh-i Fayd Bakhsh,* containing an account of the Rohella Afghāns, from their rise to power to their defeat by Nawwāb Shujā' al-Dawla and the East India Company in 1188/1774. In 1207/1792-3 Nawwāb Muhammad Mustajāb Khān completed the history of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān (d.1188/1774), the famous Rohella chief. It was entitled the *Gulistān-i Rahmat* and was enlarged in 1249/1833-4 by the author's nephew, Nawwāb Muhammad Sa'ādat Yār Khān. Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Husayn Khān Bahādur Fakhrī, who was formerly a servant of 'Imād al-Mulk, wrote a detailed account of his patron, Najīb al-Dawla, virtually a dictator of Delhi from 1761 until his death in 1184/1770.

A servant of Safdar-Jang (1739-1756) and later of Shujā' al-Dawla,

Munshī In'ām 'Alī wrote the history of the first five Nawwābs of Awadh, entitled *Awsāf al-Āsaf*, in 1199/1784-5. Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naqawī, who never found any peace except in the service of the British, wrote a history of Sa'ādat Khān Burhān al-Mulk and his successors to 1216/1801 and entitled it the *'Imād al-Sa'ādat*. Muhammad Fayd Bakhsh's *Farah-bakhsh* is preceded by an account of the Indian Tīmūrīds to the downfall of the Sayyids. W. Hoey's English translation of the work entitled *Memoirs of Delhi and Faizābād* has made *Farah-bakhsh* very popular.

In Bengal Muhammad Wafā 'Azīmābādī wrote *Waqā'i'-i Mahābat-Jang*. It contains chronogrammatic sentences from the beginning of the viceroyalty of 'Alī Wardī Khān Mahābat-Jang in 1153/1740 to 1161/1748, each sentence indicating the date of the events narrated. In 1170/1757 an anonymous author wrote the *'Ibrat-i arbāb-i basar*, containing an account of the history of Bengal from 1153/1740 to 1170/1757. Munshī Salīm-Allāh, the *munshī* of Mīr Muhammad Ja'far Khān and then of Henry Vansittart, governor of Bengal from 1760 to 1764, wrote *Tawārīkh-i Bangāla*. More comprehensive, however, is the *Tārīkh-i Bangāla-i Mahābat-Jang*. It gives an account of 'Alī Wardī Khān Mahābat-Jang (d.1169/1756) and his successors, Sirāj al-Dawla (d.1170/1757). The author, Yūsuf 'Alī Khān bin Ghulām 'Alī Khān, was the son-in-law of 'Ala' al-Dawla Sarfarāz Khān. Yūsuf 'Alī's father was also a friend of 'Alī Wardī. The author, who had access to sources depicting the currents and cross-currents of the history of Bengal, managed to give a balanced account of the activities of 'Alī Wardī and Sirāj al-Dawla.

The *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, which Mīrzā Muhammad Hasan bin Muhammad 'Alī commenced in 1170/1756-57 and completed in 1175/1761, does not only give a detailed history of Gujarāt but also throws new light on the reign of the Mughals. Mīrzā Muhammad's father was the *waqā'i'-nigār* of the *jāgīr* of Prince Muhammad Jahāndār Shāh. After his father's death in 1157/1744, Mīrzā Muhammad was appointed *mansabdār* in his place, and appointed *amīn* (superintendent) of the cloth market. In 1159/1746 he was appointed *dīwān* of Gujarāt. The *Mir'āt-i Ahmadi* is the history of Gujarāt from earliest times to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's victory at Pānīpat in 1174/1761. Its principal value rests in the large number of quotations of *farmāns* from the Gujarāt archives, and in the detailed description of Ahmadābād, its administrative system and the *sūfī* saints and Sayyids buried there, to be found in the concluding volume of the work (*khātima*).

The Nizāms of Haydarābād also gave considerable encouragement to historians. Abu'l-Fadl Ma'ānī, a poet, wrote a poem on the conquests of Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh. Mun'im Khān bin 'Abd al-Mughnī Hamadānī Awrangābādī wrote an account of six *subas* (provinces) of the Deccan, and a history of the Nizāms to 1197/1783 in his *Sawānih-i Dakan*. Among the eighteenth century historians of the Deccan was Lachmī Nārāyan Shafīq Awrangābādī (b. 1158/1745). He was a pupil of Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād

Bilgarāmī, wrote good Persian poetry and was a good prolific writer in general. In 1204/1789-90 he wrote a historical and topographical account of India, the *Haqiqat-hā-i Hindustān,* at the instance of his patron, William Kirkpatrick.[35] Four years later he wrote *Ma'āthir-i Āsafī*, containing a history of the Nizāms of the Deccan. In 1214/1799-1800 he wrote a description of Haydarābād, its mosques, palaces and gardens. About the same time he completed the *Bisāt al-ghanā'im*, a history of the Marāthas. Lachmī Nārāyan's work also exhibits deep Muslim sympathies and concern for the loss of Mughal power.

Abu'l-Qāsim bin Radī al-Dīn Mūsawī, surnamed Mīr 'Ālam, wrote a comprehensive history entitled *Hadīqat al-'ālam* which gives an account of the history of the Qutb-Shāhī rulers and the Nizām's death. The work is brought up to 1213/1799.

Several other eighteenth and nineteenth century authors also wrote the history of the Deccanī Nizāms. Of these, some are worth mentioning. The *Tuhfa-i Akbarī*, a history of the Nizāms of the Deccan, was written by Khwāja 'Abd al-Hakīm who was educated at Farrukhābād. The work seems to have been compiled in 1219/1804-5. Fayd Haqq Siddīqī Chishtī wrote the *Waqā'i' Dakan*, bringing the account down to 1233/1817. The author of *Tārikh-i dil-afrūz*, a history of the Nizāms to 1218/1803 was written by a former *dīwān* of Haydarābād, Ghulām Husayn Khān Jawhar. A physician of the Nizām's court, Khwāja Ghulām Husayn Khān entitled Khān-i Zamān Khān, completed the *Gulzār-i Āsafiya* in 1260/1844. The work contains a history of the Qutb-Shāhī rulers of the Deccan, the Nizāms, and gives statistics of the six Deccani provinces (*sūbas*).

A very important work containing geographical, historical and biographical accounts of the seven *iqlīms*[36] was written by Murtadā Husayn, entitled Allāh Yār bin Allāh Yār 'Uthmānī Bilgarāmī (1719-20—1795). The author's father was a *bakhshī* under Mubāriz al-Mulk Sarbuland Khān, *sūbadār* of Gujarāt. After his father's death in 1729-30 he served under Sa'ādat Khān and Safdar-Jang, governors of Awadh, Muhammad Qāsim Khān, governor of Bengal, Nawwāb 'Alī Qulī Khān "Wālih" Dāghistānī, a poet and a leading noble of Ahmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II and Nawwāb Ahmad Khān Bangash of Farrukhābād. Lastly, Jonathan Scott, appointed him his *munshī* in 1776. It was at his suggestion that Murtadā wrote the *Hadiqat al-aqālīm,* incorporating into it a Persian translation of his patron's European geography. The author brought to bear upon the *Hadīqat al-*

35 William Kirkpatrick (1754-1812), son of Colonel James Kirkpatrick, was Persian interpreter and was an expert diplomat with a very good knowledge of Indian languages. He translated Tīpū's diary from Persian into English and wrote an account of his own mission to Nepal. He encouraged many scholars to write histories. *Dictionary of Indian biography,* p. 238.

36 Seven climates into which the medieval Geographers divided the world.

*aqālīm* his vast experience and knowledge of the men and events of the eighteenth century of different regions of northern India, making it an exceedingly valuable social and political history of those Indian towns described by him.

An indispensable biographical dictionary for historians specializing in Mughal studies is the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, which contains the biographies of the Mughal nobles from the time of Akbar to the middle of the eighteenth century. Its author, Samsām al-Dawla Shāh Nawāz Khān Awrangābādī, and the editor Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmi, whom we shall be discussing again in Chapter Three, were outstanding scholars. Similarly, Nawwāb Dargāh Qulı Sālār-Jang's *Muraqqa'-i Dihlī*, which is also mentioned at some length in that chapter, gives a very revealing account of contemporary Delhi society. The autobiographical account, entitled the *Dhikr-i Mīr*, by one of the greatest Urdū poets, Mīr Taqī Mīr (1137/1724-5-1225/1810), is a mine of information regarding the social and political life of the country. He was a protégé of a number of nobles such as Samsām al-Dawla Khān-i Dawrān, Ri'āyat Khān and Nawwāb Bahādur Jāwīd Khān. His account of the sufferings of the people during the Durrānī's invasion of 1761 is exceedingly moving.

The documents of the Mughal archives are no longer available, but the archives of the Nizāms at Haydarābād are still intact. Formerly known as the Daftar-i Dıwāni, it is now called the State Archives, Andhra Pradesh. Selected documents of Shāhjahān's and Awrangzīb's reigns from this repository have already been published. They throw valuable light on the Mughal administration. Selected *Waqā'i'* of the Deccan containing the news reports of that region between 1660 and 1671 have been published. An unpublished diary of the events of Awrangzīb's invasion of Mārwār and Mēwār is also available in the Haydarābād Archives. It is entitled *Waqā'i' Ajmīr wa Ranthambhor*. A volume of diplomatic correspondence between Mır Nizām 'Alī Khān and the East India Company (1780-1798) has also been published.

Other Mughal documents of the Haydarābād Archives are also being processed, but their number is overwhelmingly large and the publication of their selected documents would take several decades to complete. K. K. Datta published some *farmāns*, *sanads* and *parwānas* of Bāhār in 1962. Several volumes of the Mughal documents of U. P. Archives have also been published. A number of historical works of the twentieth century have reproduced some important *farmāns*, but the first important collection of the *farmāns* of the Mughal emperors from the time of Akbar's reign to the times of Bahādur Shāh Zafar, the last Mughal emperor, was published by Bashır al-Dın Ahmad Ta'aluqdār in 1926. Some of the *farmāns* in this volume were copied from known works, but a large number of them belonged to private collections. In recent years several volumes of these *farmāns* and

letters of the Mughal emperors from private collections have been published. In 1961 a collection of 150,000 documents relating to the period *c.* 1680 to 1761 was acquired by the National Archives, New Delhi, from 'Ināyat-Jang, one of whose ancestors was Prime Minister to Mīr Nizām 'Alī Khān Āsaf-Jāh II (1762-1803). These are mostly administrative documents relating to the six Deccan provinces, but some documents of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries reflect the economic crises into which Awrangzīb's government was plunged, and from which it was never able to recover.

In the India Office Library, London are preserved copies of *farmāns* and other administrative documents from the Batāla *pargana* of the Panjāb. In the same library exist not less than a hundred volumes of eighteenth century revenue documents of Bengal which still await proper classification and systematic analysis. The British Museum, London has become the home of the revenue records of Bengal and Bihār, which were mainly acquired to resolve the controversy over the Mughal institution of *zamindārī* before the laws about "Permanent Settlement" were enacted in 1793. The British concern to understand adequately the Mughal administrative institutions in order to evolve a proper administrative framework of their own is reflected in dozens of the dictionaries of the Mughal administrative terminologies that were compiled mostly by anonymous authors. Some of these authors are known to have been associated with the Mughal administration in responsible capacities.

The Mughal tradition of compiling administrative dictionaries and manuals had commenced from the appearance of the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* of Abu'l-Fadl. A genre of administrative manuals, called *Dastūr al-'amal* (a book of regulations) and *Siyāq-nāma* (manuals of account-keeping) were written. The compilers of these manuals were officials employed in the *diwān's* department and their treatises were intended to train young clerks in the art of drafting administrative letters, notes and despatches. The pattern contained in the specimen documents and letters given in the *Dastūr al-'amals* and *Siyāq-nāmas* was intended to be followed by young clerks in their daily routine. They reflect a broad pattern of Mughal administrative traditions.

An important administrative manual, the *Hidāyat al-Qawā'id*, was written in 1126/1714 by Hidāyat-Allāh Bihārī. It defines the duties of ministers, provincial governors and suggests schemes to improve both urban and rural administration. Ānand Rām Mukhlis wrote an authoritative dictionary of literary and administrative terms entitled the *Mir'āt al-istilāh*. A voluminous work, containing historical tracts, a diary of political events, specimens of administrative documents, instructions to government officials, and the details of the customs and mint revenues from the Gujarāt port in the eighteenth century, was written by I'tmād 'Alī Khān, son of I'tmād Khān,

a retired Mughal official who had served both at Sūrat and Cambay. The work is entitled *Mir'āt al-haqā'iq* and owes much to the guidance of James Fraser.

Many secretaries of the Mughal emperors, governors and ministers carefully preserved copies of the letters which they wrote to their masters. Many collections of such letters were edited by the secretaries themselves, by their descendants or their disciples. Letters of Abu'l-Fadl, Chandrabhān Brahman and Sa'd-Allāh Khān of Shāhjahān's reign, and several collections of Awrangzīb's letters are available. The letters written by 'Abd-Allāh Khān Qutb al-Mulk to Rāja Chhabilārām Nāgar, Rāja Ajīt Singh, Girdhar Bahādur, Haydar Qulī Khān and Rāja Sāhū entitled the *Bāl-mukand-nāma* were compiled by Munshī Dayārām. An anonymous collection of letters written on behalf of Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shāh and other ministers to Rāja Chhabīlārām Nāgar, Girdhar Bahādur Nāgar, and the replies of the addressees is entitled the *'Ajā'ib al-Āfāq*. The copies of the letters drafted by Mūsawī Khān Mīr Hāshim on behalf of Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh to his contemporaries have been compiled under the title *Munshāt-i Mūsawi Khān*. A collection of the vast correspondence exchanged between Nizām al-Mulk and his contemporaries was compiled by Munshī Muhammad Amīn. It is entitled *Majmūa'-i Inshā'*. The letters written for Muhammad Khān Bangash by Sāhib Rāy were compiled into an anthology entitled the *'Aziz al-Qulūb* by Sāhib Rāy's disciple, Bhagwān Dās.

Several volumes of the copies of the *Akhbārāt* or news reports from Awrangzīb's reign onwards have also been discovered. The *Akhbārāt* of Awrangzīb's reign are available in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Those of the eighteenth century are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and their copies in the Sītāmau Library, Rājasthān.

Copies of the reports sent by the *wakils* of the Rājpūts and Marāthas also survive. They reflect the most complex twists and turns in diplomatic negotiations, and describe the nature of the pressure on the Mughal court, nobles and their enemies. G. S. Sardesāi has edited and published selections from the Peshwā *Daftar* in thirty volumes; some important papers still remain unpublished. The Marātha *wakils* wrote their reports in the Marāthī language and the Rājpūt *wakils* after 1710 wrote their reports in Rājasthānī.

The European merchants also regularly sent reports to their superiors on their economic activities and the political events affecting their trade. Some of these documents have been published but a large number of them are still in manuscripts. Similarly, some diaries of European travellers and other European visitors have also been published. They naturally compared the Indian institutions with those of their own countries and although not necessarily incorrect or prejudiced, their conclusions should be accepted cautiously.

The poets of this period writing in Persian, Urdū, Rājasthānī, Marāthī and Hindī wrote many panegyrics on their patrons, but also exhibited their concern for the maladministration of the country, for the corruption, bribery, selfishness and inanity which were so prevalent. Ja'far Zatallī, well known for his vulgar Hindī and Urdū poetry, spared neither Sabhā-chand nor Dhu'lfaqār Khān, and was ultimately executed by Farrukhsiyar for his indiscreet and abusive poetry. However, Mīrzā Muhammad Rafī' Sawdā wrote his satires in a more restrained language; nevertheless, he too strove to arouse all classes of society from their lethargy, inertness and levity. A genre of literature known as *shahr-āshob* (poetical criticism of the town) came to be written describing the debasement, degeneration and perversion of urban society.

The biographical dictionaries of the Persian and Urdū poets are not only important for the study of the intellectual climate of the country, but also for the light they throw on the political, social and religious life of the country. The most interesting biographical dictionary of the early eighteenth century is the *Safīnā-i Khwushgū*, completed in 1137/1724-25 by Bindrāban Dās Khwushgū. It is divided into three volumes, giving details of ancient, medieval and modern or contemporary poets. It is the last part which is most important.

Bindrāban Dās was the disciple of Mīrzā Muhammad Afdal Sarkhwush (d. 1126/1714), a poet, and the author of a biographical dictionary of the poets of Jahāngīr's, Shāhjahān's and Awrangzīb's reigns. It was entitled the *Kalīmāt al-shu'arā'* and was completed in 1093/1682 but brought down to 1108/1696-7. The work served as an incentive and model to Bindrāban Dās to compile his own biographical dictionary. His father was in the service of the Emperor Awrangzīb and his uncle Sadānand, a poet, was associated with the establishment of Jahānzīb Bānū Begam, the wife of Prince Muhammad A'zam and the daughter of Dārā-Shukōh.[37] Bindrāban himself took a job under Sirāj al-Dīn Khān Ārzū but he led the life of a wandering dervish. He was passionately fond of the company of *sūfis*, *qalandars* and Hindū saints, and has enthusiastically described his interviews with them. In connection with the account of the poets, he takes every possible occasion to describe their conversations with the *sūfis* and Hindū ascetics. For example, he says that when Sarkhwush reached Manoharpūr near Ajmīr, he called on a Hindū ascetic. During the conversation the ascetic said that *kufr* (infidelity) and Islām were identical. Sarkhwush asked why then the ascetic did not embrace Islām. The ascetic asked Sarkhwush why *he* did not embrace Hinduism, and concluded his speecn by quoting the following verses of Rūmī which had always been on the lips of those *sūfis* who followed the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*:

37 *Safīnā-i Khwushgū*, Patna, 1959, p. 99.

'Since colourlessness (Pure Unity or the Absolute) became the captive of colour (manifestation in the phenomenal world), a Moses came into conflict with a Moses.
When you attain unto the colourlessness which you (originally) possessed, Moses and Pharaoh are at peace (with each other).'[38]

Khwushgū very frequently visited the most outstanding poet of his age, Mirzā 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil, and wrote a book containing an account of the Mirzā's conversations (*malfūzāt*). All important dignitaries of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries constantly called on Bīdil. Qutb al-Mulk Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh Khān used to leave his seat in order to welcome Bidil and Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh was Bīdil's friend and compiled his *dīwān* under his guidance. According to Khwushgū a large number of Bidil's verses clarified the subtle truth in the theories of Ibn al-'Arabī and Rūmī on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*.[39]

The famous *sūfī* Shaykh Sa'd-Allāh Gulshan was also very kind to Khwushgū and also called on his home. Khwushgū considered himself Gulshan's disciple. Among the Hindū ascetics, Bhūpat Rā'y Begham Bayrāgī, a disciple of Sarkhwush, was also Khwushgū's friend. Bhūpat's ancestors were *qānūngo*. Bhūpat fell in love with a Hindū boy and became an ascetic. He versified many Sanskrit tales into Persian. The conversations of Sarkhwush and Bhūpat on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* were attentively listened to by Khwushgū.[40] All these anecdotes of the lives of the Delhi elite are embodied in the *Safīnā-i Khwushgū*. Many other important biographical dictionaries of poets were also written in the eighteenth century. They are listed in the bibliography.

The eighteenth century biographical dictionaries of *sūfīs* are indispensable for the study of the religion and society of the times. We have discussed these in the second volume of our history of *sūfism* and more relevant to the present study are described in the following pages. The works written by the religious and *sūfī* luminaries of this period have also been discussed in this volume and their list has been given in the bibliography at the end.

38 Ibid., p. 73.
39 Ibid., pp. 112-17.
40 Ibid., pp. 101-2.

CHAPTER ONE

# *Mughal Imperial Traditions*

Mughal rule in India was established by Zahīr al-Dīn Muhammad Bābur (b. 6 Muharram 888/14 Feb. 1483) who was descended on his father's side in the fifth generation from Tīmūr and through his mother in the fifteenth degree from Chingīz Khān. A military adventurer, Bābur was also endowed with profound human values, an attractive personality and great literary and poetical gifts. The memoirs of his career which he wrote in Chaghatāy Turkish, comprise as frank an admission of his failures and sins as they offer panoramic glimpses of life in Central Asia, the country now known as Afghānistān, and India. His *Mubayyan*,[1] a didactic *mathnawī*, reveals Bābur's interest in the Hanafī *fiqh* (jurisprudence), while his translation of the *Risāle-i Wālidiyya* by the great Naqshbandiyya *sūfi*, Khwāja 'Ubayd-Allāh Ahrār (806/1404-895/1490), which Bābur versified in the form of a *mathnawī* and completed in 935/1528-9, testifies to his firm faith in *sūfism* and deep emotional sensitivity. Although Bābur defeated Ibrāhīm Lodī (923/1517-932/1526) and gained a decisive victory over the formidable Rājpūt chief, Rāna Sānga of Chitor, he was unable before his premature death on 6 Jumādā I 937/26 December 1530, to put an end to Afghān power or to Rājpūt resistance. His son and successor, Nāsir al-Dīn Humāyūn Pādishāh, failed to assert his authority even over his brothers, let alone over the ambitious Tūrānī tribal leaders. The latter preferred to rule in small principalities in mountains and oases under the nominal control of one of the Tīmūrīd princes, rather than submit to a strong, centralized monarchy which imposed severe rules of discipline on them. Humāyūn struggled against heavy odds, but was twice defeated and driven away from India by the son of a petty Afghān chief, Sher Shāh Sūr (947/1540-952/1545) who very soon carved out a strong Afghān empire extending from the frontiers of Kashmīr, Multān and Upper Sind in the north-west to Bengal in the north-east. He conquered Mālwa, Jodhpūr, Ajmīr, Ābū, Jālor and other Rājasthānī forts, introducing fiscal and land reforms of far-reaching importance. Before his death,

1 It was completed in 928/1521-2.

139133

however, the Afghān tribal leaders, including the Niyāzīs who had given him their unqualified support in his early conquests, had begun to reassert their independence.

The reign of Sher Shāh Sūr's son, Islām Shāh (952/1545-960/1552), was devoted mainly to the suppression of the revolts of the Afghān tribal leaders, particularly the Niyāzīs. Three Afghān sultāns nominally ruled the Delhi sultanate but the real power was wielded by Hēmū of the Dhūsar caste of Vaishyas. He had risen to power in the reign of Islām Shāh Sūr. One of Hēmū's customs was generally to appoint a Hindū and an Afghān officer jointly to the same position in order to keep watch on each other's activities.[2] The prevailing confusion and disorder enabled Humāyūn to reconquer Delhi on 4 Ramadān 962/23 July 1555. Promoted by his disappointment to control his Tūrānī Begs even at Kābul where he ruled from 1545 onwards, he devised a plan to divide his Indian empire into several independent regions and to assign a leader to each. He himself did not intend to retain more than 12,000 horsemen under his personal control.[3] However, before he could implement his scheme of despair, he died on 13-14 Rabī' I 963/26-7 January 1556.

Humāyūn's son and successor, Abu'l-Fath Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad Akbar Pādishāh (b. 14 Sha'bān 949/23 November 1542), who was hurriedly enthroned at Kalānaur (in modern Gurdāspūr district of the Panjāb), had no army worth the name and his resources were so poor as to eliminate any hopes for a bright future among his followers. Soon after Humāyūn's death, Hēmū seized Delhi and Agra and assumed the exalted title of Rāja Bikramājīt or Vikramāditya. However, Akbar and his far-sighted guardian, Muhammad Bayram Khān, rejecting the advice of their short-sighted counsellors to retreat to Kābul, fought against Hēmū's overwhelmingly large army at Pānīpat, defeating and killing him on 2 Muharram 964/5 November 1556. Four years later, Akbar dismissed Bayram Khān from his post of prime minister (*wakīl*) and embarked upon the foundation of a vast, centralized Indian empire by gradually asserting his own domineering personality over all ambitious leading figures in the government.

By 1576 Akbar had conquered and annexed to his empire Gwālior and Jaunpūr (966/1559), Mālwa (968/1561), Garha Katanga or Gondwāna (971/1564), Chitor (975/1568), Ranthambhor (976/1569), Kālinjar (977/1569), Gujarāt (980/1573) and Bengal (983/1576). From 1576 to 1585, Akbar devoted his energies mainly to the consolidation of the administrative machine and to evolving a policy of peace and concord among the

2 'Abd al-Qādir b. Mulūk Shāh Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, I, Calcutta 1864-9, p. 381.

3 Abu'l-Fadl 'Allāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, I, Calcutta 1877, p. 356.

various Indian religious communities (*sulh-i kul*) and with foreign leaders.

Following the death of his half-brother, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, the Viceroy of Kābul, on 12 Sha'bān 993/3 August 1585, Akbar marched northwards against 'Abd-Allāh bin Iskandar Ozbeg. 'Abd-Allāh was the greatest Shaybānid ruler of Transoxiana who in 992/1584 had conquered Badakhshān. Akbar's aim was to force him to remain within his Transoxianian boundaries and to prevent him from marching on Kābul. This he succeeded in doing, remaining in the Panjāb region until 'Abd-Allāh's death in 1006/1598, and establishing the strongest north-western frontier ever known by any previous ruler. Akbar then went on to suppress the rebellious Afghān tribes and annexed to his empire Kashmīr (994/1586), Sind (998/1590), Balūchistān and Makrān (1002/1594), Sibi and Qandahār (1003/1595). In 999/1590, Ladākh and the rājas of the Northern hills, like the Rājasthānī rājas, accepted Akbar's suzerainty.

The conquest of Mālwa had brought Akbar in touch with Khāndesh but he marked time in order to make Khāndesh and the five independent kingdoms[4] realize the importance of acknowledging him as their paramount power. His diplomatic pressures, however, made no headway and in 1002/1593 an invasion of the Deccan under Prince Murād and Khān-i Khānān was ordered. 'Abd-Allāh Khān's death securing his frontiers in Akbar's mind, he left Lahore for Agra on 6 November 1598, arriving there early in January 1599. On 16 September of that year, Akbar himself headed a leisurely march to the Deccan. In August 1600 Ahmadnagar was seized and on 17 January 1601, Asīrgarh, the formidable fort of Khāndesh was also conquered. However, the news of Prince Salīm's rebellion at Allahabad impelled Akbar to return to Agra in April of that year, and the last four years of his reign were soured by bitter disappointments. Prince Salīm, his only surviving son, had openly rebelled against his father and on 14 Jumādā II 1014/27 October 1605, Akbar died, leaving the question of his succession unresolved. This ultimately ate into the vitality of the very fabric of the Mughal empire, contributing to its downfall. Nevertheless, during his lifetime Akbar did succeed in securing the loyalty to himself and to his successors of a wide cross-section of formerly resltess leaders amongst the Tūrānīs,[5] Īrānīs[6], Indian Muslims, Rājpūts and even the Afghāns. The conflicts and contradictions in the interests of various tribal and racial groups and religious communities were too deeply rooted to be eradicated in the short span of one man's lifetime and consequently mutual hostilities and enmities still existed at the time of Akbar's

4 Ahmadnagar, Bījāpūr, Golkonda, Bīdar and Berār.
5 This is a vague term and included the inhabitants of the regions north of the Oxus, but inhabitants of Balkh south of the Oxus also called themselves Tūrānīs.
6 Not only the inhabitants of modern Īrān but also the inhabitants of the regions west of Qandahār, Gharjistān and Fāryāb called themselves Īrānīs.

death. However, the race among the leaders to exhibit their loyalty to the Emperor had prompted them to sacrifice their own tribal, racial, religious and parochial interests to those of the Emperor. The heterogeneous leadership under Akbar and his three great successors found obedience to the administrative framework evolved by Akbar more profitable to itself than rebellion. While the ministers and nobles controlling the key offices still intrigued and hatched plots to make their favourite prince Emperor, none would have dreamt of trying to become king himself. To all, only a Mughal prince should be the final arbiter of their destinies and only under the *pax* Mughaliyya were their ambitions to be realized.

The administrative framework evolved by Akbar was not entirely new, for positions with similar duties existed in all governments, including those of the Turks, Afghāns and Īrānians. What made it particularly effective, however, was the introduction of checks and balances in the operation of all positions, with the Emperor's dynamic personality acting as the principal driving force.

Soon after the dismissal of Bayram Khān, the rivalries among his foster parents and leading Tūrānī nobles enabled Akbar to obtain full control over the appointment of *wakil* or prime minister. Within a year, he was able to change three *wakils* and the Tūrānī veteran, Mun'im Khān, who acted as *wakil* from 1560 to 1564, owed his position to Akbar. The political, financial, military and civil powers held by earlier *wakils* were exercised by Mun'im Khān only up to September 1562, when I'timād Khān, a eunuch, was appointed the *diwān* (minister) of the *khālisa*. In 971/1564, Akbar appointed Muzaffar Khān Turbatī, a Khurāsanī,[7] to a newly created office known as the *wizārat-i diwān-i kul*, or a full-fledged finance ministership. His duties, in the words of Abu'l-Fadl, were "to manage the fullness (*ma'mūrī*) of treasury, being the capital stock of sovereignty, and the improvement of the condition of the peasantry and the administration (of the affairs of) the soldiers."[8] According to a copy of an order in the *Munshāt-i Namkīn*, Muzaffar Khān was made the highest financial and revenue minister.[9] Mulla 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī asserts that he was made the *wakil-i kul* or the imperial *wakil*.[10] It would seem that after 1563, Mun'im Khān was *wakil* in name only, and that the post was kept in abeyance for a long time. Muzaffar Khān to all intents and purposes acted as *wakil* but was in fact only the first minister and not the traditional prime minister of earlier Muslim governments in whose hands the rulers were but puppets.

7 An eastern Īrānian.
8 *Akbar-nāma*, Calcutta 1879, II, p. 197.
9 *Mansab-i wizārat-i kul sarkār-i Humāyūn*; Abu'l-Qāsim Namkīn, *Munshāt-i Namkīn*, 'Alīgarh University Ms. ff. 64b-65a.
10 *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, II, p. 65.

Before taking over the *wizārat-i dīwān-i kul,* Muzaffar Khān Turbatī was a servant of Bayram Khān but was arrested after his master's dismissal and sent to the court. Akbar refused to kill him, instead appointed him a *pargana* officer. In 1561 he worked as Mun'im Khān's *dīwān* in Hisār Fīrūza and was later promoted to the *dīwān-i buyūtāt.*[11]

The appointment of Mun'im's former servant to the imperial *dīwān* answering to no-one seems to indicate that Akbar had decided to control fiscal matters through his own protégés and by making the post of *wakīl* a formal honour to be conferred only upon his favourites. Ignoring loud protests from Muslim nobles, Akbar also made Rāja Todar Mal, a khattri, a *dīwān* in the *wizārat-i dīwān-i kul.* The scandals relating to the quarrels between the Rāja and Muzaffar, described by Badā'ūnī, suggest that the Rāja enjoyed an independent position.[12] In 976/1568, Akbar deprived Muzaffar Khān of his powers over the *khālisa* (territories whose revenue was collected directly for the imperial treasury). These were assigned to Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad Khān, a Sayyid of Nīshāpūr who was also instrumental in Bayram Khān's downfall. In mid-1572, Muzaffar's rude behaviour towards Akbar in a game of *chaupar* prompted the Emperor to dismiss his minister and have him exiled to Mecca.[13] However, he was recalled from Sūrat[14] and in November 1573, according to Abu'l-Fadl, was again made *wakil,*[15] suggesting that during his first tenure of office, he also enjoyed that position. However, shortly afterwards Muzaffar was again dismissed because of his opposition to Akbar's military reforms concerning the fixation of the grades of *mansabdārs,* the branding of horses and the conversion of *jāgirs* into *khālisa.*[16] Again, Muzaffar's two years' distinguished military service in Bihār prompted Akbar to reappoint him *wakīl* in October 1577. By that time, Todar Mal had been appointed the *mushrif-i dīwān,*[17] an office "higher in rank than that of *dīwān,* but lower than that of the *wakīl*",[18] and Khwāja Shāh Mansūr Shirāzi had been appointed the *wazīr* in November 1576. Both were required to perform their duties in consultation with Muzaffar.[19] Akbar tried to use the three experts in revenue and finances to promote the interests of the empire, but their temperaments were too different. Rāja was vengeful, Shāh Mansūr was unimaginably strict and Muzaffar was arrogant. They never-

11 *Akbar-nāma,* II, pp. 105, 110.
12 *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh,* II, p. 66.
13 *Akbar-nāma,* II, p. 368.
14 Ibid., III, p. 9.
15 Ibid., III, p. 67.
16 Ibid., III, p. 69.
17 Ibid., III, p. 158.
18 Abu'l Fadl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī,* II, Lucknow 1892, p. 6.
19 *Akbar-nāma,* III, p. 193.

theless made remarkable improvements in the government, but Muzaffar's inability to use his colleagues' talented expertise in matters of finance led Akbar to transfer him to Bengal as governor in March 1579, where a year later he was killed by rebels.

In February 1581, Shāh Mansūr was sentenced to death on false charges of treason. From March 1582 to his retirement in October 1589, Rāja Todar Mal remained *mushrif-i dīwān,* exercizing the powers of both *wakil* and *wazir.* In March 1585, Amir Fath-Allāh Shirāzi, who had arrived at the Imperial court in 1583, was associated with the Rāja in finalizing the revenue administration. Both performed their duties most efficiently and made valuable changes to the administrative framework. Many a time Akbar had entrusted joint responsibility to his *diwāns* but the remarkable success attained by Rāja Todar Mal and Fath-Allāh Shirāzi was mainly due to their selfless service to their Emperor's cause. Amir's death in July 1589 and that of Rāja Todar Mal four months[20] later were a serious loss to the Emperor, but by that time the rules concerning the revenue assignments and realizations had already been formed and their successors had to make only minor adjustments.

Although a number of talented *dīwāns* contributed to the evolution of the revenue regulations (*zawābit*) of Akbar's reign, Todar Mal's association with the ministry rightly led posterity to ascribe them exclusively to him. Awrangzīb claimed Shāhjahān used to complain that Todar Mal introduced the regulations in order to ensure that Muslims lost dignity by being compelled to approach Hindū officers.[21]

Concerning later appointments to the post of *wakil,* Akbar appointed Mīrzā 'Abd al-Rahīm *wakil* for a few months in 1589-90 and Khān-i A'zam Mīrzā 'Aziz Koka from 1595 onwards, but neither had any political authority. In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, the Emperor's favourite, Amīr al-umarā' Sharif Khān, could have exercised some power but ill health prevented him from making any significant contribution to the office. Ja'far Beg Qazwini Āsaf Khān, who was also appointed a *wakil,* left no impression on the office.

From the early years of Jahāngīr's reign, the duties of *diwān* were performed by Mīrzā Ghiyāth Beg I'timād al-Dawla. After marrying his daughter Nūr Jahān in May 1611, Jahāngīr, in recognition of his father-in-law's previous services, great sincerity and ability, formally invested him with the high office of *wazir.* His tenure is marked by the consolidation of the reforms of Todar Mal and Fath-Allāh Shirāzi. His death in January 1622 was deeply mourned both by his daughter and son-in-law and deprived the government of the counsel of an infinitely experienced states-

20 Ibid., III, pp. 558, 569.
21 Awrangzīb, *Ruqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī,* Kānpūr, 1879, p. 20.

man. The Mirzā's great influence as the first *wazir* gave people the impression that he was a *wakil,* but this honour was reserved for his second son, Abu'l-Hasan Āsaf Khān, whom Jahāngīr made his *wakil* in 1626. After Jahāngīr's death in 1627, Prince Khurram, who became the Emperor Shāhjahān through Āsaf Khān's diplomatic handling of the political situation, appointed his benefactor—who also happened to be the father of the Emperor's beloved wife, Mumtāz Mahal—to the post of *wakil.* Until his death in 1051/1641, Āsaf Khan actively promoted the political interests of the empire and, despite his vast experience in the work of *diwāni,* he did not interfere with the work of Shāhjahān's talented *wazirs,* such as Afdal Khān (second to twelfth year of the reign) and Islām Khān (twelfth to nineteenth year).

The most outstanding *wazir* of Shāhjahān's time was Sa'd-Allāh Khān,[22] who succeeded Islām Khān in the nineteenth year of the Emperor's reign, and, until his death in the thirtieth year, he was a tower of strength to the Emperor.

Shāhjahān's reign was also lucky in its galaxy of assistant *dīwāns* in all the four sections of the ministry—*dīwān-i khālisa* (*dīwān* for *khālisa*), *dīwān-i tan* (*diwān* for salaries), *mushrif* (chief accountant) and *mustawfi* (auditor). Most of them were Hindūs, khattris, kayasthas, and brahmans, who also trained a large number of juniors being available for service in the provinces, the army and under nobles. Awrangzib, comparing the situation with that of his own reign, wrote—

> ".....I remember that when His Majesty Shāhjahān sent Murād Bakhsh on the expedition to recover the old [ancestral] territory of Balkh [in 1646], a *diwān* was required for the army. When the nominations were examined, twenty people were available from among the employed and unemployed. Now I want only one man for the *diwānī* of Bengal who is competent and honest and such a man is not to be found."[23]

Akbar's reforms also interlinked the functions of the *dīwān-i a'lā* or revenue minister with those of the *mīr bakhshī.* He was the second in importance as a minister but not subordinate to the *diwān-i a'lā.* Initially the *mīr bakhshī* was the counterpart of the *dīwān-i 'ard,* who supervised the recruitment, maintenance and mustering of troops and inspected horses. The introduction of the *dāgh* or branding of horses in 1573 and the *mansabdārī* system two years later, however, made a proper understanding between the *diwān-i a'lā* and the *mir bakhshi* indispensable for the efficiency of the

22 Scholar, engineer and the author of fine diplomatic letters.

23 *Ruqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī,* p. 14.

administration. Before meeting the pay claims (*talab*) of the *mansabdārs*, the officials in the *mīr bakhshī's* ministry had to reassure themselves that the *mansabdārs* correctly maintained the contingents of cavalry, as well as elephants, camels and carts fixed for the grade in which they were placed and for which they drew their salaries. The *dīwān-i a'lā*, particularly the *dīwān-i tan* or the *dīwān* for salaries, met the pay claims. The payments were generally made by assigning revenue of the territories called *jāgīr*, although some were wholly or partly paid in cash from the imperial treasury. According to Abu'l-Fadl the *mansabs* ranged from *dah-bāshī* (commander of ten) to *dah-hazārī* (10,000), but commands of over 5000 were reserved for the Emperor's sons.[24] According to Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, *mansabdārs* from the rank of 500 and above were called *amīrs*.[25] Akbar intended to divide the *mansabs* into sixty-six, corresponding to the numerical value of the letters in the name Allāh, but the *mansabs* recorded in the *Ā'īn-i Akbari* number only thirty-three. This discrepancy can be explained in view of the fact that the *Ā'in-i Akbari* records only that number of *mansabdārs* as existed at the time of its completion in 1597-98, while the planning was made in the belief that Akbar would survive for 120 years.

The contingents were not necessarily equal to the *mansab* granted; sometimes the *mansab* was increased but the contingents were reduced. The *mansabdārs* of the first class maintained contingents equal to their *mansabs;* those in the second class maintained one-half and upwards of a contingent and those in the third class maintained even lesser contingents. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the *mansabs* came to be divided into *dhāt* and *sawār*. The *dhāt* rank indicated the position of the *mansabdār* in the official hierarchy and his pay in the salary schedule. The *sawār* rank represented the number of horses and horsemen the *mansabdārs* were obliged to maintain, which were sometimes equal to the *dhāt* and sometimes higher or lower. The obligations for a horseman to maintain two horses (*dū aspa*) and for some to maintain three horses (*seh aspa*) made the system even more complex. A *mansabdār* required to maintain 1,000 horsemen had to classify them into three categories; 300 with three horses each, 600 with two horses each and 100 with one horse each, with at least 2,000 horses in all. Horses were government property, branded and periodically inspected.

The practice of transferring *jāgirs* after about three years or so had made the *mansabdārs* or noble interested only in revenue and they failed to develop any permanent interest in the *jāgirs*.

A separate class of troopers, called the *ahadī*, drew a high salary of up to Rs. 500 per month, while the horseman's normal salary ranged

24 *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, III, p. 219.
25 Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, II, Calcutta 1927-35, p. 456.

from12 to 25 rupees. The *ahadīs* were directly under the Emperor's control, but were supervised by a separate *dīwān* and *bakhshī*. Originally each *ahadī* had to maintain some eight horses but the number was subsequently reduced to five. The four-monthly muster had made them reasonably efficient.[26]

The *mansabdārs* who were called upon to march on military expeditions at short notice naturally could not acquire funds from their *jāgīrs* in order to organize the contingents. In many unforeseen circumstances borrowing was inevitable. In order to meet genuine cases of hardship, Akbar introduced the scheme of lending money from the imperial treasury. He appointed a separate treasurer and *mir-i 'ard* to advance loans on interest and the system was given the honorific title of *musā'adat*.[27] In the first year, the loan could be returned without adding anything to the principal; in the second year the loan was to be increased by a sixteenth part of it; in the third year, by one-eighth; in the fourth, by one-fourth; from the fifth to the seventh, by one-half; from the eighth to the tenth year, by three-fourths; from the tenth year onwards, double the original loan was charged.[28] 'Irfān Habīb gives the following table of interest:

| Years completed | Ratio of Amount due to Principal | Annual Rate of Interest |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 17:16 | 6.25% |
| 2 | 9: 8 | 6.10% |
| 3 | 5: 4 | 7.70% |
| 4 | 15:10 | 10.70% |
| 5 | 15:10 | 8.40% |
| 6 | 15:10 | 7.00% |
| 7 | 17½:10 | 8.30% |
| 8 | 17½:10 | 7.20% |
| 9 | 17½:10 | 6.40% |
| 10 | 20:10 | 7.40% |

The scheme was ostensibly intended to set unprincipled usurers on the right path and did not envisage any heavy loans. For example, in 1590, inducing 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān to seize Qandahār, Abu'l-Fadl wrote to him that he should not worry about finances but should borrow money on the promise of repayment at the rate of 150-200 percent.[29] In Shāhjahān's reign the *mansabdārs* marching on a campaign were entitled to draw an amount equal to one-fourth of the annual revenue of

26 See 'Abdul-'Aziz, *The mansabdārī system and the Mughal army*, Lahore 1943; M. Athar 'Alī, *The Mughal nobility under Aurangzīb*, Bombay 1966, pp. 38-68; I. H. Qureshī, *Administration of the Mughal empire*, Karāchī 1966, pp. 92-99.

27 *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, I, p. 139.

28 'Irfān Habīb, Usury in Medieval India, *Comparative studies in society and history*, The Hague, 1963-64, p. 409.

29 *Har seh daftar-i Abu'l-Fadl (Mukātabāt-i 'Allāmī)*, Delhi, II, 1262/1845, p. 147.

their *jāgīr*.[30] The *musā'adat* was regarded as a state demand payable by the borrower and the *diwān* kept a proper account of the transactions. A report of the English Factories dated April 1656 explains the system thus—

> ".....and 'tis generally known hee [the Prince] was extreeme negligent in gathering in the Kings mutalba [*mutālaba*, 'demand'] (which are moneys lent out of the Kings cussanah [*khazāna*, treasury] to umbrawes when they are imployed in any warr, to bee repaid out of theire jaggeeres); which upon his death was made knowne unto him [i.e. the King] by Ra Rugnate, a Hendoe dewan under Sadula Ckawne, the man that now agitates all businesse;....."[31]

Naturally the state had first claim on the property of a deceased noble or *mansabdār* and took possession of it (*zabt-i amwāl*) immediately after his death. The practice, known as 'escheat', has been greatly maligned by foreign travellers who did not appreciate the real genesis of the practice.

The control of matters relating to the *Shari'a* was in the hands of the *sadr al-sudūr*. As head of the judicial department, he appointed *qādīs*, *muftis* and other judicial officers, granted stipends or revenues of specified areas of land as *madad-i ma'āsh* (subsistence allowance), controlled educational institutions, determined one's outward moral conduct and patronized the *'ulamā'*. Until 1579, Akbar's *sadr al-sudūr*, Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī whom he had appointed in 1565, exercised the above functions and none dared interfere with his decisions. He helped the Emperor to resume the *madad-i ma'āsh* grant held by the Afghāns and to give it instead to the *khālisa* making strict investigations into the rights of the rest of the grant-holders. The Shaykh used his powers recklessly and it was established by a one-man commission consisting of Shaykh Farīd Bukhārī that he mismanaged the *madad-i ma'āsh*.[32] After 1580 further strict measures were introduced to root out corruption, bribery and malpractices in the ministry of the *sadr*. This led to a considerable reduction in the grant of the *madad-i ma'āsh* and to curtailment of the powers of the *sadrs*. Like the *jāgīrs*, the *farmāns* of the *suyūrghāls* were also processed in the ministry of the *diwān-i a'lā*, being checked, signed and sealed by the *mustawfī*. This was very annoying to a large number of religious dignitaries but neither Akbar nor his successors neglected deserving cases. From the time of Akbar's reign even the Hindū ascetics and their places of worship began to receive liberal grants. Jahāngir considered the *madad-i ma'āsh* holders as members

30 'Abd al-Hamīd Lāhawrī, *Pādshāhnāma*, II, Calcutta 1866-72, pp. 507, 670-71.
31 W. Foster, *The English factories in India, 1655-1660*, Oxford 1921, p. 67.
32 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 234.

of the *lashkar-i du'ā* and was more liberal than Akbar in granting *madad-i ma'āsh* land.

The *sadrs* whom Akbar appointed after 1580 were also required to strictly implement the policy of peace and concord with all religious communities.[33] Akbar created a new post of *mīr 'adl* in his judiciary to assist the *qādis* and ordered them to make thorough investigations of all cases before pronouncing judgements. Akbar tried to reform some of the Hindū and Muslim marriage[34] laws but these would hardly have been followed. Both Hindūs and Muslims continued to follow their own religious and customary laws in matters concerning marriage, divorce, testaments, endowments and inheritance.

**Provincial and Local Administration**

The crystallization of the principal features of the Mughal central administration was accompanied by the division of the empire into twelve provinces early in 1580.[35] The provinces were Agra, Delhi, Allahabad, Avadh, Ajmīr, Ahmadābād, Bihār, Bengal, Kābul, Lahore, Multān and Mālwa. By 1599 three independent Deccan states, Berār, Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar, were also annexed and made provinces respectively. The head of the provinces was originally called *sipahsālār* but subsequently came to be variously known as *sūbadār, sāhib-i sūba, nāzim, fawjdār-i sūba,* etc. Normally the governor served for a period of some three years and was recalled to the court or transferred to some other province. Only high ranking nobles or princes were appointed as governors.

Fiscal and administrative divisions were also made. For fiscal purposes the province was divided into *sarkārs,* the latter being subdivided into *parganas.* Each *pargana* contained a number of villages with a territorial unit; groups of villages with no territorial units were known as *mahāl* and existed only for fiscal purposes. The head of revenue administration in the province was the *diwān-i sūba* or the provincial *dīwān.* From 1595 onwards Akbar himself began to appoint provincial *dīwāns* who were directly responsible to the *wazīr.*[36] The *dīwān* was ordered to extend the cultivation and habitation of villages, to grant *taqāwi*[37] loans to the peasants and encourage them to dig wells and make new irrigation channels. The principal burden of the collection of revenue and the promotion of agriculture fell to the head of land revenue administration of the *parganas,* called an *'āmil* or *karōrī.*

33 *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, I, pp. 140-41.
34 Ibid., I, p. 143; *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, II, pp. 356, 376.
35 *Akbar-nāma,* III, p. 282.
36 Ibid., III, p. 670.
37 Advance of money to cultivators for the improvement of agriculture.

Sometimes the duties of *dīwān* and *amin* were assigned to the same person, but generally two different persons held these posts. From the reign of Shāhjahān *amīns* began to be appointed in each *mahāl* in order that all cultivable land in the *mahāl* should be brought under plough. The *amin* was appointed to issue *patta* (lease deed) and to obtain *qabuliyat* (deed of acceptance). He was responsible for making sure that unauthorized cesses were not realized and that the *'āmils* and other officers did not indulge in misappropriation and fraudulent practices. The *qānūngos*, who maintained the record of the land in the *pargana* and villages and of the revenue assessments, were hereditary officers. The areas from which the revenue passed directly to the imperial treasury were known as *khālisa*. They were scattered through the empire. According to 'Irfān Habīb, later in Akbar's reign the *khālisa* "appears to have accounted for one-fourth of the total revenue. Under Jahāngīr its *jama'* (estimated revenue-income) fell to less than 5 per cent of the total *jama'* of the empire. Under Shāhjahān it was gradually expanded so that its *jama'* rose to one-seventh, and early under Awrangzib to nearly one-fifth of that of the empire."[38] The remaining portion of land was assigned as *jāgirs*, as *madad-i ma'āsh* or *suyūrghāl*, the latter being from two to five per cent of the *jama'*.

For administrative purposes, the provinces were divided into units known as *fawjdārī*, whose head was known as the *fawjdār*. Under Akbar, the territorial jurisdiction of the *fawjdār* extended to a number of *parganas* but not necessarily over a *sarkār*. The *fawjdāris* were further subdivided into a number of *thānas*, or military outposts, controlled by a *thānadār* who was required to maintain *sawārs* for the control of the administration. *Fawjdārs* were directly appointed by the Emperor and were under the jurisdiction of the *bakhshī al-mamālik*. Even some important *thānadārs* were also directly appointed by the central government.

The *fawjdārs* performed both military and police duties, helped in revenue administration and also discharged judicial functions. Naturally this made them the most important of all officers.[39] One of the *fawjdār's* duties was to crush the rebellion of *zamīndārs*, *jāgirdārs* and *'āmils*, firstly using persuasive measures to make them submit. In the event of failure, he was required to use military force, but cautiously. He was ordered to pitch his camp in the neighbourhood of the rebels and to avoid immediate attack in the hope that they would decide to submit. Again, if an attack by the infantry led to their submission, the cavalry was not to be used.

38 'Irfān Habīb, The Social Distribution of Landed Property in Pre-British India, p. 302 in *Indian Society: historical probings,* edited by R. S. Sharma and V. Jha, New Delhi 1974; 'Irfān Habīb, *Agrarian System of Mughal India,* Bombay 1963, pp. 271-73.

39 Nomān Ahmad Siddīqī, The Faujdār and Faujdārī under the Mughals, *Medieval India Quarterly,* 'Aligarh, Vol. IV, Nos. 1-2, pp. 1-14.

Neither were their forts to be attacked but their communication lines with their neighbours were to be severed. After seizing the rebel camp, the government dues were first to be deducted from the booty, distributing the spoils equitably and reserving one-fifth for the imperial treasury.[40]

Although not mentioned in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, the *fawjdār* also seems to have been responsible for the safety of the roads. Further, as an authority charged with helping the revenue officials, he came to be associated directly with the land revenue administration.[41] Indeed, the recalcitrant and unruly *zamīndārs* found themselves constantly under military pressures of the *fawjdār* and paid revenue only when they found no way out of the impasse. The *fawjdārs* considered complaints relating to the violation of the imperial regulations independently, but in cases where the *Sharī'a* laws were violated, they took action in collaboration with the *qādīs*.

Although the *fawjdārs* performed some military duties, the provincial *bakhshī* performed duties similar to that of the *bakhshī al-mamālik* at the centre of government. He was subordinate to the governor but as he also acted as a *wāqi'a-nawīs* or news reporter, independently sending reports of the province to the Emperor, neither the governor nor the *dīwān* could easily ignore or violate his duties. The provincial *sadr* was also an important officer and sometimes, in addition to his normal duties, he acted as an *amin*, supervising the survey and settlement of land. In the reigns of Akbar's successors the *amin* also became an independent officer. In Akbar's reign, the *kotwāls* became the supreme controllers of law and order in the towns,[42] superseding the *muhtasibs*, who became petty functionaries in the department of the *qādi*. The provincial *kotwāls* naturally enjoyed a very high position.

A *farmān* issued by Akbar to governors as much outlines their main duties as it underlines the new outlook they should develop to their responsibilities. It says—

'They should seek divine pleasure in all affairs of prayer and their habits and should not allow consideration for their own selves or for others to interfere with their spiritual life. They should not lead a retired life like the dervishes, nor should they mix with common people such as bazaar men (plebeians). Their conduct should be based on moderation. They should respect all men whom God had made great (i.e. the élite). They should form a habit of wakefulness at night and day, specially morning, mid-day, evening and midnight. When they are not engaged in the work of God's creatures (administration), they should devote themselves to the

40 *Ā'in-ī Akbarī*, I, p. 197; Mitr Sen b. Madhūsūdan Dās: *Ruqa'āt-i Mitr Sen* compiled in 1082/1671, National Museum, Karāchī, pp. 111-14.

41 Nomān Ahmad Siddīqī: *Land revenue administration under the Mughals*, Bombay 1970, pp. 63, 83.

42 *Ā'in-ī Akbarī*, p. 197.

study of ethical works such as the *Akhlāq-i nāsirī*,[43] *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-Dīn*,[44] *Kīmiyā'-i Sa'ādat*[45] and the *Mathnawī* of Mawlānā Rūm,[46] so that their knowledge of the rules of piety might keep them away from Satan or from the delusions of men of dissimulation. They should note that the best form of divine prayers is the performance of their duties towards people, which should be discharged cheerfully, and without any regard to friendship, enmity and relationship. As far as possible they should be good to the poor, the destitute and the needy, especially the recluses and retired people who do not ask for any favours. The rebellious should be guided to the right path with admonition, mildness, with harshness and politeness, as the exigency of the situation demands. Those who do not pay attention to their admonitions should be imprisoned, beaten, or punished by amputation of the limbs or killing, in accordance with the demands of the situation. However, they should not hastily inflict capital punishments, for a severed head cannot be rejoined.

As far as possible, those who deserve capital punishment should be sent to the court with a full report of their case. Final action should be taken according to the imperial orders. Should there be any danger of further insurrection in sending a rebel to the Court or in awaiting a reply from the Court, the prisoner should be killed but they (the governors) should abstain from skinning, trampling under foot by an elephant, and inflicting such punishments as were ordered by the arrogant rulers. All those persons in whose wisdom and integrity reliance is placed should be permitted to speak freely in private assemblies. However, if they make an error in their judgment, they should not be reprimanded, for this in future would prevent them from giving wise counsels. As people generally do not speak the truth, those who do so should be respected. (It may be noted that) those who are mean and wicked are not inclined to speak the truth and wish their masters to be involved in trouble. The good-natured people are afraid of offending their masters by their truthful utterances and think that the same would involve them in trouble. Virtuous persons who prefer their own loss to the gains of others are exceedingly rare. They (the governors) should not love flattery, for flatterers spoil much work. However, it is not

43 An ethico-political work by mathematician, astronomer and philosopher Khwāja Nasīr al-Dīn bin Muhammad al-Tūsī (597/1201-672/1274).

44 The *magnum opus* of Abū Hāmid Muhammad al-Ghazālī al-Tūsī (450/1058-505/1111) completed after 488/1095 tries to strike a balance between the ethical and religio-mystical life. Written in Arabic, it has exercised great influence over its readers and is still very popular.

45 The Persian summary of the *Ihyā'* with some additional material.

46 The *Mathnawī* or the *Mathnawī-i ma'nawī* of Mawlānā (Mevlānā) Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604/1207-672/1273), divided into six volumes, is one of the most important didactic poetical works of the *sūfīs*.

good to reject flatterers altogether, for flattery is indispensable for a servant. Further, as far as possible, they should personally investigate the truths of the complaint. Names of complainants should be written down in order of their arrival, so that they are not obliged to undergo the trouble of long delays and the assistants are not able to change the order of arrival of the complainants.

Further, no haste should be exhibited in punishing a person who is accused of any offences and careful investigations should be made, for the number of those who falsely accuse others of faults is very large and well-wishers and truthful persons are very rare. At the time of anger, the end of the thread of wisdom should not be abandoned and they should proceed to act cautiously and patiently. They should authorize some of their truthful and sincere friends and servants, that in their moments of grief and anger those people should not remain silent. Further, they should not over-indulge in taking oaths for too much swearing makes others suspicious of their falsehood. Further, they should not make it their habit to indulge in abusing others, for it is the custom of mean fellows.

Further, they should strive to promote agriculture, and conciliate the *ra'iyat* (peasants) and take measures to distribute *taqāwi*, so that the number of hamlets, villages, towns and cities should increase from year to year. They should be so considerate to the *ra'iyat* that the area of agricultural land is augmented. Afterwards, efforts should be made to increase the cultivation of *jins-i kāmil*[47] (cash crops). A separate *dastūr al-'amal*[48] to this end has already been issued which should be followed. In short, they should individually enquire into the affairs of the *ra'īyat* and the words given to them should in no case be violated.

Further, they should make an effort to prevent soldiers and others from staying in other peoples' houses without their permission. Neither should they rely on their own wisdom, but should consult those who are wiser than themselves. Should there be no person wiser than themselves available, even then consultation should not be abandoned, for sometimes even an ignorant man is able to guide one to a true path....

Further they should not entrust such works as could be performed by their servants to their sons. Whatever work could be done by sons should not be personally performed by them, for whatever was spoiled by them could not be mended by others.

They (the governors) should make it a habit to listen to peoples' excuses and ignore their minor faults, for no man is impeccable. Sometimes admonitions make people desperate and sometimes a sense of shame reduces a man to despair. Some men should be reprimanded for committing

47 *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, pp. 39-46, 56, 251, 253.
48 Administrative manual.

a single fault, others should be excused for thousands of faults. In short, punishment is the most complex duty a government has to fulfil and should be carried out with caution and understanding.

Further, the [care of the] roads of the country should be entrusted to God-fearing people and whatever rights or wrongs happen there should be enquired of them. They should always be alert to their duties for the sovereignty and leadership depend upon watchfulness and negligence does not serve any purpose. Further, each should be punished according to his condition, for a severe glance cast on a man of lofty nature amounts to a death sentence to him, while men of mean spirit are not reformed even by severe punishment.

Further, no interference should be made with the creed, religion and faith of God's creatures, for a wise man does not intentionally suffer damage to himself in affairs of the transitory world. How can he then knowingly choose for himself an injurious path in matters of religion, which are permanent? If he is on a right path, he is not violating the truth, but if the (governor) is right, the man has unwittingly chosen for himself a different [wrong] path. The man in that case has been suffering from ignorance and deserves mercy and help. The situation does not warrant his punishment or rejection. They (the governors) should be friends to the virtuous and sincere fellows of every section of society.

Further, they should adopt moderation in their sleeping and eating habits and should not exceed the limit in order that leaving the boundaries of carnality, they might be able to elevate themselves to the status of humanity. As far as possible they should keep awake in the night and should not postpone the day's work till night time. Further the faults, aberrations and crimes of men should be properly weighed on the scales of justice, the punishment being made to fit the crime. They should use their acumen to decide what sections of men deserve forgiveness and what sections should be punished, for many slight faults deserve heavy punishment and many other faults need to be ignored, whilst others are to be mildly punished. It is not proper to become inveterate enemies of people and the heart should not be turned into a prison of revenge. If out of human weakness some irritation is caused by anyone, it should soon be forgotten, for in fact man's deeds are determined by the Incomparable Lord and all wranglings are limited to life in this world.

Further, they should beware of the reports of spies and should not rely upon the report of a single spy, for truth and lack of avarice are very rare. Hence they should appoint several intelligent spies who should be unaware of each other's existence. Each report should be written separately and then the correct conclusions drawn. Spies who seek to enhance their own reputation should be dismissed. Further, the governors should not allow wicked and vicious persons access to themselves, although even great men

cannot do without their assistance. However, it should not be forgotten that the wicked associate with the wicked and so caution should not be abandoned. This class (of vicious people) should remain discredited in the heart lest in the guise of friendship they have evil designs upon virtuous persons. All the more so as great men are too heavily burdened with work to detect the mischief of such persons. Again, they should be wary of crooked, glib-tongued persons who in the garb of friendship act as enemies. Great men have no time to spare from their business and the glib-tongued are overwhelmingly large in number. Further, they (the governors) should visit God-seeking recluses and seek their blessings. In short, they should be chary of their environment and report only that which is worth speaking of.

The governors should also strive to propagate knowledge and learning so that talented persons are not lost [to society]. Again, they should exert themselves to equip the soldiers with their arms and accoutrements. Their [the governors'] expenses should be lesser than their income, for the welfare of everyone depends on following this advice. 'It is said that one whose expenditure exceeds his income is a fool and one whose expenditure is equal to his income is not a fool but neither is he wise.' The foundations of stability should not be demolished. They [the governors] should always be prepared for service and expectant of orders. They should not violate their promises, particularly in matters relating to the duties of the accountants.

Further, they should always practise archery and shooting of guns. Soldiers should be ordered to perform military drills. Again, they should not be [excessively] fond of hunting but they can occasionally indulge in it, considering it as a military drill and a source of recreation, as these are also indispensable to a worldly life. Further, no pains should be spared to promote the interests of ancient families. They [the governors] should not over-indulge in laughter and jest. Further, drums should be beaten at sunrise and midnight, which in fact heralds the new day. Further, cannoners and gunners should fire their cannons and guns at the time of the sun's transit from one sign to another, in order that common people may return thanks to God for this great gift.

Further, they should be chary of their own favourites and servants, so that they may not abuse their confidence and oppress others. Further, one person should be assigned the duties of laying before the governor the complaints of others. Further, the *kotwāls* should be the custodians of the law. If there is no separate *kotwāl* in a city, decrees of law, to be mentioned hereafter, should be thoroughly preserved and implemented. The orders of the sultān of reason have made it imperative for the rulers to preserve these matters, but one man cannot personally attend to all of them. However, he should attend to them as best as he can. By God-given wisdom good-natured and experienced people should be chosen to allocate duties and services among officers. Of these (duties etc.), the following should be

assigned to the officers known as *kotwāl*. The *kotwāl* should not embark upon the performance of his duties in a vulgar fashion but should accomplish them considering them to be one of the greatest forms of worship. The details are as follows:

The *kotwāl* in co-operation with the clerks should prepare a record of the houses of each city, town and village. The details of the residents of each house in the *mohalla* (units into which each town is divided) should be recorded. It should be noted down what sort of people live there, the number of peasants, members of other professions, soldiers and dervishes each being recorded separately. He should take securities from each householder and establish contacts with different residents. Having organized different *mohallas* he should appoint a *mīr-i mohalla* (head of the *mohalla*) in each *mohalla*. All arrangements of the *mohalla* should be made under the direction of the *mīr-i mohalla*. A spy should visit him each night and day and obtain from him the records of the events of the *mohalla* in writing. It should be ensured that in the event of theft or fire or any other accident, all neighbours would rush to his help. Likewise, the street chiefs and informers should help him. If they fail to report when summoned, they should be deemed to have violated the law. Whenever a houseowner goes out, he should inform his neighbour about his departure. No one should travel to any other place without informing his neighbour, the *mīr-i mohalla* and an informer. Should any guest, either a relation or stranger arrive at a house, the houseowner must inform the *mīr-i mohalla* and the informer should have the fact noted in his register. In short, one or two informers should be appointed in each *mohalla* who must report all important events happening there and have them recorded, such as events of joy or sorrow, or arrival and departure of strangers. The arrival of any stranger in the *mohalla* should be reported immediately and he should not be allowed to stay in the *mohalla* without a surety. Those without sureties should stay in separate quarters, the *mir-i mohalla* and informers to fix their quarters. As a precaution the income and expenditure of every resident of the *mohalla* should be known. Those who spend more than their income are not without suspicion, and therefore need a thorough investigation. He (the *kotwāl*) should not abuse the goodness and well-wishing of others and should consider these qualities as an ornament of administration and should not indulge in extortion and vice. Further, several brokers should be appointed for different transactions and they should be appointed in the bazaar after obtaining from them suitable securities. The broker's duties should be to give information about all bazaar transactions; it should be ordered that persons indulging in transactions without informing the brokers be fined. The names of buyers and sellers should be recorded in the diaries. All buying and selling in the bazaar should take place with the concurrence of the *mir-i mohalla* and the informer. Again, several persons should be appointed

as night-patrolmen in each street, *mohalla* and the environs of the town for watch and ward duties. Efforts should be made to see that none is unemployed in a *mohalla*, bazaar or street. Further a thorough search of thieves, pickpockets and gamblers and the like should be made and they should not be allowed to survive. Whatever articles are lost or plundered in any locality should either be recovered, upon the apprehension of the thieves, or else he (the *kotwāl*) should make good the loss. Further, the wealth of such people as were untraceable or dead should be handed over to their rightful heirs or else should be entrusted to the *amin*. A full report on this should be sent to Court in order that the property may be restored to the rightful heir whenever found. In this respect, goodness and nobility should prevail lest the traditions existing in Turkey are repeated here.

Great efforts should be made to enforce prohibition; drunkards, wine-sellers and distillers should in consultation with the governor be given such exemplary punishment as to serve as a warning to others. Further, efforts should be made to keep the prices of commodities down and the wealthy should not be permitted to buy in excess and hoard their goods with the intention of selling them slowly.

Further, they should take great pains to celebrate Nawrūz and other festivals. The greatest is the Nawrūz festival which begins from the time of the entry of "the gift bestowing" sun into the sign of Aries. It marks the beginning of the Farwardin (March-April); on the nineteenth of this month, corresponding to the day of exaltation a festival should be held. Other festivals should be celebrated on 3rd Urdībihisht(about 24 April), 6th Khurdād (27 May), 10th Ābān (31 October) and 9th Āzar (30 November). In the month of Dī, festivals should be celebrated on 8th (29 December), 15th (5 January) and 23rd (13 January). Other festivals should also be held on 2nd Bahman (23 January), 15th Isfandarmuz (8 March). Other traditional festivals should continue to be celebrated as usual.

Like the night of Shab-barāt, the lamps should be lit on the night of Nawrūz which is an exalted night. In the early evening, which amounts to the dawn of the festival, the drums should be beaten. On other festival days drums should be beaten at an interval of every three hours.

The women should ride on a horse only when they cannot avoid doing so. Different places should be assigned to men and women for bathing and taking water.."[49]

Similar detailed rules of conduct issued to other officers, and the imperial regulations in the *Ā'in-i Akbari* studied in conjunction with the accounts of severe actions taken against defaulters, lead us to believe that the Emperor intended Mughal power to be obeyed, right down to the lowest section of

49 *Har seh daftar*, I, pp. 57-64. The *farmān* is also included in the *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī* by 'Alī Muhammad Khān, Baroda 1928, pp. 163-70.

the town and village. However, success at the village level was not possible unless all types of *zamīndārs* were made responsible for the efficient running of the administration. The *zamīndārs* held different types of landed interest as above and distinct from the cultivators who actually tilled the soil. In the early centuries of Muslim rule in India, the subjugated Hindū chiefs paid tributes and the village headmen called *chawdharīs, khūts* and *muqaddams* assisted the tax collectors appointed by the sultān or *iqtā'dārs* (the predecessors of *jāgirdārs*) in realizing the land revenue from the cultivators, in return for which their land-holdings were not taxed. When the sultāns' armies passed through the tributary chiefs' territory, the latter were asked to provide boats or ferries, infantry and a commissariat, but they were not part of the sultāns' administration.

Akbar embarked on a new policy of associating the Rājpūt ruling houses with his government. In 1562 he married the daughter of Rāja Bhār Mal Kachwāha of Amber, who was on the verge of annihilation because of the intrigues of his nephew. Akbar allowed the Rāja's daughter and other Rājpūt princesses whom he or his sons married to practise their religious beliefs within the palace.[50] This was a serious departure from earlier forced Hindū-Muslim marriages where the brides were first converted to Islām. By 1570 the tact and firmness of the Emperor, combined with the persuasive powers of the Kachwāhas, had induced all the important Rājpūt chiefs, except Mahārāna Pratāp to accept Akbar's overlordship. They came to be known as *zamīndār-rājas*. The Emperor awarded *mansabs* to the *zamīndār-rājas* commensurate with their military talents and ability to control their subordinates. Their ancestral domains left under their control were known as *watan* (home territory), and their total revenue considered as their *watan-jāgīrs* or simply as *watan*. On their promotion, the *zamīndār-rājas* were given additional *jāgir* in other parts of the country in settlement of their pay claims. Thus loyal services to the Emperor guaranteed promotion and additional salary and rewards. The Emperors, being the paramount power, reserved the right to interfere with the law of primogeniture and hereditary succession and to appoint their own nominee from among the sons or other relatives to succeed the deceased *zamīndār-rāja*, although this right was not often asserted. The Emperors encouraged the *zamīndār-rājas* to introduce the imperial regulations into their territories, to fight against unruly elements, thieves and robbers, and to make the roads and highways safe for travel. They were also required to promote agriculture, trade and commerce in their own territories. The Emperor also reserved the right to consider appeals against the injustice of the *rājas*. This led to the evolution of considerable uniformity in the administration and in the way of life in all parts of the country.

50 *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, II, p. 261.

The *chawdharīs, muqaddams, deshmukhs, deshpāndes* and *desāī's* who in earlier centuries helped the *'āmils* in revenue collection in return for revenue-free lands, also came to be known as *zamīndārs*. Nūru'l-Hasan calls them the intermediary *zamīndārs*. Their rights were hereditary but the Emperor could interfere with their succession and even partition their jurisdiction amongst their relations. Their main functions were to realize the revenue from primary *zamīndārs* (to be mentioned later) and pay it to the imperial treasury, *jāgīrdār* or *zamīndār-rājas*, and maintain law and order within the area of their jurisdiction. In return for their services they enjoyed various types of perquisites, such as commissions, deductions, revenue-free lands (*nānkār* or *bānth*), cesses etc. The *nānkārs* were generally given in the form of a rent-free grant of land but cash grants or payment in kind also constituted *nānkār*. The revenue from *nānkār* lands was also assessed like other units in the village and always remained a very valuable hereditary property of the family.[51]

Among the intermediaries could also be included *ijāradārs*, or revenue farmers, who entered into a contract with the *zamīndārs* or *jāgīrdārs* to realize the revenue of thier territories for a fixed sum, which naturally included a certain amount of profit. This practice was deeply rooted in the *iqtā'* system of the sultanate which, like the *jāgīrs*, amounted to revenue of different territories being assigned to *iqtā'dārs* as their salaries. The need for ready cash to outfit military expeditions at short notice had made revenue-farming indispensable to the *iqtā'*-holders. In Akbar's reign the system is not heard of, but it emerged during Jahāngīr's reign and was quite popular with the *jāgīrdārs*, but not in the *khālisa* in Shāhjahān's time, to the considerable detriment of the State.[52] The *ijāradārs* were required to follow the imperial regulations but as they were concerned only with the payment of the fixed amount, it is not surprising that they adopted innumerable underhand tactics to augment their own profit. Awrangzīb discovered that in Bengal, the *parganas* of the *khālisa* where the revenue-farming system was generally unknown, were farmed out. He issued several *farmāns* prohibiting the revenue-farming of the *khālisa* and *jāgīr* lands but the system does not seem to have completely died out. Awrangzīb himself did not object to the revenue-farming of ruined villages on the undertaking that the *ijāradārs* restore their prosperity.[53]

All agricultural lands in the Mughal empire, however, belonged to the class of *zamīndārs* whom Nūru'l-Hasan calls primary *zamīndārs*. To this

51 S. Nūru'l-Hasan, *Zamīndārs under the Mughals*, in R. E. Frykenberg, *Land control and social structure in Indian history*, Wisconsin 1969, pp. 17-27.

52 *Land revenue administration under the Mughals*, pp. 93-94.

53 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, pp. 368-69; *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, pp. 159, 233-36, 277-78, 284, 285, 309.

class belonged "not only the peasant-proprietors who carried on cultivation themselves, or with the help of hired labour, but also proprietors of one or several villages." Their rights were hereditary but alienable and for the purpose of records, the *zamindārs* were encouraged to register the transfer deeds in the *qādi's* court.[54] The revenue documents of the second half of the seventeenth century tend to show that the proprietary rights of the *zamindārs* ranged from several villages to a small share in a single village. The *zamindārs* were empowered to rent out the land to which they held proprietary rights to the *ra'iyat* for naturally the entire land in their possession could not be cultivated by them. However, in villages the peasants also held proprietorship rights and paid their revenue through the *zamindārs*.

Although the *madad-i ma'āsh* grants were legally a loan (*'āriyat*) and needed confirmation at the accession of each monarch, from the reign of Fīrūz Shāh they also tended to become *zamindāris* with hereditary and alienable rights.

Before the advent of Mughal rule, a considerable number of the *iqtā'*-holders had begun to assert hereditary right of ownership over the land which was given to them in consideration of their military or administrative-cum-military services. For example, after the death of Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607/1210-633/1235), the Turkic soldiers of the Sultān's personal troops(*qalb*), who were assigned the revenues of the villages around the capital and the Doāb in payment of their salaries, established proprietary rights over them. Sultān Balban intended to deprive them of their possessions but dropped the scheme for emotional considerations.[55] Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī (695/1296-715/1316), who introduced revenue reforms of far-reaching importance, seems to have imposed upon the descendants of the above *iqtā'*-holders rules which he had framed for the Hindū chiefs and does not seem to have deprived them of their estates. In the reign of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq (752/1351-790/1388) the *iqtā'*-holders' assignments were not transferred and came to be treated as hereditary estate. This trend increased during the anarchy prevailing after Fīrūz's death. Under the Lodīs and Sūrs, a considerable number of Afghān *iqtā'*-holders and *madad-i ma'āsh* assignees established proprietary rights over their villages. The presence of a large number of Afghāns and Shaykhzādas, Shaykhs and Sayyids holding *zamindāri* rights in different *mahāls* and *sarkārs* at the end of Akbar's reign confirms the points made above. Below is their list consolidated from the *Ā'in-i Akbari*.

54 *Zamindārs under the Mughals*, p. 27.

55 Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1860-62, pp. 61-64; Shams-i Sirāj 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-91, pp. 95-99.

| *Zamindārs* of different racial and ethnic groups described as caste in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* | *Mahāls* | *Sarkārs* |
|---|---|---|
| Afghāns | 39 | 18 |
| Lodīs (Afghāns) | 3 | 3 |
| Lohānīs (Afghāns) | 2 | 2 |
| Tarīn (Afghāns) | 1 | 2 |
| 'Īsakhel (Afghāns) | 1 | 1 |
| Niyāzī (Afghāns) | 1 | 1 |
| Dalzāk (Afghāns) | 1 | 1 |
| Farmulī (Afghāns) | 1 | 1 |
| Qiyām-khānī (Afghāns) | 3 | 2 |
| Afghān-i Miyānā | 1 | 1 |
| Khaljī | 3 | 3 |
| Shaykhzādas | 15 | 12 |
| Shaykhs | 1 | 1 |
| Chishtīs | 1 | 1 |
| Siddīqī | 4 | 2 |
| Fārūqī | 1 | 1 |
| 'Abbāsī | 1 | 1 |
| Qurayshī | 1 | 1 |
| Sayyids | 20 | 12 |
| Bukhārī (Sayyids) | 1 | 1 |
| Rahmat-Allāhī | 5 | 4 |
| Ansārī | 5 | 5 |
| Malikzāda | 3 | 3 |
| Khānzādas of Mēwāt | 18 | 2 |
| Khānzāda | 8 | 2 |
| Meos (both Hindūs & Muslims) | 5 | 1 |
| Musalmāns (general) | 11 | 9 |
| Baloch | 4 | 3 |
| Khokkars (possibly Muslim) | 1 | 1 |
| Jinjūha | 1 | 1 |
| Kharal | 2 | 1 |
| Chauhāns, *naw* Muslim (newly converted to Islām) | 1 | 1 |
| Bais (newly converted to Islām) | 1 | 1 |
| Ranghar (possibly Muslims) | 2 | 2 |
| Turkman | 3 | 3 |

The Muslim *zamindārs* were found mainly in the *parganas* of Delhi, Sahāranpūr, Agra, Kol ('Alīgarh), Sambhal, Lucknow, Awadh, Mānikpūr,

Kara, Alwar, Nārnol and of the Panjāb *sarkārs*. A number of them had colonized new villages and persuaded the wandering and gypsy tribes to settle down to a peaceful agricultural life. For example, we learn from the *Chishtiya-i bihishtiya* that Shaykh Farid al-Dīn bin Shaykh Bāyazid (d.1579) encouraged Gūjar tribes to abandon highway robbery and settle down in Shaykhūpūr in Barnāwa near Delhi which he founded.[56]

The Muslim *zamindārs* seem to have followed the traditions of the early colonization of the Hindū caste and ethnic groups who held large tracts of land in their possession. All *zamindārs* maintained their own cavalry and some possessed elephants. The military resources of the *zamindārs* of the country comprised 384,558 cavalry, 4,277,057 infantry, 1,863 elephants, 4,260 guns and 4,500 boats.[57] More infantry from the villagers could be recruited at short notice by *zamindārs* whenever they so desired, for the large areas of land were populated by peasant-proprietors of the same caste group. Though all *parganas* did not have forts, the *zamindārs*' mansions were reasonably well-protected. The *zamindārs* whose lands were protected by hills or ravines, or screened by jungles, were unruly and they rebelled at the slightest provocation. The whole country was dotted with such areas—Bais Rājpūts of Awadh, the Ujjainiyas of South Bihār, the Afghān families of North Orīssa, Allahabad and Mālwa, the Gonds, the Bundelas, the Kolīs in Gujarāt, even near Delhi were the people of Mēwāt, Jalālī, Patiyālī, Sambhal, Katihar and Kampil. In the immediate neighbourhood of Agra there were areas towards the north and west which were the abode of the Jāts. The usual term for such areas was the Hindī word *mawās*.[58] The following remarks of Bābur concerning the peculiarities of Hindūstān refer to the *mawās*. He says—

> "In many parts of the plains thorny jungle grows, behind the good defence of which the people of the *pargana* become stubbornly rebellious and pay no taxes."[59]

In connection with an account of a peasant rebellion near Agra in 1578, Abu'l-Fadl also says that the *'umūm-i ri'āyā* (common peasants) near Agra were notorious throughout India for their rebelliousness, intrepidity and recklessness. Finding that the imperial army had gone to fight in a distant region, owing to their wickedness and shortsightedness they raised their head in sedition and began to oppress the weak.[60] In an earlier context Abu'l-Fadl wrote:

56 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad Chishtī Barnāwī, *Chishtiya-i bihishtiya*, Panjāb University Ms. Urdū extracts in the Oriental College Magazine, August 1927, pp. 41-58.
57 *The agrarian system of Muslim India*, p. 164.
58 Minhāj b. Sirāj Jūzjānī, *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, Calcutta 1863-4, p. 247.
59 A. S. Beveridge (tr.), *Bābur-nāma*, 1, Delhi reprint 1970, p. 487.
60 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 231.

> "The custom of the majority of the *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān is to leave the path of single-mindedness and to look to every side and to join anyone who is powerful or who is making an increasing stir."[61]

The defiance of authority was the very breath in the nostrils of the powerful *zamīndārs*. Nevertheless a large number of them assisted the administration in the hope of increasing their wealth and prestige, not only by promoting agriculture, but through the perquisites (*rusūm*) to be obtained from growing trade and commerce. The need to sell the cash crops and other grain crops to pay revenue in cash gave added impetus to the growth of local grain markets (*mandis*) and to trade by the *banjāras* (wandering grain dealers) who bought the grain at harvest time from the peasants and sold it in the *mandis*. The Mughal administration preferred the participation of the *buyūpāris* (merchants) and the *banjāras* in commercial undertakings involving the trade of grain to that of bankers, money-changers or government officers, as it prevented exorbitant price rises. A *farmān* of Awrangzib tells us that the *mutsaddis* (officers), *seths* (bankers) and *desāi'*s of *parganas* in Gujarāt prevented others from purchasing newly harvested food grains, buying the superior quality grain for themselves. This left only the rotten grain for the *buyūpāris* who were nevertheless obliged to pay the same price as for the superior quality grain.[62] Again, in Ahmadābād, some people whom the *farmān* does not mention but who can only be the *seths, desāi's* and officers, had monopolized the sale and purchase of rice to such an extent that no one else could buy it without their consent.[63] It would seem that a clique of money-lenders, *zamīndārs* and *pargana* officers had entered into monopolistic trade and commerce practices at a large number of places in the empire.

**Trade and Commerce**

It was not only the officers, but also many Mughal princes, princesses and nobles, who took a keen interest in trade and commerce. Ships owned by many princesses plied between Sūrat and Jedda, as well as those of the Emperors which, although meant especially for pilgrims, transported the merchandise and wares of the Muslim merchants. A noble who prospered equally in both trade and politics was the Persian Mīr Muhammad Sa'īd Ardistānī, better known as Mīr Jumla. He was born into a poor Īrānian family, migrated to Golkonda in his youth and, having started his career as an apprentice to a diamond merchant, rose to the eminent position of a powerful *wazir* under Qutb Shāh, the sultān of Golkonda. Finding his

61 *Akbar-nāma*, II, p. 63.
62 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, pp. 260-61.
63 Ibid., p. 262.

life in danger because of court intrigues at Golkonda, he joined Prince Awrangzīb, then the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan. Shāhjahān summoned Mīr Jumla to Delhi, where he became the Emperor's favourite and *wazir*, but remained a partisan of Awrangzīb. He died on 2 Ramadān 1073/10 April 1663, desperately using his military and diplomatic skills to extend Awrangzīb's empire to the farthest corner of Assam. He never lost sight of the importance of trade and commerce; early in 1651, 4,000 horses, 300 elephants, 400 or 500 camels and 10,000 oxen owned by him transported his goods into various parts of the Deccan and the Mughal commercial centres. He also owned several ships and established trade relations with Arākān, Pegū, the Mergui Archipelago, Bengal, Maldive, Īrān and Arabia.[64] Shā'ista Khān, Awrangzīb's maternal uncle, imported "salt, *supāri* or betelnuts and other articles and sold them in Bengal on profitable terms." He also prevented merchants from indulging in the sale and purchase of these commodities.[65] He had "accumulated seventeen crores of rupees by procuring two or three *tolas* of gold for one gold mohur." He did not hesitate to charge exorbitant prices for his pearls from Awrangzīb.[66] A report of English factories in Bengal tends to indicate that Shā'ista Khān also indulged in usury and had lent rupees 30,000 at 25 per cent per annum to the governor of Hugli.[67]

Among the Muslim racial groups the Afghāns excelled all others in trade and commerce. They monopolized the horse trade but also indulged in buying and selling other commodities. Manucci says—

> "They are very avaricious and foolhardy. When they come to court they are well-clad and well-armed, caracolling on fine horses richly caparisoned, posing as persons of some consideration, and followed by several servants borrowed or hired for the day. On reaching their house they divest themselves of all this finery, and, tying a scanty cloth round their loins and wrapping a rag round their head, they take their seat on a mat, and live on *quichire (khichrī)*—i.e., rice and lentils—or badly-cooked cow's flesh of low quality, which is very abundant in the Mogul country and very cheap. In this manner they put by money and grow into merchants."[68]

The most vital role in the promotion of trade and commerce was that of the *sarrāf* (money-changers, anglicized version, *sharoff*), and the *mahājans* (bankers). Tavernier observed that "in India a village must be very

64 Jagdīsh Narāyan Sarkār. *The life of Mīr Jumla*, Calcutta 1951, pp. 44-47.
65 S. K. Bhuyan, *Annals of the Delhi Bādshāhat*, Gauhātī 1947, pp. 167-68.
66 *Adāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, 'Alīgarh University Ms., ff. 113a-b.
67 William Foster, *The English factories in India, 1668-69*, Oxford 1927, p. 299.
68 William Irvine (tr.). *Storia Do Mogor*, II, London 1907, p. 453.

small if it has not a money-changer, whom they call *sharoff*, who acts as banker to make remittance of money and issue letters of exchange."[69] The bills of exchange they issued were called *hundīs* and they also organized insurance (*bīma*). The *sharoffs* invented a system of transaction called *ānth* to overcome the shortage of cash. According to the *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, the system operated in the following way. A client deposited a fixed sum with a *sharoff* at say Sūrat Port. The *sharoff* would then issue him with a *hundī* (called *sufta* in Persian), which could be cashed at the *sharoff's* partner's or agent's establishment in Ahmadābād. If the client wished to take cash money, the current rate of commission called *ānth* would be deducted from the *hundī*, or else he could sell the *hundī* to someone else who was in need of one of the same amount. The *hundī* thus passing through different hands, would eventually reach someone who owed money to the banker who issued *hundis* and completed the transaction without involving any cash payment.[70]

The growing investment of European companies in Indian and Asian trade increased the importance of the brokers (*dallāl*) along with that of the *sharoffs*. According to the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, the *kotwāls* were ordered to supervise the buying and selling in bazaars by appointing a chief and a broker from each professional group.[71] However, brokers were indispensable to the Europeans who had little knowledge either of the country's centres of production or of its language. The brokers acted as middlemen between the artisans and companies, acting also as interpreters (*dobhāshī*). In Patna alone, there were as many as six hundred brokers and middlemen engaged in commerce whose sole desire "was to have Money pass through their Fingers, to which a great part" was "sure to stick".[72] In the 1690s, Ovington estimated the capital of some of them to be in the neighbourhood of one and a half million and of others, three million rupees.[73] All cash advances made to the artisans through the brokers were called *dādnī* (putting-out system).

European involvement in trade, as well as the *dādnī* system, contributed to the production of special varieties of textiles and wares suiting European tastes, the brokers controlling the quality. With regard to the brokers, it is not true that they held the artisans in "economic bondage", as Soviet scholars such as Chicherov suggest.[74] The rich merchants and tradesmen,

69 V. Ball (tr.), *Travels in India* by J. B. Tavernier, I, London 1889, p. 28.
70 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, p. 411.
71 *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, I, p. 197.
72 C. E. Luard (tr.), *Travels 1629-43* by F. S. Manrique, II, London 1927, p. 140.
73 H. G. Rawlinson (ed.), *A voyage to Sūrat* by J. Ovington, London 1929, p. 188.
74 A. J. Chicherov, *India: Economic development in the 16th-18th centuries*, Moscow 1971, pp. 175, 176.

according to Bernier, paid workmen reasonably high wages. However, certain "*Omrah*" may have paid the artisans low wages and forced them to work under the threat of a flogging with the "*korrah* (that long and terrible whip hanging at every *Omrah's* gate)".[75] Under such conditions, however, no "*Omrah*" would have been able to retain skilled workers for any length of time. The imperial *kārkhānas*[76] and those of the governors, which insisted on a very high degree of refinement and perfection in the production of articles for imperial use, and for use as gifts for foreign courts, paid the workmen reasonably fair wages, as we learn from the schedules of the *Ā'in-i Akbari*[77]. In the reign of Shāhjahān, known for its splendour and high aesthetical tastes, the *mir-sāmān* or *khān-i sāmān* who controlled the *kārkhānas*, were men of integrity and human compassion and would hardly have allowed any injustice to be done to the artisans.

The development of trade and industries, and in particular of cotton textiles, led to the transformation of many *pargana* headquarters into flourishing urban centres. In Akbar's empire, there were 120 big cities and 3,200 *qasbas* (towns), each having under it from a hundred to a thousand villages.[78] In Akbar's reign, Agra flourished because of its being the capital. Delhi, however, had not lost its pre-eminence. To Father Monserrate, Lahore was also "second to none, either in Asia or in Europe, with regard to size, population, and wealth". It was "crowded with merchants" from all over Asia. He says:—

"In all these respects it excels other cities, as also in the huge quantity of every kind of merchandise which is imported. Moreover, there is no art or craft useful to human life which is not practised there. The population is so large that men jostle each other in the streets. The citadel alone, which is built of brickwork laid in cement, has a circumference of nearly three miles. Within this citadel is a bazaar which is protected against the sun in summer and the rain in winter by a high-pitched wooden roof—a design whose clever execution and practical utility should call for imitation. Perfumes are sold in this bazaar and the scent in the early morning is most delicious. The remainder of the city (outside the citadel) is widely spread. Its buildings are of brick. Most of the citizens are wealthy Brachmnae and Hindus of every caste, especially Casmirini. These Casmirini are bakers, eating-house-keepers, and sellers of second-hand rubbish, a

75 Archibald Constable (ed.), *Travels in the Mogul empire* by F. Bernier, London 1891, p. 228.
76 Centres of production of pieces of art.
77 S. A. A. Rizvi and V. J. A. Flynn, *Fathpūr-Sīkrī*, Bombay 1975, pp. 138-39.
78 *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, pp. 545-6.

> type of trade which well suits their Jewish descent. The surrounding district is fairly fertile."[79]

Dacca, Patna, Banāras, Multān, Ahmadābād, Sūrat, Burhānpūr were also flourishing trade centres. Merchants from the Persian Gulf, Central Asia and Armenia competed with the English and Dutch factors, giving considerable impetus to Indian trade. The local officers, *zamindārs* and *jāgirdārs* were responsible for the maintenance of peace and security. William Finch (1608-11) saw many guards and police posts on the roads.[80] In the reign of Akbar many new *sarāys* (caravanserais) were built. On his accession Jahāngīr ordered that in order to prevent robbery and theft on roads which were at some distances from habitations, *jāgirdārs* of the regions should build *sarāys*, dig wells and construct mosques there. This, the order said, would induce people to settle there. In the territories of the *khālisa*, their *mutsaddis* (administrators) should likewise construct *sarāys*.[81] Some *sarāys* also developed into towns and a considerable number of them were transformed into important villages.

**Socio-Political Groups**

The governing classes of the Mughals, their nobles, *mansabdārs*, *'ulamā'* and other high officials at the rural level formed the élite. Although the *sūfis* and Hindū saints did not occupy any top political posts, they also belonged to the élite because of the influence, leadership and effectiveness exercised by them over a considerable section of the population. The ability of merchants, bankers and *sarrāfs* to lend money to other élite groups who would otherwise have been rendered ineffective, ensured their belonging to the élite too.

As mentioned earlier, the *mansabdāri*, system crystallized in the second half of Akbar's reign when, except for the judiciary, it applied to all state services, *sadrs* and even some *qādīs* receiving *mansabs*. After giving a list of Akbar's *mansabdārs*, Abu'l-Fadl says:

> "Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to *mansabs* or promoted to higher ranks. Many Turks and Arabs also come from distant countries, and are honoured with a commission in the army, whereby they obtain the object of their desires."[82]

79 J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate*, London 1922, pp. 159-60.
80 William Foster (ed.), *Early travels in India*, Oxford 1921, p. 144.
81 Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Ghāzīpūr and 'Alīgarh, 1863-4, p. 4.
82 *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, I, p. 232.

The candidates for *mansab* had to be introduced by patrons who already held *mansabs*, and the reputation of the candidate in the countries he had served or, if an Indian, the strength of the people upon whose loyalty he could count were, together with his capacity for leadership, the deciding factors in the granting of a *mansab*. The Emperors encouraged the nobles to recommend meritorious and able men for his service. When Faydī was sent on an embassy to the sultāns of the Deccan, for example, he brought several talented people to the Emperor's notice.[83] Persian and Arab immigrants used to enter the service of one of the Deccan sultāns and their good reputation there was an easy passport to the Mughal service. Shāhjahān used to assert:

> "I always need *dabirs* (secretaries) well-trained in writing and speech, *'āmils* (revenue officers) able to promote agriculture and soldiers who command the support of a tribe. Wherever they are found, I should be informed."[84]

Shāhjahān's leading nobles trained talented men themselves and won appreciation and rewards from the Emperor for introducing them to him.[85]

With the expansion of the empire a large number of new racial groups were assimilated into the *mansabdārī* framework. Towards the end of Shāhjahān's reign, according to Chandrabhān Brahman, *mansabdārs* belonged to such heterogeneous racial groups as Persians, Turks, Tājīks, Kurds, Lārs, Tātārs, Russians, Abyssinians, Circassians; and were natives of Turkey, Egypt, Syria, 'Irāq, Arabis, Īrān, Gīlān, Māzandarān, Khurāsān, Sistān, Transoxiana, Khwārazm, the Qipchāq steppes, Turkistān, Gharjistān, Kurdistān and Luristān, as well as including men of various classes and ethnic groups in India itself. They were men of learning and perfection, wielding both the sword and the pen with mastery, and counted in their numbers Sayyids of correct lineage, the enterprising Shaykhzādas, Afghān tribes, Rājpūt clans, Rānas, Rājas, Rāys and other Indians holding *mansabs* ranging from 7,000 to 1,000 and from 1,000 to 100, and from 100 to *ahadīs*, *zamīndārs* from the hills and plains, from the regions of the Karnātik, from Bengal, Assam, Udaipur, Srīnagar, Kumā'ūn, Bandhu, Tibet and Kishtwar.[86] Despite all the opportunities given the talented emigrants, as well as the Indians, the *khānāzāds* (house-born ones or those who belonged to the old families of the *mansabdārs* and the imperial servants)

83 *Latā'if-i Fayyādī*, British Museum, Edgerton Ms., 695, ff. 111b-117b.
84 *Ruqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Kānpūr 1879, p. 20.
85 Ibid., p. 18.
86 Chandrabhān Brahman, *Chār Chaman*, British Museum Ms. Or. 1892, ff. 9b-10b; see also Shāhjahān's letter to Mahārāna Rāj Singh of Mēwār drafted by Chandrabhān Brahman in Kavirāj Shyāmaldās, *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 405.

controlled an overwhelmingly large number of *mansabs*. The ambitious restlessness of the *khānāzāds*, who always expected preferential treatment gave rise to intrigues and confusion within the Mughal administration.

Only the Central Asians, the Rājpūts and the Afghāns could recruit horsemen of their own racial groups, the rest having to recruit them from their *jāgirs* and the *zamindārī* areas. This had further increased the dependence of the *mansabdārs* on *zamindārs*. The Mughal Emperors, in a bid to consolidate their conquests and annex neighbouring regions to their empire, called on the *mansabdārs* to fight against their own racial groups. This they did, their emotional involvement rarely interfering with their sense of loyalty to the Emperor. Although racial pride and parochialism were deeply rooted in the *mansabdārs*, their professional pride and competitive spirit sharpened their efficiency. A large number of them were proud of their contingents and vied with one another as much to show the strength of their arms as to exhibit their pomp and show in the court. Bernier observed—

> "There is this peculiar ceremony in the evening assembly that all the *Mansebdars* who are on guard pass before the King to salute him with much form. Before them are borne with great ceremony that which they call the *Kours*,[87] to wit, many figures of silver, beautifully made, and mounted on large silver sticks; two of them represent large fish; two others a horrible and fantastic animal called *Eiedeha*;[88] others are the figures of two lions; others of two hands, and others of scales; and several more which I cannot here enumerate, to which the Indians attach a certain mystic meaning. Among the *Kours* and the *Mansebdars* are mixed many *Gourze-berdars*, or mace-bearers chosen for their tall and handsome persons, and whose business it is to preserve order in assemblies, and to carry out the King's orders, and execute his commands with the utmost speed."[89]

Bernier's description of the brilliance of the great square in front of the Delhi fort to whence the *'umarā'* or *mansabdārs* repaired to mount guard, is also equally impressive. He says—

> "The *Mansebdars* flock thither from all parts, well mounted and equipped, and splendidly accompanied by four servants, two behind and two before, to clear the street for their masters. *Omrahs* and *Rajas* ride thither, some on horseback, some on majestic elephants; but the

87 *Qur*, arms, collection of flags and other insignia of Mughal royalty.
88 A dragon, *azdahā*.
89 *Travels in the Mogul empire*, pp. 266-67.

greater part are conveyed on the shoulders of six men, in rich *palekys*, leaning against a thick cushion of brocade, and chewing their *bet-lé*, for the double purpose of sweetening their breath and reddening their lips. On one side of every *paleky* is seen a servant bearing the *piquedans*, or spitoon of porcelain or silver; on the other side, two more servants fan the luxurious lord, and flap away the flies, or brush off the dust with a peacock's-tail fan; three or four footmen march in front to clear the way, and a chosen number of the best formed and best mounted horsemen follow in the rear."[90]

It was the system of payment for services through transferable *jāgīrs* which was the principal cause of factionalism among the *mansabdārs* and which heightened tensions between different family and racial groups. In Akbar's reign, the crisis did not become acute. The empire was expanding and easily manageable *jāgīrs* were numerous, but their transfer, and the resumption of the more prosperous *parganas* in *jāgīrs* to *khālisa*, gave rise to considerable resentment among the *mansabdārs*. From the end of Akbar's reign the question of succession to the imperial throne divided the nobles and *mansabdārs* into many parties, each faction espousing the cause of its own candidate. Towards the end of Akbar's reign two of the Emperor's younger sons, Prince Murād and Dāniyāl had died in the Deccan, but the succession of the eldest, Prince Salīm, was contested by his own son, Khusraw. Rāja Mān Singh, the maternal uncle of Prince Khusraw, and Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, the Prince's father-in-law, were his principal supporters. Akbar himself was unable to make any final decision, and Abu'l-Fadl, who had rushed from the Deccan to use his diplomatic skill to resolve the crisis, was done to death by the rebel Bundēla chief, Bīr Singh Deo, at Prince Salīm's command. While Akbar was breathing his last, the *coup de main* planned by Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka and Mān Singh was foiled by the supporters of Prince Salīm.

Among those who threw their weight behind Prince Salīm were the Bakhshī al-Mamālik Shaykh Farīd, Qilīj Khān, Sa'id Khān Chaghtā'ī, Rām Dās Kachwāha, Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn, a Rohella Afghān, and Sharīf Khān, son of the Īrānian artist 'Abd al-Samad, and Diyā' al-Dīn Qazwīnī. In a debate that was held between the representatives of the two parties to settle the question of the succession, Sa'īd Khān silenced Khusraw's partisan, claiming that the accession of Prince Khusraw to the throne would violate the customs and laws of the Chaghtā'ī *tora*.[91] No reference was made to Prince Salīm's alleged commitment to promote the cause of Islām. While Mīrzā 'Azīz and Mān Singh supported Khusraw

90 Ibid., pp. 282-83.

91 Asad Beg, *Waqa'i'*, British Museum Ms. Or. 1996, ff. 28b-30a; S. A. A. Rizvī, *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, Agra 1965, pp. 218-19.

because of their family connections, Prince Salīm's supporters were motivated by the hope of personal promotion and influence at the court which eventually all of them got. After the failure of his disorganized revolt in 1606 against his father, Khusraw no longer represented a threat to Jahāngīr's throne. However, Khusraw's younger brother Khurram imagined that Khusraw was his rival and so killed him in August 1621, much to the disgust of Jahāngīr, Nūrjahān and a large number of his countrymen who had considered Khusraw a pleasant personality.

In March 1622 Khurram refused to march to defend Qandahār against the Īrānian invasion, rightly suspecting that his absence would enable Nūrjahān to further promote the cause of his younger brother Shahryār, the husband of Lādlī Begam, the Empress' daughter by her first husband Sher Afgan. Deprived of his *jāgīr* and losing his father's confidence Khurram, supported by the important nobles of Deccan, Gujarāt and Mālwa, rebelled, Āsaf Khān helping his son-in-law secretly. Khurram remained in arms for three years, desperately fighting against the imperial forces, but had to surrender unconditionally in March 1626. Meanwhile, Zamān Beg Kābulī, entitled Mahābat Khān, began to support Prince Parwīz, the second son of Jahāngīr, but his *coup de main* against the Emperor and Nūrjahān also failed. In October 1626 Parwīz died from excessive drinking. After Jahāngīr's death on 27 Safar 1037/7 November 1627 near Bhimbhar, Āsaf Khān summoned Khurram from his camp in the Deccan, enthroned Dāwar Bakhsh, Khusraw's son, to foil Nūrjahān's plan to make Shahryār, who was at Lahore, the Emperor. Near Lahore Āsaf Khān fought against Shahryār, defeated and blinded him. Shortly after, Prince Dāniyāl's sons, Tahmūrs and Hoshang were also imprisoned. Meanwhile, Shāhjahān hurriedly marched towards Agra; at Ajmīr, where he appointed Mahābat Khān governor and on his way to the capital received the allegiance of many important nobles. Before the arrival of Khurram in Agra, Āsaf Khān had the *khutba* recited in his name as Shāhjahān, imprisoned and killed Dāwar Bakhsh, his two brothers and Dāniyāl's two sons.

Long before 16 September 1657, when Shāhjahān was taken seriously ill in Delhi, his three younger sons had started eliciting the support of different nobles to their cause, while the eldest, Dārā-Shukōh, owing to his father's doting support, had come to naively believe that his accession to the throne was a foregone conclusion. Murād Bakhsh posed as a champion of Islām; but Awrangzib, well known for his Sunnī orthodoxy, privately condemned Dārā's heterodoxy in his letters and in his conversations with Muslims, but he tried to impress upon Hindūs his impartiality and his broadly-based sense of justice.[92] With his revenue reforms during his

92 *Vīr Vinod*, II, p. 420, Nishān (letter) of Awrangzīb to Mahārāna Rāj Singh of Mēwār personally signed with the print of the palm and fingers of one of his own hands.

second viceroyalty of the Deccan, (1062/1652-1067/1657) Awrangzīb had earned the gratitude of the peasant proprietors and *zamīndārs*. His tact, patience and equanimity won for him the support of Hindūs of different racial groups such as the Rājpūts, the Bundēlas and the Marāthas. Awrangzīb promised Mahārāna Rāj Singh of Mēwār to make him even more powerful than Mahārāna Sānga.[93] The shrewd Kachwāha chief, Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh, was increasingly lukewarm to Dārā-Shukōh's cause. More Īrānī *mansabdārs* supported Awrangzīb than helped Dārā.[94]

The outcome of the war of succession for Awrangzīb would never have been what it was without the support of Mīr Jumla from the beginning to the end. The Rājpūt *mansabdārs* dominated the army under Dārā's command, for they were part of the imperial army. Similarly, Awrangzīb was able to enlist the help of more Afghān and Marātha *mansabdārs* because they were present with him in the Deccan. The *mansabdārs* fighting under Awrangzīb, Murād and Shujā' were made to believe that they were fighting to liberate the Emperor Shāhjahān from Dārā's control. It was not ideological conflicts, racial or religious considerations which motivated the *mansabdārs* to fight for one or the other of the princes. To the nobles and *mansabdārs*, the pattern of the war of succession after Shāhjahān's illness was no different from that of similar earlier wars, all parties claiming to save the Mughal throne from danger.

Where dress, domestic architecture and style of living were concerned, the *mansabdārs* adopted the current Mughal style. In matters relating to food and drink, however, they adhered to their own social taboos and such questions as inter-dining, which developed into a major issue of the Hindū-Muslim conflict in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, did not in those days trouble the Hindū and Muslim élite. The *mansabdārs* were also infinitely proud of their racial superiority and ethnic background but some, while strictly adhering to their own religious beliefs, nonetheless respected the beliefs and traditions of others. Rāja Mān Singh had ordered his Hindū and Muslim servants to perform their religious duties regularly and made special arrangements for the prayers of Muslims during the military campaigns. After the flight of Mahārāna Pratāp in 1576, Mān Singh was not prepared to allow Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī to leave for the capital, reminding him that he had to act as *imām* elsewhere in the field of battle. Once Shāh Dawlat of Mungīr asked Rāja Mān Singh why he did not embrace Islām. The Rāja quoted the following verse of Qur'ān:

> "Allah hath sealed their hearing and their hearts, and on their eyes there is a covering."[95]

93 Ibid., pp. 421-24.
94 M. Athar 'Alī, *The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay 1966, pp. 96-97.
95 Qur'ān, chapter II, verse 7.

He then urged the Shāh to pray God to open the lock of his heart's stubbornness so that he might become a Muslim.[96] The lock remained unopened however and Rāja Mān Singh remained steadfast in his own religious beliefs.

Similarly, the *zamīndārs* also remained orthodox Hindūs and Muslims and were proud of their racial and ethnic backgrounds. The newly Islamicized Chawhāns of the *sarkār* of Awadh did not sever their connections with their ancient ancestry and the same was true of the Jinjūhās, Gakkhars and Gūjars and other tribal leaders who had embraced Islām and obtained *zamīndārī* rights. They continued to call themselves Siāl, Sarhangwāliān, Bahliyān, Adhakān, Jhakarwāliān, Bakkān, Hakkām, Siān, Dhudhiyān and Tobiyān. The Sayyids treasured their legendary history in India and were proud of the exploits of their ancestors in the realms of war, politics and religion in India. The statistics of *zamīndārs* in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* show the presence of Ansārī *zamīndārs* in Bihlarī (Jaunpūr) and Chunār, Siddīqī *zamīndārs* in Bhadaon and Chakesar, Nāthūpūr (Jaunpūr), Ansārī *zamīndārs* in Chunār, Ibrāhīmābād (Awadh) and Amēthī (Lucknow), Fārūqī *zamīndārs* in Chunār,' 'Abbāsī *zamīndārs* in Alwar, and Qurayshī *zamīndārs* in Uch. All of them traced their ancestry back to some distinguished foreigner who had settled in India. The Shaykhzādās, or the descendants of the Indian *sūfīs*, were also Sayyids, Ansārī, 'Abbāsī, Qurayshī or Fārūqī, but they preferred to associate themselves with their Indian forefathers who in the twelfth or thirteenth century had established their name and influence. On the basis of their considerable following and their ability to collect troops of cavalrymen, the Shaykhzādās were able to find high *mansabs* without much difficulty. As the race for supremacy could not easily be won without a dignified ancestry, a large number of the Muslim élite had invented foreign ancestries. For example, introducing a poet named Ghubārī, son of Haydar the grocer, Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir sneeringly wrote that the poet used to call himself a Qurayshī until it became generally accepted that anybody who had no descent whatsoever to boast of claimed connections with the Qurayshis.[97]

Not only were the Muslims proud of their caste and clan distinctions like the Hindūs, but the Muslim *zamīndārs* also preferred to settle their family feuds by fighting and killing each other, sparing not even the leading religious dignitaries, as we learn from the following *mahdar*[98] relating the murder of Mullā Qutb al-Dīn Sihālwī, which took place on 19 Rajab 1103/6 April 1692.

96 Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī: *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn*, Karāchī 1961, ff. 108-9.
97 *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, III, p. 289.
98 Any document attested by witnesses.

"According to his habit (Mullā Qutb al-Dın), after performing his *fajr* (morning prayers and reciting *wazā'if* (supererogatory prayers) went to the *madrasa* (seminary) and began to teach the scholars who were present there. After the second watch of the day (about 10 a.m.), Asad-Allāh and other *zamīndārs* besieged the house of the Maulawı (Mullā) and, breaking the walls of the house, entered into it. They killed the Maulawı with arrows, gun and sword. Shaykh Ghulām Muhammad, grandson of the *zubdat al-awliyā'* (best of the saints) Shaykh Nizām al-Dın of Amēthı,[99] and Shaykh 'Izzat-Allāh of Sandıla who were there to recite the *fātiha*(the first chapter of the Qur'ān recited for blessing)were also mercilessly killed by them. Muhammad Āsaf Chawdharı of the *pargana*, who had reached there with his followers to rescue the Maulawı, was also killed. The undersigned (literally *bandā*, slave), Muhammad Sa'ıd (the second son of the Mullā), a number of students, Shaykh Fadl-Allāh, the brother of the deputy of Qādı 'Abd-Allāh, the qādı of the *pargana* Sihālı, were also injured."[100]

The Muslims indulging in overland and overseas trade always enjoyed considerable prestige and independence. For example, we are told by Minhāj Sirāj, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirı* that in 1241 the merchants and traders in Lahore who used to travel to the Mongol territories in connection with their trade refused to give any help to repel the Lahore invasion led by the Mongol invader Tāyir.[101]

The Mughal government was considerate to both the Muslims and the Hindū merchants but the Muslim élite attitude towards Hindū merchants and bankers was more favourable, as we learn from the advice given to Mırzās or the Mughal élite in a *Mırzā-nāma* of the seventeenth century. It says—

"If he (the Mırzā) needs to borrow money, he should borrow it from a Hindū *mahājan* (moneylender) whom he should prefer to a Muslim Mughal merchant, even though the latter lends money without interest. He should totally avoid purchasing anything from the shop of a Mughal, as it means a loss from beginning to end; for in the beginning, it means paying four times the cost of the thing purchased and suffering great loss, and in the end it means listening to four-fold harangues of these [Mughal] merchants in the market-place. On the other hand, a Hindū is content even if he reduces the interest, con-

99 He was a very popular *sūfī* and a good scholar. He died in 979/1571-2.
100 Muhammad Rida Ansārī, *Bānī-i dars-i Nizāmī*, Lucknow 1973, pp. 21-22.
101 H. G. Raverty (tr.): *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī* by Minhāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī, II, reprint, Delhi 1970, p. 1133.

siders the little he gets as plenty and is thankful for it. The Hindū moneylenders ask for their due with salutations and an attitude of submission. The Muslim merchants make their claims (for the return of the debt) saying *salām 'alayka* like equals and lord it over the debtor."[102]

The Muslim artisans and craftsmen, like the Hindūs, inherited their skills from their ancestors; but some of their children who happened to become the favourites of Mullas, who gave them their religious education, had no difficulty in continuing their religious and literary education, or in obtaining some other position commensurate to their talents. Sometimes the impact of the *sūfis* led to some artisans becoming pious and even *sūfis* themselves. According to Bernier the Muslim artisans were as rigidly endogamous as the Hindūs,[103] but this may have been true only as long as they adhered to their ancestral professions. Each artisan group was divided into a class, had their caste councils (*panchāyats*) but they did not like the Īrānian artisan guilds (developed *akhi*[104] or *futuwwa*[105]) system. After entering into a different position, there was no difficulty for them to marry outside their class.

In Mughal India, then, Muslim social stratifications depended mainly on position, status and influence at the Court.

## The Intellectual Movement

By the sixteenth century, the Muslim intellectual movements, as in other parts of West Asia, were divided into philosophical and religio-mystical movements. Philosophy in Islām obtained a solid basis because of the works of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Kindī (185/801/260-873), who urged the intellectuals to draw upon all sources of knowledge without any inhibition. He himself was heavily indebted to the Athenian school of Neoplatonism. However, the title "Second Teacher" (*al-mu'allim al-thānī*), the first being Aristotle, was reserved for Abū Nasr al-Fārābī (c. 258/871-339/950) or the Alpharabius of the Latins. A leading political thinker, philosopher and logician, al-Fārābī was deeply interested in *sūfism* and music. He translated a big corpus of Aristotle's works and offered his own solutions to ontological and philosophical questions posed therein. Another philosopher who also made a substantial contribution towards Platonism and gnosticism was Muhammad ibn Zakarīya al-Rāzī (251/865-313/925),

102 'Azīz Ahmad, The British Museum *Mīrzā-nāma* and the seventeenth century Mirzā in India, *Iran*, XIII, 1975, p. 102.
103 *Travels in the Mogul empire*, p. 259.
104 The leaders of craftsmen who organized themselves in guilds. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2], I, pp. 321-23.
105 Chivalric movements of the artisan guilds. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2], II, pp. 961-65.

or the Latin Rhazes. However, he was more famous in the realm of medical sciences. The peripatetic philosophy (*mashā'ī* philosophy) begun by al-Kindī was epitomized in the works of Abū 'Alī Sīna or Avicenna (370/980-428/1037), which were read both in the original and in commentaries written by a galaxy of scholars, the most famous in India being Khwāja Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī, author of a profound commentary on Avicenna's *al-Ishārat wa'l-tanbihāt.* Avicenna's fame was due to his works, the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* (Book of Healing of the Soul) and the *Qānūn fi'l-tibb* (Cannon of Medicine). The compatibility of a number of philosophical theories with Ismā'ili esoteric doctrines was naturally alarming to the scholars who, following Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'arī (260/873-4, 324/935-6), sought to defend orthodox Sunnism rationally. The greatest of all the Ash'arī scholars, Abū Hāmid Muhammad al-Ghazālī (450/1058-505/1111) fought both against the Ismā'īlīs and the philosophers. In 488/1095 he wrote the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (The incoherence or inconsistencies of philosophers), condemning philosophers in general and Fārābī and Avicenna in particular. He demonstrated how the philosophers could be condemned both for their own inconsistencies and for their violation of orthodox Sunnī beliefs. This work was followed by Ghazālī's monumental contribution *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-Dīn* (The revival of religious sciences), containing exhaustive discussions on *'ibādāt* (religious practices), *'ādāt* (social customs), *muhlikāt* (vices leading to perdition) and *munjiyāt* (virtues leading to salvation).

While Ghazālī came to be accepted as the leader of both the *sūfis* and the orthodox theologians, the *sūfi* who added a new intellectual dimension to *sūfism* was Muhyi'l-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (560/1165-638/1240). His *Fusūs al-hikam wa khusūs al-kilam,* completed in 630/1232-3 found a large number of talented commentators who made their master's ideas the last word in *sūfi* thought. In his works we find the doctrines of Alexandrian Hermeticism and of the Stoics and Neo-Platonists on which the peripatetics based their ideas, harmoniously blended with the earlier *sūfi* thought.

Another great scholar whose works, besides rehabilitating peripatetic thought, went a long way in giving a new basis to philosophy and *sūfism,* was the Shaykh al-Ishrāq (the master of illuminative wisdom), Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Yahya' Maqtūl (549/1154-587/1191). Although works of the peripatetics and Ibn al-'Arabī had become popular in India soon after they were written, the works of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn began to make an impact only from the fourteenth century. The earliest impact was made by the works of Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jūrjānī (740/1339-816/1413), but the works of Jalāl al-Dīn Dāwānī (830/1427-908/1502-3) also left an indelible mark. His *Lawāmi' al-Ishrāq fī makārim al akhlāq,* a more modern version of Khwāja Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nasiri,* was until the present century regarded as an advanced Persian textbook in schools and colleges.

In Akbar's reign, not only the earlier Muslim intellectual legacy was

cultivated but the rich treasure of Hindū classics in Sanskrit, such as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana*, the *Yoga Vasishth*, the *Rājatarangini*, the *Kathā Sarit Sāgar* and the *Līlāvatī* were translated. Shaykh Abu'l-Fadl and Mir Fath-Allāh Shirāzī became the greatest protagonists of the peripatetic and *ishrāqī* philosophies. The most controversial discussions surrounded the cosmological doctrines and the theories of Being. To Abu'l-Fadl the cosmological doctrines of the *Mahābhārata* were no different from the ideas contained in the works of Ibn al-'Arabī. The theory of Being which is the corner stone of the thinking of Avicenna, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī and Ibn al-'Arabī is discussed by all of them from their own respective view-points.

Discussing from a metaphysical point of view, Avicenna affirms his belief in God as the Creator who is the First Cause and above the world of contingent entities.[106] He identifies God with Necessary Being and calls Him our reason and absolute good. The existence of a thing which possesses matter and form is unintelligible and meaningless without relation to God. Necessary Being cannot be conceived as non-existent but the essence of concrete things does not necessarily imply their existence.[107] Although distinct concepts must have corresponding distinctions in reality and form, God has no essence or definition. In short, God's essence is identical with His existence, but to other beings existence is in no case identical with essence.[108]

Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, the basis of whose philosophy was inner vision and inner illumination, pleads that the essence is itself a degree of Being. Existence is neither substance nor accident, and is a product of a subjective view-point of the human mind. However, in the world-view of Shaykh al-Ishrāq, spiritual and metaphysical Light (*Nūr*) is replaced by existence, the highest degree of Light being *Nūr al-anwār* (Light of all lights) and the lowest being darkness (*zulmāt*).[109]

To Ibn al-'Arabī, whose theory of the Unity of Being(*Wahdat al-Wujūd*) took the intellectual world of Islām by storm, all existents (*mawjūd*) are many, and at the same time one; one, and at the same time, many. The basis of his theories is his own *kashf* (Divine revelations). Disagreeing with the Plotinian emanationism, Ibn al-'Arabī does not interpret *fayd* (emanation) as the overflowing of one thing from the Absolute One, but asserts that Reality determines and delimits itself in various forms.[110] He identifies the Absolute Being (*al-Wujud al-mutlaq*) or Universal Being (*al-Wujūd al-kullī*) with Reality and goes on to say that in its state of absoluteness it is '*amā*' (the abysmal darkness), mystery of mysteries, something unknown

106 Ibn Sīna, *Al-Shifā*, Beirut, n.d., p. 346.
107 Ibn Sīna, *Kitāb al-najāt*, Cairo 1938, p. 224.
108 Ibid., p. 224.
109 H. Corbin (ed.), *Opera metaphysica et mystica*, II, Tehrān 1952, pp. 106-21.
110 Ibn al-'Arabī, *Fusūs al-hikam*, Cairo 1321/1903-4, p. 10.

and unknowable.[111] Self-manifestation (*tajallī*) is an ontological process through which the Absolute makes itself an individual entity (*ta'ayyan*). According to Ibn al-'Arabī, the process of the self-manifestation of the Absolute involves its descent (*nuzūl*), first to the archetypes and then to the "possible". The reverse side of the Absolute towards the "possible" is called by him the "ascent" (*taraqqī*). The process of descent inevitably makes Being in Ibn al-'Arabī's world-view identical with attributes.

'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, a leading commentator of Ibn al-'Arabī, says—

> "The Ash'arites do not know the reality of the world; namely, that the world is nothing other than the whole of all these 'forms' which they call 'accidents'."[112]

Ibn al-'Arabi himself asserts—

> "As to the people of 'unveiling', they see God the exalted manifesting Himself with every Breath, no single self-manifestation being repeated twice. They see also by an immediate vision that every single self-manifestation gives rise to a new creation and annihilates a creation (i.e. the 'creation' that has preceded), and that the disappearance of the latter at every (new) self-manifestation is 'annihilation' but that it is also 'subsistence' because of what is furnished (immediately) by the following self-manifestation."[113]

However, Ibn al-'Arabī's Unity of Being was strongly repudiated by the Ash'arite theologians and by the *sūfī* 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī (659/1261-736/1336) and his followers. Simnānī accuses Ibn al-'Arabī "of idolizing a verb (*fi'l*)", by his identification of Being (*wujūd*) and God; he himself considers Being as an attribute (*sifat*) or accident, which, though it is eternally inherent in God, is distinct from His essence (*dhāt*). Simnānī's philosophy known as the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* (Unity in Experience), has therefore no sympathy with the notion that God and creation are but two aspects of one Reality.

In India, considerable understanding nevertheless developed between the *sūfī* followers of Ibn al-'Arabī and the followers of Gorakhnāth, whose theory of Being and cosmogonical and cosmological theories were identical with those of Ibn al-'Arabī. Long before the reign of Akbar, the Indian *sūfīs* had commenced writing elegant and beautiful poetry in Hindī and other Indian languages, combining the Nāth yogic terminology and sym-

111 Ibid., p. 238.
112 T. Izutsu, *A comparative study of the key philosophical concepts in sūfism and Tāoism,* Tokyo 1966, p. 206.
113 Ibid., p. 207, from *Fusūs al-hikam,* pp. 154-55.

bols with those of Rūmī (604/1207-672/1273) and Jāmī (817/1414-898/1492). The Persian translations of the Sanskrit religious works increased the perception of the *Vedānta*. To the Emperor Jahāngīr and many others, the following verse of the *sūfī* poet, Bābā Fighānī (d. 925/1519) of Shīrāz, identified the *Vedānta* with *sūfism*. The Bābā had written—

"There is one lamp in this house, by whose rays,
Wherever I look there is an assembly."[114]

However, in the reign of Akbar, the efforts of Abu'l-Fadl and his fellow-thinkers to foster the promotion of Akbar's broadly-based policies and the Emperor's image as a Perfect Man, provoked a sharp reaction against all the *'ulamā'* and *sūfis* who supported the Emperor. Although the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was not publicly attacked, the spokesmen of the orthodox Sunnīs such as Mulla 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, urged that the Unity of Being could be discussed both from the philosophers' and the *sūfis'* angle, but it should not be debated publicly and its principles should not be applied to everyday life, for this led to the violation of the *Sharī'a*.[115]

Towards the end of Akbar's reign, an Afghān, Sayyid Ahmad, who lived in Bajwāra, a dependency of Sirhind, was a strong supporter of the *Wahdat at-Shuhūd*. His large Afghān following, some of whom were accused of rebelliousness, prompted Jahāngīr to imprison him in the Gwālior fort where he remained from 1605 to 1610. He was released only on the recommendation of Jahāngīr's favourite Afghān noble, Khān-i Jahan Lodī.[116] The greatest protagonist of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* in India, however, was Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (971/1564-1034/1624). He pleaded that the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* was the final goal of mystical experience, while the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was only an elementary experience meant for beginners along the *sūfī* path. He admitted to having started his *sūfic* journey with the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, even writing poetry after the style of the intoxicated mystical poets.[117] He also admitted that due to ignorance, in some of his letters he had also affirmed that the essence of God was Absolute Being, but a later mystical revelation unveiled the truth that the first determination (*ta'ayyun*) of the Absolute Being was a level of existence. The three stages in Shaykh Ahmad's advanced mystical experience are : (1) *wujūdiyat*, (2) *zilliyat* (adumbration) and (3) *'abdiyat* (servitude).[118] He invites the *sūfis* to get rid of the mystic experience or intuition of the followers of the

114 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, pp. 177, 252.
115 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Najāt al-rashīd*, Delhi Persian Ms., ff. 31a, 93b.
116 Ghawthī Shattāri, *Gulzār-i abrār*, Manchester Ms., ff. 342b-46a.
117 Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, I, reprint Karāchī 1971, letters nos. 31, 290.
118 Ibid., I, nos. 30, 160.

*Wahdat al-Wujūd*, and to adhere to the teachings of Māturīdī[119] school of Sunnī scholasticism. However, he does not altogether discredit the mystical experience of those *sūfīs* who firmly believe that existence is an attribute of God, produced by God, and not forming part of the essence of God. The existence of the world is a gift of God and is no more than a circle of fire, produced by twirling a stick with a lighted end.[120]

Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī also claimed that God had made him the *mujaddid alf-i thānī*, or renewer of the second millennium of Islām, and he was thus divinely commissioned to restore the orthodox Sunnism of the Māturidī school to its pristine purity. Naturally welcoming the death of Akbar, he wrote letters to some nobles of Jahāngīr, not all of whom were orthodox by any means, holding different views of their own on religious problems, to persuade Jahāngīr to destroy the influence of the eclectic policies of Akbar. He appointed his own *Khalīfas* to some important cities to establish centres of orthodox Sunnism.[121] Shaykh Ahmad's sons and their successors continued to propagate his revivalist program, but a split in his own Naqshbandiyya order had already taken place. Khwāja Khwurd, the son of Shaykh Ahmad's spiritual guide, Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh, became the leader of his father's followers who adhered to the teachings of Ibn al-'Arabī, and was able to attract a large following during Shāhjahān's reign.[122]

Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī's efforts to undermine the study of philosophy, after Ghazālian traditions, did not meet with much success either. Many important centres of the study of philosophy had already emerged, Jaunpūr and Siyālkot being the most important. At the court of the Mughal Emperors also, philosophy was enthusiastically cultivated and in the reign of Shāhjahān, its study again reached a peak, due to the presence of scholars trained in the tradition of Dāwānī, under the disciples of Mawlāna Mīrzā Jān Shīrāzī,[123] and others. The *hikmat* tradition of Īrān had also begun to make an impact on the Indian intellectual scene.

The *hikmat* tradition developed in Īrān from the end of the sixteenth century onward. As Sayyid Husayn Nasr says,

> "*Hikmat* can neither be wholly identified with philosophy as currently understood in the West, nor with theosophy which has unfortunately become identified in the English-speaking world with pseudo-spiritualist movements, nor with theology. As developed in the Safawīd period

119 The orthodox Sunnī school of Abū Mansūr Muhammad al-Matūridī al-Samarqandī (d. 390/941) is popular mainly in Transoxiana and follows more strictly the *fiqh* of Abū Hanīfa (81/700-150/767).

120 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, III, Letter no. 58.

121 S. A. A. Rizvī, *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, Agra 1965, pp. 227-329.

122 Ibid., pp. 331-34.

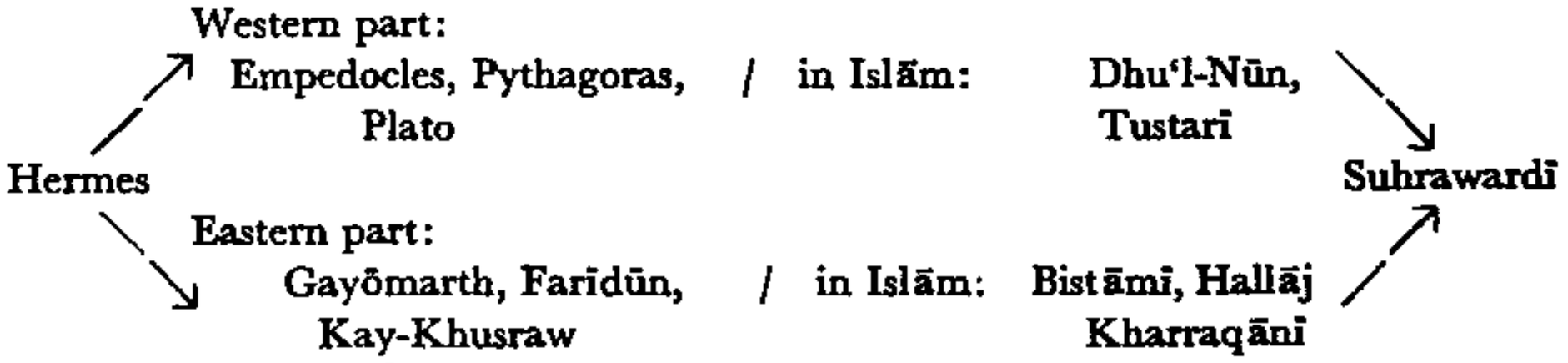
123 Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī, *Ma'āthir al-kirām*, reprint, Lahore 1971, pp. 228-29.

and continued to the present day, *Hikmat* consists of several threads knit together by the matrix of Shī'ism. The most important of these elements are the esoteric teachings of the Imāms, especially as contained in the *Nahj al-Balāghah* by the first Imām 'Alī, the *ishrāqī* wisdom of Suhrawardī which contains in itself aspects of ancient Persian and Hermetic doctrines, the teachings of the earlier *sūfīs*, especially the gnostic doctrines of Ibn 'Arabī, and the heritage of the Greek philosophers. It is, therefore, not too surprising if many of the treatises on *Hikmat* begin with logic and end with ecstasy experienced in the catharsis (*tajrīd*) and illumination of the intellect. They contain as a necessary basis some preparation in logic which they share with the peripatetics (*Mashā'īyūn*), but instead of remaining bound to the plane of reason they use their logic as a springboard for their flight into the heaven of gnosis."[124]

The leading *hikmat* scholars were Mīr Muhammad Bāqir Dāmād, better known as Mīr Dāmād, and his pupil, Sadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, better known as Ākhund Mullā Sadra. The most colourful personality however was Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim Findiriskī.

Mīr Dāmād was the grandson of a leading Shī'ī *'ālim*, 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Alī 'Āmilī, known as Muhaqqiq-i Karkhī (d. 945/1538). Besides works on *hikmat*, he also wrote books on *fiqh*, commentaries on the Qur'ān, and on the works of Ibn Sīna and Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī. In 1041/1631, Mīr Dāmād died. His distinguished pupil, Mullā Sadra (b. 979/1571) received training in the transmitted sciences (*al-'ulūm al-naqliyya*) under Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī[125]

124 Hossein Nasr, *The school of Ispahān* in M. M. Sharīf (ed.); *A history of Muslim Philosophy*, Pakistan Philosophical Congress 1966, p. 907. R. Arnaldez explains the Ishrāqiyyun traditions through the following table:




*Encylopaedia of Islām*[2], IV, p. 121.

125 Muhammad bin Husayn Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī (b. 953/1547) originally came from Jabal 'Āmila in Syria. After his migration to Īrān, Shāh 'Abbās Safawī (996/1588-1038/1629) gave him an honoured place in his court. He played an important role in reviving Shī'ī scholarship. His *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī* is an important work on the Shī'ī *fiqh*. His mathnawī *Nān-u halwa*, which forms a sort of introduction to the *Mathnawī* of Mawlāna Rūm, was very widely read in India by both Shī'īs and Sunnīs. Similarly 'Āmilī's works on mathematics and astronomy also made a deep impact on the Indian intellectuals. He died in 1031/1622. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, II, London 1958, pp. 11-14, 86-89.

and also practised ascetic exercises in a village near Qum for about fifteen years before becoming head of a *madrasa* at Shīrāz, newly founded by its governor. His teaching at the *madrasa* was interrupted only by his frequent pilgrimages to Mecca. On his return from one such trip, he died in 1050/1640. Of his numerous works, the greatest was *al-asfār al-Arba'a* (The four journeys). which from the seventeenth century to the present day has been included in the curriculum of advanced scholars of metaphysics in the traditional *madrasas*.

Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim Findiriskī spent most of his time in travelling, visited India and developed a keen interest in the study of yoga. He wrote a commentary on Nizām al-Dīn's Persian translation of the *Yoga Vasisht*. Although a very distinguished member of Shāh 'Abbās Safawī's court, he loved to wander about the bazaar dressed in coarse clothes, and to visit the recreation centres of common people. Besides *hikmat*, he had specialized in mathematics and medicine and lectured on the *Shifā'* and *Qānūn*.

The central theme of Mīr Dāmād's writing is directed to deciding the question whether the universe suddenly began to exist at some point in time (*hudūth zamānī*), or whether it has always existed; and in the case of the latter hypothesis, to decide whether that eternal existence is reconcilable with the idea of a creation (*ja'l*) from which the idea of "beginning" takes on a purely ontological meaning, not chronological.

The *mutakallimūn* (scholastic theologians) believed that the world began at some point in time, while the peripatetics used the term "beginning" in its purely ontological sense. Mīr Dāmād propagated the notion of eternal creation (*hudūth-i dahrī*), which means neither a beginning in time, nor a beginning which took place eternally, but a beginning which is perpetually occurring, an eternal happening. Mīr Dāmād, like the *ishrāqīs*, saw the essence as principal and existence as accident. His pupil, Mullā Sadra, however, endorsed the views of the peripatetics and *sūfīs* and emphasized the principality of Being. In his criticisms of his predecessors, Mullā Sadra strongly opposed Dāwānī, possibly to undermine his influence.[126]

Mīr Findiriskī generally followed the peripatetic line. One of his works, entitled *Risāla-i Sanā'iyya*, seeks to determine the hierarchy of the arts, trades and human activities by their relative utility, those which are indispensable being decidedly superior. The work assigns spiritual chivalry (*futūwwa*) to every human activity and goes on to make a parallel of microcosm (*'ālam-i saghir*) which is Man, and of macrocosm (*Insān-i kabīr*), or the universe. Both present an analogous organic structure, the members of each, being respectively interdependent on the laws governing the function of those members, are in perfect correspondence with each other.[127]

126 Sayyid Jalāloddīn Ashtiyānī, *Anthologie des Philosophes Iraniens*, Introduction analytique par Henry Corbin, pp. 15-30 (Introduction), pp. 47-61 (text).

127 Ibid., pp. 63-71 (text).

In India, the penetration of the *hikmat* tradition was surprisingly rapid, although the peripatetic and *ishrāqī* traditions continued to dominate. For example, the leading philosopher of Shāhjahān's reign, Mullā Mahmūd Fārūqī Jaunpūrī was a peripatetic. He completed his education under Shaykh Muhammad Afdal, an eminent scholar of Jaunpūr. He travelled to Mecca by land route and attended Mīr Dāmād's lectures, but could not agree with his interpretation of 'Creation in time'. However, both were impressed with each other's scholarship.[128] Shāhjahān invited Mullā Mahmūd to the court and respected him very deeply. The prince, Shāh Shujā', and Shā'ista Khān were his disciples. It is said that Shāhjahān's orders to construct an observatory for the Mullā's use were shelved by the prime minister on the plea that funds were needed for the impending Balkh campaigns. The Mullā died in his hometown in 1062/1652.

Besides treatises on rhetoric and polemics, Mullā Mahmūd's monumental contribution to physics and metaphysics is his *Shams al-bāzigha*. The first part of the work is devoted to the discussion of the finite and infinite bodies in division and bulk, space, motion and repose. The second part deals with the universe and the third with creation. Although not a commentary of *Shifā'*, *Shams al-bāzigha* follows it closely.

Not as brilliant as Mullā Mahmūd, his contemporary Mullā 'Abd al-Hakīm, who wrote a number of glossaries and commentaries on the works of Sharif Jūrjānī, Taftazānī and Dāwānī, was a great favourite of Emperor Shāhjahān. In 1057/1647 he wrote a treatise entitled *al-Durrat al-thamina*, to answer the Īrānian prime minister Khalīfa Sultān I'timād al-Dawla's question concerning the circumstances leading to Ghazālī's condemnation of Fārābi and Avicenna. The work also refuted the philosophers' belief in the eternity of the universe, their denial of God's knowledge of the changing particular events of the world and denial of bodily resurrection.[129] Mullā 'Abd al-Hakīm's reply, which vindicated the position of both Ghazālī and Avicenna was much appreciated.[130]

Another luminary of Shāhjahān's court who was passionately devoted to the study of Dāwānī's works was Mīrzā Muhammad Zahīd Harawi. His father and grandfather were also scholars and had held the post of *qādī* in Kābul. In Ramadān 1064 July-August 1654 Shāhjahān appointed him the *wāqi'a-nawis* of Kābul. In the eighth year of his reign, Awrangzīb appointed him the *muhtasib* of the imperial army and he was later promoted to *sadr* of Kābul. He also wrote glossaries and commentaries on the works of Qutb al-Dīn Rāzī[131] and Dāwānī. In 1111/1699-1700 he died.

128 *Al-Shams al-bāzigha*, Lucknow 1288/1871, p. 137.
129 This is one of the fundamental Muslim beliefs.
130 Razā Library, Rāmpūr. The manuscript of *al-Durrat al-thamīna* also contains the copy of the letter written by 'Allāmī Sa'd-Allāh Khān to the Mullā.
131 Rāzī died in Dhu'lqa'da 766/July-August 1365.

The unquenching thirst for knowledge among some philosophers imbued with the *hikmat* tradition prompted them to delve deeply into Western philosophy. Amongst them was a leading noble of Shāhjahān's court, Dānishmand Khān, the patron of Francois Bernier and to whom the latter referred as "my Navaab, or Agah".[132] A native of Yazd in Īrān, his name was Mullā Shafī'ā'ī who, after completing his higher education, arrived in India with Īrānian merchants. Spending some time in the imperial camp he departed for Sūrat to return to his homeland. Meanwhile, Shafī'ā'ī's admirers so highly impressed Shāhjahān with their friend's talent that he recalled him from Sūrat. After his arrival at the court in 1061/1651, Shafī'ā'ī's promotions were very rapid and seven years later he was appointed governor of Delhi. His differences with Dārā-Shukōh seem to have prompted him to resign but in the second year of his reign, Awrangzīb re-employed him, awarding him a high *mansab* of 4000/2000 and reappointing him governor of Delhi. Despite his differences with Dārā-Shukōh, Dānishmand Khān joined a minority group of nobles who recommended that Dārā's life be spared, and that he merely be imprisoned in Gwālior.[133] Awrangzīb continued to promote him to higher *mansabs,* appointing him the *mir-bakhshī* in the tenth year of his reign. On 13 Rabī' I 1081/10 August 1670 he died.[134]

In consideration of his studious habits, Awrangzib, according to Bernier, exempted Dānishmand Khān "from the ancient ceremony of repairing twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of saluting the king".[135] Relating Awrangzīb's visit to Kashmīr in 1663 with his nobles, including Dānishmand Khān, Bernier, who accompanied his 'Agah', says—

> "He can no more dispense with philosophical studies in the afternoon than devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography, and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendi and Descartes (1596-1650)".[136]

Describing Dānishmand Khān's interest in Hindū philosophy, Bernier wrote—

132 *Travels in the Mogul empire,* p. 352.
133 Ibid., pp. 100, 186.
134 Shāhnawāz Khān Awrangābādī, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, II, Calcutta 1887-91, pp. 30-32. The author, exhibiting disappointment at Dānishmand Khān's devotion to the European sciences, says that Dānishmand Khān used to discuss the falsifications made by Europeans, meaning thereby the falsification of the Divine revelations contained in the Old and New Testaments.
135 *Travels in the Mogul empire,* p. 186.
136 Ibid., pp. 324, 325 and 353.

> "Do not be surprised if, notwithstanding my ignorance of *Sanscrit* (the language of the learned, and possibly that of the ancient *Brahmens*, as we may learn further on), I yet say something of books written in that tongue. My Agah, *Danechmend-kan*, partly from my solicitation and partly to gratify his own curiosity, took into his service one of the most celebrated *Pendets* in all the *Indies*, who had formerly belonged to the household of *Dara*, the eldest son of the King *Chah-Jehan*; and not only was this man my constant companion during a period of three years, but he also introduced me to the society of other learned *Pendets*, whom he attracted to the house. When weary of explaining to my Agah the recent discoveries of *Harveus*[137] and *Pecquet*[138] in anatomy, and of discoursing on the philosophy of *Gassendi*[139] and *Descartes*, which I translated to him in Persian (for this was my principal employment for five or six years) we had generally recourse to our *Pendet*, who, in his turn, was called upon to reason in his own manner, and to communicate his fables; these he related with all imaginable gravity without ever smiling; but at length we became disgusted both with his tales and childish arguments."[140]

The emphasis on the study of Descartes and his discussion with the Sanskritists tend to indicate that the Khān had embarked upon comparing the Western and Hindū concepts of Being with those in the *hikmat* and peripatetic traditions.

In Shāhjahān's reign, the author of the *Dabistān-i madhāhib* came in touch with several scholars who had obtained training in *hikmat* traditions. Short notes on their lives in the *Dabistān* tend to indicate that, along with Arabic and Persian, they had also studied Sanskrit and Western philosophical works, possibly in translations which no longer survive. Of these, Hakīm Hirbed who lived in Lahore claimed that he was descended from Zarathustra. He had studied *hikmat* in Shīrāz and had also lived with Europeans. He led an austere and pure life. He composed hymns in Persian, Hindī and Arabic, to the majesty of the Light of lights, the powerful luminaries and the stars. He acknowledged as *qibla*[141] the light-giving stars and had obtained mastery of the works of Shaykh (Shihāb al-Dīn Suhra-

137 William Harvey (1578-1657) started lecturing at the Royal College of Physicians in London in 1616. He is famous for his theory of the circulation of the blood.

138 Jean Pecquet (1622-74) was a class-fellow of Bernier in medicine at Montpellier and is famous for his discovery of the conversion of the chyle into blood.

139 Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), French philosopher, scientist and mathematician is famous for his revival of Epicureanism.

140 *Travels in the Mogul empire*, pp. 324-25.

141 The direction of the Ka'ba in Mecca towards which the Muslims face during their prayers.

wardī) Maqtūl. Another, Hakīm Munīr, whom the author of the *Dabistān* met at Kābul in 1053/1643-4, was a Shirāzī Sayyid. He was an expert in *hikmat* and led a carefree, chaste and pious life. Like Hirbed, he was also a vegetarian and used to recite hymns in praise of luminaries said to have been written by Shaykh Maqtūl.

Both Hakim Hirbed and Munir believed that the universal laws were formulated by perfect *hakims*. They were perfect sages and by their words and deeds had reached the stage of perfection. Out of prudence they used to relate openly their knowledge of *hikmat,* theoretical and practical wisdom to their intimate followers, using a symbolic and allegorical language to disseminate their teachings to the common people. The perfect sages used to leave the explanation of the rules of religion to other *hakims* and gnostics of their faith.

According to Hirbed and Munīr, the prophets of Persia were Abād,[142] Zarathustra and the like whom they called *Vakhshur*. The Greek and Roman prophets were known as *Aghāsa daimun* (Agatho de mon), Hermes,[143] and the like, whom they named *sāhibān-i nāmūs* (possessor of *nomos,* or law). The prophets of India, Rāma and Krishna are called *avatārs;* and the prophets of the Turks, such as Aghires and Aghūr Khān, are known as *Abul-mas*. The prophets of Islām, from Adam to Muhammad are called *rasūl*.

Hirbed and Munir considered all prophets true. According to them the seal of the prophetic mission was meant to indicate the loftiest stage of human development. They thought that Moqanna[144] of Kashghar, who had invented a moon and claimed it was his miracle, was also a prophet. They attached no importance to the disputes between the first four successors of the Prophet Muhammad on the question of *khilāfat* (succession) and gave no precedence to any one of the Prophet's companions over the other. They used to say that all the four successors were eminent *hakims*; their disputes, if any, were the result of their human nature, for no man was impeccable. Neither did they revile Mu'āwiya (41/661-60/680) and believed him to be a great *hakim*.

Another *hakim,* Dastūr by name, who arrived in Lahore in 1054/1644-45, belonged to Isfahān but was born in Balkh. There he studied under the disciples of Mullā Mīrzā Jān and subsequently in Īrān he studied under Mir Muhammad Bāqir Dāmād, Shaykh Bahā'al-Dīn Muhammad, Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim Findiriski, and other leading scholars and *'ulamā'* of Shīrāz.

142 Their celestial codes are known as *dasātīr*. *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, Lucknow 1940, p. 9.

143 Some Muslim philosophers identified Hermes Trismegistus with the Prophet Idrīs (the Enoch of the Old Testament) and considered him as the founder of sciences and philosophy. A. E. Affīfī: The Influence of Hermetic Literature in Muslim Thought, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African studies,* XIII (1950), pp. 840-55.

144 A religious leader who rebelled against the 'Abbāsids was killed in 779.

He followed the rules of the peripatetics and recited hymns about self-existent Being, knowledge, spirits and stars, prevalent amongst the followers of this school. He was very strongly devoted to the worship of the heavenly bodies; although without pious austerity, he nevertheless abstained from wickedness and walked the path of moderation. He too was a vegetarian, and led the life of a merchant.

Dastūr believed that the laws of the Persians, Indians, Greeks, Turks, Arabs etc. were eternal, some being practical, and some theoretical. *Hakims* with an exceptional reasoning faculty promoted both theoretical and practical laws. An outstanding *hakim* was one whose reasoning faculties were comprehensive and as far as possible bore resemblance to the self-existent Being. The ultimate goal of laws was to brighten the order of the world and to regulate peoples' needs.

The fourth *hakim* mentioned by the author of the *Dabistān* was Hakīm Kāmrān Shīrāzī. He was also a peripatetic and had also studied Christian theology and the Gospel. He later went to India and became a friend of some of the rājas. In India he studied the Hindū *Shāstras* under the brahmans, gaining considerable mastery of them. Ostensibly he adopted the Hindū faith but in reality he remained devoted to the beliefs of the ancient philosophers. He showed a great aversion to lying, thieving, debauchery and unnatural love. He too was a vegetarian but occasionally drank wine, saying that it was very salutary. He accepted gifts from no-one, was employed in trade and contented himself with a small capital.

Hakīm Shīrāzī used to recite hymns in praise of the Necessary Being, of knowledge; spirits and stars, such as were prevalent among the Greek philosophers and which had recently been translated. Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim used to call him "a brother dear as life" and would address him as an "elder brother". In 1050/1640-41 Hakīm Shīrāzī began to lead a retired life at a place called Sarāy Farrukh near Agra. Before his death he distributed his entire property among different classes of people, to whom he used to recite:

> "I believe in the divinity of the most high Creator, the prophecy of intelligence, the *imāmat* (leadership) of the spirit, the heavens as a *Qibla*, the liberation of the philosopher. I detest other faiths and religion."

Joined in the chorus by the visitors at his bedside, he finally gave up the ghost chanting the name of the self-existent Being, the intelligence, spirit and stars at the age of one hundred years.[145]

The author of the *Dabistān-i madhāhib* gives several anecdotes showing the Hakim's hostility to revelation and prophecy. For instance, he says

145 *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, pp. 364-69.

that the Hakīm was of the opinion that had the so-called revealed books been divinely inspired, they would have prophesied future events in the same way as they related past ones. No such account was found in the Qur'ān for example, which is regarded as the Word of God; it was only through the interpretation of his followers that many prophesies concerning Muhammad were current. The same might be said of books revealed to say Moses or Jesus, the Hakim stated. Neither of these foretold anything about the appearance of the forthcoming prophets. It was merely this that the followers had interpreted the symbolic language of the Bible to suit their own persuasions.

The Hakīm was equally unsparing in his condemnation of the prophets. For instance, he called Moses a magician, and Jesus a physician, entitling him Hakīm Jesus, son of Joseph, the carpenter. He called Muhammad the king of the Arabian poets, and Krishna, a debauchee, both sensual and licentious. Here is Hakīm Kāmrān's definition of the Sunni and Shī'ī beliefs:

> "Sunnīs, after the praise of God the most high, and the attributes of the Prophet, beseech blessing and mercy of God upon all wrongdoers and sinners, men and women, and the Shī'īs after the praise of God and the attributes of the Prophet, invite the curse of God upon all believers and Muslims, men and women."

According to the author of the *Dabistān,* both Āsaf Khān and the celebrated Mahābat Khān were disciples of Hakīm Kāmrān. Both used to write letters to their teacher, exhibiting great humility and respect.[145]

The *Dabistān-i madhāhib* was the absolute epitome of the intellectual attainment in the realm of comparative religions. In a manuscript copy of the work in the possession of Mullā Fīrūz, in Bombay, a marginal note towards the close of chapter XIV was said to have read—

> "In the city of Daurse, a king of the Parsis, of the race of the imperial Anushirvān, the Shet Dāwer Huryār, conversed with *Amīr Zulfikār 'Ali al-Husaini* (on whom be the grace of God!) whose poetical name was Mobed Shāh."

Erskine considers this to be a "slight on authority" for ascribing the authorship of the work to Dhu'lfaqār, as the owner of the manuscript had also done.[146] Erskine was, however, the first scholar to rightly reject the view that Muhsin Fānī of Kashmīr was the author of the *Dabistān-i madhāhib.*

146 David Shea and Anthony Troyer tr., *The Dabistān or the School of manners,* I, Paris 1843, p. IX.

Nonetheless, in the eighteenth century the *Maʿāthir al-umarāʿ* had ascribed the authorship of the *Dabistān* to Dhuʿlfaqār Ardistānī.[147] This further strengthens Mullā Firūz's view that Dhuʿlfaqār was indeed the author of the work.

Be that as it may, the author had a very deep first-hand knowledge of ancient Īrān and the Zoroastrian faith. He seems to have seriously studied the *hikmat,* mainly in India, visiting Khurāsān possibly once. In the earliest autobiographical notes we find him closely associated with Mobed Hushiār. A note concerning 1028/1618-19 says that as an infant he was taken to a *yogī,* Bālak Nāth Tapeshwarī by name, who blessed him.[148] Again, he informs us that in 1033/1623-4, his friends and relations took him from Patna to Akbarābād (Agra). Mobed Hushiār took him in his arms to the ascetic Chatrūpa. The ascetic, welcoming their visit, blessed the author and taught him the *mantra of Sūrya* (sun). One of his disciples, Ganesh, who had a great mastery of breath control, in obedience to his teacher's orders, lived with the author until his manhood.[149]

These stray remarks tend to indicate that the author belonged to an Īrānī family of merchants who lived in Patna and who were themselves interested in Zoroastrianism and Hindūism. He made rapid progress in his education and was also able to collect notes for the *Dabistān* between 1055/1645-46 and 1058/1648-49, completing his work before the accession of Awrangzīb. He seems to have lived a retired life in the latter's reign, not even disclosing his own name in the book. Shea and Troyer say—

> "We collect in his work fifty-three dates relative to himself between the year 1618 and 1653. From 1627 to 1643, we see him mostly in Kachmir and Lahore, travelling between these two places; in 1643, he was at the holy sepulchre, probably at Meshhad, which appears to be the furthermost town to the West which he reached; from 1634 to 1649, he dwelt in several towns of the Panjab and Guzerat; the next year he proceeded to Sikakul, the remotest town in the East which he says he has visited; there he fell sick, and sojourned during 1653, at which epoch, if the year of his birth be correctly inferred, he had attained his thirty-eighth year. We have no other date of his death than that before stated; if he died in 1670, it was in the eleventh year of the reign of Aurengzeb, or Alemgir."[150]

The author seems to have all classics in Sanskrit, Pahlawi, Arabic, Persian and Turkish at hand. No inhibitions could prevent him from questioning

147 *Maʿāthir al-umarāʿ*, II, p. 392.
148 *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, pp. 182-83.
149 Ibid., p. 186.
150 *The Dabistān or the School of manners*, I, pp. XIV-XV.

and listening to the beliefs of the leaders of different religious systems and their sectarian votaries, and no troubles or hardships could deter him from undertaking long and arduous journeys to obtain a satisfactory answer to his problems. The religions of the Jews and the Christians are briefly discussed, the discussion on Buddhism is disappointing; although the section on Tibetan Buddhism is based on information supplied by a learned man of that religion who was unable to give the author any satisfactory answers. Those religions discussed in detail are Zoroastrianism, Hindūism and Islām. The *Dabistān* explains the subtle philosophical notions of the different religious systems in the philosophical and mystical terminology of Islām, and in the terminology which had evolved in Persian translations during the reign of Akbar and his successors. It waxes eloquent in describing the principal beliefs of the various Hindū and Muslim sects and groups who had departed from their orthodox systems. These groups included the Nāth *yogis*, Kabır and Nānak among the Hindūs and the Rawshanā'ıs, philosophers and *sūfis* among the Muslims. The author's respect for Avicenna and Shaykh Shihāb al-Dın Suhrawardı Maqtūl knew no bounds.

The author allows no opportunity to escape him which might enable him to emphasize the association of the Mughal emperors and their eminent nobles with Hindū ascetics and Muslim philosophers, possibly seeking to teach his Muslim and Hindū contemporaries more broad-mindedness and liberalism. For example, he says that Jahāngır was deeply devoted to the Hindū Chatrūpa, and that 'Abd al-Rahım Khān-i Khānān used to prostrate himself before Chatrūpa.[151] From the author's chapter on the Ilāhıs in the English translation, one has the impression that it contained a description of the Dın-Ilāhī, but in fact it is a summary of Badā'ūnī's description of the discussions in the 'Ibādat Khāna and reproduces certain other documents with gaps filled in by the author's own imagination based on the current debates between different religious groups in India. The principal intention of the author is to show that the differences between the orthodox on the controversial religious issues are superficial and the *nāmūs-i Akbar,* or the highest legal framework, was dictated by reason, to which the author adds *alaih al-salām* (peace be upon it).[152]

**Orthodox Sunnism**

The religion of the Mughal rulers being Sunnı, the orthodox expected them to promote and strengthen Sunnism by annihilating or reducing to menial status all non-Sunnıs, particularly Shı'ıs and Hindūs. After the failure of the rebellion of Eastern India in 1580-82, Akbar managed to secretly

151 *Dabistān-i madhāhib,* p. 186.

152 Ibid., p. 319; S. A. A. Rizvī, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign,* Delhi 1975, p. 415.

kill the *'ulamā'* who had taken an active part in depriving the Emperor of the throne and imprisoned or exiled to distant provinces the others. The independence of the *sūfis*, who enjoyed a large following, had begun to be seen as a potential threat to the Empire, for earlier in Īrān the Safawīd dynasty had also risen to power mainly through the formidable support of the *sūfī* disciples of the descendants of Shaykh Safī al-Dīn Ishāq (650/1252-3-735/1334) of Ardabīl. The State patronized only such *'ulamā'* and *sūfis* as were not suspected of being a threat to the state; indeed they were known as *lashkar-i du'ā* (army of the supplicators to God),[153] received lucrative *madad-i ma'āsh* grants and came to be instrumental in popularizing the Emperors' justice, benevolence and magnanimity in the areas of their influence. They were not necessarily parasites on the imperial revenue but, like all other parts of the administrative machinery, contributed to the strength of the empire. Under their auspices the Sunni schools of learning and other traditional Islamic institutions were run. Although a majority of the *madad-i ma'āsh* holders were orthodox Sunnis, no interference was made in their way of life or beliefs.

The growing number of Īrānī *mansabdārs* and noblemen in the government, most of whom were believed to be Shī'īs, had greatly upset the orthodox Sunnī leadership. The bid to expand their political boundaries by the leaders of Transoxiana and Turkey to Īrān's future cost, and the bitter sectarian correspondence exchanged between the three powers, particularly between Transoxiana and Īrān, had a serious emotional effect on both Sunnīs and Shī'īs alike. The Shī'ī *'ulamā'* considered as sacrilegious the Uzbek invasion of Mashhad and the reckless plundering of the property of the tomb of Imām 'Alī Ridā, the eighth Shī'ī *Imām* (c.151/768-203/818). In reply, the Sunnī *'ulamā'* of Transoxiana wrote that it was true that so long as the Muslims did not violate the *Sharī'a* as interpreted by Sunnī scholars they could not be considered infidels. But the Shī'īs, they asserted, by attacking the memory of the first three Caliphs and some of the Prophet Muhammad's wives were no longer Muslims, and thus it was lawful to kill them and seize their property. The property belonging to the shrine of 'Alī al-Ridā was therefore in the *dār al-harb* (abode of war) and thus could not be spared. The Shī'ī *'ulamā'* pleaded that the importance of the first three Caliphs was a controversial question and that the Shī'ī criticisms directed against those Caliphs did not imply the violation of the *Sharī'a*. Both the Shī'ī and Sunnī nobles enjoyed the bitter remarks contained in the Īrānī and Tūrānī letters at the cost of each other. As a rejoinder to the Shī'ī *'ulamā'* of Īrān, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī wrote a short treatise entitled the *Radd-i Rawāfid* (refutation of the Shī'īs) in c. 995/1587. Following the

153 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 5.

Transoxianian *'ulamā'*, he also confirmed the infidelity of the Shī'īs.[154] In 1014/1605 Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī (b. 949/1542-3, d. 1019/1610) wrote the *Ihqāq al-haqq*, refuting the anti-Shī'ī polemical work of Fadl-Allāh bin Rūzbihān al-Shīrāzī (by birth) al-Isfahānī (by residence). Each author based his works on quotations from the authoritative texts of his rival's religion to prove his point. In 1010/1602, the Qādī had already completed the *Majālis al-mu'minin* in order to demonstrate that Shī'īsm was not a new religion as claimed by its enemies, but was a very old faith, whose history could enumerate a large number of personalities who from the age of the Prophet to that of the author had held Shī'ī beliefs.[155]

The Sunnī-Shī'ī polemics continued to develop with ever-increasing seriousness, although it did not upset the leaders of either community, for the disputes had infiltrated the very body-politic of the sects and they were used to reviling each other. The uphill task for the orthodox Sunnīs was to dissuade the Tafdīliyya Sunnīs from believing 'Alī to be superior to the first three Caliphs, although the Tafdīliyyas did not question the historical order of succession. To all the *sūfī silsilas*, except the Naqshbandiyyas, 'Alī was the founder of their *silsilas*; to a large number of Sunnī intellectuals, 'Alī, whom they considered as the *bāb al-'ilm* (door of knowledge), deserved their special respect and where swordsmanship was concerned, all Sunnīs invoked 'Alī's name on the battlefield.

The leading Tafdīliyya in Jahāngīr's reign was the eminent Afghān leader Khān-i Jahān. Although Afghāns were generally orthodox Sunnīs, Khān-i Jahān's father, Dawlat Khān was an Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ī and urged that courage could be learnt only from 'Alī.[156] Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī wrote to Khān-i Jahān that the controversy over the *Khilāfat* and *imāmat* did not belong to the fundamentals of the Sunnī faith and the Sunnī *'ulamā'* had relegated those discussions to the province of *kalām* (scholastic theology). However, Shaykh Ahmad tried to convince Khān-i Jahān that 'Alī had himself declared that those who considered him superior to the first Caliph, Abū Bakr (11-13/632-634) were innovators of falsehood and should be brutally punished. In support of his contention, Shaykh Ahmad quoted anecdotes bringing out the fact that the Prophet Muhammad had

154 *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, pp. 207-8.

155 *Majālis al mu'minīn*, Tehrān 1299/1881-82, pp. 10-11. The work is divided into twelve chapters.

(1) Places with Shī'īte associations, (2) some Shī'ī groups and families, (3) Shī'īte contemporaries of the Prophet, (4) Shī'ītes of the next generations (*Tabi'ūn*), (5) Shī'īte scholars of the succeeding generations, (6) *sūfīs*, (7) philosophers, (8) Shī'īte kings and sixteen Shī'ī dynasties, (9) governors, generals, etc., (10) *wazīrs* and calligraphers, (11) Arab poets, and (12) Persian poets. All the leading *sūfīs*, philosophers and poets, according to the author, were Shī'īs.

156 Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn*, II, Karāchī 1970, II, pp. 114-5.

obtained an understanding from 'Alī that he would be preceded by Abū Bakr, 'Umar (13-23/634-644) and 'Uthmān (23-35/644-56).[157]

The growing interest of the Sunnīs in philosophy and *hikma* also went a long way to strengthening the Tafdīliyya tendencies, although it made some of them sceptical and they began to deny revelation and to question the miracles of the prophets and *sūfis*. To them, no superstitious beliefs had any validity and gullibility and credulity had no relevance to them.[158] The orthodox invited the Sunnīs to believe that human reasoning was not competent to comprehend the secrets of prophethood. The prophets revealed such truths as the philosophers could never comprehend. Only those *sūfic* inspirations which were derived from the prophetic light and obeyed the laws of the prophets were genuine. Had reasoning been able to guide the human being to the knowledge of the existence of the Creator, Greek philosophers who followed their reasoning would not have sunk into the pit of aberration and would have recognized God better than the rest. As it was, the philosophers were extremely ignorant in understanding God and His attributes. According to them nothing but the *'aql-i fa'āl* (active intellect) originated from Him and He played no part in the rest of creation. Those silly people did not find themselves in need of God and did not seek the assistance of even the *'aql-i fa'āl* for the fulfilment of their needs, considering it as a source and not the controller of all worldly events. Far superior to the philosophers were the idol worshippers of the *dār al-harb*[159] who in their hours of need sought the assistance of an idol. It was ironical that the philosophers called themselves *hakims*. As their metaphysical theories violated the teachings of the Qur'ān and Sunna, they were false. There were some *hakims*, who without a belief in the prophets, like the *sūfis*, indulged in hard ascetic exercises and were proud of their piety and divine inspirations, but they were perdition-damned. In short, metaphysics, astronomy, medicine, mathematics and ethics taught by the philosophers were of no use to a pious Muslim.

The orthodox Sunni *'ulamā'* and *sūfis* did not, however, confine themselves merely to refuting and condemning the philosophers, *hakims* and the Tafdiliyyas. They also produced an impressive corpus of literature vindicating the importance of the prophets, revelation and miracles.

157 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i-Rabbānī*, Letter no. 67.

158 *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, pp. 312-20.

159 Theologically the entire world is divided by Muslims into three regions. *Dār al-Islām* (the land of Islām) covers that part of the world where the law of Islām prevails; territories adjoining the land of Islām and ruled by non-Muslims are known as *dār al-harb*. Their rulers, according to the Muslims, should be invited to embrace Islām and if they fail to do so they should be invaded and conquered. The third region is the *dār al-sulh* which includes such territories as have not been conquered but which have temporarily made an uneasy peace by agreeing to pay tribute.

The earliest treatise condemning the precedence of reason over revelation was written by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī himself in Arabic. It was entitled the *Ithbāt al-Nubūwa* (Proofs of the prophethood). The Shaykh says that he was prompted to write the treatise because of a debate which he had held with an individual who had studied *falsafa*. This man was proficient in the books of the infidels and had arrogated to himself the title *al-fādila wa al-fadl* (accomplished and virtuous). Possibly the Shaykh meant to refer Abu'l-Fadl. He gives Akbar the title 'tyrant of the age' (*mutaghallibāt zamānina*) and mentions him as the living monarch. He goes on to say that in Akbar's court, the name of the Prophet Muhammad could not be uttered, that he had demolished mosques and honoured the temples of the infidels. He had forbidden the sacrifice of cows, which was one of the most important practices (*sha'ā'ir*) of Islām in India, and in order to obliterate Islām and propagate infidelity, he had had infidel laws translated into Persian. According to the *Ithbāt al-Nubūwa*, the philosopher with whom he indulged in debates invited people to believe that prophecy was meant to promote public welfare (*maslaha*) and to prevent man from falling into licentiousness and strife. The philosopher also claimed that people who were born after the death of the Prophet Muhammad and had not personally witnessed his miracles were not bound to believe in them and make them the basis of their faith in the validity of the Prophet's claims. To him, the Qur'ān and the *hadith* were the final and ultimate authorities. The philosopher disgusted Sirhindī with his opposition to his belief that prophecy led to salvation.[160]

The work continues to discuss the meaning of prophecy and its role in directing believers towards salvation. Its second section is devoted to the discussion of the miracles and is followed by an account of prophecy, the prophets and the Prophet Muhammad. It emphasizes the belief that only prophetic assistance enables one to arrive at certain truths. In refuting the philosophers the work follows *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl* of Ghazālī.

The work seems to have been written by the author before 1007/1599. About the same time, the Shaykh wrote another short treatise entitled the *Tahlīliya*, concerning the *kalima, La Ilāha Ill al-Allāh*. The work is in agreement with the philosophical and general *sūfic* interpretation of Being and is generally mystical, but it also reiterates the importance of the belief in miracles in the Muslim *weltenschaung*.[161]

The most enthusiastic defence of the orthodox belief in miracles was, however, made by the most eminent scholar of *hadith* Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, "Haqqī" bin Sayf al-Dīn Dihlawī Bukhārī (b. 958/1551-1052/1642). He

160 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, III, Letter no. 23; *Ithbāt al-Nubūwa*, Tāshkent Ms. no. 482, ff. 2b-3a; Karāchī 1383/1963, pp. 1-2.

161 *Tahlīlīya*, Tāshkent Ms., 482; Karāchī 1965.

blames in general the proud dervishes whose brains, because of the calamitous times, had gone astray and whose clouded intellect and narrow minds were unable to recognize the exalted status of the Prophet Muhammad. His *Madārij al-nubūwa* is designed to reset Muslims on the right path and awaken them from a state of lethargy. The Shaykh insists that Muhammad's *mi'rāj*[162] occurred in the physical sense and in a state of wakefulness, as had been indicated by the most famous *hadith* collections. Those who denied this fact, continued Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, were innovators, scoundrels and sinners. However, he admitted that some *sūfis* regarded the *mi'rāj* as merely spiritual and that such an opinion was entirely misguided. Philosophers who objected to the physical aspect of Muhammad's *mi'rāj* on the basis of natural principles of heavenly bodies were spinners of idle tales. He considered beliefs in miracles indispensable to a belief in prophethood and gave a long list of miracles which even depict the Prophet Muhammad's power over animals and plants and his ability to communicate with them. He was also empowered to bring dead bodies to life. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq commented that the Prophet Muhammad loved meat, preferring it to other types of food. This description was intended to remind *sūfis* and *ishrāqis* that their vegetarianism was contrary to what had been practised by the Prophet Muhammad and therefore sinful. It may be recalled that in his later life Akbar and a number of his courtiers had become vegetarian. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq introduced the Prophet's polygamy with the following fantastic remark, indicating that he had adopted the orthodox view with a vengeance: "the Prophet Muhammad, was endowed with the strength of thirty to forty men in sexual intercourse, inevitably it was made lawful for him to marry as many wives as he liked."[163]

The Shaykh's *magnum opus* was the Persian commentary on Tabrīzī's *Mishkāt al-masābih*, entitled the *Ashi'at al-lama'āt* which he started on 13 Dhu'lhijja 1019/26 February 1611 and completed on 24 Rabī' II 1025/11 May 1616. When the first half had been completed it occurred to Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq to write an Arabic commentary on certain subtle points of the *Mishkāt* which he had not found it expedient to explain to the less educated Muslims. The progress of the Arabic commentary was more rapid and both works were finished at the same time. The Arabic commentary, the *Lama'āt al-tanqih*, was completed on 24 Rajab 1025/7 August 1616; it also aims to reconcile the Hanafī *fiqh* with *hadith*. Then there was a summary of his own Persian commentary entitled *Jama' al-Barakāt*. He also compiled a book on *Asmā'al-Rijāl*.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq also wrote a Persian commentary on the *Sufar al-sa'āda* or *al-Sirāt al-mustaqīm* by Majd al-Dīn Muhammad bin Ya'qūb

162 The Prophet Muhammad's journey to Heaven.
163 *Madārij al-Nubūwa*, II, Lucknow 1867, p. 27.

al-Fīrūzābādī (729/1329-817/1414) who was also the author of an Arabic dictionary, *al-Qāmūs*. The *Sufar al-sa'āda* contains many traditions attached to the Prophet Muhammad relating to (1) *wudū* (ablutions), *namāz* and *ad'iya* (prayer), *siyām* (fasting), (2) Friday services, (3) pilgrimages, (4) *adhkār* (invocations) and (5) his way of life in general. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq chose to write this in Persian, even though the original was also in that language, partly because of the great popularity of the work and partly to defend the views of some authorities on Hanafī law undermined in Fīrūzābādī's work. Those sections of his work offered a basis for the opponents of Hanafī law and the schismatics to mislead the simple-minded Sunnīs. He entitled the work *al-Tariq al-qawīm fi sharh al-sirāt al-mustaqīm.*

A Persian treatise, the *Takmīl al-īmān,* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, details controversial matters of the fundamental aspects of Sunnī beliefs and advocates the adoption of a moderate path. He stressed that sinfulness and villainy did not make a *mu'min* (faithful) an infidel, adding that the companions of the Prophet had joined in funeral prayers for sinners and wicked people.[164] The *Takmīl al-īmān* strongly rejects the Tafdīliyya theory of giving 'Alī preference over the other three Caliphs and pleads that the Caliphate of Abū Bakr was proven by the Qur'ānic verses and *hadīth.*[165]

Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq adhered to the *Wahdat al-Wujūd,* tried to reconcile the *Shari'a* with the *sūfi* way of life and trained a number of learned disciples who made substantial contributions to the knowledge of *hadīth* and theology. Most important was the *Taisīr al-qāri fi sharh Sahih al-Bukhāri,* a Persian commentary on the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī (194/810-256/870), written by the Shaykh's son, Shaykh Nūr al-Haqq al-Mashrīqī (d. 1073/1662).

The *fiqh* was not neglected either. An important work on *fiqh* in Arabic was compiled by Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn (d. 1085/1674), the son of Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd.[166] The *'ulamā'* of Kashmīr, Lahore and Delhi also co-operated with the Khwāja in its compilation. The greatest contribution to the *fiqh* however was the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgīriyya,* compiled at Awrangzīb's orders between 1057/1664 and 1083/1672 by a board of *'ulamā'*, headed by Shaykh Nizām of Burhānpūr. The Emperor himself took a keen interest in the work's progress. It contains extracts from important passages from the Hanafī standard works of *fiqh* and was intended to replace all other *fiqh* books. It is an important guide to all aspects of the Muslim's duties. such as *salāt* (ritual worship), *dhakāt* (the alms tax), *hajj* (pilgrimage) and *imān* (faith). It then goes on to discuss the *hadd* (punishments for acts forbidden in the Qur'ān, such as *zinā,* or unlawful inter-

164 *Takmīl al-īmān,* Delhi 1312/1895, p. 33.
165 Ibid., pp. 49-64.
166 The work was given the title *Fatāwā-i Naqshbandiyya.*

course), *khamr* (drinking wine), *sariqa* and *qata' al-tariq*(theft and highway robbery) etc. It also deals with laws relating to commercial activity and the legislation followed at the *qādī's* court. Like all *fiqh* books, the *Fatāwā* also gives a detailed account of *hiyal* (legal devices to achieve ends for which the *Shari'a* provides no means). While the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya* was not intended to replace the *dastūr al-'amals* evolved mainly by the Hindūs and Īrānīs, the chapter on *hiyal* overcame all conflicts between the *Shari'a* and the *dastūr al-'amal*.[167]

## Seventeenth Century Stresses and Strains

No administrative institution has ever been able to overcome all its country's stresses and strains, imposed by its internal and external threats, and Akbar's administrative framework was no exception. The four degrees of *ikhlās*[168](devotion or discipleship to the Emperor) did not survive Abu'l-Fadl and Akbar, but leading Mughal nobles and princes continued to address their emperors as *murshid-i kāmil* (perfect guide) and *pīr-i dastgīr* (saintly protector), calling themselves *murids* (disciples). The Rājpūt nobles addressed the emperors as *jagat gosā'in* (Spiritual Lord of the world). No one was encouraged to believe that the Mughal kings were gods but all emperors inculcated the doctrine that the Mughal throne was invested with *farr-i Īzadi*.[169] Endorsed by as eminent a religious authority as

167 The following anecdote tends to indicate that even to the last, Awrangzīb did not hesitate to ask for *qādīs* to give rulings in any of the four schools in order to have his political purpose served. According to the anecdote, in Ramadān....four Muslims and nine Hindūs among a party which had made a sortie from the Satārā were taken captive. The *qādī* recommended that if the Hindūs accepted Islām they would be released and only the Muslims should be imprisoned. The Emperor observed,

> "This decision (is) according to the Hanafī school; decide the case according to some other school, so that control over the kingdom may not be lost. Ours is not the rigid Shī'a creed, that there should be only one tree in an entire village. Praised be God! there are four schools (of Sunnī theology) based on truth, (each) according to a particular age and time."

The *qādīs* and *muftīs* then changed their recommendations and said that according to the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgīriyya* they should be executed as a deterrent. The Emperor, agreeing with the new recommendation, said that he had decided not to break his fast until he had seen the severed heads of the rebels. His orders were carried out immediately. (J. N. Sarkār; *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 4th ed. 1963, pp. 125-26).

168 The *ikhlās-i chārgāna*, or *murīdī* (discipleship) involved readiness to sacrifice property, life, honour and religion for the Imperial cause. The four degrees of discipleship were intended to indicate unwavering loyalty to the Emperor and did not form a new religion called the Dīn-Ilāhī. *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, pp. 390-417.

169 Divine effulgence, which in ancient Īrān suggested the mystique of true kingship, came to be considered by the Muslim sultāns as the main source of their power and authority. *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, pp. 353-54.

Ghazālī,[170] even Awrangzīb could not ignore the importance of the association of the *farr-i Izadi* to the kingship. However, in order to justify his own usurpation of the throne, he claimed that since "all actions are determined by the will of God", his victory over his brothers was a Divine gift. He says that that man is great indeed who is assisted by God in accordance with the Qur'ānic verse: "O God, Supreme King! You bestow crowns and take them away; You exalt and abase men as you please".[171] Shāhjahān from his prison accused Awrangzīb of usurpation, but Awrangzīb replied, "Perhaps Your Majesty's *'ulamā'* have not advised Your Majesty of the correct position under the *Shari'a*", and added, "the treasury and the property of kings and sultāns are meant to satisfy the needs of the country and the community; they are not private property and not an inheritance, and therefore *zakāt* is not levied on them. God most High selects someone from among the esteemed ones of His Court for the management of matters relating to the livelihood and destiny of mankind, under whose control he places the duties of binding and loosing, so that all sorts of people should lead their life on the basis of equity".[172] Shāhjahān was therefore to be contented with his destiny and not resent his imprisonment.

Awrangzīb believed that his father's constant stay in Delhi and Agra was responsible for the stress and strain of his empire.[173] He accordingly made the entire administrative machinery dependent upon his personal decisions, leaving no freedom of initiative even to the highest officers of the state.

From his accession to 1681, Awrangzīb stayed in Northern India. In the early years of his reign repressive measures were taken against the lawlessness of the Bachgoti and Bais Rājpūts, the Jāts of Mathurā, the Niyāzī Afghāns of Sambhal, the Bhil *zamindār* of Ghatkarī near Bhilsa and the Rāthor state of Īdar. The Bundēla chief Champat Rāy and his son, Chatrasāl, were elusive and undependable, but the Mughal army was fully equipped to overcome their lawlessness. The conquest of the rugged land of Pālāmaū in South Bihār in 1661 was an important achievement. Before his death in April 1663 Mīr Jumla, the governor of Bengal, had forced the rāja of Assam to make a humiliating treaty with the Mughals, although four years later the ceded districts and even Gauhāti were lost. However, the Mughals seized the region of Western Kamrūp and Rangpūr. In 1666 they conquered Chittagong. In 1665, the governor of Kashmīr had forced the ruler of Ladākh to acknowledge the Em-

170 *Nasīhat al-mulūk*, English translation by F. R. C. Bagley, *Ghazālī's book of counsels for kings*, London 1964, pp. 45-46.
171 Qur'ān, III, 25.
172 *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, B. M. Or. 177, ff. 300a-b.
173 *Anecdotes of Aurangzīb*, p. 95.

peror's suzerainty. 'Abd al-Nabī Khān, the *fawjdār* of Mathurā who had received training in dealing with the Jāt menace under Sa'd-Allāh Khān, ruthlessly controlled the Jāt territories and amassed some 13,000,000 rupees. This provoked Gokula, the *zamindār* of Tilpat to rise up against the Mughals and kill 'Abd al-Nabī. Lawlessness spread to Agra. Two successive *fawjdārs* failed to quell the rebellion but in December 1669, the Emperor himself marched leisurely to strike terror into the hearts of the refractory peasantry. The military operations resulted in the captivity of Gokula and 7,000 peasants. Gokula's limbs were hacked off at the *kotwālī chabūtara* of Agra and his son and daughter were forcibly converted to Islām. In 1670 and 1681, Jāt uprisings again took place but were easily crushed.

The war against Satnāmī bairāgīs (mendicants) was sparked off by a minor agrarian dispute. Four to five thousand house-holders of Mēwāt and Nārnol belonged to the order and followed a faith similar to Kabīr and Dādū. Some were agriculturists and others lived as artisans and merchants. The Satnāmīs plundered Nārnol, demolished mosques, and established an independent government. Not only the eastern Panjāb, but also Delhi was stricken with panic, and their success was ascribed to their supernatural power.[174] The Emperor ordered his camp to be pitched outside the city; there he wrote charms and amulets with his own hand and ordered them to be fixed to the royal standards. Early in April 1672 the rebellion was fully crushed.

Early in his reign, Jahāngīr had incurred the enmity of the Sikhs by imprisoning and then killing their fifth Gurū, Arjan (1563-1606) for blessing Khusraw. Before his death the Gurū had already established a Sikh treasury at Amritsar where tithes and offerings from the Sikhs living from Kābul to Dacca were collected. Gurū Arjan's son and successor, Hargobind (1595-1644), began to train his disciples as soldiers in self-defence. Jahāngīr imprisoned him in Gwālior fort for the non-payment of fines imposed upon his father. After his release he spent most of his time quietly strengthening his military resources. In Shāhjahān's reign again the Gurū came into conflict with the Emperor and fought valiantly against the Mughal army. He was forced to take refuge in Kartārpūr in the Jālandhar doāb, where he also fought against the Mughal army deputed to kill him, inflicting heavy losses upon the imperial troops. Finally, the Gurū retired to Kiratpūr in the Kashmīrī hills and joined Rāja Tārāchand, the *zamindār* of the region who had also rebelled. According to the author of the *Dabistān*, the Gurū had eight hundred horses, three hundred troopers and sixty men with firearms in his service. Some of them indulged in trade and some were artisans. Fugitives from other places

174 Shāh Walī-Allāh, *Anfās al-'ārifīn*, Delhi 1897, p. 62.

regularly swelled his ranks.[175] He died in 1644 but by that time, Amritsar, Goindwāl, Kartārpūr, Khadūr and Kiratpūr had become important centres of the Sikhs. Besides artisans and merchants, the Jāts also began to join the movement in large numbers.

Cordial relations developed between the seventh Gurū, Har Rāy (1644-61) and Dārā-Shukōh, the Gurū not finding it profitable to involve himself in the hostilities between the hill *zamindārs* and the Prince. When Dārā fled from Delhi, the Gurū met him in the Panjāb but could not return to help with his troops. In conformity with his general policy towards religious leaders friendly to Dārā, Awrangzīb summoned the Gurū to Delhi to clarify his position. Har Rāy sent his elder son, Rām Rāy, whose manner and conduct won him the friendship of the Mughals. He was given considerable land in the Siwālik hills[176] which came to be known as Dehrādūn. Instigated by his father, Rām Rāy's younger brother by five years, Harī Krishan, tried to supersede him, but Rām Rāy would not surrender. Awrangzīb supported the cause of Rām Rāy whom some *masands* (sikh leaders) had also joined. After Har Rāy's death in 1661, Harī Krishan was summoned to Delhi, but he died three years later, before the question of succession had been decided. The *masands* chose Gurū Tegh Bahādur, the son of Hargobind, as the ninth Gurū (1664-75). In order to avoid outright confrontation with Rām Rāy, Gurū Tegh Bahādur left for Eastern India and preached his mission as far as Assam.[177] After his return he began to preach in the Panjāb. The Mughals recognizing Rām Rāy as the rightful Gurū began to treat Tegh Bahādur as their enemy. During the Emperor's absence in Hasan Abdāl between Rāwalpindī and Peshāwar, he was beheaded at the *Qādī's* order in Delhi in November 1675.[178] The Sikhs were greatly agitated and at the end of October 1676 when the Emperor was coming from the Jāma' Masjid of Lahore, two brickbats were thrown at him. No retaliatory measures were taken against the community, only the accused being handed over to the *kotwāl*.[179]

The Afghān tribes living between Kābul and Peshāwar received pensions from the Mughal emperors, supplementing them by levying tolls on the merchants' caravans. In Awrangzīb's reign, the Yūsufza'ī, Āfrīdī and Khatak tribes being imbued with the spirit of independence, all rose against the Emperor, one after the other. Bhāku, a leader of the Yūsufza'īs, in 1667 crowned a scion of the family of their old tribal leader's king, with

175 *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, pp. 234-36.
176 Persian inscription on Rām Rāy's tomb in Dehrādūn; Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, I, Princeton 1963, pp. 69-71.
177 S. K. Bhuyan, *Annals of the Delhi Bādshāhate*, Gauhātī 1947, pp. 162-163, 242-143.
178 Bhīm-Sen, *Dilkushā*, B. M. Or. 23, ff. 168b.
179 Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Calcutta 1870-3, p. 154.

the title Muhammad Shāh. In order to give a religious flavour to their uprising, he elicited the co-operation of one Mullā Chālak, who was much respected among the Afghāns. However, the uprising was suppressed. In 1672, the Āfrīdīs rebelled and made short work of a huge Mughal army. Then it was the turn of the Khataks. Repeated defeats of the Mughal army impelled Awrangzīb to direct the military operations against the Afghān tribes personally, and he stayed at Hasan Abdāl for eighteen months from July 1674. The Emperor's tactic of driving a wedge between the tribal leaders paid heavy dividends, although in war the imperial forces suffered several defeats. The diplomacy of Amīr Khān[180] who acted as governor of Kābul from 1677 to his death in April 1698 finally liquidated the Afghān tribal resistance. Amīr Khān's activities were not confined merely to creating a division between the different clans (which Awrangzīb metaphorically described as an act of "breaking two bones by knocking them together"). He also kept the hillsmen usefully employed by enlisting them into imperial service and winning their confidence. In October 1681 he could inform the Emperor that out of 600,000 rupees allotted annually to the Afghāns by the Government for guarding the roads, he had spent only Rs. 150,000 and saved the remainder for the State.[181] This shows the extent of his success in pacifying the Afghāns.

At the end of 1678, the death of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh precipitated a major crisis for Awrangzīb, as well as for Mārwār, the *watan jāgir* of the deceased. To cap it all, the Mahārāja left no heir to his state and a number of Rājpūt chieftains were eager to assert their respective authority over Mārwār. As paramount power, Awrangzīb escheated the Rāja's property

180 Amīr Khān was the son of Khalīl-Allāh Khān Yazdī, who was the governor of Lahore at the time of his death in 1662. His mother, Hamīda Bānū Begam, was the daughter of Malka Bānū (d. 1642-43), the eldest daughter of Āsaf Khān. In 1655 Amīr Khān was given a *mansab* of 1500 and two years later was appointed to collaborate with his father, then raised to the governorship of Delhi. After his father's death, Awrangzīb appointed him as a *fawjdār* of Jammū and in 1668 he performed meritorious services in subduing the Yūsufza'ī rebellion. Although two years later he was promoted to the rank of 4000/3000 *doaspa*, he specialized mainly in controlling the Afghān tribes. Accordingly he served there as governor for eleven years, which was rare under Mughal service conditions. According to the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* he was an orthodox Shī'ī and used to send huge sums of money to the pious and holy men of Īrān. His success among the bigoted Sunnīs of the Afghān region must, therefore, be regarded as another feather in his cap. His wife, Sāhibjī, the daughter of Amīr al-Umarā' 'Alī Mardān Khān, was equally experienced in dealing with the Afghāns and always helped her husband in his administrative duties. After his death Awrangzīb was told that so long as Sāhibjī lived, no disturbance would take place in the Kābul region. Awrangzīb, therefore, ordered her to take control of the administration until the arrival of the next governor, Prince Mu'azzam. *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, I, p. 284.

181 Ibid., I, pp. 278-287.

and the whole of Mārwār was resumed into the *khālisa*. His officers pleaded that in accordance with Mughal practice, the *watan* could not be conferred upon ladies or servants.[182] Mahārāna Rāj Singh of Mewār, whose dream it was to become the principal power of Rājasthān like his great predecessor, Mahārāna Sāngā, joined his sister-in-law, Rānī Hādī, the chief queen of the deceased Mahārāja, in opposing the Emperor's orders.[183] On 20 February 1679, the Emperor reached Ajmīr ostensibly to make pilgrimage to the Khwāja's shrine, but in reality to coerce the Rājpūts. Meanwhile, the Emperor was informed of the birth of two posthumous sons to two of the Rāja's queens; one of the babies died after a few weeks, but the other, Ajīt Singh, survived. The Rājpūts under the guidance of Durgādās, a valiant son of one of the Mahārāja's ministers, began to press the Emperor to make the baby the Mahārāja's successor. In April the Emperor returned to Delhi and on 5 June he invested Indra Singh, the grandson of Jaswant Singh's disinherited brother Amar Singh, who was the Rāo of Nāgor, with the *tikā*[184] as the Mahārāja of Jodhpūr. However, the Rāthors preferred the resumption of Jodhpūr to *khālisa* to the rule of Indra Singh whom they hated bitterly. In response to their demand that Ajīt Singh be appointed the Mahārāja's successor, the Emperor directed them to report to the court with the boy and promised to grant their request upon the child's coming of age. When the queen and the party reached Delhi, the Emperor incarcerated them, but Durgādās managed to escape with the child to Mārwār, where he was brought up in concealment amongst a monastic brotherhood.[185]

Indrajīt, whom the Emperor appointed successor to Jaswant Singh, failed to establish his rule over Mārwār, and two years later was recalled to the Court. In September 1679, the Emperor reached Ajmīr and ordered his son, Prince Akbar, to invade Mārwār. Rathor guerrillas valiantly resisted the Prince's entry into Mārwār. The Mahārāna of Udaipūr, considering that any threat to Mārwār was a threat to Mēwār, and bearing in mind his relationship to Ajīt's mother, also began war preparations. However, with lightning speed, the imperial troops swooped down upon the Mahārāna's territory, seized Chitor and advanced against Udaipūr, destroying hundreds of temples in its neighbourhood. The Emperor himself visited Udaipūr but, finding his presence no longer necessary there,

182 *Waqā'i' Ajmīr wa Ranthambhor*, Haydarābād State Library Ms., transcript in the History Department, 'Alīgarh Muslim University, pp. 106-110, 337.

183 Ibid., pp. 80-83, 114, 270.

184 Rajpūt mark of sovereignty.

185 Īsar Dās Nāgar, *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, British Museum Ms. Rieu, I, 269a, ff. 75a-76b; *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 178-79.

he retired to Ajmīr.[186] However, Prince Akbar's military operations from Chitor were no match for the guerrilla activity of the Rājpūts who held strategic *thānas*. The Prince was transferred to Mārwār but there too he failed to achieve any success. Shame, fears of his father's hot temper and his brother's intrigues prompted the Prince, a youth of twenty-three, to succumb to the invitation of Mahārāna Rāj Singh and Durgādās to declare himself Emperor and save the empire from the disastrous repercussions of Awrangzīb's narrow-minded policies. Meanwhile, the Mahārāna died a natural death early in November 1680 and the question of his successor and further matters were temporarily suspended. On 11 January 1681 Akbar declared himself Emperor and marched against his father towards Ajmir. Awrangzīb was taken aback. His chosen troops were scattered throughout Rājasthān. However, he retained his composure, recalled his faithful generals and managed to alienate the Rājpūts from the Prince. Akbar, who had lost considerable time by his slow marches, was left with no alternative but to escape to Mārwār.[187] Accompanied by Durgādās and braving all hazards, the Prince reached Shambhājī's court, on 10 June 1681. Jai Singh, the son of Mahārāna Rāj Singh, who did not possess his father's qualities of leadership and vigour, made peace with the Emperor. A *mansab* of 5,000 was conferred upon Jai Singh who, along with accepting terms favourable to the Mughals, promised to refrain from giving shelter to the rebellious Rāthors. At the end of March 1681, 'Ināyat Khān, the governor of Ajmīr, resumed war against the Mārwār guerrilla troops. On 15 September the Emperor decided to leave Ajmīr for the Deccan, never to return to Northern India again.

The 1679-80 wars against Mārwār and Mēwār did not at any stage assume the same character as that of the Mughal-Rājpūt wars. The Rāthors of Bikānīr, the Kachwāhas, the Hādas, and the Bhattīs remained friendly with the Mughals all along. The Rājpūts never forgot that "the honour of the Chaghtā'īs (Mughals) is to the Rājpūts the same as their own honour".[188] Awrangzīb's administrative and religious policies had deeply hurt the Hindūs but had not alienated them from the Mughal empire. Before dealing with Awrangzīb's Deccan campaigns, we briefly give below the salient features of the changes made by him in administration.

186 *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, ff. 79b-80b; *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 194-196; Muhammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān: *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, II, Calcutta 1860-74, p. 263; *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, ff. 303a-309b; *Vīr Vinod*, II, pp. 463-474; Srī Rām Sharmā, *Mahārāna Rāj Singh*, Delhi 1971, pp. 70-90.

187 *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, ff. 82a-83b; *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 201-206, *M. L.*, II, pp. 270-277; *Storia do Mogor*, II, pp. 243-53; *Vīr Vinod*, II, pp. 654-674; *Mahārāna Rāj Singh*, pp. 91-121, copies and translation of contemporary documents. See also J. N. Sarkār, *The history of Aurangzīb*, III, Calcutta, pp. 328-366.

188 J. N. Sarkār, *The history of Aurangzīb*, IV, p. 302.

On 23 May 1659, the cultivation of *bhang* was forbidden in the *parganas* of the *khālisa* and the *mahāls* of the *jāgirdārs;* crops of utility were to supplant the prohibited drugs.[189] The Ilāhī era of Akbar, which resembled the system of the Persian fire worshippers, was replaced with the lunar era used in the Islamic Hijāz, where Mecca and Medina lie, to the great inconvenience of the finance and revenue departments which had to calculate the *tankhwāh jāgīr* on the basis of the solar era. Several devices to alleviate the hardships caused by this step, and the occurrence of the Ilāhī era along with the Hijra one in official documents, tend to indicate the failure of the new measure. The Persian mawrūz-i sultānī was officially given up, though we later find the Emperor censuring his own son for celebrating it.[190]

What contributed to the increasing administrative confusion and ideological crises was the establishment of the *ihtisāb* department. It found its genesis in the Emperor's determination 'to give currency to the principles of brilliant religion and to promote the regulations of bright creed' through legislation and coercion. Mullā 'Iwad Wajīh, an eminent scholar of Tūrān, admitted to a *mansab* of 1100 with a salary of 15,000 rupees, was appointed as the first court *muhtasib*. A number of minor *mansabdārs* and *ahadis* were appointed to assist him in his work. Initially the department was required to prevent people from drinking wine and using other intoxicants like *bhang* and opium, committing adultery, gambling, and otherwise violating the Islamic moral code. Gradually the supervision of weights and measures in the market, the prohibition of idol worship in public places (*'Ilāniya*) and the destruction of newly constructed temples also came within the purview of the department. *Muhtasibs* were also appointed in towns, *sarkārs* and *parganas* on the recommendation of the *sadrs;* and the provincial governors were required to pay special attention to the proper functioning of the *ihtisāb* department and to render military assistance whenever required.[191] But addicts of *bhang* were not much discouraged, and even the *mu'adhdhins* of the Delhi mosques did not hesitate to use it.[192] The department failed to perform its main functions and its officials made themselves the laughing stock of the public by insisting on adherence to the prescribed lengths of trousers and beards. Their encroachments on similar duties formerly assigned to the *kotwāl* and *qādis* gave rise to serious administrative confusion and complications.[193]

189 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī,* I, p. 248.

190 *Dastūr al-'amal Āgahī,* India Office Manuscript, ff.7b-8a; Muhammad Kāzim,*'Ālamgīr-nāma,* Calcutta 1868, pp. 389-391; *M. L.,* II, pp. 76-80.

191 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī,* I, pp. 249-251; *'Ālamgīr-nāma,* pp. 391-92.

192 *Anfās al-'ārifīn,* p. 91; Dās, H., *The Norris embassy to Aurangzeb,* Calcutta 1959, pp. 149-50.

193 *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī,* p. 258; *M. L.,* II,pp. 358-59,561-565; *Waqā-'i' Ajmīr,* I, pp. 183, 189-90, 206-207, 212-213, 223-224, 345; Hidāyat-Allāh Bihārī, *Hidāyat al-Qawā'id,* Ms. 'Aligarh University Library, ff. 21-22; *Storia do Mogor,* II, pp. 7-8.

Intense military operations, and the revolts and rebellions throughout Northern India from 1657 to 1659 had dislocated cultivation and the movement of grain, and had given rise to scarcity and famine conditions in the empire. To crown it all, the country was in the grip of a drought for several years after Awrangzīb's accession. In July-August 1659, the *rāhdārī* (remuneration of road patrols) that yielded about 2,000,000 rupees in the *sarkārs* of the *khālisa* was remitted.[194] The *pāndārī* (transit duties levied in provincial capitals like Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Burhānpūr etc.), was also subsequently abolished. Orders for the remission of a number of imposts levied on the sale and purchase of merchandise; of income derived from markets held on the days of annual *'urs* of the Muslim dervishes and the *jātrās* of the Hindūs,[195] of fees charged on the sale of property, of several types of commissions fixed by the state, and of perquisites exacted by the government officials, were also issued in the early years of the reign.[196] It seems, that the want of adequate compensation to the *jāgīrdārs* and officials who in the past had derived income from the levies now prohibited, prevented any real benefit from reaching those whom the Emperor intended to relieve. The undertaking given by the *wakil* of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh in the sixteenth regnal year, agreeing not to collect prohibited taxes in the *mahāls* of the Mahārāja's *jāgīr*, and not to request *tankhwāh* in lieu of losses sustained,[197] tends to confirm the remarks of Khāfī Khān that the *jāgīrdārs*, on the plea that the prohibited taxes were included in their *tankhwāh* papers, violated the imperial orders relating to prohibited cesses with impunity; except the *pāndāri*, all the other taxes were still levied.[198]

From the eighth year of his reign the Emperor seems to have decided to pay increasing attention to the welfare of the Muslims for whom, despite his claims and professions at the time of his accession, nothing in particular had been done. From 17 April 1665 the customs duties on the merchandise of Muslims was fixed at two and a half per cent and at five per cent for the merchandise of the Hindūs.[199] It seems that he learned that his taxation policy did not bring any relief to the Muslims, who were already required to pay two and a half per cent as *zakāt;* for, from 19 May 1667, the levy of the tax on the merchandise of Muslims was totally forbidden.[200]

194 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, p. 249.
195 *M. L.*, II, pp. 87-89; *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 530.
196 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, pp. 251-253, 259-265, 286.
197 Ibid., I, p. 288.
198 *M. L.*, II, p. 88.
199 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, pp. 258-259.
200 Ibid., pp. 265-266; Muhammad Sādiq and Ma'mūrī, *Shāhjahān-nāma*, British Museum Ms. Or., 1671, 143b.

Qādi 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the main adviser of the Emperor on theological matters, had vast commercial interests, and it is thus not surprising that these orders were promulgated because of his persuasions. The Emperor did not realize that religious considerations hardly weighed against economic ones. Hindūs began to pass off their goods without paying tax, with the help of their Muslim colleagues, to the utter confusion of trade and commerce, and the ruin of the imperial revenue.

On 13 January 1669, the wedding of Prince A'zam with Jahānzīb Bānū, the daughter of Dārā-Shukōh, was celebrated by the Emperor with enthusiasm. All the important Muslim theologians and mystics assembled at Delhi. The Emperor used the occasion to exhibit his orthodoxy. The two life-sized statues of elephants on the two sides of that gate of the Delhi fort known as Hatiāpul, were removed just before the wedding ceremony. Khushhāl Khān, Bisrām Khān, Ran Bīn and other favourite musicians were allowed to visit the court, but music was gradually banished from it.[201] Attempts were also made to stop the music and dance (*samā'*) of the *sūfis,* but the restrictions were hardly followed. The *jharokha darshan* or public appearance of the Emperor, on the balcony of the palace, was also given up in the same year, and the following year saw the discontinuation of *tulādān.*[202] Astrologers and astronomers were removed from the Emperor's service and other experts known as *munajjim shinās,* who determined the time of prayer, were appointed. However, the princes continued to practise *jharokha darshan* and *tulādān* in some form or other.[203]

Banāras, hallowed by brahmanical learning, had also been the main centre of Dārā-Shukōh's intellectual activities. Keen scholars of *sūfism* like Muhammadī, a prominent disciple of Shaykh Muhib-Allāh Ilāhābādī,[204] attended one of the schools where the brahmans held seminars relating to the subtleties of Hindū mysticism. This city was chosen by Awrangzīb as the most suitable centre for exhibiting his orthodoxy. In the second year of his reign, the famous Banāras mosque, now known as the Gyānvāpī mosque, was constructed by imperial order.[205] It seems that the Vishwanāth temple, in the vicinity of the mosque, was also demolished at that time. Following the above example, some other temples were also demolished and the brahmans were persecuted by imperial officers and the Muslim fanatics of the city. On 10 March 1659, a *farmān* was issued to the officers of Banāras, in keeping with the policy of the early years of Shāh-

201 *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī,* pp. 74, 77-79.
202 Weighing one's body against silver, gold etc. and distributing the gold and silver to religious dignitaries and deserving people.
203 Sādiq and Ma'mūrī, *Shāhjahān-nāma,* ff. 139b-140; *M. L.,* II, pp. 212-216.
204 Shaykh Muhibb-Allāh Ilāhābādī, *Maktūbāt,* Ms. I.O. Delhi Persian, 1192, f. 171b.
205 Inscription in the mosque, quoted in Fārukī, Z. H., *Aurangzeb and His Times,* Bombay, 1935, p. 129.

jahān's reign, that came to be a general policy of Awrangzīb's. It ordered that old temples should not be demolished while no new temples should be constructed.[206] All the temples constructed within ten or twelve years were embraced in the definition of new temples.[207] The repair of old temples was also prohibited. In Gujarāt, numerous temples had been demolished during Awrangzib's viceroyalty of the province, including the temple of Somnāth.[208] Since his departure many of them had been rebuilt. Now he ordered that they should be demolished once more. On 24 October 1666, orders were issued for the removal of the stone railing which Dārā-Shukōh had built with his own money around Keshav Rāy's temple in Mathurā. But the intellectual activity promoted by Dārā-Shukōh did not come to an end until 1670. There were schools led by brahmans at Banāras, in Thatta, and Multān, where admirers and students, both Hindū and Muslim, came from great distances to acquire that 'vile learning'. In the twelfth year of Awrangzīb's reign, such remnants of Dārā's coquetry with Hindūism were destroyed.[209] In the same year, the Vishwanāth temple, which seems to have been rebuilt, and Keshav Rāy's temple, which was at the centre of the Jāt's activities, were demolished.[210] Awrangzīb revived the policy of demolishing temples in the wake of military campaigns; it had been enthusiastically practised by the Delhi Sultāns and occasionally followed by Shāhjahān. In pursuance of this policy, temples in Pālāmaū, Kūch Bihār, Rājasthān and, later, the Deccan, were ruthlessly destroyed. It seems that the policy of conversion to Islām was also followed to break cliques of *zamindārs* of the same caste group. In the event of a dispute of title between two *zamindārs*, the case was invariably decided in favour of the one who offered to embrace Islām. A converted *zamindār* was bound to lose the sympathies of the *zamindārs* and peasants of his caste group and the chances of a general uprising of the *zamindārs* were thus eliminated. The Emperor presided over the ceremony of conversion as often as he could.[211] Gradually, criminals and corrupt and dishonest revenue officials began to expiate their crimes by embracing Islām. The Emperor's increasing attention to the promotion of the laws of the *Shari'a* gave rise to the device of solving complicated administrative problems through conversion to Islām. Unscrupulous debtors sought to evade the payment of their debts by falsely accusing their creditors of reviling the Prophet, or of speaking contemptuously of Islām. A section of the Muslim

206 *JASB*, 1911, p. 689.
207 *Muraqq'āt-i Hasan*, p. 202, quoted by Srī Rām Sharmā, *The religious policy of the Mughal emperors*, Bombay 1962, p. 130.
208 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, pp. 259-260.
209 *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 81.
210 Srī Rām Sharmā, *The Religious policy of the Mughal emperors*, pp. 129-139.
211 *Akhbārāt*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, Ms. Ramadān/February 1670.

nobles strongly resented the authority that the theologians had come to occupy.[212] In 1668-9, when a suitable general was being selected to lead a campaign against Shīvājī, Mahābat Khān Lahrāsp unhesitatingly remarked, "There is no need to appoint an army or send an expedition there. The *fatwās* of the *Qādi* ('Abd al-Wahhāb) are sufficient."[213] In 1671-72, the *sūbadār* of Lahore, a relation of the Emperor, killed the *qādi* of that city with some of his relations because of their offensive behaviour. Mīr Shams al-Dīn, the *sūbadār* of Burhānpūr, was also at daggers drawn with the *qādi* of the province for quite a long time.

Most of Awrangzīb's administrative failures stemmed from his narrow legalistic approach. A large number of Muslim clerks and officials were needed for the proper functioning of the religious law. The filling of fifty per cent of administrative vacancies with Muslim clerks was seemingly ordered to meet this exigency. Mughal *diwāns*, invariably Hindūs, found it increasingly difficult to satisfy the theologians who received *madad-i ma'āsh* grants.[214] They seem to have strongly advocated the need of appointing Muslim officials (*qānūngos* and clerks) in the departments relating to revenue and finance.

Increased financial pressure was brought to bear upon Awrangzīb's government by the religious grants. Apparently he sought to solve his difficulties in consultation with the *'ulamā'*, many of whom, in accordance with the Ghazālian traditions, considered stipends from all revenue sources other than the *jizya* illegal. The growing pressure of the *'ulamā'* and the *qādis* prompted the Emperor to establish a separate treasury, known as *khazāna-i jizya*, and *jizya* on all the non-Muslims was reimposed. On 1 Rabī' I 1090/12 April 1679, the officers of the *diwāni* were directed to realize the *jizya* from the *dhimmis* (non-Muslims) of the capital and the provinces. Those possessing property worth 200 *dirhams* (a little less than 52 silver rupees) paid 12 *dirhams* (Rs. 3.2); those who owned property ranging from Rs. 52 to Rs. 2,500, paid 24 *dirhams*, i.e. Rs. 6.4. Those who had property worth more than 10,000 *dirhams* were required to pay 48 *dirhams* irrespective of their income.[215] The incidence of the tax hit the poor heavily, who were subsequently deprived of almost the entire income from their property. The stray figures embodying the amount of the *jizya* realized under Awrangzīb tend to show that about four per cent of the land revenue of a normal year was realized as *jizya*. In a letter to the English merchants of Bengal, the Emperor informed them—'Understand what Custom ye

212 Mahābat Khān Lahrāsp's letter to Awrangzīb, written after 1676, Royal Asiatic Society, London, Ms. no. 173, ff. 8a-11a.

213 Sādiq Khān and Ma'mūrī, ff. 140a-b; *M. L.*, II, pp. 216-217, 257.

214 *cf.* relations of Rāy Lakhmī Dās, the *dīwān* of Shaykh Farīd Bukhārī with the *aymadārs*. Shaykh Farid Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, I, Karāchī 1961, p. 139).

215 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, pp. 296-299; *The religious policy of the Mughal emperors*, pp. 152-162.

English paid formerly, and compare ye difference between that and our last order for taking Customs, and Jidgea. If they pay no more than they did formerly, they complain without occasion; if more, write what it is, and there shall be an abatement.'[216] It seems that the Emperor was convinced that because of the remission of a large number of taxes, the *jizya* did not cause any additional financial burden, at least to the merchants. Remissions were also granted in exceptional cases of hardship, but the *qādis* and *amins* of *jizya* increasingly misused the authority that the *Shari'a* gave them and occasionally made the new tax into an instrument of persecution. The artisans seem to have found it particularly hard. The Rājmahal diary, in a note dated July 1681, points out: 'Came news from Mālda that by reason of the Jidgea which is now very hott there and heavy on the poore people which makes our Taggadgers (merchants) complaine that many Weavors run away but question not but when the heat is over they will come againe.'[217] The nobles and Jahānārā Begam opposed the new tax strongly;[218] the Hindūs of Delhi protested publicly, and here and elsewhere retaliatory measures were taken by the Hindūs against the high-handedness of the oppressive *jizya* officials. Not that this was all part of a deliberate policy to force the poorer sections of Hindūs to embrace Islām however, for nothing could have been further from the Emperor's mind. The main points of the argument of the *'ulamā'* as given in the *Mir'āt-i Ahmadi* and corroborated by Īsar Dās and Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān, seem to have been the motivating force behind the new legislation. The *Mir'āt-i Ahmadi* says: 'As the entire attention of His Majesty is directed towards strengthening the *din-i mubin* (manifest faith) and giving vogue to the *Shar'-i matin* (the firm *Shari'a*), all the affairs of the state, financial and political, have been moulded according to the *Shari'a;* the *'ulamā'*, the learned people and the *faqihs*, encouraged by the Emperor's efforts for promoting the faith, urged the necessity of imposing *jizya* on the *dhimmis* of the imperial domains, that is peremptory in accordance with the principles of the illustrious *Shari'a* and the highway of the shining creed.'[220]

By the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the Emperor was convinced that the Muslim merchants had abused the orders relating to the exemption from taxes on their merchandise. They mixed the merchandise belonging to 'the unbelievers' with their own goods and enabled the latter to evade the payment of duties. This state of affairs gave rise to considerable loss of imperial revenue. Moreover, it was also established that a majority of the

216 Barlow, R., *The diary of William Hodges Esq.*, London 1887, pp. 100-101.
217 *Rajmaul Diary*, July 1681, *JASB*, New Series, XIV, p. 120.
218 *Storia do Mogor*, III, pp. 288-291; Sādiq and Ma'mūrī, ff. 148b-149c; *M.L.*, II, pp. 255-256; *Dastūr al-'Amal Āgahī*, India Office, ff. 77b-78a.
219 *M. L.*, II, p. 255; *Vīr Vinod*, II, pp. 459-463.
220 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, p. 296; *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, f. 74a.

Muslim merchants did not even pay the *zakāt* that was made obligatory by the *Shari'a*. This caused great concern among the theologians. The finances that were put at their disposal for charitable purposes and for distribution among the members of their own class were increasingly strained. Peremptory orders making the payment of *zakāt* obligatory for the Muslims, along with a schedule embodying the conditions for its collection, were issued. The collectors of the duties on merchandise were required to proceed with the realization in consultation with the *amins* of *zakāt*. The *qādis* and *muftis* were empowered to settle the disputes relaing to its realization. It became a common practice for Muslim merchants when travelling from place to place to declare to the tax collector that, before coming out of the previous town, they had paid the *zakāt* on their merchandise to the beggars; the fact that such statements were accepted[221] tends to show that the new orders did not revoke the orders of 1667 relating to the exemption of duties on Muslim merchandise, but sought to make the evasion of the obligatory *zakāt* difficult. The new measures must have given rise to increasing dissatisfaction among the Muslim merchants.

Resuming our discussion of Awrangzīb's political activity, we must not forget that the Emperor, who as a Prince lived for many years in the Deccan, had a first-hand acquaintance of the problems of that region. He had himself watched Shīvājī's rise to power and considered him a potential threat to the Mughal empire. Soon after his invasion of Bījāpūr in 1656, Shivājī joined him. He was then struggling to acquire a firm hold on Konkan (both north and south), an outlying province of the sultanate of Bījāpūr. Before marching from the Deccan to fight for the throne, Awrangzīb wrote to Shivājī to follow 'the royal road of true obedience and fidelity'.[222] The Mughal policy of gradual penetration into the Deccan had convinced the Sultāns of Bījāpūr and Golkonda, and also Shivājī, that the respite which the war of succession provided was ephemeral. Taking advantage of it, Shivājī carved out an independent Marātha state in the territories north and south of Konkan, adjoining his paternal *jāgir* above the Ghāts. He urged Awrangzīb to recognise his claims to the Bījāpūrī districts of North Konkan, but the Emperor deputed the most experienced noble, Shā'yasta Khān, as viceroy to deal with the problem. Meanwhile, the disastrous failure of the Bījāpūrī general Afdal Khān against Shivājī at the end of November 1659, followed by the Marātha conquests of South Konkan and the Kolhāpur district, and the annexation of the Panhāla fort immeasurably advanced Shivājī's prestige. Two years of ceaseless

221 *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, I, p. 299.

222 Letter dated 6 March 1658, despatched after 30 April 1658. J. N. Sarkār, *House of Shivājī*, Calcutta III ed., 1948, pp. 122-24. However, before leaving for northern India, Awrangzīb urged the sultān of Bījāpür to crush the depredations of Shivājī in the Mughal Deccan. *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, f. 192a.

military campaigns had given the Mughals control over the extreme north of Konkan, while the southern part remained in his hands. However, Shivāji's daring attack on Shā'yasta Khān's camp at Poona on 14 April 1663, severing the latter's thumb, further enhanced his image. Early in January 1664, the sack of Sūrat, the centre of Mughal trade, not only replenished the treasury of the Marātha chief but gave him the reputation of being invincible. However, the vigorous campaigns of the new viceroy of the Deccan, Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh, brought Shivāji to his knees and forced him to sign the treaty of Purandar in June 1665, ceding four-fifths of his territories and promising to serve the Emperor loyally. Jai Singh also sent Shivāji to Agra in the hope that the Emperor would be able to convert him into the strongest Mughal supporter in the Deccan. However, the short-sighted Mughal nobles and Shivāji misunderstood each other. When he passed through Awrangābād, its governor, who considered Shivāji only a *zamindār* (*bhūmiya*), expected him to call on him, while the Marātha chief had anticipated a visit from the Mughal governor.[223] At the imperial Court in Agra, the Emperor's orders to stand with the *mansabdārs* of 5,000 shocked him. To the Mughals, such a rank was not to be despised by a new entrant, but Shivāji, who had humbled both Shā'yasta Khān and his successor Jaswant Singh, expected a *mansab* of at least 7,000, equal to that of Jai Singh or Jaswant Singh. The Emperor viewed the matter legalistically as was his wont, but Shivāji rightly looked on it emotionally, from the point of view of his prestige and political standing in the Deccan. Jai Singh's son failed to pacify Shivāji who was placed under house arrest, while Jaswant Singh ridiculed the Emperor's leniency towards a *bhūmiya*.[224] On 28 August 1666, before the Emperor could take any final action, Shivāji escaped and eluding imperial efforts to seize him, safely reached the Deccan.

The want of funds and lack of co-operation from the Muslim nobles frustrated Mirzā Rāja's efforts to seize Bijāpūr. He was recalled to the Court but died on his way there on 6 September 1667. Prince Mu'azzam, the new governor, made peace with Shivāji who benefited from the Emperor's preoccupation with the Afghān uprising by gradually recovering the forts ceded under the terms of the treaty of Purandar. On 3 October 1670, the Marātha chief again plundered Sūrat. The rapine and carnage grossly disturbed trade and commerce, while the equanimity of the townsfolk was shattered. Shivāji began to extend his territories further. On 15 June 1674, he got himself recognized as a kshatriya, and crowned himself amidst much pomp and glory at Rāygarh. An independent Marātha empire was founded in the Deccan. Between January 1677 and March

223 *Dilkushā*, f. 30a.

224 Raghubīr Singh (ed.), *Shīvājī's visit to Aurangzēb*, pp. 22-45.

1678, Shivāji with the support of the ruler of Golkonda annexed the territories known as Bijāpūri Karnātak (Palār to the Kolerūn river) and ravaged considerable portions of the Mysore plateau. Besides the famous strongholds of Jinji and Vellore, vast stores of gold, diamonds and other precious stones fell into the hands of the conquerors. On 4 April 1680 Shivāji died. At the time of his death, his kingdom included that strip of land comprising the Western Ghāts and the Konkan between Kalyān and Goa; towards the east it included Baglāna in the north, and then it ran southwards through the Nāsik and Poona districts, enclosing the entire territory now covered by the Satārā and Kolhāpūr districts. Towards the south it comprised the Western Karnātak, extending from Belgāum to the banks of the Tungabhadra opposite the Bellāry district in Tāmilnādū.[225]

Shivāji integrated the territories under his control called *swarāj*, by an effective central administration with a council consisting of *Peshwa* or *Mukhya Pradhān* as prime minister, and seven other ministers working under him. The provincial divisions were also organized. He also developed a respectable sized navy. He canalized the aggressiveness and unreliability of the *watandārs* (Marātha counterparts of aggressive *zamīndārs*) and *ināmdārs* and *vritti-holders* (counterparts of the *madad-i ma'āsh*-holders) into fruitful channels. He maintained a regular standing army which stayed in cantonments from June to September. Early in October it used to set out the adjoining territories from which the Marāthas collected *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. *Chauth* amounted to one-fourth of the standard assessment of the land revenue of a place. The payment of the *chauth* merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Marātha soldiers and civil underlings, but did not impose on Shivāji any corresponding obligation to guard the district from foreign invasion or internal disorder. His revenue is put by his courier Sabhāsad at the round figures of one *krore* of *hun*, while the *chauth* when collected in full brought in another 80 lakhs. He justified the *chauth* on the grounds that the army maintained by him for the defence of his territory should be paid for by the subjects of the Mughals and not by the Marātha treasury. Sarkar rightly says that "such a plea might have been true at the beginning of his career and in relation to Mughal territory only, but cannot explain his raids in Bijāpūr and Golkonda, Kanāra and Tanjore".[226] The additional ten per cent of the revenue called *Sardeshmukhi* was collected as a fee to which Shivāji claimed he was entitled as a hereditary head *deshmukh* or *Sardeshmukh* of his country.

Shivāji died without nominating a successor and his influential ministers crowned his younger son, Rājārām, a boy of ten, as successor at Rāy-

225 J. N. Sārkār, *Shivāji and his times*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 356.
226 J. N. Sārkār, *History of Aurangzīb*, III, London, 1930, p. 266.

garh. His elder brother Sambhājī, whom Shivājī had imprisoned in the fort of Panhāla because of his licentiousness, contesting his unjust supersession, seized Panhāla, marched against Rāygarh and took possession of the fort. Rājārām was deposed and Sambhāji was crowned the Marātha king on 16 January 1681.

Sambhāji started his reign with the sack of Burhānpūr and by giving refuge to Prince Akbar, but the Emperor's arrival at Awrangābād early in April 1682 frustrated Sambhāji's schemes of fighting against the Mughals. Sambhāji's war with the Siddis and the Portuguese gave the Emperor considerable respite to strengthen his position.

In 1684 the Emperor attacked Bijāpūr territory and early in April 1685, the imperial army besieged the Bijāpūr fort. The Emperor himself arrived to urge on the siege operation and obtained the surrender of the fort on 22 December 1686. Early in February 1687 be besieged Golkonda. By this time, Prince Akbar, who had lost all hopes of gaining any success against his father, left for Īrān by boat. However, Prince Mu'azzam gave him another shock by secretly intriguing with the Golkonda ruler, Abu'l Hasan. The Emperor promptly imprisoned the Prince. The Golkonda garrison tried to repel the siege, but overcoming all hazards, the Mughals seized the fort on 1 October 1687. During this period, Marātha soldiers plundered the Mughal outposts, but made no effort to help either Bijāpūr or Golkonda. Sambhāji, who was engrossed in debauchery, foiled several attempts on his life by his chiefs. On 10 February 1689, Sambhāji was himself taken captive with twenty-five of his chiefs by the Mughals. The Marāthas crowned Rājārām king at Rāygarh. On 20 March Sambhāji was brutally done to death. The Mughals then besieged Rāygarh, Rājārām escaped but the fort was seized on 29 October. The wives, of Shivāji, Sambhāji and Rājārām, were taken captive. Sambhāji's son, Sāhū, was also with them. They were taken to the imperial camp. Awrangzib gave Sāhū a *mansāb* of 7000, which earlier he had withheld from his grandfather, and the title *rāja*. The ladies were also treated wth respect. I'tiqād Khān, the son of the *wazir* Asad Khān, who had seized Rāygarh, was given the title Dhu'lfaqār Khān Bahādur.

No Mughal emperor, not even Akbar, had been able to obtain such a remarkable success in the Deccan. Not only were Bijāpūr, Golkonda and Rāygarh seized, Sagar (the Berad capital), Rāychūr and Adoni (in the east), Sera and Bangalore (in Mysore), Wāndiwāsh and Conjeveram (in the Madras Karnātak), Bankāpūr and Belgāon (in the south-west) had also been conquered. Although Marātha power under Rājārām had concentrated at Jinji and the consolidation of the Bijāpūr and Golkonda conquests called for serious attention, these were problems of a provincial and local nature. It would seem that after the conquest of Golkonda, the *wazir*, Asad Khān, petitioned—

"Praised be God ! that through the grace of the great Omnipotent and the never-to-decay fortune (of your Majesty), two great kingdoms have been conquered. It is now good policy that the imperial standards should return to Paradise-like Hindūstān (i.e., Northern India), so that the world may know that nothing more remains for the Emperor to do (here)."

The Emperor wrote (across the letter), "I wonder how an all-knowing hereditary servant like you could make such a request. If your wish is that men might know that no work now remains to be done, it would be contrary to truth. So long as a single breath of this mortal life remains, there is no release from labour and work."[227]

The Emperor's false sense of priorities led him to put the military-conquest of the Deccan before the more urgent task of relieving the administration of stress and strain. Here, he could offer only piecemeal solutions. By 1670, when he reviewed the financial position of the empire, public expenditure as compared with the reign of Shāhjahān, already exceeded income by 1,400,000 rupees. The Emperor fixed the income and the expenditure of the *khālisa* at 40,000,000 rupees, cut back many items of his own personal expenditure and that of the princesses and queens.[228] A separate treasury of the *jizya* catered for the needs of the *'ulamā'* and for charities. Realization of *zakāt* was strictly enforced, but even all these measures did not help overcome the financial crisis. The plunder of Bijāpūr and Golkonda temporarily relieved the Emperor from the need of expending the reserves. However, it was not sufficient to meet the expenditure of the last phase of the Deccan wars, which completely disintegrated the tottering *mansabdāri* and *jāgirdāri* system, for it did not envisage the reckless granting of *mansabs* and *jāgirs* as political bribes. The old Mughal nobility seemed reluctant to accept the new entrants in their brotherhood. Even the Bijāpūri and Haydarābādi nobles of high rank were found to be misfits in the traditional Mughal hierarchy. The proud Rājpūt *mansabdārs* would not tolerate the admission of the Marātha *mansabdārs*, who were given exceptionally high ranks as rewards for their desertions. The Rājpūts regarded them as socially and culturally inferior, while the Marātha *mansabdārs* suffered from an inferiority complex. The enlistment of the Māvles, Bhils, Karnātakis and other hill tribes for the purpose of fighting the Marāthas and making assaults on their forts, demoralized the Rājpūt soldiers who found that their monopoly of arms was rapidly declining. The growing rebellions of the *zamindārs* in Northern India, and the ravages

227 J. N. Sarkār, *Anecdotes of Aurangzīb*, 4th ed., Calcutta 1963, p. 99.
228 *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 100.

of the marauding bands of Marāthas in the Deccan delivered a mortal blow to the Mughals' image of invincibility. The limited number of *jāgīrs* could not cope with the needs of the increasing number of new *mansabdārs*.[229] The newly recruited Muslim clerks and the *qānūngos* were incompetent. The salaries of the soldiers remained unpaid for years.[230] Outspoken and frank advisers like Mahābat Khān Lahrāsp were not spared by the cold hand of death. Asad Khān found himself too inferior to the domineering personality of his imperial master, who scornfully rejected suggestions that did not suit his taste and temperament. The nobles of lower rank complied with the imperial commands against their will, and behaved like sycophants. They vied with each other in seeking the Emperor's favour, and sacrificed the imperial interest at the altar of their own gain.

The two main groups of nobles who were to dominate politics in the first quarter of the eighteenth century emerged in the last years of Awrangzīb's reign and gained prominence through their competence and farsightedness. However, the group containing Asad Khān the *wazir*,[231] Dhu'lfaqār Khān the *mir bakhshi*, Dāwūd Khān Pannī,[232] Rāo Dalpat Bundēlā[233] and Rāo Rām Singh Hādā,[234] was estranged from the group

229 *Dilkushā*, ff. 84a, 95b, 140b-141b; *M. L.*, II, pp. 488-489.

230 *M. L.*, II, pp. 411-412, 516-517, *Anecdotes of Aurangzīb*, pp. 108-109; Sādiq Khān and Ma'mūrī, f. 203b; *Raqā'im Kara'im*, India Office Ethé 375, f. 32a.

231 Asad Khān's real name was Muhammad Ibrāhīm. He was the son of Dhu'lfaqār Khān Qārāmānlū (d. 1659) and the son-in-law of Āsaf Khān. His mother was a daughter of Sādiq Khān *mīr bakhshī* (d. 1040/1630). In 1670 Awrangzīb appointed him deputy *dīwān* and in the following year promoted him to first *bakhshī*. On 2 October 1676 he was appointed *wazīr*. He always remained deeply loyal to Awrangzīb. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 103, 108, 152; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, pp. 311, 320-321. In 1676 his *mansab* rose to 7000/7000, so Isma'īl Khān obtained the title I'tiqād Khān and was married to the daughter of Shā'yasta Khān. In 1689 he was given the title of Dhu'lfaqār Khān Bahādur. In 1702 he was promoted to the post of *mīr bakhshī*. His *mansab* rose to 6000/6000. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 158, 332, 461; *Ma'āthīr al-umarā'*, II, pp. 93-96.

232 Dāwūd Khān, Bahādur Khān and Sulaymān Khān, sons of Khidr Khān Pannī, were originally merchants. Bahādur Khān first took service under the Bījāpūrī sultāns but in 1676 entered into the imperial service and soon rose to the rank of 4000. He was given the title Khān and his brothers and other relations also obtained suitable *mansabs*. In 1699 he was appointed the deputy of Dhu'lfaqār Khān to the post of the *fawjdārī* of Haydarābād and remained a life-long supporter of Dhu'lfaqār Khān. His *mansab* rose to 6000/6000. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 439; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, II pp. 63-68.

233 Rāo Dalpat Bundēlā, son of Rāo Subhkaran Bundēlā, fought strenuously to liquidate the Marātha power. Towards the end of Awrangzīb's reign his *mansab* was 3000/3000.

234 Rāo Rām Singh Hādā also co-operated very enthusiastically with Dhu'lfaqār Khān in fighting against the Marāthas. His *mansab* was 2500/2500.

comprising Ghāzi-al Dīn Khān Firûz Jang[235], Chīn Qilich Khān,[236] Hāmid Khān Bahādur, Muhammad Amin Khān[237] and Rahim al-Dīn Khān.[238]

Bhim Sen, a native of Burhānpūr who served the Mughals under Rāo Dalpat Bundēlā, in a thought-provoking analysis of the factors that contributed to the rise of the Marāthas at the end of the seventeenth century, rightly points out that whatever territories Jahāngir and Shāhjahān conquered, they assigned to eminent nobles who possessed vast resources. They adequately promoted peace and order in their respective assignments. Because of the want of nobles of high calibre, the task of consolidation in Awrangzib's reign was entrusted to officers who possessed meagre resources. The lawless elements did not bother about such *fawjdārs*. The war-weary *fawjdārs* preferred to live peacefully at one place, but they entered into an alliance with those very lawless elements.

This process went a long way to strengthening the Marāthas. The governments of Bijāpūr and Haydarābād stationed 150,000 and 80,000 horsemen in their respective forts and territories. After their overthrow, not more than three to four thousand horsemen were permanently stationed at either place. The *mansabdārs*, who obtained different tracts of land in *tankhwāh* were not in a position to control them because of the lack of adequate forces. The *zamindārs* also increased in strength, joined the Marāthas and assembled large forces. They began to ravage the countryside.

235 Mīr Shihāb al-Dīn (Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrūz-Jang) was the son of 'Ābid Khān, a descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (539/1145-632/1234-5). 'Ābid Khān migrated to India from Samarqand. Awrangzīb gave 'Ābid Khān the title of Qilīch Khān in 1679, and promoted him to the post of principal *sadr*. He also worked as the governor of Bīdar, fought in the Bījāpūr war and died in early 1687 during the Golkonda siege. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 185, 207, 263, 289. Shihāb al-Dīn migrated later in 1669. At the end of 1681 he was appointed the *mīr bakhshī* of *ahadīs* and was given the title Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Bahādur in December 1683. He exhibited considerable bravery in the war against Bījāpūr, Haydarābād and the Marāthas. The plague at the end of 1688 almost blinded him. However, he continued to enjoy the Emperor's confidence and participated in battles. Towards the end of Awrangzīb's reign his *mansab* was 7000/7000. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 90, 216, 241, 318.

236 He was the son of Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, his original name being Qamar al-Dīn (b. 1082/1671). He obtained the title Chīn Qilīch Khan in 1690/91. Like his father he fought bravely in the Deccan wars. Towards the end of Awrangzīb's reign his *mansab* was 5000/5000 and that of his brother Hāmid Khān was 2500/1500.

237 Mīr Muhammad Amīn was the son of 'Ābid Khān's brother, Bahā' al-Dīn, who did not migrate to India. In September 1687, after his father's execution by the ruler of Bukhārā he migrated to Awrangzīb's court. In 1698 he was appointed the *sadr* and was then promoted to *sadr al-sudūr*. He also took part in the siege of the Marātha forts and was adequately rewarded for his bravery. In 1706 he was made Chīn Bahādur and his *mansab* was raised to 4000/1500. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 303, 394 518.

238 Rahīm al-Dīn Khān, a brother of Chīn Qilīch Khān, held a *mansab* of 1500/600.

In view of the disaffection of the *zamindārs*, the realization of revenue by the *jāgirdārs* became very difficult. When it was brought to the notice of the Emperor that the cultivators were hands-in-glove with the Marāthas, their arms and horses were confiscated. The cultivators thereupon procured arms and horses from other sources and joined the Marāthas. The *fawjdārs*, *deshmukhs* and *zamindārs* exacted money from the cultivators on the slightest pretext. The *zamindārs* were required to pay *peshkash* to the Emperor, and officials were appointed to realize it. They were also directed to collect provisions. The *zamindārs* paid nothing from their own pockets, but exacted money from the cultivators and paid it to the imperial officials. Unspeakable tyranny was exercised by the *amins* of *jizya*. They realized hundreds of millions and credited only a meagre sum to the treasury. The Marāthas assigned territory to their own chiefs that had already been given by the imperialists in *tankhwāh* to their own *jāgirdārs*. Thus the same territory came to have two sets of *jāgirdārs*. Every place the Marāthas raided was subjected to savage exaction. They also allowed their horses to eat the standing crops and they devastated cultivated lands. The imperial army that chased them was left to subsist on whatever remained unravaged.[239] Hence law and order disappeared.

During the régime of Amīr al-Umarā' Shā'yasta Khān and Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh etc. no such lawlessness existed as might lead to the annihilation of the cultivators, but by the end of the century the matter passed beyond all bounds.[240] No trace of justice was left. A large number of Shivāji's forts were seized by the imperial troops. No place was left in which the cultivators might live or store their property. They sent their families to those of their relations who resided in imperial territory. After the death of Rājārām, his infant son was nominally appointed as his successor, while the entire power was exercised by his mother, the regent. No Marātha acted contrary to her wishes.

Those Marāthas who had no hopes of obtaining monthly stipends took revenge in subjecting the imperial lands to depredations. No place in the Deccan was left uninfested by lawless elements and robbers. The peasants stopped cultivation. No revenue was received by the *jāgirdārs* and they were increasingly hard-pressed. More than 10,000 horsemen assembled to fight against the imperial army. A large number of *mansabdārs* also deserted to the Marāthas. Of all the *watandārs*, none but Rāo Dalpat Bundēlā, Rām Singh Hādā and Rāj Singh Kachwāha maintained the requisite number

239 Dhu'lfaqār Khān is said to have covered a journey of 6000 miles within a period of six months during one of his roving commissions against the bands of Marāthas. *Dilkushā*, f. 141a.

240 Raghoba forsook the Mughal service, founded a village named Apola near Kaliyān where he developed a regular market of commodities obtained from loot seized during his acts of plunder. *Dilkushā*, f. 145a.

of contingents, and they did so only for the sake of their prestige. The rest did not keep even one thousand horsemen with them. During the period when the Emperor was laying siege to Khelna (1701), the lawless elements succeeded in obtaining a permanent hold over the entire country. They controlled all the roads, amassed huge wealth through robbery and banditry, and the days of their privation vanished. It is said that they distributed sweets and gifts for the sake of a long life to the Emperor. The country knew great scarcity and high prices in those days. In the imperial camp, grain was sold from six seers to two seers a rupee. Illegal exactions and malpractices of various kinds were revived. The Marātha depredations made supplies from the north erratic.[241]

Seized with increasing despondency and desperation, the Emperor resolved to direct personally the expedition against the Marātha hill forts. To stimulate the interest of his Muslim soldiers and officers, the Emperor characterized his expedition as a *jihād*.[242] On 29 October 1669 he left the camp.

On 12 March 1700, Rājārām died, having completed only thirty years. A wave of hope ran through the ranks of the imperial army. Karna, the favourite son of Rājārām, was crowned king, but Tārābā'i, the most enterprising of the dead king's wives, was not satisfied. Through Rūh-Allāh Khān she proposed to come to terms with the Emperor, 'asking for a *7 hazāri mansab* and the *deshmukhi* rights over the Deccan for Rājārām's legitimate son, and proposing to supply a contingent of 5,000 men for service under the imperial viceroy of the Deccan, and to cede seven forts, including Panhāla, Satārā, Chandan-Wandan, and Parli. The Marātha king was to be exempted from personal attendance on the Emperor, as the great Shivāji had been and the Mahārāna of Udaipūr always was.' The proposed peace terms sought to offer no concession to Sambhāji's son Sāhū, who was already in the custody of the Emperor. Awrangzib decided to exploit the Marātha crisis to his full advantage. He insisted on the surrender of all the forts.[243] Meanwhile, Karna died of smallpox and Tārābā'i crowned her own son Shivāji III as king. Her life's aim was achieved. She obtained singular success in stopping the in-fighting of the Marātha chiefs and set them to ravaging the territories inadequately defended by the imperial forces. Awrangzib proceeded too far in his scheme of conquering the inaccessible Marātha forts to turn back. He

241 *Dilkushā,* f. 156a; *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī,* I, pp. 357-374; *M. L.,* II, pp. 518-519; Sādiq Khān and Ma'mūrī, f. 204; *Storia do Mogor,* IV, pp. 246-47.

242 *Dilkushā,* ff. 129a, 142a, 144b; *Akhbārāt,* 11 February 1703, 11 March 1704, 3 August 1704, 20 October 1704; *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī,* pp. 483, 497-498; Sādiq Khān and Ma'mūrī, f. 204a; *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt,* Ethé 373, ff. 84b-85a, 99a.

243 *History of Aurangzīb,* V, pp. 134–36

obstinately believed that the Marāthas once rendered homeless would come to their knees. However, he failed to realize the potentialities of the Marātha guerrilla tactics, and the *kriegstaat* (a government that lived and grew mainly by wars of aggression) that the great Shivāji had founded. The marauding bands of Marāthas under different leaders burst into the plains of six *sūbas* of the Deccan like avalanches. They soon came to be the rallying point for all the rebellious and disgruntled elements, without distinction of caste or creed, thus enhancing their prestige and influence. They divided all the *parganas* among themselves and, imitating the imperialists, appointed their own *sūbadārs, kamāyishdārs* (revenue collectors) and *rāhdārs.* The only qualifications expected of a Marātha *sūbadār* were the possession of an army and the ability to lead it. Immediately after receiving intelligence of the presence of a caravan of merchants in their vicinity, the Marāthas would raid it with seven or eight thousand horsemen and plunder it. They posted their *kamāyishdārs* everywhere for the realization of *chauth.* The merchants for the sake of their own safety paid an amount three or four times more than an oppressive imperial *fawjdār* would have exacted. In each *sūba* the Marāthas had built one or two fortresses from whence they made their predatory incursions. The *muqaddams* of the *saranjām*-holders of certain villages, in concert with the Marātha *sūbadārs,* had likewise built fortresses and withheld payment of the imperial revenues.[244] By 1704, the system of Marātha wars also underwent a radical change. Manucci observed: "At the present time they possess artillery, musketry, bows and arrows, with elephants and camels for all their baggage and tents. They carry these last to secure some repose from time to time as they find it convenient. In short, they are equipped and move about just like the armies of the Mogul."[245]

Between Prince A'zam, the governor of Gujarāt's departure (25 November 1705) from Ahmadābād (against the Emperor's wishes) and the arrival of his successor, Prince Bidār Bakht, a huge Marātha force numbering about eighty thousand horsemen invaded the southern frontier of Gujarāt. The Gujarātis, ignorant of the Marātha system of warfare, were thus unprepared for yet another band of Marāthas who swooped down upon them unexpectedly from another direction. The Marāthas retired after ravaging the neighbouring villages and levying taxes. In the wake of the Marāthas, the lawless Gujarāti Kolis emerged from their hiding places, plundering towns and villages and subjecting Baroda to rapine for two complete days. The captives secured their release only by paying considerable ransom; and no assistance was given from the royal

244 *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, ff. 134a-137a; *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 334-335.
245 *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 505.

treasury even to the deputy *sūbadār,* who paid three lakhs of rupees from his own resources.[246]

At the end of 1699, the Marāthas for the first time crossed the Narbadā and ravaged villages as far from it as Dhamuni. Three years later they reached the vicinity of Ujjain. The disorders provoked the lawless local Afghāns to rebellious activities. In October 1703, Nīmāji Sindhiā actively supported by the disaffected Mughals and Afghāns, advanced to Sironj and returned wearily to the Deccan (March 1704). The Marātha depredations in the vicinity of the Narbadā demoralized the Mughal officers of Mālwa and communications between the North and the imperial camp in the Deccan were increasingly disturbed. In the middle of August 1704, Prince Bidār Bakht was appointed Viceroy of Mālwa and Khāndesh. A year later he was relieved of the charge of Khāndesh and was directed to pay his exclusive attention to Mālwa. His principal lieutenant, Jai Singh, the young rāja of Amber, exhibited considerable vigilance. No Marātha chief of note thereafter entered Mālwa, but bands of Afghāns under their local leaders became menacingly troublesome in the province.[247]

Although northern India was governed by *mansabdārs* of minor importance the spell of the Mughal glory and invincibility kept it fairly peaceful. A number of the Mughal nobles led a profligate and licentious life. For example, Mirzā Tafākhur, the son of Asad Khān's daughter, plundered the shops in Delhi, seized the Hindū women who went to the river to bathe and raped them. The Emperor ordered him to be imprisoned but postponed action until his return to Delhi,[248] which never eventuated. Many other descendants of Asad Khān were profligate and drunkards.

The regular flow of wealth from north to south along the highway that passed through Jāt territories aroused the Jāts' cupidity, and they again organized themselves into fierce predatory bands. Of their leaders, Rājārām the *zamindār* of Sinsani (16 miles north-west of modern Bharatpūr) was most prominent. Ramchehra, who lived in the same vicinity at Soghar, seems to have accepted the overlordship of Rājārām who began to make predatory incursions into and around Agra and Sikandrā. Rājārām, however, incurred his own ruin by involving himself in the feuds of the Rājpūt *zamindārs.* The Shekhāwats and Chauhāns were embroiled in a very serious dispute relating to their right of the *zamindāri* of *pargana* Vaghtariya and other districts. Rājārām decided to help the Chauhāns while the Shekhāwats secured the protection of Shāhji, the Mughal *fawjdār* of Mēwāt. In the war between the two factions, Rājārām was shot dead

246 *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī,* ff. 135b-137b; *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī,* p. 340; *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt,* Ethé 373, ff. 71b, 90a, 91a, 116a-b, 120a, 123b, 124a.

247 *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī,* p. 498.

248 *Anecdotes of Aurangzēb,* pp. 97-99.

by a musketeer of the Mughal *fawjdār*.[249] His brother Chūrāman, who succeeded him, strengthened the forts of Sinsanī and Soghar and raided the *parganas* as far as the vicinity of Delhi. The Emperor appointed Bishan Singh Kachwāha, who had recently succeeded his father Rām Singh,[250] as the *fawjdār* of Mathurā and commissioned him to uproot the Jāt menace. The *zamindāri* rights of Sinsanī were also assigned to him. Though he held a rank of 2000/2000, he recruited 10,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry for the purpose. The imperial army under Bidār Bakht, with the Rāja in the van, arrived before Sinsanī. The Jāts made regular night attacks and cut off their supplies. The imperial troops suffered grievous hardships but they were not discouraged. After a constant struggle of about four months, the trenches were carried to the gate of the fort. The thickets around the fort were cleared and after being mined, it was captured in January 1690. On the last day of May the following year, Rāja Bishan Singh captured Soghar. The Jāts were subdued but not crushed. They built several other centres of activity and constructed mud fortresses in the most inaccessible parts of the country.[251] In about 1704, they re-captured Sinsanī, but a few months later Mukhtār Khān, the *sūbadār* of Agra, wrested it from them.[252]

Some of the lawless elements of Bundelkhand and Mālwa clustered round Chatrasāl Bundēlā,[253] who obtained a livelihood from predatory raids in the vicinity of Sironj. Sher Afgan Khān, the *fawjdār* of Ranod (70 miles north of Sironj), marched against Chatrasāl (March 1699). He was driven out of Sūrajmau fort, near Jhānsi. His lieutenant Chatra Mukut Bundēlā deserted to Sher Afgan Khān. Later on Gharīb Dās, the son of Chatrasāl, was expelled by Sher Afgan from Gagrāon *pargana* (July 1699). The Emperor rewarded his *fawjdār* by assigning him Dahāmunī, in addition to Ranod. The following year, Chatrasāl was attacked by Sher Afgan near Jhuna. In a hotly contested battle, the Mughal *fawjdār* lost his life. In April 1701 Chatrasāl was besieged in the Kālinjar fort by Sher Khān's successor Khayr-Andesh Khān, but he seems to have obtained little success. Khayr-Andesh Khān, who was formerly the *fawjdār* of Etāwa and Īrij, seems to have been friendly with Chatrasāl and Rāma Chandra

249 *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, ff. 94a-97a, 135b, 138a, 149a; *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 266, 273, 355; *Raqā'im Karā'im*, Ethé 375, ff. 36b-37a.

250 Rām Singh was the son of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh whom he succeeded. He first served in Assam and was then transferred to the tribal territories. In April 1688 he died. His son Bishan Singh also died on 19 December 1699 and was succeeded by Jai Singh (future Sawā'ī Jai Singh) who was born on 3 November 1688.

251 *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, ff. 131a-137b, 164b.

252 *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 498.

253 See facsimile of Persian documents and translation in M. P. Singh, Contemporary historical documents and Chatrasāl, Delhi 1975, pp. 171-223;

Bundēlā, the forsaken son of Rāo Dalpat. In February 1698 Rāma Chandra intrigued unsuccessfully with Khayr-Andesh Khān against his father. It appears that Chatrasāl with the help of Rāma Chandra was persuaded by Khayr-Andesh Khān to come to terms. In 1705 he was assigned a *mansab* of four thousand and visited the Emperor in the Deccan.

The interference of the imperial government in the conflicts of the *zamindārs* provoked the stronger elements among them to rebel. In 1685 Pahār Singh Gaur, a Rājpūt *zamindār* of Indrākhi (43 miles east of Gwālior), and a *fawjdār* of Shāhābād (90 miles north of Sironj), defeated Anurudh Singh Hāda, the rāja of Bundi who was intensely loyal to the Mughals. The imperial government directed Pahār Singh to surrender the booty to them, but he refused and took to brigandage in Mālwa. Rāy Mulūk Chand, the assistant of the *dīwān* of Prince A'zam, fought a severe battle against him and he was killed in December 1685. Four months later Bhagwant Singh, Pahār Singh's son, who like his father had taken to brigandage, was killed by Mulūk Chand in a battle at Chirūli (6 miles south-east of Antri). Devi Singh, another of Pahār Singh's sons, joined Chatrasāl, while Gopāl Singh, the grandson of Pahār Singh, took to a life of plundering. In a night attack they killed Safdar Khān, the *fawjdār* of Gwālior. Two years later they surrendered. Their *mansab* was restored. Pahār Singh was deputed to serve in Kābul while other chieftains served the Emperor in the Deccan.[254]

The policy of giving protection to the *zamindārs* who embraced Islām also gave rise to considerable problems in certain territories. In 1686 Bakht Buland, who had embraced Islām, was assigned Deogarh in supersession of his rivals. Five years later he was supplanted by a Muslim Gond, named Dindār. Bakht Buland remained under surveillance for about four years, but was subsequently restored to favour. In 1696 Dindār also rebelled. He was defeated and the state was given to Kān Singh, a son of Kishan Singh, the rāja of Chānda. Kān Singh embraced Islām and obtained the title of Niknām. The new arrangements estranged Bakht Buland from the Mughals. He escaped from the imperial camp, captured Deogarh and took to brigandage, in collaboration with the Marāthas. In 1699 Deogarh was captured by the imperial troops. Bakht Buland's predatory raids could not be crushed however, and he came to be a rallying point of all the disaffected elements in the region.[255]

*Zamindār* lawlessness was by no means a new problem. Indeed, aggressive *zamindārs* (*zamindār-i zor talab*) were more respected by society for their

254 J. N. Sarkār, *History of Aurangzēb*, V, pp. 293-310.

255 *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 340, 404; *M. L.*, II, pp. 461-462; *Akhbārāt*, 15 April 1696, 5, 6 July 1699, 2, 6, 12 July, 5 August, 4 December 1699, 12 February, 16 March, 5 May 1701; J. N. Sarkār, *History of Aurangzēb*, V, pp. 334-339.

qualities of leadership, and legends and myths inevitably grew up around their personalities. Nevertheless the peace that reigned throughout a vast number of regions of northern India must be attributed to the effectiveness of the Mughal institutions.

Gurū Tegh Bahādur's son Gurū Gobind Singh (1675-1708), who was only nine years old at the time of his father's execution, was taken to the foot of the Himālayas in Paontā at the banks of the Jamunā and brought up there. Like his grandfather, Gurū Hargobind, he encouraged his disciples to make him offerings of arms and horses and strengthened himself by admitting to his forces all the elements hostile to the Mughals, including the Afghāns. Rāja Bhīm Chand of Bilāspūr, whose territory included Gurū Gobind's headquarters at Ānandpūr, sensed in the casteless fraternity of the Sikhs a challenge to his own power. He attacked the Gurū at Bhanganī near Paontā but was defeated (1686). Gurū Gobind returned to Ānandpūr. The following year, Bhīm Chand persuaded Gurū Gobind to join him and to lead an attack against the Mughal revenue collectors. After initial skirmishes, the Rāja deserted Gurū Gobind. The Emperor refused to accept the terms of peace proposed by the Rāja. Prince Mu'azzam, who was deputed against the hill Rāja, worsted him. Under an imperial order, no harm was done to Gurū Gobind. The Gurū, who gained a period of respite extending to about twelve years, devoted himself to reorganizing the Sikhs into the militant *khālsa*. He reinterpreted the vital teachings of Gurū Nānak and formulated a new code of conduct for his followers. His ruthless condemnation of idol worship alienated a sizeable section of the khattris from him and only the Panjāb peasantry known as the Jutts were left with him. The Sikhs now posed a potent danger to the rājas of the Panjāb hills. The latter appealed to the Emperor to take proper action against the Sikh menace. Forces from Lahore and Sirhind, fighting in collaboration with the hill rājas, failed to subdue the Sikhs in their early skirmishes. Further reinforcements of Mughal troops cut off supplies to Ānandpūr. The Gurū, on assurance of safety from the Mughals, evacuated the fort with his family. The hillmen, however, overtook him. A handful of Sikhs risked their lives for the sake of the Gurū and his family. Two of his sons fell fighting at Juajha but the Gurū himself was saved by two Pathāns. The remaining two sons were executed at the instance of Wazir Khān, the *fawjdār* of Sirhind. A pursuing Mughal column engaged the Gurū at Khidrana, but was defeated. The Gurū retired to Talwandi Sābo (now called Damdamā) and set himself to editing the *Granth* of Gurū Nānak. He was seemingly more annoyed with Wazir Khān than with the Emperor, to whose notice he repeatedly brought the atrocities of his *fawjdār*. The Emperor did not interfere with his local officer, who was charged with the duty of crushing the power of the Sikhs. A battle was fought between the Sikhs and the

imperial troops at Chamkaur. The Sikh temple in Sirhind was demolished, but they retaliated in equal terms by pulling down the mosque and killing its *imām*. Prince Mu'azzam who in 1695 was released and appointed the *sūbadār* of Kābul, came to some sort of understanding with them. A large number of Sikhs left the Panjāb for the Frontiers, but the Bārakza'i Afghāns made short work of them. Prince Mu'azzam was directed to expel the Sikhs who had found refuge in his province. The Gurū left for the Deccan to lay his complaints against the *fawjdār*, but the Emperor himself died when the Gurū had only reached as far as Rājasthān.[256]

**Awrangzib's Death**

The Emperor relied increasingly on the policy of promoting mutual strife and dissension among the Marātha ranks. However, he failed to make proper use of Rāja Sāhū who was then in captivity. Had he been released he could have been used in the Mughal imperial interests to fight against the rival Marātha factions, as was the case with the Rājpūt rājas. In 1706 the imperial camp not yet having shifted to Ahmadnagar, it was believed that the Marāthas would come to some sort of settlement through the persuasions of a Marātha chief, Rāy Bhān Bhonsle, who held a *mansab* of six thousand. Rāja Sāhū was transferred to the control of Dhu'lfaqār Khān Nusrat-Jang, who wrote conciliatory letters to the Marātha chiefs, but to no avail.[257] As Bhimsen observed, the whole of the Deccan had fallen under the control of the Marāthas who cared little for a settlement. While the areas across the Narbadā were increasingly threatened, Prince A'zam left the viceroyalty of Gujarāt and rushed to the court (5 December 1705). Ajit Singh Rāthor, who upon coming of age would rebel or submit according to his convenience, was stimulated to rebel again. Immediately upon receipt of the news of the Emperor's death, Ajit rushed to Jodhpūr, expelled the deputy *fawjdār* and occupied his ancestral principality.

The memories of Shāhjahān's imprisonment haunted Awrangzib and the rivalries of his three remaining sons robbed him of the peace of mind which he needed at the approach of the hour of his death. He came to regard his life as a trail of woeful tragedy. Prince Mu'azzam was in Kābul. His second son, the imperious A'zam, who considered himself matchless

256 Muhammad Qāsim, *'Ibrat-nāma,* B. M. Add, 26, 245, ff. 28b-29a; Macauliffe, M. A., *The Sikh Religion,* V, Oxford 1909, pp. 1-67, 200-229; J. D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs,* Oxford 1918, pp. 66-83.

257 In 1114/1702-3 a scheme to make peace with the Marāthas was mooted. About seventy *farmāns* were subsequently prepared and it was proposed that Sāhū should deliver them to the Marātha leaders in an attempt to make peace with them. However, the Emperor shelved the scheme, thinking that if forty to fifty thousand Marātha horsemen were to liberate the Sāhū, he himself would be rendered helpless. *M. L.,* II, p. 520.

in bravery, plunged himself into the task of intriguing for his own succession. He came to some sort of understanding with Asad Khān and other nobles. The Emperor neutralized the intrigue by summoning Chin Qilich Khān, the *sūbadār* of Bijāpūr, to court, and took other measures to protect the third son Kām Bakhsh. It seemed that the two rivals would fly to arms even before he closed his eyes. There was no other alternative but to send them to other provinces. Awrangzīb appointed Kām Bakhsh as the *sūbadār* of Bijāpūr and, with a heavy heart, sent him there on 19 February 1707. Four days later A'zam was sent to Mālwa as a *sūbadār*. On Friday 28 Dhu'l-qa'da 1118/3 March 1707 when a quarter of a day had passed, the Emperor died repeating the *kalima,* dutifully nursed by his daughter Zinat al-Nisā'. Muhammad A'zam who had not gone more than fifty miles, hastily returned and the Emperor was buried under his supervision at Khuldābād (8 *kos* from Awrangābād and 3 *kos* from Dawlatābād) in the courtyard of the tomb of Shaykh Zain al-Din.[258]

Awrangzīb's failures are generally ascribed to his bigotry and narrow-minded religious policy. Indeed, the domination of the theologians in the formulations of his administrative policies gave rise to immeasurable difficulties and complications. What caused the real breakdown, however, was his unrealistic estimate of the Deccan situation and his obstinate stay there after 1689 made him a helpless victim of unfavourable circumstances.

The Emperor had denied himself every leisure and comfort in life. He presided over the court of justice twice daily, but the stream of complainants was endless. On one occasion he cried out bitterly to an intensely dissatisfied complainant: 'If you don't find your grievances redressed, pray the Almighty to grant you some other ruler.'[259] His piety, his punctilious regard for duty and austerity evoked no enthusiasm among his nobles or sons. The flatterers ceaselessly glorified his rare ability to combine the externals of a lord with the soul of an ascetic; the Emperor himself promoted credulity by issuing amulets, but some of the eminent *sūfis* who had considerable followings, like Shāh Kalīm-Allāh Jahānābādī, ridiculed his austerity and orthodoxy and condemned him as a hypocrite.[260]

The Emperor also failed to satisfy the expectations of the Tūrānī Sunnīs who had started to scramble for office on sectarian grounds. For example, Mīr Muhammad Amīn, an uncle of Chin Qilich Khān (future Nawwāb Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh), soon after leading several military expeditions against the Marāthas, began to clamour for one of the posts of *bakhshi* suggesting that one of two *bakhshis* who were Īrānīs and Shi'īs should be

258 *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī,* pp. 521-22.
259 *M. L.,* II, p. 550.
260 Kalīm-Allāh Jahānābādī, *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī,* Delhi 1315/1897-98, p. 45.

dismissed. He wrote, "Hail! saint and spiritual guide of the world and of its people! Both the paymasterships have been conferred on heretical demon-natured Persians. If one of the paymasterships be given to this old and devoted servant, it would be a means of strengthening the [Sunni] faith and of snatching away employment from accursed misbelievers. *O, ye faithful! do not take as friends your own and Our enemies.*"

Across the sheet of the petition Awrangzib wrote, "What you have stated about your long service is true. It is being appreciated as far as possible. As for what you have written about the false creed of the Persians, [I answer],—'What connection have worldy affairs with religion? and what right have matters of religion to enter into bigotry? For you is your religion and for me is mine.' If this rule [suggested by you] were established, it would be my duty to extirpate all the [Hindu] Rajahs and their followers. Wise men disapprove of the removal from office of able officers. Your request for a paymastership is appropriate, as you hold a rank suited to the post. The reason that acts as a hindrance is that the Turani people, your followers, who are clansmen from the same city as that of my ancestors,—according to the saying *'Don't throw yourself into destruction with your own hands'*,—do not think it a shame to retreat in the very thick of the battle. It would not be a great harm if this sort of thing took place in a foraging expedition, but it would cause a terrible difficulty if it occurred in the midst of a [regular] battle. If, *God forbid it* ! the attendants of the Emperor were to act thus, then in a moment all would be over [with him].

"If you have [ever] declined to perform this actually experienced and tested business [viz. retreat], write to me in detail [about it]. The Persians, whether born in *Vilayet* or in Hindustan—who (the last) are noted for their gross stupidity—are a hundred stages removed from this sort of movement [i.e., flight.] (*Verse*)

"Do justice, as the folly of these bad men
Is better than a thousand brains of the fox-natured.
One brain is enough for an army
For throwing bricks from engines into the eyes of the enemy"[261]

After the promotion of Muhammad Ismā'il I'tiqād Khān, son of Asad Khān, and the awarding of the title of Dhu'lfaqār to him, the imperial camp began to ring with accusations that the Emperor had converted the entire army into a [corpse of the believers of] "*Lā fatā illā 'Alī, lā sayf illā dhu'lfaqār*", (none as chivalrous except 'Alī and there is no sword but

261 *Anecdotes of Aurangzēb*, pp. 88-89.

['Alī's sword] dhu'lfaqār.)[262] The comments meant that the Emperor discriminated against all who were not Shī'īs, for they were the only ones he promoted.

The eruption of the communal and sectarian conflicts at the end of Awrangzīb's reign indicate that the hands of the clock had been reversed and the Mughal élite was returning to the same point from which Akbar had started. Such conflicts had always existed before but had never been allowed to interfere with imperial interests. The Mughal imperial institutions now cried out for the emergence of another Akbar—for someone who was imaginative, farsighted, sympathetic but strong. There was no shortage of talent amongst the Īrānī, Tūrānī, Rājpūt and even Marātha leaders. Despite their individual religious and communal views, there is no doubt that under a new Akbar, who never emerged, such men as Dhu'lfaqār Khān, Sawā'i Jai Singh and Chin Qilich Khān, who were not inferior to 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān, Mān Singh and Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, could still have restored the Mughal empire to its former glory. The following chapter deals with the woeful tale of the destruction of generals who had obtained training under Awrangzīb, and with the sinking of the empire into utter inanity.

262 See articles on *dhu'lfaqār*, *fatā* and *futūwwa* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2], II. The formula *lā fatā illā 'Alī-lā sayf illā dhu'lfaqār* had always been inscribed on most valuable swords, and even on cannons. This does not necessarily imply any particular association with Shī'īsm. The Emperor seems to have been inspired to give Asad Khān's son the title of Dhu'lfaqār Khān purely because Asad Khān's father's name was also Dhu'lfaqār.

Chapter Two

# *The Eighteenth Century Scramble for Political Domination*

Before his death, Awrangzib is said to have left a will partitioning his vast empire among his three surviving sons.[1] The division was as follows:

| *Prince* | *Provinces* | *Revenue (Dāms)* |
|---|---|---|
| Muhammad Mu'azzam (Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh) born 30 Rajab 1053/14 October 1643. | 12 | 5,175,956,440 |
| A'zam Shāh, born 12 Sha'bān 1063/8 July 1653 | 6 | 4,704,255,400 |
| Kām Bakhsh born 10 Ramadān 1077/6 March 1667 | 2 | 2,191,665,000 |

Although Awrangzīb's allotment for his various sons was fair, the Emperor himself forgot that after his victory over Dārā-Shukōh he had refused to accept a similar division which had been suggested by his elder sister.[2] As his sons were adults (the eldest was 64) they had been waiting for the throne for many years. It was therefore unlikely that they would have agreed to divide up the empire three ways and it was inevitable that a war of succession would result. To confound the issue there was little love lost between Awrangzīb's second son, A'zam Shāh, and his son, Bīdār Bakht, whom Awrangzīb considered the most promising of all his descend-

1 Shaykh Muhammad Murād, An untitled history of Awrangzīb and his successors. Bodleian [Fraser Ms.] no. 262, ff. 73a-76b; W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, reprinted, Delhi, 1971, p. 6.

2 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, *Wāqi'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī*. 'Alīgarh 1945, pp. 82-83.

ants.[3] A'zam Shāh lost no time in crowning himself Emperor of India. The ceremony took place on 10 Dhu'l-hijja 1118/15 March 1707 in the Imperial Camp of the deceased Emperor.

Mu'azzam can be given credit for having urged his younger brother to accede to his father's will and refrain from bloodshed. However, A'zam Shāh rejected Mu'azzam's offer of peace, adding that for all his education he had forgotten Shaykh Sa'dī's maxim that ten dervishes could sleep under one blanket but two rulers could not exist in one kingdom.[4] Just over two months after Awrangzīb's death the two armies met near Jaja'ū (near Sāmūgarh), Mu'azzam emerging victorious.[5] He then proceeded to deal with his youngest brother, Kām Bakhsh, who had crowned himself king of Bījāpūr. Kām Bakhsh had also rejected his elder brother's offers of peace and was mortally wounded in battle near Haydarābād on 13 January 1709.[6]

The accession of Muhammad Mu'azzam as Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh marked a departure from the stern, orthodox Sunni policies of his father. Such a change would have had to occur regardless of which prince had gained the throne. All the three sons had received the highest form of literary, religious and philosophical education available, although the outcome was disappointment for their father who believed that the metaphysical *ishrāqi* ideas were intended to increase knowledge, not undermine belief in orthodox Sunnism. After recovering from a serious illness in 1693, and more notably during his governorship of Gujarāt, Prince A'zam had begun to show an interest in Shi'ism and started missing Sunni congregational prayers.[7]

Even more challenging to the Sunnis of the Mughal empire in the early eighteenth century were some of the policies which Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh began to introduce. Immediately he acceded to the throne, at the suggestion of his *wazir*, Mun'im Khān, he ordered that in the

3 Kāmrāj bin Nainsukh, *A'zam al-harb,* B. M., Or. 1899, ff. 26b-45a, Mīrzā Mubārak-Allāh Wādih entitled Irādat Khān, *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān,* Lahore, 1971, pp. 35-36, Irādat advised Bīdār Bakht that after gaining victory, he, following the example of his grandfather, might incarcerate his own father, A'zam Shāh.

4 Muhammad Qāsim, *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn,* B. M., Add, 26, 244, ff. 9a-29a; *M. L.*, pp. 585-88.

5 *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān,* pp. 48-63; Kāmrāj, *'Ibrat-nāma,* Ethé 391, ff. 8a-10b; Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim Husaynī, *'Ibrat-nāma,* B. M., Add, 26, 245, ff. 9b-16b; Mīrzā Muhammad bin Mu'tamad Khān (Rustam), *'Ibrat-nāma,* Ethé 392, ff. 94b-96a.

6 Mīrzā Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad 'Alī (Ni'mat Khān-i 'Ālī), *Bahādur Shāh-nāma,* Bodleian Ms., Elliot 20, ff. 169b-172a; *Tārīkh-i Irādāt Khān,* pp. 80-92; Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Muqaddamā-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma,* B. M., Add, 24,028, ff. 6b-10b; *A'zam al-harb,* ff. 120a. 139a; Fraser, ff. 60b-61a; Kāmrāj, *'Ibrat-nāma,* Ethé 391, ff. 37b-46a.

7 Fraser, ff. 60b-61a.

*khutba*,[8] 'Sayyid'[9] should be added to the list of his titles. He then ordered that the form of *khutba* recited in Awrangzīb's reign be changed. The new *khutba* retained such traditional Sunni titles as *siddīq* (a faithful witness of the truth) for Abū Bakr, and Fārūq (a discerner) for 'Umar. It omitted the usual titles for 'Uthmān but such long titles for 'Alī as *wasi* ('executor of Muhammad's will' or 'chosen heir'), 'son of the uncle of the Prophet', 'father of the two offspring' (Hasan and Husayn) and 'leader of the great *Imāms*' were added.[10] Bahādur Shāh did not anticipate that the new *khutba* would in any way offend orthodox Sunni feelings but the latter considered that the Emperor had become a Shi'i. With the exception of Ahmadābād, Delhi and Lahore, the new *khutba* was recited everywhere. The *wazir*, Mun'im Khān, who was also a *sūfi*, appears to have supported the Emperor on this issue but the Shi'i, Asad Khān, forbade the *khutba* being read in Delhi on the basis that India was not Shi'i Īrān. At Ahmadābād the Sunni governor, Ghāzi al-Dīn Fīrūz-Jang ordered the Emperor's instructions to be obeyed, but the Sunnis refused to accept his ruling, rebelled and a Panjābi killed the *khatib* (reciter of *khutba*) of Ahmadābād. For several months *khutba* was not recited in Lahore. Finally in August 1711 the Emperor arrived and held an audience with Hājji Yār Muhammad and three or four other members of the '*ulamā*'. He himself discussed the changes he had made to the *khutba*, using statements by Imām Abū Hanifā and other leading Sunni jurists to prove that the addition of the title *wasi* to the name of 'Alī was in accordance with Sunni traditions. The Hājji refused to be cowed by these arguments and their accompanying

8 Oration delivered on Fridays at the time of *zuhr* or meridian prayer, and on the two important festivals, *'Id al-fitr* and *'Id al-adha*. It must include prayers for the Prophet Muhammad, his companions and the reigning monarch.

9 From the reign of the Ghurīds to the reign of the Mughals, says Khāfī Khān, no ruler except Khidr Khān (817/1414-824/1421) had assumed the title of Sayyid. Although an Afghān, Khidr Khān had assumed the title on the basis of an unreliable tradition. The grounds on which Bahādur Shāh assumed it are as follows: It is said that Sayyid Shāh Mīr, a descendant of 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, migrated to the Kashmīr hills from the ancestral land of the Tīmūrīds. The local rāja presented his daughter to the Sayyid, who Islamicized her and took her as his wife. She gave birth to a daughter and a son. After some time the Sayyid went away on pilgrimage to Mecca and was never heard of again. The rāja raised the Sayyid's children himself and kept their existence strictly secret. Pressed by Shāhjahān to pay tributes and land revenue, he sent the girl with gifts to the Emperor. Shāhjahān appointed a tutoress to educate the girl and married her to Awrangzīb. She was entitled Nawāb Bā'ī Begam and gave birth to Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. Khāfī Khān sneeringly remarks that the Sayyidship of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh was thus derived from his mother's side. *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, pp. 604-5. Dānishmand Khān traces Bahādur Shāh's Sayyid descent from his mother Rahīm Bānū and her great grand ancestor, 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī. *Tārīkh-i Bahādur Shāhī*, B. M., Or. 693, ff. 17a-18b.

10 Fraser, ff. 75b-92b.

threats. The citizens of Lahore and the Afghān troops stationed there (together numbering about 100,000) came out in strong support of Hājji Yār Muhammad.

The mosque was besieged with cannons in preparation for a battle with the imperial forces. The Emperor ordered his son, Prince 'Azīm al-Shān, to crush the rebellion by force. The Prince pleaded with his father that the war against the *'ulamā'* would destroy the mosque and defame the Emperor, the son of Awrangzib, who was known by the people as *dīn-panāh* (refuge of the faith). The people would denounce the Emperor, calling him the destroyer of the faith. On 2 October 1711, the Emperor capitulated and the traditional Sunni *khutba* was read aloud in Lahore's Jāmi' mosque, to the great jubilance of the Sunnis.[11]

Shāh 'Ālam considered his innovation to be innocent, but in so doing he failed to realize that the Sunnis of Lahore, which had been developing into a significantly orthodox town following Muslim migrations from Sirhind and other towns overrun by the Sikhs, were strongly opposed to such attacks on orthodox practices. This was already evident from an incident which occurred during Jahāngīr's reign, when a *khatib* from Sāmāna had deliberately omitted the names of the first four Caliphs when reading the *khutba*. Reference to the name of the orthodox Caliphs was a sensitive issue to the Sunnis, and although the Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni admitted that it was not an indispensable part of the *khutba*, he had argued that it was a much practised Sunni custom and that therefore some action should have been taken against the offender.[12] Shāh 'Ālam might have learned a lesson from this incident. While Prince 'Azim al-Shān seems to have understood the situation better, his support of the Sunni cause was not motivated by filial concern alone. It was also dictated by a desire to curry favour with the Sunnis of Lahore, whose help he would need in the impending war of succession.

The appointment of Mun'im Khān by Shāh 'Ālam to the top administrative post of *wazir* reduced the influence of the Tūrānis who had been led by Ghāzi al-Din Firūz-Jang. Born in 1062/1652, Mun'im Khān was a son of Sultān Beg Barlās Badakhshi and owed his meteoric rise to his unswerving loyalty to Shāh 'Ālam. In 1705, while the *diwān* of the then Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam (the future Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh) who was the governor of Kābul and the Panjāb, Mun'im Khān so impressed his master by his abilities that the Prince made him his deputy in Lahore. Before Awrangzib's death, Mun'im Khān had made all the arrangements for a swift transfer of power to his master. These far-sighted arrangements

11 Ibid., ff. 92b-111a; Yahya Khān, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk,* Ethé, 409, ff. 115b-116b. *M. L.*, II, pp. 603, 661, 681.

12 Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni, *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbāni,* II, Letter no. 15.

enabled the Prince to reach Lahore and crown himself Emperor. There Mun'im Khān was promised the post of *wazir* in the event of Prince Mu'azzam becoming Emperor of Hindūstān.

After his victory against A'zam, Bahādur Shāh acknowledged publicly that he had achieved the throne because of the efforts of Mun'im Khān. The position of *wazir*, a *mansab* of 7000/7000 *duaspa sih aspa* and the title, *Khān-i Khānān* were his rewards, large gifts also being given to his two sons.[13] However, Asad Khān, an associate of the defeated Prince A'zam, was made *wakil-i mutlaq* with a rank of 8000/8000, much to the chagrin of Mun'im Khān. Traditionally this was a higher post than *wazir*, but conflict was avoided when Asad Khān was retired to Delhi, leaving the new *wazir* to enjoy the second highest imperial office. Asad Khān retained some authority by having to seal all significant documents and through the use of his title, Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf al-Dawla.[14]

Asad Khān's son, Dhu'lfaqār Khān, was made *bakhshi* and given a *mansab* of 7000/7000. He also became known as Samsām al-Dawla Amīr al-Umarā' Bahādur Nusrat-Jang and was made the absentee viceroy of the Deccan, remaining at court as his father's deputy.[15] His own favourite, Dāwūd Khān Afghān Panni became the de facto viceroy of the Deccan. Although in 1687 Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Firūz-Jang had played an important role in having Prince Mu'azzam imprisoned, the high-minded Emperor appointed him the governor of Gujarāt.[16] His son, Chin Qilich Khān, was first given a *mansab* of 6000/6000, along with the governorship of Awadh and the *fawjdāri* of Gorakhpūr; the *mansab* was later raised to 7000/7000. He also held the title of Khān-i Dawrān Bahādur. Nevertheless Chin Qilich Khān was jealous of the power of Mun'im Khān and Dhu'lfaqār Khān. Often he dreamed of adopting the life of a dervish. At the end of 1710, after the death of his father he finally resigned and settled in Delhi, ostensibly leading a retired life.[17] In reality he remained a supporter of Bahādur Shāh's son, Prince 'Azim al-Shān, quietly waiting for him to overthrow his rivals in a war of succession.

Muhammad Amin Khān Chin Bahādur, Chin Qilich's uncle, had also been granted a *mansab* of 5000/3500 and had first been made a *sadr* and then *fawjdār* of Sambhal and Murādābād.

In Shāh 'Ālam's reign, Chin Qilich's Tūrāni faction played an increasingly ineffective role in the government, but Bahādur Shāh and Mun'im Khān failed to reverse completely Awrangzib's Rājpūt and

13 *M. L.*, pp. 600-603; Fraser, ff. 92b-93a; Shākir Khān, *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, B. M., Add, 6585, ff. 50b-53b.
14 *M. L.*, II, p. 602.
15 *M. L.*, II, pp. 601-2.
16 Ibid., II, pp. 382-83.
17 *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, III, p. 839.

Marātha policy. Prince A'zam's offers to the Rājpūts and the Marāthas were more realistic and in line with the pre-Awrangzib policies. They were impregnated with the statesmanship of Asad Khān and Dhu'lfaqār Khān. Prince A'zam had offered Ajīt Singh of Jodhpūr a *mansab* of 7000/7000 and the governorship of Gujarāt. Jai Singh of Amber was tempted with a comparable *mansab* and the governorship of Mālwa. Although not more than twenty in early January 1708, Jai Singh had already been appointed deputy governor of Burhānpūr by Emperor Awrangzib at Bidār Bakht's recommendations.[18] The Rājpūt support to Bahādur Shāh would have been the most effective means by which to contain the Marāthas in the south. However, Bahādur Shāh vacillated in his efforts to conciliate the Rājpūts and instead resumed into *khālisa* the *jāgir* of Jai Singh on the grounds that there was a succession dispute between Jai Singh and his younger brother Bijai Singh. Jai Singh had fought for A'zam, and Bijai Singh for Bahādur. Naturally, Jai Singh, whose right to the throne had not been disputed since his father's death in 1699, interpreted the Emperor's decision as an act of vengeance. Ajit Singh and Mahārāna Amar Singh of Mēwār became his supporters and he also wrote to Sāhū to win his sympathies. The Rājpūts succeeded in resisting the Mughal military pressure. The Emperor agreed to confer their *watan jāgir* on them, but the Rājpūt rājas rejected certain proposals made to them regarding their postings to different provinces.[19]

The Marātha problem also remained unsolved because of Bahādur Shāh's inability to introduce any new, far-sighted policies. He was himself aware of Awràngzib's failure to put down the Marāthas and their incursions into Gujarāt and Mālwa. To have contained the Marāthas within their territories south of the Narbadā would have been an impressive achievement in its own right. It is not unlikely that with this reality in mind Prince A'zam, who had released Sāhū from prison, granted him the right to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the Mughal provinces of the Deccan. To Dhu'lfaqār Khān who had earlier sustained several reverses in battles with the Marātha guerrillas, the above concessions amounted to a most realistic solution. However, Bahādur Shāh's difficulties were increased by Tārābā'ī's offer to restore peace in the Deccan in exchange for the sole right to collect *sardeshmukhi*.[20] Bahādur Shāh eventually granted this right to both leaders, and that of collecting *chauth* to neither.[21] His decision meant that the question of supreme leadership should be decided

18 V. S. Bhatnagar, *Life and times of Sawā'ī Jai Singh*, Delhi 1974, pp. 24-25; Satīsh Chandra, *Parties and politics at the Mughal court*, 'Alīgarh 1959, pp. 20, 29.
19 *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān*, pp. 96-98; *M. L.*, II, pp. 605-7. *Life and times of Sawā'ī Jai Singh*, pp. 37-92.
20 *M. L.*, II, p. 581.
21 *M. L.*, II, pp. 582-83.

by the leaders themselves, although Awrangzīb had already recognized Sāhū as the rightful successor to Shivāji and Sambhāji. However, Dhu'l-faqār Khān's deputy Dāwūd Khān privately conceded Sāhū's demand but the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* were to be collected by Dāwūd's own agents and paid to Sāhū in a lump sum.[22] Had the arrangement, which must have been known to the Emperor, been ratified officially, it might have appeased the Marātha leaders.

Sikh rebellions had also assumed threateningly large proportions. Essentially they were no more than a peasant revolt, whipped up into a religious war in order to rally support against the Mughals and to block latter's attempt at military recovery. As governor of Kābul, Prince Mu'azzam attempted a rapprochement with the Sikhs.[23] Their leader, the tenth Gurū Gobind Singh, accompanied Prince Mu'azzam from Lahore to the Deccan with a small body of followers. Ater the victory of Jaja'ū against Prince A'zam, Gurū Gobind Singh was warmly welcomed at Agra and given generous gifts.[24] Naturally he began to hold high hopes that the imperial policy towards the Sikh people would at least be changed. Accompanying the Emperor on a military expedition against the Rājpūts and the Deccan, Gurū was stabbed at Nānded, a small town on the Godāvari, by an unknown Afghān assailant. On 7 October 1708 Gobind Singh died from wounds. The Sikhs believed that the assassin had been hired by Wazir Khān, the *fawjdār* of Sirhind, while the Mughal sources explained the attack by insisting that the Gurū had a dispute with an Afghān over a repayment for horses.[25] The Sikh story seems more plausible, as it is quite possible that Wazir Khān felt apprehensive over the Gurū's growing influence on the Emperor.

After his death the Emperor refused to confiscate the Gurū's property classing him as a dervish rather than as a *mansabdār*. One of the Gurū's disciples, Lachman Dās, to whom the Gurū had given the title 'Bandā' (slave) Bahādur, assumed leadership of the Sikh community. It is doubtful whether Bandā Bahādur had formally been nominated the Gurū's successor. However, he claimed that he was an incarnation of Gurū Gobind, while others maintained that he was the Gurū himself. Until he made a surprise attack on the *fawjdār* of Sonpat, authentic details of his life are unknown. The victory made Bandā Bahādur a Sikh hero and a large number of Jāt peasants rallied to his cause. Wazir Khān and Bandā met

22 *M. L.*, II, pp. 626-27.
23 *M. L.*, II, pp. 652-53.
24 *Dilkushā*, f. 168b; *M. L.*, II, p. 652; *Bahādur Shāh-nāma*, ff. 18a-b.
25 Rustam, *'Ibrat-nāma*, ff. 113a-135a; *M. L.*, *'Ibrat-nāma*, B. M., Add 26, 245, f. 29b; Rāy Chaturman, *Chahār Gulshan*, f. 143a; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 115b-117a; *Muqaddamā-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, British Museum, Add., 24,028, f. 12a; Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, I, pp. 94-95.

in a battle in which the former was killed. Sirhind was not only the centre for Mujaddidis but an important commercial town[26] with a large number of artisans and a high degree of affluence. The now leaderless community resisted the Sikh invasion for two days but finally the invaders, crying *fath daras* (hail the victory) and *sachcha padshāh* (true king) took the town.

Muslim historians have always been eloquent in recounting the atrocities of Bandā at Sirhind,[27] conveniently neglecting the association between the original crime and the revenge. The episode was later on to fan the fires of fanaticism on both sides. Bandā celebrated the victory by issuing coins and inscribing on his seal the following lines:

> *'degh o tegh o fateh o nusrat-i-bedrang*
> *yāft az Nānak Gurū Gobind Sing.'*
> 'Through hospitality and the sword to unending
> Victory granted by Nānak and Gurū Gobind Singh.'[28]

Many Jāt peasants adopted Sikhism to receive a share in the plunder, as did some Muslims for the more pressing reason of saving their lives. The Sikhs seized the towns from the Satlaj to the Jamunā. Then Bandā invaded Sahāranpūr. Although the town's *fawjdār* fled to Delhi, Afghān inhabitants put up a stubborn resistance until the Sikh army overpowered them and proceeded to pillage the town.

At Jalālābād, twenty miles west of Deoband, the Afghān *fawjdār*, Jalāl Khān, tried to contain the Sikh invaders and managed to repulse them. The myth of Sikh invincibility was broken for the first time. In the Jālandhar Doāb, Shams Khān of Sultānpūr recruited a large army reinforced by local *zamindārs*. Numbering about 100,000 Shams Khān's force defeated the Sikh army which had 20,000 fewer men.

The Sikhs then turned towards Lahore where they were stopped from taking the fort. They then attacked neighbouring villages and towns. News of this reached the Emperor in May 1719 while he was attempting to subdue the Rājpūts. Although he wished to take immediate action, Mun'im Khān considered hasty reprisals to be undignified for an Emperor and dismissed the Sikh depredations in the Panjāb as a 'local foray'. However, deputations of the Pīrzādas from Sirhind as well as representatives from the Panjāb and other towns crying vengeance, spurred on the Emperor who left in June of the same year for the Panjāb.

Churāman Jāt, unable to tolerate the rise of the Panjābi Jāts who had become Sikhs, joined forces with the Emperor near Delhi. The imperial army, consisting of contingents from Awadh, Allahabad and Delhi, as

26 *M. L.*, II, p. 654.
27 *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 30b-31a; *'Ibrat-nāma*, B. M., Add., 26, 245, ff. 28a-30a.
28 *M. L.*, II, pp. 656–60

well as Jāts and Bundēlās, marched slowly to the Panjāb, establishing outposts en route. Bandā shut himself in the Sikh fortress of Mukhlisgarh in the Panjāb hills and while the Mughals attacked the fort, the Sikh leader secretly slipped away, leaving in his place a Sikh who resembled him called Gulāb Singh. The Emperor blamed Mun'im Khān for their disappointment, although he was later forgiven. The Mughal Princes and Dhu'lfaqār Khān, however, continued to rub salt into the *wazir's* wounds. His loss of face helped to precipitate his death which occurred on 28 February 1711.[29]

Mun'im Khān's death made the question of the appointment of his successor exceedingly difficult for Shāh 'Ālam. Prince 'Azim al-Shān[30] recommended that Dhu'lfaqār Khān be made *wazir* and the two sons of Mun'im Khān be appointed *bakhshī al-mamālik* and viceroy of the Deccan respectively. Dhu'lfaqār Khān demanded that the post of the *wazir* be given to his father while he should retain his own post. This meant that he would monopolize all leading offices in the empire. Shāh 'Ālam became agitated by the wrangling, even toying with the idea of making an Īrāni prince who had recently arrived, the *wazir*.[31] However, the Emperor died suddenly on the night of 20 Muharram 1124/27 February 1712, at Lahore.[32]

With Shāh 'Ālam's death the era of the supreme authority of the Mughal emperors was closed and a new period of the hegemony of king-makers began, the Emperors being relegated to puppet roles only. This subsequent history may be divided into three parts:

1. From 1712 to the invasion of Nādir Shāh (1739)
2. From 1739 to the third battle of Pānipat (1761).
3. From 1761 to the British occupation of Delhi (1803).

29 Muhammad Qāsim, *'Ibrat-nāma,* f. 26a; Khushāl Chand, *Tārīkh-i Muhammad Shāhī Nādir al-zamānī,* B. M., Or. 1656, ff. 30b-48a; Kāmrāj, *'Ibrat-nāma,* ff. 40a-42b, 54a-b; *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān,* pp. 95, 100-105; Ghulām Muhyī' al-Dīn, *Futūhāt-nāma-i Samadī,* B. M., Or. 1870, ff. 8a-20b; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn,* ff. 30b-31b, 33b; *Tārīkh-i Shākir-Khānī,* ff. 117b-125a; *M. L.*, II, pp. 652, 657-60, 670-74; Shujā' al-Dīn ed., *Asrār-i Samadī,* Lahore 1965, pp. 5-8.

30 Born on 26 Jumāda I, 1075/15 December 1664, his mother was the daughter of Rūp Singh Rāthor. He was the second surviving son of Bahādur Shāh. His elder brother, Muhammad Mu'izz al-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, was born on 10 Ramadān 1071/9 May 1661. In his grandfather's reign, 'Azīm al-Shān was governor of Bihār. After the death of Kām Bakhsh he was offered the viceroyalty of the Deccan but he retained Bengāl, Bihār, Orissa and Allahabad. In his father's reign he initiated several schemes for settlements with the Rājpūts in order to gain Rājpūt support for himself. Mu'izz al-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, who advocated a stern policy towards the Rājpūt rājas, naturally was suspicious of his brother's intentions. 'Azīm al-Shān's first wife was the daughter of Kīrat Singh, son of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh.

31 *M. L.*, II, pp. 677-78.

32 *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān,* pp. 105-6; *M. L.*, II, pp. 677-79; Muhammad 'Alī Khān Ansārī, *Tārīkh-i Muzaffarī*, B. M., Or. 466, ff. 97a-110b; Murtada Husayn Bilgarāmī, *Hadīqat al-aqālīm,* Lucknow. 1881, pp. 150-51; Muhammad Muhsin, *Miftāh al-iqbāl,* National Museum Karāchī Ms., f. 61a.

The first period is marked by the scramble for the monopoly of the posts of *wazir* and *bakhshi al-mamālik* either by one leader or shared with a close relative. The *wazir's* main concern was to appoint his own kinsmen to the governorship of important provinces and to grant high *mansabs* only to his favourites and protégés. Racial and religious considerations did play some role in achieving group solidarity but the struggle was not dictated by the proverbial Īrānī-Tūrānī, Sunnī-Shī'ī or Hindū-Muslim conflicts. Selfish motives and personal considerations played a decisive role in the formation of these factions.

The period also saw the consolidation of Jāt power and the Kachwāha Rājpūt bid to check the expansion of the Jāts westwards to Amber. This prompted the Kachwāha Rājpūts to co-operate with the Mughals. Rājpūt military strength was declining rapidly. Marātha penetration into northern India had the Rājpūts, the Jāts and the Mughals on their toes. Between 1712 and 1739 the Sikhs were ruthlessly crushed and peace was restored to the Panjāb. Lastly the rapid decline of the Mughal economy sapped the vitality of its political strength.

To resume the discussion of political developments from the death of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, we find that Prince 'Azīm al-Shān, the ablest of the four sons of Shāh 'Ālam had accumulated between 1697 and 1706 great wealth as governor of Bengal, Orissa and Bihār. He was the main hurdle to the fulfilment of Dhu'lfaqār Khān's ambitions. Following the pattern of 'Ālamgīr's coalition of the three brothers against Dārā-Shukōh, Dhu'lfaqār Khān persuaded Mu'izz al-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, Rafī' al-Shān[33] and Jahān Shāh[34] to make common cause against Prince 'Azīm al-Shān and then partition the kingdom equitably. A new twist to this plan was that Dhu'lfaqār Khān wanted to work as a common *wazīr* to all three, although only Jahāndār Shāh was to be mentioned in the *khutba*.[35] To all intents and purposes the scheme was designed to make Jahāndār Shāh Emperor. It worked, much to the satisfaction of Dhu'lfaqār Khān; the other three brothers were defeated and killed.[36]

On 21 Safar 1124/30 March 1712, Jahāndār Shāh was formally crowned Emperor outside Lahore.[37] Although his father Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh had spared the lives of his rivals' supporters, the new Emperor showed no signs of having inherited his father's conciliatory

33 Rafī' al-Qadr Rafī' al-Shān was born in Rajab or Sha'bān 1081/November or December 1671.

34 Khujista Akhtar Jahān Shāh was born on 22 Jumāda II, 1084/4 October 1673.

35 *M. L.*, II, p. 685; *M. U.*, II, p. 99.

36 Shafī' Warīd Tihrānī, *Mir'āt-i Wāridāt,* Bodleian 424, ff. 59a-60a, *M. L.*, ff. 63b-64b.

37 Nūr al-Dīn Fārūqī, *Jahāndār-nāma,* India Office, 3988, ff. 9b-39b; *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān,* pp. 110-128; *M. L.*, II, pp. 685-89. Untitled Add., 26,245, ff. 36b-45a; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī,* ff. 126a-32a.

tendencies and launched a campaign of ruthless assassinations. Dhu'lfaqār Khān became both *wazir* and *bakhshi al-mamālik*, even ruling the Deccan through his favourite, Dāwūd Khān. His father retained his former position of detachment from active politics.[38] Dhu'lfaqar Khān made Sabhā Chand, a khattri, his *dīwān*. The strict administration of finances by the *diwān* and his loyalty to his masters were naturally resented by all his rivals. Dhu'lfaqār Khān's most outstanding action was the encouragement he gave the Tūrāni, 'Abd al-Samad Khān, whom Prince 'Azim al-Shān had previously managed to alienate.[39] Asad Khān's influence prevented Dhu'lfaqār from annihilating his rival, Chin Qilich to whom he gave a *mansab* of 5,000 and the governorship of Mālwa; however, these awards were to prove insufficient to the recipient and he resigned. Bahādur Shāh's former liberalism contrasted sharply with Dhu'lfaqār's strict application of the rules while examining claims for *jāgirs*. This tendency has led contemporary historians to accuse both Dhu'lfaqār Khān and Sabhā Chand of meanness. Immediately after Jahāndār Shāh's accession, *jizya* was remitted at Asad Khān's suggestion.[40] Jai Singh of Amber was granted the title Mirzā Rāja and Ajit Singh of Jodhpūr that of Mahārāja. The latter was made governor of Gujarāt and Jai Singh of Mālwa. Although Churāman had helped 'Azim al-Shān his former *mansab* was restored. Previous agreements made between Dāwūd Khān and the Marāthas were maintained and the Kolhāpur branch of the Marāthas led by Tārābā'i was also appeased by the grant of the *deshmukhi* of Haydarābād.[41]

Prospects of Dhu'lfaqār Khān's success as *wazir* were impaired by palace intrigues which resulted in the downfall of both the Emperor and his *wazir*. The Emperor's foster brother 'Alī Murād Kokaltāsh Khān, to whom Jahāndār had earlier promised the post of *wazir*, was angered by Dhu'lfaqār's having snatched the coveted post from him and set about trying to alienate the Emperor from his *wazir*. However, he was made *mīr bakhshi* and he and his favourites were also awarded high *mansabs*.[42]

The second greatest obstacle to Dhu'lfaqār Khān was the interference of the dancing girl La'l Kunwar (formerly Zuhra Kanjri) who was given the title Imtiyāz Mahal by Jahāndār Shāh. Although the Emperor was over fifty, his love for La'l Kunwar had made him oblivious to the current accepted norms of behaviour and there seems to be little reason for accepting Satish Chandra's statement that—

38 *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 118b.
39 *M. U.*, II, p. 515.
40 *Parties and politics*, p. 74.
41 *M. L.*, II, p. 788.
42 *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān*, pp. 132-33, *M. I.* ff. 68b-69a.

> '. . . . the influence of La'l Kunwar over matters political should not be exaggerated. There is little evidence to warrant the belief that the elevation of La'l Kunwar became the occasion for the rise of a large number of men from the lower classes to the rank of the nobility.'[43]

In fact, one of La'l Kunwar's brothers, Ni'mat Khān, was appointed governor of Multān and another, Khushāl Khān, was appointed governor of Agra. Although the first appointment was subsequently cancelled by Dhu'lfaqār Khān and the second was never ratified, the court musicians and other favourites of La'l Kunwar continued to interfere in the administration, exploited her dominance to their own advantage and made the lives of the leading nobles in Delhi[44] exceedingly difficult. The initiative in this situation of growing discontent and intrigues was finally taken by Prince 'Azim al-Shān's second son Muhammad Farrukhsiyar.[45]

After his father's death Farrukhsiyar had proclaimed himself Emperor at Patna on the last day of Safar 1124/7 April 1712. At the time, Farrukhsiyar's mother reminded the Sayyid brothers[46] Sayyid Hasan 'Alī Khān (later called 'Abd Allāh Qutb al-Mulk, the deputy of 'Azīm al-Shān at Allahabad) and Sayyid Husayn 'Alī Khān (the governor of Bihār) that they owed their positions to her husband. Meanwhile, 'Abd-Allāh Khān was superseded by a Gardīzī Sayyid, Rāji Muhammad Khān. His

43 *Parties and politics,* p. 72.

44 *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān,* ff. 129-30, *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn,* ff. 43b-44a, *M. L.*, II, p. 689; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī,* ff. 133b-134a.

45 Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, the second son of 'Azīm al-Shān was born on 19 Ramadān 1096/19 August 1685, his elder brother Muhammad Karīm (born Ramadān 1090/ October-November 1679) was seized at Lahore and done to death by Jahāndār Shāh at the end of Safar 1124/April 1712. After recalling 'Azīm al-Shān from Bengal, Awrangzīb ordered Muhammad Karīm to be posted to Bihār and Farrukhsiyar to Bengal. The latter was disliked by his father and grandfather, however, but before Bahādur Shāh's death, Farrukhsiyar was recalled to the court of his father. Hearing the news of his grandfather's demise at 'Azīmābād, Patna, Farrukhsiyar proclaimed his father king but did not proceed further. He received news of his father's death on 6 April 1712 and because of his miserable resources hesitated to proclaim himself king. Mīr Muhammad Ahsan Ījād, *Kitāb Farrukhsiyar-nāma,* Br. Museum Ms. Or. 25, ff. 14a-40a.

46 They were the sons of Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh Khān, known as Sayyid Miyān of Bārhā, and at the end of Awrangzīb's reign started their military career under Mu'izz al-Dīn, who was appointed governor of Multān in 1106/1694-5. However, finding no encouragement there, they resigned and lived in great poverty. Bahādur Shāh took them into his service and gave them the *mansab* of 3,000 and 2,000. In the battle of Jaja'ū they fought valiantly on foot. Their *mansab* was then raised to 4,000 but they were not satisfied with their promotions. Both Mun'im Khān and Jahāndār Shāh were alienated from the Sayyids. On 21 Dhu'l-qa'da 1122/11 January 1711, 'Azīm al-Shān made 'Abd-Allāh his deputy in Allahabad. Husayn 'Alī Khān was appointed by 'Azīm al-Shān as the deputy governor of Bihār.

deputy, Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffār Gardīzī, was a descendant of Sadr-i Jahān of Pihāni.[47] 'Abd al-Ghaffār and Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh fought a hotly contested battle in which 'Abd al-Ghaffār was about to win the day when a sudden storm reversed his position.[48]

Although Jahāndār tried to appease 'Abd-Allāh Khān, the Sayyids, previously reluctant to join Farrukhsiyar now decided to throw their lot in with him. The role of peace-maker between the Sayyid brothers and Farrukhsiyar was competently played by a far-sighted Tūrāni noble, Khwāja 'Āsim,[49] later known as Samsām al-Dawla Khān-i-Dawrān Bahādur Mansūr-Jang. Among the notable *zamindars* who joined Farrukhsiyar on his march to Agra were Sudhisht Narāyan of the Ujjainiya clan of Bhojpūr (Shahābād),[50] Mir Mushrif, a Lucknow Sayyid,[51] Zayn al-Dīn Dāwūdzai' of Shāhjahānpūr,[52] and Muhammad Khān Bangash.[53] The deputy governor of Orissa and some important *fawjdārs,* such as Mahtā Chabīla Rām Nāgar, the *fawjdār* of Karā Mānikpūr and his nephew Mahtā Girdhar La'l Nāgar also joined Farrukhsiyar.

Farrukhsiyar's principal impediment was finance, so money was borrowed from the merchants of Bengal and Patna on easy terms of 25% interest. One crore of rupees from the revenue of Bengal which was being sent to Delhi was also seized by 'Abd-Allāh Khān at Allahabad. Nevertheless this proved insufficient to cover the expenses of the army which, at the time of its march from Allahabad, consisted of between 25,000 and 50,000 horsemen.

On 13 Dhu'lhijja 1124/11 January 1713 this half-fed, half-clad army defeated the imperial forces led by Jahāndār Shāh and Dhu'lfaqār Khān at Samūgarh, where the fates of Dārā-Shukōh and Awrangzīb had been

47 Mīrān Sadr-i Jahān of Pihānī (Hardo'ī district near Lucknow) was a favourite of both Akbar and Jahāngīr. In 1020/1611 he died at a ripe old age of 120 years. *Muslim revivalist movements in Northern India,* pp. 230-33.

48 *M. L.*, II, pp. 692, 712; *Jahāndār-nāma,* ff. 42b-44a.

49 Khwāja 'Āsim's ancestors came from Badakhshān and were devoted to the great Naqshbandiyya *sūfī,* Khwaja Nasīr al-Dīn 'Ubayd-Allāh Ahrār. From their homeland they migrated to India and began by living in Agra. Some of them continued to devote themselves to learning and mysticism, while some took up a military career. Khwāja 'Āsim, son of Khwāja Qāsim, started his career as a trooper under Prince 'Azīm al-Shān and after the Prince's departure from Bengal chose to join Farrukhsiyar's service and became his master's great favourite. Later 'Azīm al-Shān summoned the Khwāja to Lahore, but after the Prince's death the Khwāja stayed for some weeks in Agra and then left for Patna and became Farrukhsiyar's prime supporter. *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn,* ff. 3a-56b. *M. U.*, I, p. 817.

50 The Rājpūts of this region were fearless warriors.

51 In Lucknow both Sayyid and Shaykh *zamīndārs* could easily collect large armies.

52 Shāhjahānpūr region was an important centre of the Afghān *zamīndārs.*

53 *Jahāndār-nāma,* ff. 44a-49a; Ijād, *Kitāb Farrukhsiyar-nāma,* ff. 40a-43b; *M. L.*, II, pp. 719-725; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn,* ff. 52b-54b; Fraser, ff. 109b-111b.

decided before them. Dhu'lfaqār Khān fought hard but the sight of the panic-stricken Jahāndār and La'l Kunwar in flight seated on the same elephant unnerved him. Abandoning a number of alternative escape routes open to him he went straight to his father's place in Delhi, Jahāndār having already arrived. Both Asad Khān and Dhu'lfaqār Khān treacherously decided to surrender the Emperor to Farrukhsiyar to curry favour with the new ruler and hopefully save Dhu'lfaqār Khān's life. However, the great differences between Bahādur Shāh and Farrukhsiyar soon became clear.

On 11 February 1713, Farrukhsiyar executed both Dhu'lfaqār Khān and Jahāndār Shāh, sparing only Asad Khān to mourn for the death of his talented son. Sabhā Chand was also tortured to death.[54]

In his bid to follow Bahādur Shāh's administrative policy Farrukhsiyar decided to make his Tūrānī favourite, Ahmad Beg, the *wazīr* and 'Abd Allāh the *wakil-i mutlaq*. As the latter position had lost its significance from the time of Bahādur Shāh, 'Abd-Allāh refused to become a figurehead as had Asad Khān before him. Ultimately the Emperor was forced to acquiesce and 'Abd-Allāh Khān was made *wazīr* and Husayn 'Alī Khān, the *bakhshi al-mamālik*. The growing realization by the Emperor that he was merely a puppet deepened his animosity towards the Sayyid brothers. Although all prominent Tūrānī officials received important posts in the new administration they chafed under the restraints exercised by the Sayyid brothers who in reality held supreme power.

In liquidating the former favourites and supporters of Jahāndār Shāh and Dhu'lfaqār Khān, Farrukhsiyar was only following the example which they themselves had set. The only significant exception from execution was Dhu'lfaqār's protégé, 'Abd al-Samad Khān Ahrārī who was granted the rank of 7000/7000 and the governorship of the Panjāb. The execution of Shāh Qudrat-Allāh, which was arranged by Mīr Jumla,[55] the chief *sadr*, shocked many Tūrānis.

Shāh Qudrat-Allāh, the son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Jalīl of Allahabad, had been a *sūfi* and a great favourite and counsellor of Prince 'Azīm al-Shān.

54 *M. L.*, II, pp. 697-703, 717-733; Muhammad Qāsim, *'Ibrat-nāma*, Add., 26, 245, ff. 50b-54b; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 137b-146b; *Muqaddama-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, ff. 16a-20b; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 56a-60a; *Tārīkh-i Muhammad Shāhī Nādir al-zamānī*, ff. 67b-89a, Hāfiz Muhammad Husayn, *Mir'āt al-haqā'iq*, Bodleian Ms., Fraser 124, ff. 72b-73a, *'Ibrat-nāma*, B. M., Add., 26, 245, ff. 50b-54b; Kāmrāj, *'Ibrat-nāma*, ff. 45a-53a; *M. I.*, ff. 69b-70a.

55 Mīr Jumla, whose original name was Mīr Muhammad Wafā, originally belonged to Samarqand and migrated to India in Awrangzīb's reign. He was first appointed *qādī* of Jahāngīrnagar, Dacca, and then of 'Azīmābād, Patna. Both 'Azīm al-Shān and Farrukhsiyar highly respected him. After the defeat of Jahāndār Shāh, he secured the alliance of many eminent Tūrānīs for Farrukhsiyar. *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, III,f. 61a, *M. U.*, p. 711.

After the latter's defeat, the Shāh retired to his home town. Believing a victory by Farrukhsiyar to be out of question, he neglected to call on him at Allahabad. When Mullā Shādmān, who had foreseen Farrukhsiyar's success, left Patna for Delhi, Qudrat-Allāh sought the Mullā's protection. The Emperor cordially received Mullā Shādmān and agreed to also see Qudrat-Allāh. Fearing Qudrat-Allāh might become friendly with the Emperor, Mir Jumla had him hung. Although the Emperor patiently heard Mullā Shādmān's arguments against taking Qudrat-Allāh's life he took no steps against Mir Jumla.[56] Farrukhsiyar's obsessive fantasies of the Sayyids putting another prince on the throne so obsessed him that he also blinded and imprisoned four other royal princes.[57]

The most striking achievement of Farrukhsiyar's inglorious reign was the final defeat of the Sikhs, led by Bandā Bahādur, by the governor of Lahore, 'Abd al-Samad Khān. The Sikh leader had built an impregnable fort near Sādhūra in which his army sheltered. 'Abd al-Samad first besieged Sādhūra and completely cut off the Sikh supply lines. Although the Sikhs put up a staunch resistance they were forced to evacuate the fort and take refuge in a nearby fort at Lohgarh. 'Abd al-Samad pursued them and they were forced to trek through the countryside, ravaging the region north of the Panjāb plains as they went. The Mughal army, however, forced the Sikhs to shelter in Gurdāspūr where, from April 1715 to December they managed to withstand the Mughal siege. Finally 'Abd al-Samad enclosed Gurdāspūr with high earthern walls and a stockade, both surrounded by a deep, wide trench. On 21 Dhu'lhijja 1127/18 December 1715, Bandā Bahādur and his 740 surviving supporters surrendered. Although subjected to severe forms of torture in Delhi, not one got converted to Islām to escape death. Over a period of four months all were hacked to death and finally on 19 June 1716 Bandā's three year old son was also brutally killed, Bandā being the last of all to be executed. The Muslim historian, Khāfī Khān, who gives a glowing description of the bravery of the Sikh prisoners, adds that Muhammad Amin Khān asked Bandā Bahādur before his death the reasons for his savagery to the Muslims. Patiently Bandā Bahādur replied that when people were plunged in excessive sin, God commissioned such cruel people as himself to suffer for their collective impiety and later He appointed men like Muhammad Amin to make tyrants suffer for their misdeeds.[58]

Returning to the uneasy truce between the Sayyid brothers and Emperor Farrukhsiyar, it should be noted that the situation became serious

56 Rustam, *'Ibrat-nāma,* ff. 119b-120a.

57 *M. L.*, II, pp. 736-37.

58 *Asrār-i Samadī,* pp. 9-16; *Futūhāt-nāma-i Samadī,* ff. 20a-68b, *M. L.*, II, 763-67; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn,* ff. 31a, 63a-66a, 124a-b, 125a; Rustam, *'Ibrat-nāma,* ff. 142a-148a, B. M., *'Ibrat-nāma,* Add., 26, 245., ff. 58a-60a; *Hadīqat al-aqālīm,* p. 148.

early in his reign. By the end of March 1713 Qutb al-Mulk had stopped attending court and Farrukhsiyar had to appease him by calling on him himself. The Sayyids remained hungry for even further political power even though they were singularly untalented in this field. Qutb al-Mulk relied mainly on the advice of his arrogant and greedy *diwān*, Ratan Chand Baqqāl, a vaishya. His power was countered by that of Mir Jumla, the greatest confidant of the Emperor, who did nothing without his advice. The factions around these two men constantly proposed appointments and promotions to advance their own supporters in an attempt to counter the influence of the other and the Emperor's ensuing compromises and concessions to both sides pleased no one.[59]

Early in January 1714 Husayn 'Ali Khān marched at the head of a large imperial army against Ajit Singh Rāthor, the Mahārāja of Jodhpūr. The latter had refused to accept the governorship of Thatta as the Emperor had secretly intrigued with the Rājpūt rājas to kill his principal *Bakhshi*. Although Ajit Singh had full evidence of the Emperor's treachery, Husayn 'Ali Khān made a favourable peace with the Rāja according to which the latter, as well as accepting the governorship of Thatta, agreed to give the Emperor his daughter's hand in marriage.[60] Privately, Husayn 'Ali seems to have promised Ajit Singh to restore him to the coveted governorship of Gujarāt soon after imperial prestige had been vindicated.

After Husayn 'Ali's return to Delhi the scramble for power escalated. Mir Jumla and Khān-i Dawrān, united in an attempt to overthrow the Sayyids. The intervention of the Queen Mother temporarily staved off the crisis. It was agreed that Husayn 'Ali should be made viceroy in the Deccan and that Mir Jumla should have the same position in Bihār and Bengal.[61]

Once more Emperor Farrukhsiyar acted treacherously by awarding the governorship of Burhānpūr to Dāwūd Khān Panni,[62] the formidable supporter of Dhu'lfaqār and a great opponent of the Sayyids. Although Dāwūd Khān was officially transferred from Gujarāt, in reality he had the power of the viceroy in Burhānpūr so that he might kill Husayn 'Ali on the Emperor's orders and become Viceroy of the entire Deccan. Discovering the plot, Husayn 'Ali met and killed Dāwūd near Burhānpūr on 6 September 1715.[63]

59 *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 78a-79a.

60 Shivadās Lakhnawī, *Shāhnāma-i munawwar-kalām*, B. M., Or. 26, f. 3b; *M. L.*, II, pp. 737-39, *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 66a-67a; *Mir'āt al-haqā'iq*, ff. 85b-86a; Fraser, ff. 123a-125b; *'Ibrat-nāma*, B. M., Add., 26, 245, ff. 64a-66a; Kāmrāj, *'Ibrat-nāma*, ff. 54a-56a; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 150a-b.

61 *M. L.*, II, pp. 714-42; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 78a-80b, 104b-107b.

62 *M. U.*, I, pp. 326-27.

63 *M. L.*, II, pp. 750-755; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 152a-153a; *Muqaddama-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, f. 22a.

In the meantime Nizām al-Mulk's[64] viceroyalty of the Deccan proved a great success. He managed to consolidate his position at Awrangābād, repudiated the arrangement of payment of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* that Dāwūd Khān had made with Sāhū and aggravated the existing differences between Tārābā'i and Sāhū. He gave up the practice followed by Dāwūd Khān who had shared the income from *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* with the Marāthas. He also posted troops to protect the Mughal Deccan from the Marātha attacks. At the same time, Nizām al-Mulk's strenuous efforts to protect the Mughal *subas* against the Marāthas were beginning to bear fruit. Inappropriately he was recalled from the Deccan to lend weight to the Emperor's political faction at Court.[65]

The Sayyid brothers' handling of the Kota Būndi family feuds in Rājasthān had managed to alienate them from Sawā'i Rāja Jai Singh of Amber who early in Farrukhsiyar's reign had become the new governor of Mālwa. In May 1715 the Rāja had successfully frustrated Marātha efforts to cross the Narbadā. A year later Rāja Jai Singh besieged Churāman Jāt's fortification at Thūn with a large army of 50,000 men. Although he fought stubbornly, the Jāts, who had succeeded in eliciting the co-operation of the Mēwāti Muslims and the Afghāns of Shāhjahānpūr and Bareilly made life at Agra and Delhi exceedingly precarious with their frequent raids.[66]

Considering the prolongation of the Jāt war to be wasteful, Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh Khān made peace with Churāman Jāt. Part of agreement was the latter's surrender of such important forts as Thūn and Dig. The party opposed to the Sayyids at the Delhi court considered the agreement to be treachery and sided with Rāja Jai Singh. Reluctantly Churāman Jāt was received by the Emperor at his Court on 9 Jumāda II 1130/19 April 1718.[67]

Finding the support of the Tūrānis alone insufficient to overthrow the Sayyids, the Emperor decided to appoint 'Ināyat-Allāh Khān Kashmīri who had returned to the Court early in 1717 absentee governor of Kashmīr and the *diwān-i tan*. 'Ināyat-Allāh had had a background in financial administration under Awrangzīb. Although Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh Khān was naturally loathe to share power with a newcomer he acquiesced,

64 Mīr Qamar al-Dīn, son of Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, whose activities as Chīn Qilich Khān we have already mentioned, remained in low key until Farrukhsiyar's reign, because of his association with 'Azīm al-Shān. In Jahāndār's reign he was commissioned to defend Agra. He joined Farrukhsiyar at Mīr Jumla's suggestion. The Emperor appointed Chīn Qilich viceroy of the Deccan and first gave him the title *Khān-i Khānān* and then *Nizām al-Mulk Fath-Jang*.

65 *M. L.*, II, pp. 742-47; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 157a-158b.

66 Mīrzā Muhammad Hārisī, *'Ibrat-nāma*, Bānkīpūr Patna Ms., ff. 60a-61a.

67 *M. L.*, II, pp. 776-77.

relinquishing some of his responsibilities to continue his involvement in the hedonistic life of Delhi.

At 'Ināyat-Allāh's recommendation, the Emperor ordered the reimposition of *jizya* on the Hindūs which had previously been abolished, so as to ensure the support of the orthodox Sunnīs in his bid to strengthen his hold over the throne. 'Ināyat-Allāh then embarked on a scheme for reducing the *mansabs* and *jāgirs* of the Hindūs and of the low-class Muslims who had replaced the old established families of Awrangzīb's reign. Ratan Chand strongly opposed these moves and, with the help of his supporters, succeeded in paralysing the administration. The Muslims in whose hearts 'Ināyat-Allāh's proposals had kindled new hopes for material advancement, became Ratan Chand's inveterate enemies. Their slogan for a return to Awrangzīb's policy of suppressing Hindū power aroused considerable excitement in the capital.[68]

'Abd-Allāh Khān was now forced to fall back on assistance from his brother, Husayn 'Alī. The guerrilla-type raids of the Marāthas convinced Husayn 'Alī that his hopes of suppressing them with his army were unrealistic. On his way to court in February 1718, Husayn 'Alī made peace with Sāhū and confirmed the right of the Marātha independent domination in the Deccan and the right to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The Emperor's refusal to ratify the agreement in full made the Marāthas extremely resentful. The Marātha Pēshwa, Bālājī Vishvanāth, with some 11,000 troops, accompanied Husayn 'Alī who left Burhānpūr on 14 December 1718, ostensibly to escort the son of Prince Muhammad Akbar to Delhi. Husayn 'Alī's army consisted of 25,000 horsemen and 10,000 foot musketeers.[69]

News of Husayn 'Alī's departure from the Deccan so unnerved Emperor Farrukhsiyar that he attempted to appease 'Abd-Allāh. Finally on 23 February he met Husayn 'Alī in Delhi and surrendered unconditionally. During the scramble for power Husayn 'Alī had seized the capital and fort. The population in Delhi rioted and killed some 15,000 Marāthas. 'Abd-Allāh's servants entered the harem of the Red Fort to which Farrukhsiyar had fled and dragged him out from the crowd of the imperial ladies who were protecting him. They then blinded him and imprisoned him in the same dungeon where he had had the other young princes incarcerated. Some time between 27 and 28 April 1719 he was strangled.[70]

68 *M. L.*, II, p. 774-5; Mīrzā Muhammad, *'Ibrat-nāma*, f. 704-5.

69 *M. L.*, II, pp. 781-790; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 127a-130b; *Parties and politics*, pp. 131-32, 139.

70 *Shāhnāma-i munawwar kalām*, ff. 26a-27b; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 59a-151b; Muhsin ibn al-Hanīf, *Jawhar-i Samsām*, B. M., Or. 1898, ff. 76a-82a; *M. L.*, II, pp. 813-815; Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim, *'Ibrat-nāma*, ff. 58a-62a; *Muqaddama-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, ff. 22b-27b; Shākir Khān; untitled, B. M. Add., 6585, ff. 23a-25b; *Tārīkh-i Muzaffarī*, ff. 118b-129b; *Tārīkh-i Muhammad Shāhī Nādir al-zamānī*, ff. 115a-136a; Fraser ff. 126b-128b; *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, pp. 155-58.

The Sayyid brothers, elevated Rafi' al-Darjāt. the tubercular son of Rafi' al-Shān, to the throne.[71] Two months later he was deposed and his elder brother Rafi' al-Dawla was made Emperor. Marātha auxiliaries were sent back with the ratification of Husayn 'Alī's agreement and the new Emperor was informed that *jizya* had been abolished at the recommendation of Rāja Ajit Singh and Ratan Chand. At the Agra Fort a local Nāgar Brahman, supported by Jai Singh, attempted to put Nikū Siyar (b. Sha'bān 1090/September-October 1679) one of Prince Akbar's sons, on the throne but the rebellion gained little support. Husayn 'Alī attacked Agra, forced the garrison to capitulate and seized the treasure there, refusing to share it with 'Abd-Allāh. The imminent war between the two brothers was averted by Ratan Chand's intervention.[72]

On 17 September Rafi' al-Dawla,[73] who was entitled Shāhjahān II, died (of natural causes) at Bidyāpūr, but the news was kept secret and on 15 Dhu'lqa'da 1131/29 September 1719, Roshan Akhtar, a grandson of the Emperor Bahādur Shāh, was proclaimed ruler by the Sayyids at Bidyāpūr (about three miles from Fathpūr-Sikrī). It was decided that his reign should be pre-dated from the time of Farrukhsiyar's death. Between them the first two successors of Farrukhsiyar ruled for only five months.

The Sayyid brothers were now at the height of their political power. Although king-makers par excellence, in reality they were pawns of Lāla Ratan Chand. The main rivals were Muhammad Amin Khān and Nizām al-Mulk. The final downfall of the Sayyids was prompted not by the so-called pro-Hindū policy or by the disputes between the Tūrānī or Indian-born nobles. Among the intransient Hindū enemies of the Sayyids was Chabila Rām Nāgar, the governor of Allahabad. After his death in October 1719, his nephew Girdhar Nāgar, continued the hostility to the Sayyids shown by his uncle. Ajit Singh Rāthor supported the Sayyids but Jai Singh became their inveterate enemy.

Muhammad Amin Khān, the grand master of the double deal, had been dismissed by Emperor Farrukhsiyar from the post of second *bakhshi* but 'Abd-Allāh Khān had had his position restored. He used to advise Husayn 'Alī Khān to depose Farrukhsiyar but secretly intrigued for the

71 Rafī' al-qadr Rafī' al-Shān was the fourth son of Bahādur Shāh and was born in Rajab or Sha'bān 1081/November or December 1670 and fell fighting against Jahāndār Shāh.

72 *Shāhnāma-i munawwar kalām,* ff. 26a-27a; *M. L.*, II, pp. 825-830, 833, 836.

73 He was the son of Khujista Akhtar (Jahān Shāh) and was born at Ghazna on 23 Rabī' I, 1114/17 August 1702. When Rafī' al-Dawla died he was in Delhi and was brought to Bidyāpūr with his mother, styled Qudsiya Begam. After her son's accession to the throne she acted most cautiously and took all precautions to avoid offending the Sayyid brothers. *M. I.*, ff. 71a-b.

overthrow of the Sayyids. The real threat, however, came from Nizām al-Mulk who, in March 1719, had assumed the governorship of Mālwa and was kept well-informed of the developments at the court by his uncle, Muhammad Amin. The Mālwa assignment of Nizām al-Mulk was the greatest tactical blunder made by the Sayyids. Soon Nizām al-Mulk began declaring that his life's mission was to restore the glory of the Timūrid royal house and the honour of the Tūrāni families which the Hindūized policy of the Sayyids and their arrogance had destroyed.[74] Swiftly Nizām al-Mulk consolidated his position, much to the dismay of the Sayyid brothers, by giving protection to Marhamat Khān, the commandant of Māndū, whom they had previously dismissed. The armies of Marhamat Khān, who had conquered Sironj and Bhilsa from the Rājpūt *zamīndārs* and Nizām al-Mulk, began enlarging.[75] Hearing that the mace bearers were on their way to force him to the court in Delhi, Nizām al-Mulk crossed the Narbadā and in mid-August 1720 routed Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, the deputy viceroy of the Deccan and a nephew of the Sayyid brothers, near Bālāpūr in Berār.[76] With the occupation of Asīr and Burhānpūr, Nizām al-Mulk now controlled the access both to the Deccan and to the north. In September 1720 after considerable vacillation Sayyid Husayn 'Alī Khān marched against Nizām al-Mulk. With him he took the Emperor and Muhammad Amīn Khān who had made several unsuccessful attempts upon the life of the Sayyids. In order to allay Husayn 'Alī's suspicions, Muhammad Amin Khān made several proposals for peace between the Sayyids and Nizām al-Mulk. Secretly, however, he planned to have Husayn 'Alī assassinated. One of the new supporters to join Muhammad Amīn Khān was Mir Muhammad Amīn,[77] who had arrived in India from Nishāpūr in 1120/1708-09 and who was experiencing a rapid rise to power, owing to the patronage of the Sayyids. Haydar Qulī Khān Isfarā'ini,[78] another Īrāni, who held the post of superintendent of artillery, also became a supporter of Muhammad Amīn Khān. The Tūrāni Khān-i Dawrān, was neither loyal to Muhammad Amīn Khān nor to the Sayyids. On Dhu'lhijja 1132/8 October 1720 Mir Haydar Beg Dughlāt Kashghari killed Husayn 'Ali Khān. The assassination was carried out some 75 miles south-

74 *M. L.*, II, pp. 860., 905.

75 Ibid., II, pp. 850-52.

76 Ibid., II, pp. 889-895; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn,* ff. 168b-169b; *Mir'āt al-haqā'iq,* ff. 26a-28b.

77 In Farrukhsiyar's reign, Mīr Muhammad Amīn, son of Mīr Muhammad Nasīr Nīshāpūrī Husaynī Mūsawī, obtained a *mansab* of 1,000 *dhāt*. After the accession of Muhammad Shāh, the Sayyid brothers appointed him the *fawjdār* of Hindaun and Bayāna. Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naqawī, *'Imād al-sa'ādat,* Lucknow, n. d., p. 5.

78 *Mir'āt-i wāridāt,* ff. 163a-b.

west of Agra.[79] The head was carried through the streets of Agra attached to a bamboo pole. Ratan Chand was thrown into prison and Muhammad Amin Khān (Chin Bahādur) was appointed *wazir*. Haydar Quli Khān and Mir Muhammad Amin received high *mansabs*, the latter also being granted the title of Sa'ādat Khān Bahādur.[80]

Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh raised Prince Ibrāhim, the brother of Rafi' al-Darjāt and Rafi' al-Dawla, to the throne. As the prince would thus be just another puppet Emperor, Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh could expect his support in his struggle against the imperial army which, by early November, had reached Delhi. 'Abd-Allāh's army was hurriedly recruited from the Afghān, Mēwāti, Jāt and Rājpūt adventurers. However, the Sayyids of Bārhā fought with their characteristic gallantry and there were many killed in the battle. On 14 November 1720, 'Abd-Allāh was captured and was killed in prison two years later.

Some contemporary historians accuse the Sayyid brothers of treachery and perfidy while considering Farrukhsiyar a martyr.[81] Many of the brothers' favourites compared their fall and death with the tragedy of Karbala.[82] Of the achievements of the Sayyid brothers a modern scholar writes:

> 'By concentrating power in their hands, the Saiyids sought to save the Mughal empire from the process of disintegration which had inevitably followed the accession of a weak or incompetent king. Simultaneously, they pursued policies which, if persisted in for some time, might have led to the development of a composite ruling class consisting of all sections in the Mughal nobility as well as the Rajputs and Marathas.'[83]

And again:

> 'The Saiyids made a definite break with narrow, exclusionist policies, and moved in the direction of establishing a state essentially secular in approach and national in character.'[84]

Such an assessment is far too flattering. Saving the Mughal empire from the process of disintegration was no concern of the Sayyids. Traditionally all Bārhā Sayyids were proud of their Hindūstāni descent (*Hindūs-*

79 *'Ibrat-nāma*, B. M., Add., 26,245, ff. 94a-123b; *Shāhnāma-i munawwar-kalām*, ff. 32b-61b; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 151b-171b; *M. L.*, II, pp. 901-904; Mīrzā Muhammad Bakhsh Āshōb, *Tārīkh-i shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar u julūs-i Muhammad Shāh*, Ethé 422, ff. 3b-7a; Fraser, ff. 139b, 144b; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 165b-166a, *M. I.*, ff. 80a-b.

80 *M. L.*, II, pp. 914-15.

81 *M. L.*, II, pp. 814-15, 944.

82 *Mir'āt-i wāridāt*, f. 165b; *M. U.*, I, pp. 336-8.

83 *Parties and politics*, p. 165.

84 Ibid., p. 166.

*tāni za*) but the Sayyid brothers showed an utter lack of foresight and political acumen essential for the welding together of the many diverse, often hostile groups in India. Their dream of eliminating the Tūrānis was a particularly unrealistic ideal. Although contemporary historians denounce Ratan Chand's evil influence over the Sayyid brothers, they do extoll the concern of the latter with improving the condition of the agriculturalists.[85]

The advice given by Asad Khān to Farrukhsiyar just before the former's death in 1129/1716 is probably the best commentary on the political situation at the time. He informed the Emperor that it appeared that he (Farrukhsiyar) had acted against the best traditions of his ancestors in extirpating his (Asad Khān's) family. He saw the empire slipping away from the Timūrids just as his (Asad Khān's) own family had lost the office of *wazīr*. As the Emperor had chosen to make the Sayyid brothers the supreme political authorities, Asad Khān counselled the Emperor that he should continue to appease them as far as possible and try to eliminate all mutual hostility between them and himself. This should be done without any loss to imperial power.[85]

Besides trying to neutralize the factionalism and intriguing of the assorted groups at court the really pressing need of the time was to streamline the administration and introduce serious economic reform. There is little doubt that the process of disintegration of all administrative and economic institutions had begun in earnest during the later part of Awrangzib's reign, the crisis being further aggravated by the maladministration of his successors. Lāla Ratan Chand, chief adviser to the Sayyids, certainly had no ability to cope with such problems. During Muhammad Shāh's reign, Nizām al-Mulk introduced a scheme of reforms, but in order to understand their full implications a brief outline of the earlier changes is necessary.

In the first year of his reign Bahādur Shāh promoted all those who had held *mansabs* during the time of Awrangzib. However, under his system only princes, *wazīrs* and a few leading nobles were able to obtain corresponding *jāgirs*. The Khān-i Khānān's scheme to grant *jāgirs* from the *watan* of the Rājpūts proved both impractical and an error of judgment. The ensuing spate of applications for *mansabs* generally remained unchecked because the Khān-i Khānān was not prepared to court unpopularity. Naturally both old and new *mansabdārs* were now able to occupy only very small *jāgīrs*. The *wazir* earned considerable notoriety by remitting the transport expenses of livestock to the imperial government, an act which proved a further drain on the waning economy.

Bahādur Shāh's ancestors used to grant the title 'Khān' only to the most outstanding of *mansabdārs* with a highly impressive record of government service. However, when Bahādur Shāh was on the throne a large

85 *M. L.*, II, pp. 772-73.

number of *mansabdārs* received this title. Jang, Malik, Rāy and Rāja were also other titles commonly awarded; sometimes the same title was given to more than one *mansabdār*.

According to Khāfi Khān, on Shāh 'Ālam's accession the imperial treasury contained about 13 crores of rupees. By the end of his reign, however, the entire amount had been depleted through his extravagance. Moreover, in Shāh 'Ālam's reign the practice of assigning *jāgirs* from *khālisa* land increased,[86] but it assumed serious proportions during Farrukhsiyar's reign. The new class of *mansabdārs* brought in under the latter's government were Kashmiris, Khwājasarās and Hindūs, who held clerical posts at the imperial court. The *jāgirs* from the *khālisa* land were then extended both to old and newly-made *mansabdārs* who found favour with Ratan Chand. This, however, failed to solve the problem. Another idea was the introduction of cash payments to *mansabdārs* who had been recruited by Farrukhsiyar's government and who were known as *pādshāhi mansabdārs*. They held the rank of 20 to 900 horse and their troops were attached to the Emperor's own person and called *wālāshāhi*. Cash payments continued until *jāgirs* were assigned to them, but the sums were so small that the recipients were unable to maintain the required number of *sawārs*. Subsequently *mansabdārs* fell rapidly into debt to bankers and usurers from whom they borrowed cash in the hope of obtaining more *jāgirs* and repaying the loans.

This financial crisis accelerated *ijārā* (revenue farming) by the central Mughal government. The custom, as mentioned earlier, had been current in different areas from the time of Jahāngir onwards. What proved disastrous to the central administration in Farrukhsiyar's reign was that it became a general practice. Under such an arrangement the *ijārādār* or revenue farmer, for a fixed period of time, collected revenue on behalf of the *jāgirdār* or central or provincial government. At the same time he paid the authority or person for whom he was collecting a fixed amount while appropriating the remainder. Naturally the system ruined both the cultivators and the *zamindārān-i ra'iyati* (submissive and land revenue paying *zamindārs*). The situation tempted the *zamindārān-i zor talab* to withhold payment of revenue. The over-assessment of revenue prompted cultivators to migrate either to areas owned by the *zamindārān-i zor talab* or to abandon cultivation and to join the local chiefs who thrived on plunder.[87]

Sometimes *ijārā* rights were converted into *zamindāri* rights by enterprising revenue farmers. A large number of *madad-i ma'āsh* holders and Shaykhs and Sayyids also assumed the character of *zamindārs*, and a considerable number came to be *zamindārān-i zor talab*.

86 *M. L.*, II, pp. 602-3.

87 Hidāyat Allāh Bihārī, *Hidāyat al-qawā'id*, 'Alīgarh University Library, ff. 64b-66b.

Ratan Chand began to farm out even the parcels of *khālisa* land remaining in the care of Emperor Farrukhsiyar. The *'āmils* (chief revenue officers of the *sarkārs*) had to sign a contract and pay a fixed amount in advance from the *'āmils'* bankers. The predominance of speculators, bankers and brokers, invariably Hindū, resulted from the deepening crisis in imperial finances.[88] Widespread rebellion and lawlessness throughout the empire were mostly provoked by a growing sense of desperation and by the apparent inability of the politically powerful to improve the situation. It is quite unrealistic, therefore, to call this movement a communal war.

In contrast to this situation, the successful Panjāb administration of 'Abd al-Samad and the Bengal administration led by Murshid Quli Khān tend to indicate that strong governors in the regions, free from the factional influence of the Delhi court, had little difficulty in maintaining the traditions established by early Mughal administrators.

After crushing Bandā Bahādur, 'Abd al-Samad turned to the problem of rebellion in the Panjāb by 'Īsa Khān, the son of Dawlat Khān Manj, a Rājpūt of the Ranghar caste who had embraced Islām. Initially a *zamīndār*, in the wake of the war of succession after Awrangzīb's death, 'Īsa Khān had assumed considerable power. In return for the assistance obtained from 'Īsa Khān, Jahāndār Shāh had made him a *mansabdār* of 5,000, giving him as *jāgīr* the region of Lakhi Jangal and the *doāb* of Peth. In 1718 he rebelled and began pillaging the Sirhind region. His supporter at the imperial court was Khān-i Dawrān whom 'Īsa Khān had bribed with gifts. 'Abd al-Samad was forced to commission Shahdād Khān Afghān to Qasūr to deal with 'Isa Khān. Shahdād Khān defeated and killed both 'Īsa Khān and Dawlat Khān, thus restoring peace to the region.

Meanwhile Husayn Khān Afghān Khweshgi of Qasūr had seized all the *jāgirs* in his region and correspondingly the *mansabdārs* lost their source of revenue. Gathering around him a strong army of Afghāns he overran the territories as far as Lahore. Finally, 'Abd al-Samad Khān stopped his advance and Husayn Khān and his Afghān supporters were wiped out.[89]

'Abd al-Samad Khān also succeeded in crushing a further rebellion by Sharaf al-Dīn of Kashmīr and reduced Kharapdeo Rāja of Jammū to submission, subsequently putting his own son Zakariyya Khān, in charge of the region. In 1726 Nawwāb 'Abd al-Samad was made governor of Multān and Zakariyya Khān the governor of Lahore. On 26 July 1737 'Abd al-Samad died having worked incessantly for the assertion of Mughal power from Multān to Kashmīr. His success had widespread long-term effects

88 *M. L.*, II, pp. 773, 777, 902; Jawāhir Mal Bekas, *Dastūr al-'amal-i Bekas*, 'Alīgarh University Library, ff. 51a-52b, 68a-69b; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, f. 58a.

89 *'Ibrat-nāma*, B. M., Add., 26,245, ff. 62a-64a; *Asrār-i Samadī*, pp. 16-24; *Futūhāt-nāma-i Samadī*, ff. 44b-46a, 68a-81a; *M. L.*, II, 767-68.

and during his lifetime he had shown great qualities of leadership.[90]

Unlike 'Abd al-Samad Khān, Nawwāb Murshid Qulī Ja'far Khān had no distinguished ancestry of which to boast. His early career is shrouded in mystery. He was brought up by Hājjī Sharīf Isfahānī, a notable *dīwān* of Awrangzīb. The name by which he was first known was Muhammad Hādī and his parents seem to have been Hindū. In 1690 Murshid Qulī Khān accompanied his patron to Īrān. He apparently resigned his post as *dīwān*, although he seems to have returned to India after a few years and about 1696 was serving under Hājjī 'Abd-Allāh of Khurāsān, the *dīwān* of Berār. Receiving rapid promotion he was given the title, Kārtalab Khān and later *dīwān* of Bengal under Prince Muhammad 'Azīm al-Shān, the *sūbadār* of the province. He made a careful assessment of the *khālisa* and *jāgīr mahāls*, as well as taxes other than land revenue. His regular remittance of revenue from Bengal enhanced his prestige in the eyes of Awrangzīb. He transferred his office from Dacca to Makhsūsābād, much to the chagrin of the governor of Bengal. Awrangzīb, however, allowed the Prince to move to Patna and rename it 'Azīmābād after himself. About 1704 Kārtalab Khān called on the Emperor Awrangzīb, submitted his account and was given the title, Murshid Qulī Khān.

After Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh's accession to the throne, on the recommendation of Prince 'Azīm al-Shān, Murshid Qulī Khān was transferred to the Deccan. However, the Prince's deputies were unable to fulfil their duties adequately and in 1710 Murshid Qulī Khān was recalled to Bengal as *dīwān* and he and the Prince became exceedingly friendly. Murshid Qulī Khān's former status was restored and he repaid the generosity of his patron by taking the risk of striking coins in the name of 'Azīm al-Shān and reciting the *khutba* in the latter's name. Soon after 'Azīm al-Shān's defeat he transferred his allegiance to Jahāndār Shāh and sent Bengal revenue to him, although it was in fact seized by Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh Khān before it reached its real destination. Farrukhsiyar was disappointed with the attitude of his father's faithful ally but his efforts to have him removed from the governorship failed. After his accession, Farrukhsiyar, aware of Murshid Qulī Khān's talents, confirmed him in his position, even granting him a new title, Ja'far Khān Nāsirī.[91]

Murshid Qulī Khān redistributed the administrative units through which revenue was realized, and appointed efficient officers, loyal to himself, some of whom were strict that the payment of revenue be received punctually. By 1720 English and Dutch companies were exporting about 525,000 pieces of various textiles from Bengal. The dislocation of the *kārkhānas* run by the Central government and Mughal nobles in other parts

90 *Asrār-i Samadī*, pp. 30-56; *Futūhāt-nāma-i Samadī*, ff. 86a-86b.

91 Rustam, *'Ibrat-nāma*, f. 117b.

of India and which employed Bengali weavers, led to a large migration of non-Bengali weavers to Bengal as well as the return of the Bengali weavers to their home. Farrukhsiyar's *farmān* of 1717, which was prompted by the urging of Dr. Hamilton who had cured the Emperor from a disease, gave the British East India Company very favourable terms of trade. Although Murshid Quli remained a loyal servant to the Mughal Emperors until his death in 1727, he incessantly fought the misuse of power by the British under terms included in the *farmān*.

Resuming the story of Mughal politics from the time of the accession of Muhammad Shāh, we find that Muhammad Amin Khān's appointment to the post of *wazir* frustrated the hopes of Nizām al-Mulk, to whom that office had previously been promised by the Emperor. Nizām al-Mulk's foresight avoided a crisis and he set off to Awrangābād in order to consolidate his position. Khān-i Dawrān, who had shown himself to be far from enterprising, also received the *mansab* of 8,000 given to Muhammad Amin Khān. Haydar Quli Khān and Sa'ādat Khān obtained a *mansab* of 6,000 and 5,000; the former was made the *sūbadār* of Ahmadābād and the latter of Agra.

The new *wāzir*, Muhammad Amin Khān, commenced his administrative career by trying to dominate Emperor Muhammad Shāh, to an even greater extent, if that was possible, than had the Sayyid brothers before him. He also tried to re-impose *jizya*. The protests, however, of the business community and the appeals of Rāja Jai Singh and Girdhar Bahādur, *sūbadār* of Awadh, forced the Emperor to repeal these actions, although *jizya* had been estimated at yielding an annual income of four crores of rupees.[92]

Muhammad Amin Khān's sudden death on 27 January 1721 was popularly believed to have been due to a curse by a Muslim mendicant whom the *wazir* had ill-treated.[93] In order to prevent Muhammad Amin's son, Qamar al-Din, taking his father's position, at Khān-i Dawrān's suggestion the Emperor invited Nizām al-Mulk to become the new *wazir*.

On 20 February 1722 Nizām al-Mulk was warmly received by the Emperor at court. Although fickle and sickly the young Emperor, then only 19, evinced an interest in an active life. He gave his *wazir* full co-operation, appointed him the *sūbadār* of Mālwa (which a few months previously he had lost) and granted the province of Gujarāt to his son, Ghāzī al-Din Khān, thus superseding his own favourite, Haydar Quli.[93]

There is no doubt that Qamar al-Din Khān was sorely disappointed in Nizām al-Mulk's appointment and Khān-i Dawrān was friendly in name only, but both were Tūrānis; the Īrāni, Sa'ādat Khān, also claimed he and

92 *M. L.*, II, pp. 936, 948.
93 *Muqaddama-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, f. 41b.

the *wazir* were friends. The intrigues of Kūki Jiu,[94] the foster sister of the Emperor, and of Shāh 'Abd al-Ghafūr,[95] a *sūfi* to whom incredibly miraculous powers were attributed, Khwāja Khidmatgār Khān,[96] and Roshan al-Dawla Zafar Khān,[97] of Pānipat were serious obstacles to the success of Nizām al-Mulk. However, a *wazir,* who ruled from Delhi to Mālwa, Guja-

94 Her name was Rahīm al-Nisā' and she was the daughter of a *rammāl* (geomancer) of very humble origin. Kūkī grew up to be an attractive girl and from her young age her visits as her father's agent to the ladies imprisoned in the imperial harem in Salīmgarh palace, sharpened her intellect. The mother of Roshan Akhtar (Muhammad Shāh) who also lived in the palace, became an ardent devotee of Kūkī's father, and she kept Kūkī permanently with her. The door-keepers were suspicious about the girl's frequent visits but their minds were put at rest when Roshan Akhtar's mother stated that Kūkī was her son's foster sister. Roshan Akhtar also developed a passionate liking for Kūkī (*M. L.*, II, p. 940). After the death of Muhammad Amīn Khān she began to acquire a large number of gifts (*peshkash*) in the name of the Emperor to secure positions and promotions in the Court. (*M. L.*, II, p. 947). After 1732 Kūkī's quarrels with the Queen mother and the insolence of her brother, who was an *'ard-i mukarrar,* (superintendent of the office of obtaining confirmations of imperial orders), led to their dismissal. She was ordered to surrender her riches. There being no alternative, Kūkī gave in the keys and left the palace.

95 Originally a Thatta weaver, he first entered Prince Mu'azzam's service at Kābul but soon lost his position and migrated to Lahore. There he became the disciple of a *yogī* and also visited the rājas of the Panjāb hills. He travelled with the Prince's army from Lahore to Haydarābād and then to Delhi where he became famous as a Sayyid *sūfī* and was endowed with incredible supernatural powers. Kūkī was also a tool in his hands and the credulous mother of Roshan Akhtar believed firmly in the Shāh's miraculous power. Not only the women but Muhammad Amīn Khān also became Shāh 'Abd al-Ghafūr's disciple and played an important role in the intrigues leading to the assassination of Husayn 'Alī Khān. After Muhammad Amīn's death, his son Qamar al-Dīn also sat at his feet to receive blessings. Although Nizām al-Mulk did not appreciate the Shāh's interference in State policies and administration, he still had to show him respect because of his fame as a dervish. Shāh 'Abd al-Ghafūr also amassed huge riches, obtained an extensive *madad-i ma'āsh* grant and also minted coins.

His son 'Abd al-Rahīm, who was raised to a *mansab* of 6,000 *dhāt,* was a dissolute and cruel wretch, shamelessly seizing poor men's newly wedded wives. Ultimately, persistent complaints against 'Abd al-Ghafūr and his son disgusted the Emperor and the Shāh was ordered to account for his total income, whereupon he was made to part with half of his riches. He refused to comply, was arrested with his family on 28 May 1732 and died in Rohtās fort four years later. (*Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī,* ff. 37b-38a).

96 He was a eunuch and had obtained his early training for government service during Awrangzīb's reign. He died in 1732 and his wealth was brutally seized from his treasurer. (*M. L.*, II, p. 940).

97 Roshan al-Dawla, whose name was Khwāja Muzaffar, started his career as a high government official in the reign of Farrukhsiyar and during Muhammad Shāh's time became an influential member of Kūkī's clique. The riches collected by him were well spent in building impressive monuments, such as a mosque near the palace, a mosque and a *madrasa* in Chāndnī Chawk, Delhi, the gilded dome of the shrine of Abū 'Alī Qalandar at Pānīpat (d. 724/1324), the shrine of Shāh Bhīkh and a *khānqāh* (monastery) at Taska, near Thāneswar. On the *'urs* day (death anniversary) of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, he spent considerable money

rāt and the Deccan, was expected to overcome such difficulties with tact and sagacity. What really made Nizām al-Mulk impatient was the treachery of his own deputy in the Deccan, Mubāriz Khān,[98] who was attempting to become independent in the Deccan.

On 3 July 1723 after returning from expeditions to Mālwa and Gujarāt, Nizām al-Mulk submitted the following scheme for reform:

1. The *mansabdāri* system and the range of salaries for the military should be reorganized according to the pattern established during Awrangzīb's reign.
2. The *ijārā* system should be totally abolished. The food scarcity and famines which followed, despite plentiful harvests; would disappear, Nizām al-Mulk believed, after the abolition of the *ijārā*.
3. Although Awrangzīb had introduced *jizya* after a strenuous and lengthy struggle lasting forty years, from the reign of Bahādur Shāh the tax had fallen into disuse. It should now be reintroduced.
4. Finally, the Emperor should send reinforcements to Īrān in order to force the Afghāns out of the Persian territories for, after the conquest of Īrān, they might turn their attention towards Northern India.[99]

As suggested by Nizām al-Mulk a reorganization of the *jāgīr* system was the most crucial and pressing problem in this period. Mere orders from the Emperor to improve the system were insufficient to restore it to

(*F. N.* 97 *Contd.*)

on the illumination of the road from Delhi to the Khwāja's tomb, annually repaired the Qadam Sharīf (the Holy Footprint) monument in Delhi, and built a tomb for himself at Pānīpat with an attached school. Naturally his fame was more enduring. (*M. U.*, II, pp. 333).

98 A native of Balkh, his original name was Khwāja Muhammad. In Awrangzīb's reign, his mother brought him to India where he steadily rose to a high *mansab*. In 1122/1710 he succeeded Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrūz-Jang to the government of Ahmadābād, Gujarāt. Transferred to Mālwa in Jahāndār Shāh's reign, Farrukhsiyar first reappointed him to Gujarāt but only two weeks later transferred him to Haydarābād, giving him the titles of 'Imād al-Mulk and Mubāriz Khān Bahādur. He ruled Haydarābād for about twelve years, did not pay *chauth* to the Marāthas and tried most vigorously to assert Mughal authority. However, the Marāthas plundered more from the region than they would have received from *chauth* and the constant military movements spelled great ruin for the country. (*M. L.*, II, p. 963). In 1719-20 he half-heartedly supported Nizām al-Mulk's war against Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān; neither did Mubāriz fully support Nizām al-Mulk's suppression of Afghān power, considering the latter his friends. After taking over as *wazīr*, Nizām al-Mulk thought first of all to transfer him to Kābul but later decided to leave him in the Deccan. Mubāriz's father-in-law, 'Ināyat-Allāh Kashmīrī, urged him to consolidate his power in the Deccan, seize Mālwa and overthrow Nizām al-Mulk. (*Mir'āt-i wāridāt*, ff. 175b-176b.)

99 *M. L.*, II, pp. 947-49.

its former standard of efficiency. This necessitated a group of dedicated *dīwāns* such as Khwāja Shāh Mansūr Shirāzi and Rāja Todar Mal. Even the talents of Nizām al-Mulk were unable to fully streamline the administration of revenue collection. The growing significance of the urban merchant community had made the reimposition of *jizya* only remotely possible. Muhammad Shafi says that the Hindū officials who dominated the establishment of the lazy Muslims frustrated the introduction of the first three suggestions of Nizām al-Mulk.[100] To Muhammad Shāh's question of whom he could send to Īrān to lead the reinforcements, Nizām al-Mulk replied that anyone of his officers chosen by the Emperor could be commissioned to perform such a task, but in order to add strength to his scheme he offered to go himself. Obviously such a suggestion was made with a full realization of the impossibility of his being sent.[101]

For some days Nizām al-Mulk's scheme was discussed by the Emperor and his nobility but the latter misrepresented the *wazīr's* real intentions. Meanwhile the *wazir's* deputy in the Deccan, Mubāriz Khān, began to attach to himself all the trappings of an independent viceroy. In December 1723 Nizām al-Mulk left Delhi for Murādābād but the disturbing news from the Deccan prompted him to go there. Meanwhile Mubāriz Khān, through his supporters at court, had obtained a *farmān* from Emperor Muhammad Shāh for the viceroyalty of the Deccan and had begun marching towards Awrangābād, obtaining reinforcements en route from the Afghān chiefs hostile to Nizām al-Mulk. By July 1724 Nizām al-Mulk, accompanied by his forces, reached Awrangābād and with the assistance of the Peshwa Bāji Rāo I defeated and killed Mubāriz Khān at Shakarkherā, some eighty miles from Awrangābād.[102] After his victory Nizām al-Mulk awarded promotions to his loyal supporters not forgetting Peshwa Bāji Rāo to whom he endowed the *mansab* of 7,000/7,000.[103] Nizām al-Mulk then proceeded to consolidate his power in the Deccan and the Karnātak. Muhammad Shāh, who was happy to find that Nizām al-Mulk did not return to court, persuaded him to remain in the Deccan and as a further mark of his appreciation conferred on him the title, Āsaf-Jāh, and the office of the absentee *wakil*. He was allowed to return to court whenever he wished, but not to Mālwa and Gujarāt.[104] By 1724 to all intents and purposes the foundations of an independent Āsafjāhi dynasty in Haydarābād had been laid, although the Mughal Emperor reconciled himself

100 *Mir'āt-i wāridāt,* f. 167a.
101 *M. L.*, II, pp. 948-49; Fraser, ff. 185a-188a.
102 *Mir'at-i wāridāt,* ff. 175a-191b; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn,* ff. 171b-178a, 187b-188a.
103 Mīr Fath-Allāh; *Tārīkh-i Fathiya,* Ms. State Library, Haydarābād, Deccan, ff. 31a-40a; *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn,* f. 215a.
104 Mūsawī Khān Mīr Hāshim, *Munshāt-i Mūsawī Khān,* State Library, Haydarābād, Deccan, ff. 131-132b, 142b, 175-76.

to the view that Nizām al-Mulk was the *wakīl-i mutlaq* and a counterpart of Āsaf Khān, the *wakīl* of the Emperor Shāhjahān.

Qamar al-Dīn Khān I'timād al-Dawla,[105] the son of Muhammad Amīn Khān Chīn, was appointed the *wazīr* in Delhi in place of Nizām al-Mulk. Although an indolent man who was indifferent to the responsibilities of such a great office, he held the position from 1724 to 1748. Samsām al-Dawla Khān-i Dawrān, the constantly intriguing *mīr bakhshī*, who had had little military experience, and his brother, Muzaffar Khān, were the life-long companions of the fickle-minded Emperor Muhammad Shāh who, soon after his succession, became increasingly attracted to a life of licentiousness and levity.

Nizām al-Mulk soon became tired of the Marātha officers of Sāhū collecting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī* in an arbitrary manner. He tried to produce dissension between Sambhāji of Kolhāpūr and his rival Sāhū, but the latter's Peshwa, Bāji Rāo I, out-manoeuvred Nizām al-Mulk in battle. Faced with annihilation Nizām al-Mulk made a pact with Bāji Rāo at Mungi Shivagāon in March 1728. Under the peace terms he recognized Sāhū as the sole successor of Shivāji's kingdom and reinstated the Marātha collectors' right to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī*.[106] Sāhū's Peshwa was not, however, content with the treaty. In his bid to establish the Hindū Pad-Pādshāhī (Hindū domination of India) he urged the Marāthas to strike at the Mughal Emperor, whom he termed 'the trunk of the withering tree', thereby forcing the branches to fall off themselves. His armies obtained remarkable success in Gujarāt, Mālwa, Bundelkhand and Rājpūtānā. In July 1736 the Emperor began peace negotiations with Bāji Rāo. The latter's terms were incredibly severe:

> 'Apart from the control of the administration of the province of Mālwa, Bāji Rāo demanded cession of the Hindū centres of pilgrimage at Allahabad, Gayā and Mathurā in *jāgīr* in order to be able to pose as a champion of Hindūism. He also asked for the cession of the forts of Māndu, Dhār and Rāysīn which were occupied by Ruhella generals, and claimed the cash payment of fifty lakhs of rupees or an assignment of equal amount in Bengal and a hereditary grant of *sardeshpāndya*[107] of the six *sūbas* of the Deccan. The Emperor and the Amiru'l-Umarā' were willing to accept the last condition. They thought this arrangement would keep Bāji Rāo constantly occupied with Nizāmu'l-Mulk and thus neutralise their strength.'[108]

105 A pleasant and amiable personality, Qamar al-Dīn, who became *wazīr* at the age of thirty-eight, was a patron of art and literature, and was known for his munificence.

106 *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 199a-215b.

107 5% of the revenues besides *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī*.

108 Yūsuf Husain, *The First Nizām*, Bombay, p. 171.

Not only the *wazīr*, Sa'ādat Khān Burhān al-Mulk of Awadh, but also Muhammad Khān Bangash[109] of Farrukhābād considered the terms threatening to their respective territories. They joined forces to present a united front against the Marātha raids. Sa'ādat Khān repelled the invasion of the Marātha leader, Malhār Rāo Holkar, but Bāji Rāo, avoiding a conflict with the allies of the Mughals, appeared at the gates of Delhi on 9 April 1737. For three days the capital was at his mercy. Finally the Emperor granted the *sūbadāri* of Mālwa to Bāji Rāo and undertook to pay 13 lacs in cash. Nizām al-Mulk saw in a continuing Marātha presence in Mālwa a powerful influence on the Emperor and ultimately the end of his own rule. He, therefore, enthusiastically responded to the Emperor's summons to attack the Marāthas. He was finally made the *wakil-i mutlaq* and raised to the *mansab* of 8,000 *dhāt* and *sawār*. Besides the *sūbadāris* of Agra and Mālwa, other strategic posts were promised to his nominees.[110]

After reaching Delhi on 12 July 1737, Nizām al-Mulk plunged himself into the preparations for a decisive battle against the Marāthas. Besides imperial troops contingents of Rājpūts, Bundēlās and soldiers from Awadh also joined him. Nizām al-Mulk, however, did not really possess such tact and political acumen as was needed to lead a heterogeneous army to victory. He entrenched himself in Bhopāl, thereby cutting off supplies and reinforcements to the Marātha guerrillas. Unable to engage them in open battle, he opened negotiations with Bāji Rāo and on 7 January 1739 agreed to the Emperor granting the *sūbadāri* of Mālwa and the entire territory as a *jāgir* to the Peshwa. In a further concession sovereign rights were given to the Marāthas for the area between the Narbadā and Chambal.[111]

Meanwhile a storm was gathering which was destined to sweep from Delhi what remained of its wealth and prosperity—namely the invasion of

109 He belonged to the Kaghaza'ī Karla'ī clan of the Bangash tribal west of Peshāwar. Malik 'Ayn Khān, the father of Nawwāb Muhammad Khān Bangash, migrated to India in the reign of Awrangzīb and joined the Afghān troops of 'Ayn Khān Sarwānī. Muhammad Khān fought bravely against the Gwālior and Gond rebels and took a very active part in the war against Jahāndār Shāh. He was rewarded with a rank of 4000 and a *jāgīr* in the Kalpī region. Later he was promoted to the post of governor of Gwālior and attracted those Afghān leaders serving other *mansabdars* to his service, consolidating a formidable Afghān strength. He founded Qā'imganj and Farrukhābād. In the war between the Sayyid brothers and Muhammad Amīn Khān, he fought for the latter. His *mansab* was increased to 7000/7000 and the *jāgīrs* around the *parganas* of Bhojpur and Shamsābād were added to his former *jāgīr*. He also founded several other towns, such as Khudāganj, Nabīganj, 'Alīganj and Kāsganj, all of which grew into prosperous grain markets. Sayyid Walī-Allāh, *Tārīkh-i Farrukhābād*, B. M., Or. 1718, ff. 9b-24b; *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, p. 172.

110 *The First Nizām*, pp. 176-77.

111 *Ahwāl al-khawāqīn*, ff. 198a-245a; Raghubīr Singh, *Mālwa in transition*, Bombay 1936, pp. 241-47.

Nādir Shāh of Īrān. Originally from a poor Turkoman tribe of the Afshār clan which had enjoyed considerable power in the Khurāsān region, Nādir Quli was born in 1688. His early life had been one of hardship and struggle. However as a young man he rose rapidly to power through his own merits, while ostensibly working towards a restoration of the Safawid monarchy, whose pious but uxorious monarch, Shāh Sultān Husayn (1105/1694-1135/1722), had been defeated and killed by Ghalzay Afghāns from the area between Qandahār and Ghazna in 1694. In 1729 Nādir drove the Afghāns out of Isfahān and restored the Safawi throne to Shāh Tahmāsp II (1135/1722-1145/1732), a son of Shāh Sultān Husayn.[112] After Shāh Tahmāsp's accession Nādir, in the name of his monarch, wrote to the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shāh, requesting that he refuse to shelter the defeated Afghāns who, upon being expelled from Qandahār by the Ghalzays, had occupied Herāt.[113] Following the pattern set by the Ghalzay expansion, other Afghān tribes had then captured Khurāsān and besieged Mashhad. Nādir managed to drive the Abdāli Afghāns out of Khurāsān, but finding them submissive many were taken into his service.

In 1145/1732 Nādir deposed Tahmāsp II and began to rule in the name of 'Abbās III, the infant son of Tahmāsp II of the Safawid dynasty. Three years later Nādir proclaimed himself emperor and embarked on a course reminiscent of Timūr's. He had already recovered all those Īrānian territories seized in the previous ten years by the Ottoman Turks, as well as Bākū and Darband from Russia. After his accession he started levying taxes on his subjects in order to invade India. Meanwhile he had already sent two other envoys to Delhi in 1732 and 1737, demanding the expulsion of the Afghāns from Kābul and Peshāwar.[114] In March 1738 he captured Qandahār and in June occupied Ghazna.

During this time, the Kābul administration of the Mughals had become completely ineffective and the subsidy paid to the Afghān tribes was continually misappropriated. Advance warnings by Nasīr Khān, the Mughal governor of Kābul, about the imminent dangers of an invasion by Nādir Shāh were scornfully ignored and his appeal for funds rejected.[115]

Some contemporary authorities have accused Nizām al-Mulk of extend-

112 Khwāja 'Abd al-Karīm, *Bayān-i wāqi'*, Lahore 1970, pp. 9-22.

113 *Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar*, ff. 135a-139b; *Bayān-i wāqi'*, p. 24; *M. I.*, ff. 165a-170a.

114 *Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar*, ff. 148a-156b; *M. I.*, ff. 170b-178a. Muhammad Shāh's reply is included in several epistolary compilations. See *Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar*. It has been separately published by S. A. Rashīd. (*Medieval India Quarterly* 1951).

115 *Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar*, ff. 99a-b, 275a-b, *Wāqi'āt-i Īrān wa Hind*, Ethé 1717, ff. 38b-44b; *Akhbār-i Waqā'i Nādir Shāh*, India Office 3955, f. 124b; Ānand Rām Mukhlis, *Badā'i-waqā'i*, National Museum, Karāchī, ff. 172b-180a.

ing an invitation to Nādir Shāh to invade Delhi, while others have laid the blame squarely on Sa'ādat Khān's shoulders for his perfidy.[116] In fact, Nādir Shāh's costly campaigns in Īrān had made the acquisition of a quick and easy source of revenue imperative to him, and there was no better place for this than India. His earlier embassies to Delhi had been exploratory and even diplomatic handling by the effete Mughal court would hardly have averted the Indian tragedy. Although the Jāt depredations had made trade unsafe and revenue collection precarious, and although the Marāthas had occupied Gujarāt, Mālwa and Bundelkhand, the combined hoarded wealth of the rich urban Hindū bankers and Muslim nobles remained extensive.

While continuing to accuse Muhammad Shāh of offering protection to the Afghāns, in the middle of June 1738 Nādir Shāh seized Kābul. Two months later his advance guard captured Jalālābād, subsequently annihilating the garrison. On 18 November, Nādir Shāh entered Peshāwar without any resistance, the massacre of Jalālābād having struck terror into the hearts of the population there. A peace was concluded and although the town escaped a general massacre, it seems to have been plundered along with other towns and local villages en route. Lawless local elements used the opportunity to pillage the Panjāb in the wake of Nādir's advance.[117]

Although Nādir Shāh struck coins at Lahore, he again wrote to Muhammad Shāh, attesting the sincerity of his friendship. They were after all, said the Turkoman Nādir, of the same race and he excused his behaviour by saying that the inability of Muhammad Shāh to punish the Afghāns had spurred him to invade the Panjāb. He advised Emperor Muhammad Shāh against declaring war on him. After the fall of Kābul, Muhammad Shāh decided he could not ignore the danger posed by the invader any longer. With Qamar al-Dīn Khān, Nizām al-Mulk and Khān-i Dawrān's support, one crore of rupees were granted for military expenses.[118] The Emperor even appealed to the Marāthas for help against Nādir Shāh. Nizām al-Mulk urged the Emperor to plant Mughal troops at Karnāl and avoid engaging the enemy in full battle. While not exceeding more than 75,000, the Mughal army was swelled by an overwhelming number of non-combatants. The fighters among Nādir's forces did not exceed 55,000, but they were well trained in guerrilla tactics and in the art of isolating enemy

116 *Parties and politics,* p. 249. Even the Marātha *wakīl* considered Nādir Shāh's invasion as a game of Nizām al-Mulk.

117 *Wāqi'āt-i Īrān wa Hind,* ff. 46b-47b; Muhammad Muhsin Siddīqī, *Jawhar-i samsām,* B. M., Or. 1898, ff. 5a-6b.

118 *Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar,* ff. 170a-b; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī,* ff. 41a-53a; *Badā'i-waqā'i,* ff. 180a-184b.

contingents from the main corps of the army.[119] On 12 February 1739 Nādir's armies were close to Karnāl and, having obtained details of the Mughal's entrenchments, they decided to cut the latter's supplies from Delhi, or force the imperial army to make a stand. Sa'ādat Khān, who arrived from Awadh at midnight on 12 February, sought permission to strike first, but Nizām al-Mulk, advised caution and deferment of the invasion till the following day. However, Sa'ādat Khān being informed that his baggage had been seized by an advance party of Īrānīs, lost patience. Although Nizām al-Mulk advised him not to equate imperial wars with those against the villagers,[120] Sa'ādat Khān decided to attack the Īrānī scouts. Skilfully the Īrānīs lured the Awadh forces about two miles away from the main camp and then began to make short work of them. Khān-i Dawrān rushed to Sa'ādat Khān's rescue but was lured even further from the main army and ran into an ambush at point blank range. Even the two main Mughal forces were separated and the remainder became mere spectators to the battle. Although the Indian armies fought stubbornly, Khān-i Dawrān was mortally wounded and Sa'ādat Khān captured. Between 12,000 and 17,000 Indian soldiers fell fighting, while about 2,500 Īrānīs were killed. Besides their masterly use of logistics, the swivel guns of the Īrānīs wrought havoc against the Mughals. The heavy Indian artillery had little chance to show their strength. To Nādir Shāh the Indians knew how to die but not to fight.[121]

At Sa'ādat Khān's suggestions, Nādir Shāh invited Nizām al-Mulk to discuss peace terms and later Muhammad Shāh was forced to join them. Nizām al-Mulk made a peace, the terms of which included the payment of two crores of rupees. The figure of fifty lacs as a condition of peace suggested by some sources is unlikely, as Nādir Shāh had already obtained more than twenty lacs from Lahore.[122] Meanwhile Khān-i Dawrān died and Nizām al-Mulk secured the post of *mīr bakhshī* from Muhammad Shāh. This frustrated Sa'ādat Khān's hopes of becoming the supreme military head of the Empire and he persuaded Nādir Shāh to demand at least 20 crores indemnity or else imprison the Emperor and leading members of the nobility. Such treachery by Sa'ādat Khān was quite possible but it is

119 Hanway, Jonas, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian sea,* II, London 1873, p. 367.

120 *Jawhar-i samsām,* f. 18a; Anonymous, *Hikāyat-i fath-i Nādir Shāh,* Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society Calcutta, no. 36, f. 23a; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī,* ff. 42b-43a; *Badā'i-waqā'i,* ff. 185b-186b.

121 *Bayān-i wāqi',* pp. 26-32; *Hikāyat-i fath-i Nādir Shāh,* ff. 4a-38b; *Jawhar-i samsām,* ff. 5a-75b; *Maqaddama-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma,* ff. 59a-64a; *Hadīqat al-aqālīm,* pp. 155-56; *Badā'-i waqā'i',* ff. 187a-193b.

122 *The Later Mughals,* II, pp. 353-54.

doubtful that Nādir Shāh would have been contented with a mere two crores of rupees.

In late January 1739 Nādir Shāh took Nizām al-Mulk, Muhammad Shāh and Qamar al-Dīn captive. A few days later Sa'ādat Khān and a representative of Nādir Shāh entered Delhi. On 9 March the Shāh himself arrived, Emperor Muhammad Shāh and the imperial servants having reached there earlier to prepare a royal welcome for the conqueror. Nādir Shāh occupied the chambers of Shāhjahān near the Diwān-i Khāss. It has been said that Sa'ādat Khān, unable to bear the threats of Nādir Shāh if the promised indemnity was not secured, poisoned himself. In actual fact he suffered from a serious undiagnosed illness and died of natural causes on 17 March 1739.[123]

Nādir Shāh promised to restore the throne to Muhammad Shāh but asserted that he must help him to clear his debts, as he was desperately in need of large amounts of money. Meanwhile on 10 March some unemployed derelicts in Delhi had spread the rumour that Nādir Shāh had been assassinated by Muhammad Shāh's female Qalmāq guards. Hooligan elements in the town went out into the streets and killed about 3,000 Īrānis. On first hearing of the incident, Nādir Shāh refused to believe it but when the truth was ascertained he went to the mosque of Roshan al-Dawla (in the middle of the Chāndni Chawk) and ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants in the areas around which the Īrānis had been killed. From 9 in the morning until 2 p.m. the people of Delhi were mercilessly slaughtered and their property plundered. In the afternoon the entreaties of Nizām al-Mulk and Qamar al-Dīn resulted in Nādir Shāh ordering his soldiers to stop the bloody reprisals. About 20,000 people were killed in the massacre. By that time extensive booty had fallen into the hands of the Īrānis. Even the peace-loving citizens of Delhi suffered as well and many were forced to kill their wives and daughters rather than see them dishonoured by the Īrānī troops.[124]

During his two months' stay in Delhi Nādir Shāh married his son Mirzā Nasr-Allāh to a Mughal princess. Fascinated by the charm of a courtesan named Nūr Bāi, Nādir Shāh planned to take her with him to Khurāsān; however, finally he left her in Delhi.[125] The total value of spoils taken by Nādir Shāh, including the famous Peacock Throne of Shāhjāhān, is estimated at 70 crores. The Mughal provinces west of the Indus extending from Kashmir to Sind and Kābul were ceded to the conqueror in lieu of tribute. On the way home the Īrānian army, laden with spoils seized in India,

123 *Jawhar-i samsām*, ff. 52b-67a; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 43b-44b.
124 *Bayān-i wāqi'*, pp. 37-39, *Jawhar-i samsām*, ff. 56b-59a; *Badā'i-waqā'i*, ff. 189a-201b.
125 *Bayān-i wāqi'*, pp. 41-44.

suffered considerable hardship, particularly in the Kurram valley. The Sikhs in the Panjāb also caused considerable damage to Nādir's heavy baggage. On his way to Khurāsān, Nādir Shāh conquered Balkh, Bukhārā and Khwārazm,[126] giving rise to a fresh wave of migration from Central Asia to India.

Nādir Shāh was not, however, destined to enjoy his power and glory for long. Soon he was bordering on insanity, constantly subject to violent rages. His rapacity and avarice continued to increase and he imposed heavy taxes on the Persian provinces in an attempt to suppress rebellions. In June 1747 some of his officers assassinated him at Kuchan in Khurāsān. Ahmad Khān and the Abdālī soldiers deserted the rest of the Īrānī troops and elected Ahmad Khān their chief who, in his elevated status became Ahmad Shāh, assuming the title Durr-i Durrān (Pearl of Pearls), or more simply, Durrānī. His coronation took place at Qandahār. In a bid to outdo Nādir Shāh, he forcibly brought Ghazna, Kābul and Peshāwar under his control and began to assert his sovereignty over the Mughal provinces previously ceded to his predecessor.[127]

During his stay in Delhi Nādir Shāh is said to have made various observations about the competence of different people as *wazirs*. Historians favourable to Nizām al-Mulk assert that the conqueror admired his abilities, but others say he was highly impressed by the intelligence and eloquence of Muhammad Ishāq Khān I. However, after disturbing reports of the imminent rebellion of his son, Nāsir-Jang, whom Nizām al-Mulk had appointed deputy-viceroy of the Deccan on 3 April 1749, the Tūrānī veterān left Delhi to save his province from the new aggressor. He left his son Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān in Delhi to act as *mīr bakhshi* in his place,[128] but Nizām al-Mulk's departure to the Deccan made the Īrānis dominant at court.

Nizām al-Mulk was however still at Jaisinghpura when Amīr Khān II ('Umdat al-Mulk) began to urge the Emperor to fulfil the promises made to him as *wazīr*. Amīr Khān II was the son of the first Amīr Khān who under Awrangzīb had worked with considerable distinction as governor of Kābul. Originally an Īrānī, the mother of Amīr Khān I was a daughter of the Empress Mumtāz Mahal's sister and the family was closely connected with the relations of Āsaf-Jāh, the celebrated *wakil* of Shāhjahān. He was a good poet and capable of being an adequate administrator, but a hasty plot to overthrow Qamar al-Dīn had alienated him from the Emperor. Qamar al-Dīn had gone to the protection of Nizām al-Mulk and the Emperor, who was apprehensive of arousing the hostility of leading Tūrā-

126 *Bayān-i wāqi'*, pp. 53-99; *Badā'i-waqā'i*, ff. 202 b-205a, 218 b.-226a, 248a-253a.
127 Gandā Singh, *Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*, Bombay 1959, pp. 18-35.
128 *Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar*, ff. 313a-14b.

nis, withdrew his support from Amir Khān II with whom he had been friendly. A frustrated Amir Khān was sent to Nizām al-Mulk who was encamped outside Delhi. On Nizām al-Mulk's advice Amir Khān had to leave the court for Allahabad.[129]

There then emerged another powerful personality in Delhi with whom the government had to reckon. A few months prior to April 1749, Muhammad Ishāq Khān I (Mu'taman al-Dawla) began to rise rapidly to a *mansab* of 6,000 and was made the *diwān* of *khālisa*. He was a shrewd and capable Īrāni from Shustar who had been brought to the Emperor's notice by Amir Khān II. When the Emperor consulted him regarding what action should be taken in connection with the ambitions of Amir Khān to become a *wazir* (thus superseding Qamar al-Din), Ishāq discouraged the Emperor from openly alienating such a leading Tūrāni. However, he died an early death in April 1740.

Ishāq's son, Ishāq II (Najm al-Dawla) was even more talented than his father and surpassed him as a close confidant of the Emperor. In 1747 he was appointed the *diwān-i khālisa* in his father's place. The Emperor's interest in Ishāq's family was so great that he even went to the extent of marrying Ishāq's daughter (later known as Bahū Begam) to Safdar-Jang's son, Mirzā Jalāl al-Din Haydar (Shujā' al-Dawla).[130]

Sa'ādat Khān Burhān al-Mulk's nephew and son-in-law, Mirzā Muqim, known by the title, Abu'l Mansūr Khān Safdar-Jang, succeeded his uncle as governor of Awadh. His military genius endeared him to his soldiers whose numbers he swelled with Īrānis who had deserted from the army of Nādir Shāh. The Shi'i Kashmiris who spoke fluent Persian and looked Īrānian were also encouraged by Safdar-Jang to join his army. The annual raids by the Marāthas in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa dating from April 1742 had prompted the Emperor to order Safdar-Jang (at Amir Khān's suggestion) to restore imperial authority in the eastern provinces.

After the death of Murshid Quli Khān his successor had assumed independence in Bengal, sending only surplus amounts of revenue. Although Safdar-Jang marched as far as Patna, in reality, militarily nothing was achieved, and the success of the expedition was greatly exaggerated by both the supporters of Amir Khān and Safdar-Jang.[131]

In August 1743, the Emperor invited both Amír Khān and Safdar-

129 Ibid., ff. 314b; *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, II, p. 487.

130 *'Imād al-sa'ādat*, p. 36. According to the author the Emperor spent 4,600,000 rupees on this wedding and, comparing it with Dārā-Shukōh's marriage expenses, says that Shāhjahān only spent 3,200,000 rupees on his son's wedding. The only other wedding expenses which could be compared with the above-mentioned ones were those for the wedding of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar with Ajīt Singh's daughter. Bahū Begam became the mother of the famous Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla.

131 *Siyar*, II, pp. 521-22.

Jang, as well as other nobles, to plan their course of action against the Marāthas. The presence of both Amir Khān and Safdar-Jang relegated the influence of the easy-going and indifferent *wazīr* to the background. Amir Khān's unstable mind and bad temper helped to bring upon himself a speedy death. On 25 December 1746 he was assassinated by one of his own servants at the instance of the Superintendent of the Palace. Amir Khān left a considerable amount of property in the form of jewellery, although the salaries of his soldiers had been unpaid for 14 months. For four days his body was not allowed to be buried by his troops. Safdar-Jang assured them that ultimately they would be paid.[132]

Although Safdar-Jang remained the most significant Īrānī leader, there were threats to his power from both the Tūrānīs and the Afghāns who were filled with fresh hopes of reviving the glory of Sikandar Lodi and Sher Shāh Sūr. Although in both northern and southern India there were innumerable centres of Afghān power, the two important ones in the first half of the eighteenth century were among the Bangash and Rohēlla tribal groups. Both centres of power were strengthened by the immigration of the Afghāns who were displaced from their own homeland by Nādir Shāh.

After the assassination of Husayn 'Alī, Muhammad Khān Bangash, the great Afghān leader, was promoted to the *mansab* of 6,000 which was later raised to 7,000. Between 1720 and 1729 he served as *sūbadār* of Allahabad, tried to crush the Bundēlās and in conjunction with Sa'ādat Khān stoutly opposed Sawā'i Jai Singh's policy of conciliating the Marāthas.[133] In 1730 he was made the governor of Mālwa but he was unable to check the Marātha raids. Two years later he was removed from his governorship of Mālwa and the province was reassigned to Sawā'i Jai Singh. Between 1735 and 1736 Muhammad Khān Bangash again served as governor of Allahabad but was relieved of the position in 1737. He died six years later.

Muhammad Khān Bangash's power extended from 'Aligarh to Etāwa, Kānpūr and Badā'ūn. However the heterogeneous Afghān tribes that had settled in the region were lacking in the total unity of the Rohēllas. When Sa'ādat Khān was first appointed governor of Awadh in September

132 *Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar*, ff. 316, 319; *Muqaddama-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, ff. 74a-77a.

133 A shrewd statesman, Jai Singh suggested that in the past, confrontation with the Marāthas and the attempts to stop their incursion into Gujarāt and Mālwa had failed. To him, expansion and consolidation of Marātha power under Bājī Rāo's leadership was a foregone conclusion and it was unrealistic to persist in a false policy of driving the Marāthas to the Deccan. His conciliation policy was dictated neither by religious reasons nor by the desire to weaken the Mughals, as some modern historians suggest. For example, Sinhā says, "After the disastrous failure of Awrangzeb Sawaī Jai Singh entertained hopes of reviving Hindu glory by joint efforts of the Rajputs and the Marathas." *Rise of the Peshwas* ,p. 135; *The First Nizām*, pp. 167-69.

1722, both Bangash and Rohellas wished to extend their influence at the cost of Awadh. Under Safdar-Jang, open warfare broke out between Awadh and the Afghāns.

Rohella power developed in the region known as Katihar, an inaccessible area filled with bamboo jungle around Murādābād and Bareilly. Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664/1266-686/1287) had opened communications between Delhi and Katihar, but the jungle continually regrew, isolating small settlements as impregnable retreats. Under the Afghān rule many Afghān tribes settled in this area, their presence was welcomed even by the Mughal emperors who saw this move as a check to the Hindū *zamindārs*.[134]

One such Afghān migrant to Katihar was an adventurer, Dāwūd Khān,[135] a member of the Bādalza'i clan. He arrived there during the

134 For example, about 52 Afghān tribes settled in Shāhjahānpūr in about 1647; 20 miles south of Shāhjahānpūr they built Shāhābād; 'Umarpūr, 10 miles north-west of Shāhjahānpūr, emerged as another colony. Gradually these colonies extended to Sambhal and Sahāranpūr, all of which were surrendered by rebellious and powerful *zamīndārs*. The long, drawn-out wars of the Afghāns with the Hindū *zamīndārs* form a gruesome picture of seventeenth and eighteenth century local history, but they contributed significantly to the promotion of both agriculture and trade. The following is a very valuable comparison between Marātha and Afghān rule. 'To individual (*sic*) the Ruhēlas, like others of the Afghān race, were not free from cruelty, vindictiveness and treachery. But as rulers, they saw the unwisdom of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. They protected the peasants and traders in their lands from unauthorised oppression and were eager to drive away other robbers from their own preserves. In this they formed an honourable contrast to the Marāthas, who extorted their *chauth* and then went away, without recognising any moral obligation to protect the people whom they had robbed or whose regular government they had overthrown. The Ruhēla chieftains left the revenue collection in the hands of Hindū ministers (*dīwāns*) and their household accounts and correspondence in charge of Hindū secretaries (*munshīs*), who were generally very capable men of business and faithful to their master's interests. The result was that both rulers and subjects prospered in their dominions when once the violent act of annexation was over.' Jadunāth Sarkār, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, I, Calcutta 1964, p. 35.

135 The career of Dāwūd Khān is a typical illustration of the rise of the adventurers of that century. Dāwūd Khān was a slave boy of Shāh 'Ālam Khān, a grandson of Shihāb al-Dīn, known as Kota Bābā. Migrating from Shorabak in the Pishīn district of Pākistān, the family had settled in Chach Hazārā and became quite rich. Shāh 'Ālam adopted Dāwūd as his own son. After some time, the adventurous Dāwūd migrated to Katihar but could not find any suitable employment. Shāh 'Ālam sent him one thousand rupees, asking him to buy some colts from Haridwār for rupees eight hundred, and sent them to him. The rest Dāwūd could retain as his expenses. Dāwūd bought the colts and sent them to Shāh 'Ālam. On his way back, however, he killed a rich Hindū and plundered his property. More unemployed Afghāns gathered around him and he became an eminent leader. *'Imād al-Sa'ādat*, pp. 40-41. *Gulistān-i Rahmat* gives detailed accounts of Shāh 'Ālam's visits to Dāwūd Khān, his deep interest in horse trading, and ultimate murder at the instigation of Dāwūd whom Shāh 'Ālam wished to return to Roh. *Gulistān-i Rahmat*, Ethé 587, ff. 4b-10b.

reign of Shāh 'Ālam I. Sometime around 1715 he offered his services to Madār Shāh, the *zamīndār* of Madkar in Badā'ūn who was involved in continuing warfare against a neighbouring *zamīndār*. Amongst the captives taken by Dāwūd Khān in the war was a Jāt boy who appeared promising. Dāwūd converted him to Islām and adopted him as a son. The boy was renamed 'Alī Muhammad Khān.[136] Some sources claim that 'Alī Muhammad Khān was a natural son of Dāwūd. According to modern apologists of the family 'Alī Muhammad was a Sayyid by birth; more cautious traditions, however, assert he was a Sayyid born of a Jāt mother.[137] About 1721 Dāwūd was killed in a battle against the Rāja of Kumāon and 'Alī Muhammad, then about fourteen, became the commander of Dāwūd's retainers.

'Alī Muhammad's military exploits at a young age, conducted from his base at Āonla, 18 miles from Bareilly, so deeply impressed the *wazir*, Qamar al-Dīn, that in 1150/1737 he invited him to serve the imperial army, marching against Sayf al-Dīn 'Alī Khān, a brother of Sayyid Husayn 'Alī Khān of Bārhā. The battle was fought near Jānsath, the Sayyid stronghold, but the Afghān contingents easily defeated their enemies who were famous for their military exploits. The *wazīr* obtained for 'Alī Muhammad the title, *Nawwāb*.[138] Between 1741 and 1748 'Alī Muhammad extended his principality of Katihar to Bijnor. Afghāns displaced by Nādir Shāh's invasion swelled the ranks of 'Alī Muhammad's forces and Katihar became a new home for them. The area became known as Rohelkhand—the area inhabited by Afghāns from Roh.[139] A large number of other tribes and clans were also included among the new immigrants. One of the most remarkable personalities to migrate to Rohelkhand was Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, the son of Dāwūd's patron, Shāh 'Ālam Khān.[140]

Expeditions in 1741 against 'Alī Muhammad by the Emperor Muhammad Shāh failed. In 1745 Safdar-Jang, who a year previously had been appointed *mīr ātash* (Superintendent of Artillery), persuaded the Emperor to lead the campaign personally. They left in April, moving slowly as if

136 *Gulistān-i Rahmat*, ff. 4b-7a.

137 *'Imād al-Sa'ādat*, pp. 40-41.

138 *Gulistān-i Rahmat*, ff. 12a-12b.

139 Tribal territories extending west of Peshāwar to the present-day boundaries o Afghānistān.

140 Shāh 'Ālam's grandfather, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn, was known as Kota Bābā. The Shaykh called himself 'Kota', or the dog of the Prophet's door, as a sign of his deep servitude to the Prophet Muhammad.

Kota Bābā's descendants were deeply respected by Rahmat Khān (b. 1120/1708), the great Rohēlla leader who had memorized the Qur'ān at the age of twelve and who consequently came to be known as Hāfiz. Originally the Hāfiz was a horse dealer by trade but soon took service under 'Alī Muhammad Khān, loyally helping him in his military expeditions.

they were going on a holiday. On 28 May the imperial army was near Bangarh and planning to precipitate a direct conflict with the Rohēllas. The imperial artillery under *mir ātash* did try to engage the enemy in battle but the *wazir*, friendly to 'Ali Muhammad persuaded the latter to surrender in order to save the Emperor from losing face. Although 'Ali Muhammad was appointed the imperial *fawjdār* at Sirhind, his two sons were kept hostage at the court in Delhi.[141]

Safdar-Jang's ambition was only partially realized but the absence from Rohelkand of 'Ali Muhammad unleashed the forces of lawlessness and anarchy. Hidāyat 'Ali,[142] the imperial *faujdār* of Bareilly acted with tact and diplomacy but being a Shi'i was unable to wield any influence over the orthodox Sunni Afghāns. Early in 1748 the news that Ahmad Shāh Durrāni had seized Lahore, prompted 'Ali Muhammad Khān to leave his post at Sirhind and return to Rohelkhand. Hidāyat 'Ali fled to Delhi and the region returned again to 'Ali Muhammad.[143]

By this time the Panjāb region was in a state of turmoil. In July 1745 Zakariyya Khān, the son and successor of 'Abd al-Samad, died in Lahore and was succeeded by his son, Yahya Khān. Yahya's younger brother, Shāh Nawāz, was made the governor of Multān. Bands of Sikh horsemen tried to use the change of leadership to assert their authority over Lahore. Yahya, however, inflicted a severe defeat upon them, killing about 7,000 Sikhs, including women and children. This great disaster is known to the Sikhs as the first Ghallūghārā (holocaust) of June 1746.[144] Shortly afterwards civil war broke out between Zakariyya Khān's two sons. Shāh Nawāz, who had seized Lahore, invited Ahmad Shāh Durrāni to invade Lahore and declared himself independent.[145]

After consolidating his power in the Qandahār region, as previously mentioned, Ahmad Shāh Durrāni tried to reassert his right to rule the regions already ceded to Nādir Shāh. First he occupied Kābul, then Peshāwar. By that time the *wazir* had become reconciled with Shāh Nawāz and

141 Ānand Rām Mukhlis, an eminent scholar and poet, gives a detailed description of this expedition in an amusing piece of Persian prose, interspersed with Hindī verses, which is an important historical document. *Safar-nāma-i Ānand Rām Mukhlis*, Rāmpūr 1946, pp. 1-108; *Gulistān-i Rahmat*, pp. 19b-22a; *Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar*, f. 320; *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, p. 855; *'Imād al-Sa'ādat*, p. 43; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 60b-61b.

142 He was the father of Sayyid Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātabā'ī, the author of *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*. During those days, Ghulām Husayn was with his father.

143 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī had invited 'Alī Muhammad to join him from Sirhind, offering him the post of *wazir*, but he preferred to rule Katihar independently rather than accept the precarious *wizārat*. *Gulistān-i Rahmat*, ff. 26a-27b; *Khizāna-i 'Āmira*, pp. 58-60; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 76b-77b.

144 *A History of the Sikhs*, I, pp. 129-30.

145 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, p. 861; Sohan Lāl Sūri, *'Umdat al-tawārīkh*, I, Lahore 1885-9, pp. 114-15.

promised him the governorship of Kābul, Kashmīr, Thatta, Lahore and Multān. The reconciliation of Shāh Nawāz with the imperial government did not discourage Ahmad Shāh, however. He marched on Lahore, shattered Shāh Nawāz's feeble defence and seized the town on 12 January 1748. The Rāja of Jammū and many hill rājas and *zamindārs* hastened to become tributary chiefs of Ahmad Shāh.[146]

In mid-November 1747, the Mughal court was informed of Ahmad Shāh's invasion. The Mughal army, however, was unable to leave Delhi before the middle of January 1748. The aged *wazir* chose to act as commander; Safdar-Jang and Rāja Īshrī Singh, son of Rāja Jai Singh of Jaipūr, were appointed the *wazir's* deputies. Prince Ahmad Shāh represented his father, Muhammad Shāh, who was seriously ill. While the Mughal army moved leisurely, Ahmad Shāh Durrāni marched with great vigour against Delhi's army and occupied Sirhind, previously vacated by 'Alī Muhammad Khān. On 22 Rabī I 1160/3 March 1748 the rival armies met at Manūpūr near Sirhind. The aged *wazīr* was killed while handing over command to his son, Mu'in al-Dīn Khān (alias Mīr Mannū). The Īrānīs, under Safdar-Jang, with their long muskets (*jazā'ir*) heroically resisted the Afghān swivel gun, finally winning the day. However, Ahmad Shāh, a seasoned warrior, duped the imperialists by making peace parleys and then systematically withdrawing his main force and all valuable military equipment from the field.[147] News of the deterioration of Muhammad Shāh's physical condition prevented the Prince from pursuing the retreating enemy; Safdar-Jang also could not risk his chances of succeeding as *wazir*. The news of his nephew's rebellion at Qandahār prompted Ahmad Shāh Durrāni to retreat hastily from Lahore.

On 27 Rabi' II 1161/26 April 1748 Emperor Muhammad Shāh died from venereal disease. Although he had never bothered to conceal his levity and rakish inclinations, refusing to maintain the dignity of a royal figure, Muhammad Shāh's artistic interests were far-reaching. Although during his reign province after province had been lost and there had been a never-ending scramble for power among his nobles in Delhi, the Emperor himself was a great patron of poetry, music, astronomy and other intellectual pursuits.

The death of Muhammad Shāh marks the end of the first phase in the decline of the Mughals. The victory of the combined forces of Prince Ahmad Shāh and Safdar-Jang over Ahmad Shāh Durrāni was a traumatic

146 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, pp. 862-63.

147 Ānand Rām Mukhlis, *Badā'i waqā'i, Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, November 1949, pp. 8-12; *Tadhkira-i Ānand Rām Mukhlis* (Sections of *Badā'i-waqā'i*, National Museum, Karāchī, ff. 92a-98a. *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, B. M., Or. 2005, ff. 5a-9b; Mahmūd al-Husaynī, *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, I, Moscow, 1974, pp. 83-128.

experience, for the Mughals unrealistically considered Ahmad Shāh to be the greatest Mughal of the eighteenth century, who had succeeded in wiping out the shame inflicted by Nādir Shāh's invasion. Ahmad Shāh's military exploits were even compared by some historians with those of Awrangzīb. However, their impact was shortlived, for Durrāni's invasions continued with renewed vigour, making the Afghāns the most powerful faction on the political scene of Delhi.

This group was mobilized in support of the Tūrānis by their leaders in order to whip up sectarian sentiments to remove the Shī'i Safdar-Jang from power. The Tūrānis in turn found themselves displaced when the Afghāns took power completely with Durrāni's invasion of Delhi. The continuing acceleration of the establishment of independent states was accompanied by the founding of even smaller states by the Balūch and petty Afghān chieftains who defied the central Mughal authority with impunity. The sources of imperial revenue largely dried up and the Mughal emperors and their families suffered state of severe deprivation.

In the wake of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni's invasion the Sikhs gained renewed strength. The efforts of Safdar-Jang to involve the Marāthas in the defence of the empire was frustrated by the Tūrānis who did not hesitate on other occasions to seek Marātha support for their own ends. The emergence of the British as a formidable power in Bengal was hardly felt by other Indian states although the British were soon to take over the greater part of India.

To return to the significant aspects of the second period we start with the successor of Muhammad Shāh. He was Prince Ahmad Shāh, the late Emperor's only son, aged twenty-two. When his father died the Prince was still at Pānipat en route to Delhi from Sirhind. The hasty arrangements for the coronation were made by Safdar-Jang and the grateful Prince promised him the post of *wazir*. Before his accession Ahmad Shāh had been a neglected young prince. The only education he received was from the women of the harem. Ahmad's own mother was a dancing girl, Udham Bā'i, who from the moment of her son's accession began to rule in his name, dictating orders to favourite noblemen stationed around the palace verandah. The head of the harem, Jāwid Khān (Nawwāb Bahādur) was a eunuch who had befriended the Prince as a young boy, as well as his mother. He turned an area of about four square miles around the palace into an exclusive female preserve where the new Emperor would spend his days indulging himself, while the administration was concentrated in his own hands. While Udham Bā'i spent about two crores of rupees celebrating the birthday of her son and Jāwid Khān illegally amassed a huge fortune, the imperial troops,[148] who had not been paid for a long time, muti-

148 *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, ff. 11b-16a; *Tārīkh-i Muzaffarī*, ff. 240a-267b.

nied and starved. Although some peaceful *zamindārs* of the *khālisa* paid revenues to the imperial treasury it was insufficient to meet royal needs. Products from the *kārkhānas* were sold cheaply to the bankers and shopkeepers. The starving Central Asian troops plundered the imperial property and there was no force in Delhi able to stop them.

Although Safdar-Jang was made a *wazir*, his investiture to that great office took place only on 19 June 1748 after definite news had been received of Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh's death at Burhānpūr. Sayyid Salābat Khān Dhu'lfaqār-Jang, whose relation by marriage to Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shāh had made him one of the leading nobles, was appointed the first *bakhshi*. Allahabad was added to Awadh and ruled directly by Safdar-Jang.

After the death of Murshid Qulī Khān in 1727, Bengal was ruled by his son-in-law, Shujā' al-Dīn Muhammad Khān. After the latter's death in 1739, 'Alī Wardī Khān, the governor of Bihār managed to have Sarfarāz Khān, the son of Shujā' al-Dīn, removed from the viceroyalty of Bengal. In March 1740, the position was given to 'Alī Wardī Khān on the promise that a large remittance be permanently paid to the imperial government. Sarfarāz Khān made a desperate effort to retain his post but was defeated and killed by 'Alī Wardī, who in May entered Murshidābād as the viceroy of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa. Shujā' al-Dīn's son-in-law, the governor of Orissa, who refused to accept 'Alī Wardī's overlordship, was defeated. The Mughal Emperor refused to interfere with 'Alī Wardī's position as viceroy;[149] Mālwa, assigned to Peshwā in 1741, remained in his hands. In April 1749 Nāsir-Jang, Nizām al-Mulk's second son, was confirmed as viceroy of the Deccan. Ghāzī al-Dīn Fīrūz-Jang, the eldest son of Nizām al-Mulk, remained at the Delhi Court.

Qamar al-Dīn's son, Intizām al-Dawla, who was appointed the second *bakhshi*, was severely frustrated by Safdar-Jang becoming *wazīr* and with his Tūrānī supporters and soldiers in the provinces began to hatch conspiracies against his rival.[150] Safdar-Jang persuaded the Emperor to take a personal interest in the administration, instead of leaving everything in the hands of Jāwid Khān, while he led a life of dissipation. An attempt on his life at the end of November 1748 prompted Safdar-Jang to leave the crowded area of the city to live in a tent on the side of the river. Meanwhile Jāwid Khān, Intizām al-Dawla and Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrūz-Jang had succeeded in persuading the Emperor to dismiss Safdar-Jang.[151]

149 Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, *Tārīkh-i Bangāla-i Mahābatjang*, Calcutta 1950, pp. 1-6.

150 The Tūrānī group was also closely linked by matrimonial ties. Ghāzī al-Dīn was the husband of Intizām al-Dawla's sister. Nizām al-Mulk, Qamar al-Dīn Khān and Zakariya Khān were also related by marriage.

151 *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, ff. 16b-17b.

Mir Mannū, the governor of Lahore and Multān, also joined the Tūrāni leaders attempting to deprive Safdar-Jang of his post, but the second invasion by Ahmad Shāh Durrāni of Lahore at the end of November 1748 blunted the edge of Mir Mannū's intrigues. He had to cede to Ahmad Shāh Durrāni all the territories west of the Indus and assign to the Afghān the revenues from Siālkot, Awrangābād, Gujarāt and Pasrūr, which collectively amounted to an annual sum of fourteen lacs.[152]

On 17 April 1749 the Emperor and Udham Bā'ī visited Safdar-Jang and, assuring him of their support, persuaded him to return to court. The *wazir* then began to reorganize the administration, even amidst the many conspiracies against him. Soon there was an opportunity for him to break the Bangash and Rohella alliance. Safdar-Jang and Qā'im Khān Bangash appointed the governor of Rohelkhand in place of Sa'd-Allāh Khān, the son of 'Ali Muhammad Khān who had recently died. Sa'd-Allāh Khān refused to surrender and defeated and killed Qā'im Khān near Badā'ūn at the end of November 1749. After Qā'im Khān's death the *wazir* marched with the Emperor against Farrukhābād to assert Mughal supremacy and to confiscate the property of the deceased ruler. His deputy at Awadh, Nawal Rāy, went to Safdar-Jang's assistance. The Bangash dominion was seized by Safdar-Jang, leaving the original twelve villages part of the Bangash principality.[153]

Although Safdar-Jang's deputy made Kanauj his headquarters he was unable to control the Afghāns. Qā'im Khān's mother, Bibi Sāhiba, who was kept hostage in order to ensure that there was no bellicose behaviour by her sons and his supporters, escaped with the help of her former kayastha servant and stirred up the Afghāns at Ma'u against Nawal Rāy. She then made Ahmad Khān, her step-son, Nawwāb. In August 1750 Nawal Rāy was defeated and killed by the Afghāns in the battle of Khudāganj (16 miles south-east of Farrukhābād). The *wazir*, who had rushed to the assistance of his deputy, was also defeated at Rām Chatawini the following month, narrowly escaping with his life. The Bangash troops, having savoured the sweet taste of victory, made a dash on Lucknow which had been vacated by Safdar-Jang's officers. However, the cruelty of the Afghān *kōtwāl* (appointed by the Bangash leaders) merely alienated the Sunni Shaykhzādas. The Shaykhzādas from other towns in Awadh also rebelled against their new Sunni master, preferring Shi'i rule. Afghān armies had seized the regions as far as Allahabad but the Shaykhzādas' heroic defence forced them to evacuate Awadh.[154]

152 *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, pp. 135-144; *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, ff. 18a-b; Gandā Singh, *Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*, pp. 72-80; *Muqaddama-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, ff. 77a-83b.

153 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, III, pp. 891-92.

154 *'Imad al-Sa'ādat*, pp. 47-52; *Tārīkh-i Farrukhābād*, ff. 43a-48b.

To Safdar-Jang, however, the defeat was a great humiliation and his Tūrānī rivals insisted that the Emperor dismiss his *wazīr*, scornfully saying he couldn't even defeat a petty *zamindār*. In order to retrieve his reputation, Safdar-Jang, who in 1750 had made peace with Sūrajmal Jāt, invited his support against the Afghāns. Finding the Tūrānī nobility sympathetic to the Afghāns, Safdar-Jang also requested the Marātha chiefs, Malhār Rāo Holkar and Jayappa Sindhiā to help save his position, promising them a daily allowance of Rs. 25,000. In March 1751 the Marātha cavalry easily defeated Shadil Khān who ruled the regions from 'Aligarh to Patiāli. Ahmad Khān Bangash rushed back to save Farrukhābād. Sa'd-Allāh Khān Rohella also hurriedly marched to the rescue of his Afghān brothers. The combined Rohella and Bangash armies, however, were intercepted by the Marāthas and forced to return to Rohelkhand. The Bangash troops became disheartened and on 28 April 1751 fled from Fathgarh near Farrukhābād where they had been camped. Further attempts by Ahmad Khān to regain his principality were also frustrated. Meanwhile the news of a third invasion by Ahmad Shāh Durrāni provided the Emperor with an excuse to order Safdar-Jang to return to the capital. Being hard-pressed Safdar-Jang made peace with Ahmad Khān in February 1752, assigning half of the Bangash territory to him and half to the Marāthas, in lieu of allowances which he had previously promised to pay. The war proved disastrous both to the Afghāns and to Safdar-Jang, for during the latter's long absence, Jāwid Khān had in reality become *wazir*. Only the Marātha gains were extensive; besides the territory they had gained there was a large amount of booty and fifty lacs of rupees from the Rohella and Bangash chiefs for having secured an honourable peace. Marātha demands to control Ayodhyā, Prayāg and Kāshi (all under the Awadh rule), as well as other Hindū centres of pilgrimage, greatly concerned Safdar-Jang; however, he managed to save them from falling into Marātha hands.[155]

After annexing Herāt and, following his successful campaigns in Khurāsān,[156] Ahmad Shāh Durrāni left Kābul on 21 September 1751 on the pretext of realizing the revenue which had been paid irregularly by the governor of Lahore. In fact, Durrāni's costly campaigns in Khurāsān had shattered his finances and their recoupment was imperative. Mīr Mannū appealed for reinforcements from Delhi, but when these failed to appear he marched against the enemy alone. In March the following year Mīr Mannū made a feeble attack on Durrāni's army but was repulsed, and urged on by Ahmad Shāh Durrāni, he surrendered. The treaty made Lahore and Multān Afghān provinces, although the administration was

155 *'Imād al-Sa'ādat*, pp. 58-59; *Tārīkh-i Farrukhābād*, ff. 48b-51b.
156 *Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*, pp. 81-100; *Tārīkh-i Bangāla Mahābatjang*, pp. 147-50.

left to Mir Mannū.[157] An indemnity of 30 lacs in cash was paid by Mir Mannū to the invader. The Emperor and the *wazir* had no alternative but to ratify the treaty. At the request of Mir Muqim Kānth (whom the Mughal Emperor had appointed governor of Kashmir but who had been expelled by his rivals), Ahmad Shāh Durrāni sent an expedition against Kashmir. It was seized by Durrāni's army with great ease, Durrāni thus making himself master of what has always been known as India's paradise.

In April 1752, however, Safdar-Jang made a subsidiary alliance with the Marāthas. As the alliance was an important step in Safdar-Jang's attempts to secure the help of the Marāthas against Durrāni's invasion, it is reproduced in full:

1. The Emperor was to pay the Peshwā fifty lacs of rupees for his armed support, out of which thirty lacs was the price of keeping the Abdāli (Durrāni) out.

2. One-fourth of the imperial revenue (*chauth*) in the *sūbas* of the Panjāb and Sindh and the four *mahāls* (Siālkot, Pasrūr, Awrangābād and Gujarāt),—the revenue of which *mahāls* had been ceded to Nādir Shāh and after him to the Abdāli, was now granted to the Marāthas for their military expenses. Half the revenue of these places was to be paid into the imperial exchequer for the support of the Emperor and the remaining quarter was to be devoted to paying the contingents of the *wazir* and Jāwid Khān.

3. The Peshwā was to be appointed *sūbadār* of Ajmir (including the *fawjdāri* of Nārnol) and of Agra (including the *fawjdāri* of Mathurā and other subdivisions) and entitled to the sanctioned remuneration and customary perquisites of *sūbadārs* and *fawjdārs*.

4. The Peshwā, through his generals, was to suppress all enemies of the State, foreign invaders and domestic rebels alike, and wrest the lands usurped by local rājas and *zamindārs* and restore them to the imperial officers.

5. The Peshwā was to govern these *sūbas* exactly in conformity with the established rules of the Empire, respect the rights of all loyal *jāgirdārs* and officers, and never grasp any land or money not thus specifically granted to him. Nor should he interfere with the law-courts and forts directly under the imperial Government within the *sūbas* thus assigned to him. Of the lands recovered from usurpers and revenue-defaulters, the Marāthas were to get one half to meet the expenses of conquest.

6. The Marātha generals were to attend at the imperial court like other high *mansabdārs* and to join in the campaign of the imperial army.

To save the face of the Emperor, a solemn undertaking on the above terms, calling upon all the Hindū gods to attest the fidelity of the signatories, was presented to the Emperor by Malhār Rāo Holkar and Jayāji

157 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, p. 889; *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, pp. 330-36.

Sindhiā on behalf of the Peshwā, and thereupon the Emperor issued a gracious *farmān* granting the prayer and recounting all the clauses of the undertaking in its preamble.[158]

Safdar-Jang's pact represented the ideas of various supporters of the Mughal empire who, from the time of Awrangzīb, had been pleading for a reconciliation with the Marāthas. Although Safdar-Jang was himself disappointed with the excessive demands made by the Marāthas (especially those relating to financial grants), as well as with their ruthless plundering, he considered them a lesser evil than Ahmad Shāh Durrāni and his Afghāns. History, as will be seen, proved him right and the devastation caused by Durrāni's invasion was far greater than that of the Īrānian Nādir Shāh.

By the time Safdar-Jang reached Delhi, accompanied by a Marātha force of 50,000, Jāwid Khān had already ratified Mīr Mannū's pact with Ahmad Shāh Durrāni, to which we have already referred. Feeling thwarted, the Marāthas began to plunder the neighbouring regions around Delhi. Jāwid Khān then appointed Ghāzi al-Dīn Fīrūz-Jang, the eldest son of Nizām al-Mulk, as viceroy in the Deccan on the assurance that he would meet the financial obligations of the Marāthas. A few lacs were paid to Malhār Rāo, so the Marāthas could retire to the Deccan.

Jāwid Khān's dictatorship prompted Safdar-Jang to have him murdered on 6 September 1752. Although Safdar-Jang continuously tried to assure the Emperor of his loyalty, Udham Bā'ī and Intizām al-Dawla managed to turn against him all the Tūrānis and Afghāns. The assassination of Jāwid Khān made Safdar-Jang virtual dictator in Delhi, but the intrigues of his enemies and the repeated news of an impending invasion by Durrāni gave the *wazīr* no respite to look after the military or civil administration.

On 5 February 1753, the Afghān envoy accompanied by 2,000 horsemen, arrived in Delhi to demand the outstanding 50 lacs of tribute. Safdar-Jang's enemies asserted that it was the duty of the Marāthas to pay, as they had already made an agreement with the Mughals. By the end of March, the Emperor and his supporters were openly at war with the *wazīr*. The Emperor dismissed Safdar-Jang and appointed Intizām al-Dawla *wazīr* and 'Imād al-Mulk the son of Ghāzi al-Dīn Fīrūz-Jang, the *bakhshī al-mamālik*.[159]

Usurping the throne from Emperor Ahmad Shāh, Safdar-Jang put a boy of unknown birth in his place. Although Sūrajmal supported Safdar-Jang, Najīb Khān, an obscure Rohēlla adventurer, came to the rescue

158 Rājwade and others ed., *Marāthianchia Itihāsachin sādhanen*, I, 1 and VI in J. N. Sarkār, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, I, Calcutta 1964, pp. 25-26.

159 *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, ff. 32a-36b; *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, p. 889.

of the imperialists and turned the tables on Safdar-Jang's allies. Besides Rohēllas, Badakhshis and Balūchs, the Marāthas and Gūjars joined against Safdar-Jang. The latter's main supporters were the Jāts, the Īrāni Turkomans and the troops of Rājendra Giri Gosā'in, a *sannyāsin* (Hindū ascetic). The cry of Sunni *jihād* against the heretic Shi'i dominance was a significant feature of the trial of strength between the rival parties. Rājendra Giri's death on 14 June 1753 disheartened Safdar-Jang. Sporadic fighting continued for several months. Finally after the intervention of Rāja Mādho Singh of Jaipūr, Safdar-Jang retired to Awadh on 17 November 1753, abandoning the boy whom he had made Emperor.[160]

After Safdar-Jang's departure the quarrels between the new *wazir* and his kinsman, Bakhshi 'Imād al-Mulk, over the question of payment to the Rohēllas, Marāthas, Balūchs and Badakhshis assumed serious proportions. All the articles in the royal stores and the *kārkhānas* were already sold to pay the salary of the hurriedly recruited army; even the horses from the royal stables were given away to the soldiers. The Emperor took sides with the *wazir*, making the financial settlement with the Rohēllas and the Balūch the responsibility of the *mir bakhshi*.[161] Ultimately the revenue from the Ganges-Jamunā Doāb and of certain villages east of the Ganges was assigned to Najib Khān[162] and Bahādur Khān Balūch. 'Imād's principal agent, 'Āqibat Mahmūd, seized the districts south of Delhi which had been occupied by Ballū Jāt. The Badakhshi and Marātha auxiliaries of 'Āqibat plundered Jāt houses and killed

160 *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, ff. 54a, 83a; *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, p. 892; *'Imād al-Sa'ādat*, pp. 61-62; A. L. Srivāstava, *The first two nawābs of Awadh*, 3rd ed., Agra 1954, pp. 203-31.

161 *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, ff. 69a-b, 90.

162 Najīb Khān, who later became Nawwāb Najīb al-Dawla Thābit-Jang Khān Bahādur, was born into a Yūsufza'i tribe in a village near Peshāwar. No record of his birth exists, but a report to the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated 1768 estimates his age as sixty, dating the time of his birth at about 1708. Najīb Khān started his career as a horse merchant but in 1743, like other enterprising Afghāns he joined 'Alī Muhammad Khān's army. During the war between the Emperor and Safdar-Jang both wrote to Hāfiz Rahmat Khān and to other *zamīndārs* for help. The Hāfiz marched to help Safdar-Jang in compliance with a mutual pact between the two, but the entreaties of Ahmad Shāh's messenger to remain neutral prompted him to return from Hāpur. Najīb Khān, who by that time commanded a thousand horses, chose to desert the Hāfiz and to accompany the Emperor's messengers to Delhi. According to a biographer of Najīb Khān, the adventurer had been deeply moved by the sermon of Maulawī Nadhar Muhammad who, finding that the Hāfiz had decided to remain neutral, urged the petty Afghān leaders to fight for the honour of the Emperor and the Sunnī faith against the Shī'ī *wazīr*. Some other enterprising Afghān leaders also joined Najīb Khān and his army swelled to some 15,000 horsemen. Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Husayn Khān, *Tārīkh-i Najīb al-Dawla*, British Museum Ms., Add., 24,410, ff. 7a-8a.

their inhabitants, then nominally restored imperial administration from Farīdābād to 'Aligarh.

'Imād al-Mulk and 'Āqibat Mahmūd were also unable to pay the salaries of their allies. In mid-April 1754 the Badakhshis fought the imperial troops in the streets of Delhi so as to force the Emperor to pay their salaries.[163] The *wazīr* then decided to form a coalition against 'Imād al-Mulk and the Marāthas, inviting the Rājpūts, Jāts and Safdar-Jang (in Awadh) to help him, for he was more adept at intriguing than at leading.

On 2 June 1754 'Imād al-Mulk, 'Āqibat Mahmūd and Holkar's *diwān*, Tātya Gangādhar, raised Muhammad 'Aziz al-Dīn, the son of Mu'izz al-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, to the throne under the grand title, Pādshāh 'Ālamgir II. The former Emperor Ahmad Shāh and Udham Bā'i were imprisoned in a miserable dungeon and a few months later blinded.[164] The new Emperor, who was born on 6 June 1699, had spent most of his life in prison. Although he had had a substantial literary and theological education, like his predecessors he was politically naive and incompetent. 'Imād al-Mulk was appointed *wazir*. Marātha dominance forced the new Emperor to remit the pilgrim tax at Gayā and Kurukshetra. However, in order to appease the Sunnis, the new government embarked on an unsuccessful policy of suppressing the Shi'is and prohibiting Muharram ceremonies and processions.[165]

Two years later the aged Emperor made an unsuccessful attempt to marry Hadrat Begam, the sixteen-year old daughter of Muhammad Shāh and a famous beauty. Although the Emperor already had a large family and his health was rapidly deteriorating, he married another Mughal empress, Zinat-Afrūz, on 1 September 1758.[166]

While the Emperor remained sunk in satisfying his sexual desires, the empty treasury had no money to pay the huge sums promised to the Marāthas. An attempt to tax the artisans and merchants sparked off a general strike in the bazaar and demonstrations in front of the palace. A threat to commit suicide by the Emperor himself forced 'Imād al-Mulk to cancel the levy. Some incompetent economists suggested that if the *wazir* were to raise two rupees per head from the citizens of Delhi, one crore of rupees would be collected. In fact, five to ten rupees and even more per head were realized from some merchants, but not more than 100,000 rupees were collected. Rāja Nāgarmal, the *dīwān* of the *khālisa*, suffered many insults and humiliations due to his inability to pay the

163 *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, ff. 89b-105b.
164 Ibid., ff. 114b-134a; *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, B. M., Or. 1749, ff. 2a-8a; *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, pp. 352-394; *Tārīkh-i Muzaffarī*, ff. 235a-237a.
165 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, ff. 25b-26a; J. N. Sarkār, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, II, p. 2.
166 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, ff. 67a-b, 185a.

soldiers' salaries. The starving soldiers then spread anarchy throughout Delhi and the townsfolk were reduced to utter misery. The Badakhshis, who were too weak to withstand the Rohēllas, let alone fight a *"jihād"* against the Marāthas, angered by the government's failure to pay their salaries, turned against 'Imād al-Mulk and dragged him through the streets of Pānipat. Only after the intervention of Najib al-Dawla, the former Najib Khān, did the mutinous Badakhshi cavalry, known as Sindāgh, disperse, and their troops, numbering 11,000 foot soldiers, were disbanded.[167] No longer propped by Central Asian troops, the imperial government became an instrument in the hands of Najib al-Dawla.

In Awadh, Safdar-Jang had died on 5 October 1754 but his ambitious son, Shujā' al-Dawla, aspired to his father's post of *wazīr*. Sūrajmal Jāt was friendly with the house of Awadh. The Marāthas plundered the Jāt territories which yielded no more than two lacs of rupees, and it was only after assigning the revenue of the Gangetic Doāb in February 1755, that the villages and rural areas around Delhi were temporarily relieved of raids by the Marāthas. Najib al-Dawla, emulating the Jāts and the Marāthas, seized the *khālisa* lands of Sahāranpūr and Meerut, in lieu of the back pay owed to his soldiers. Revenue from the land around Delhi (reserved for the *khālisa)* was also usurped by them. The Emperor and his family were on the brink of starvation and the begams attempted to leave the fort to alert their supporters of their condition, but were stopped by the Emperor.[168]

At Bahādurgarh, twenty miles due west of Delhi, and at Jhajhjhar, Thaurū near Rewāri and Nizāmgarh in Sahāranpūr, petty Balūch chiefs ruled semi-independently. Najib al-Dawla was both protector of the Rohēllas and of Islamic Sunnism.

Of the non-Muslim powers, the Jāts remained the most potent threat both to the Mughals and to the Rājpūt house of Amber. The Rājpūts were fully determined to crush their Jāt opponents and in November 1722 the Rājpūt Rāja Sawā'i Jai Singh, then governor of Agra had seized Thūn, but Jāt power was still not liquidated. In a short time, however, Badan Singh, a Jāt of humble origin, had succeeded Churāman Jāt (d. 1722), reorganized the Jāt tribes and clans and also gained the support of Raja Jāi Singh. The Marātha occupation of Mālwa and Gujarāt changed the traditional hostility between the Rājpūts and the Jāts who now joined forces in a fragile alliance. From Rāja Jai Singh, Badan Singh obtained the honorific title of Braj-rāj (Lord of the Land of Braj or Mathurā) while considering himself to be a vassal of Jai Singh.

True to his time, Badan Singh plundered the areas around Agra and

167 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, ff. 8a-18b, 22b, 26a, 29b-32a, 37b, 49b-50b, 75b-79a.

168 Ibid., ff. 120a-145b, 15b, 23b, 28b, 41b, 52a, 190a-b.

Delhi and was able to build what were later to become significant forts such as Bharatpūr, Dīg, Kumbler and Ver. These not only replaced the earlier Jāt strongholds at Thūn, Sansani, and Saghor but offered a geographical homogeneity in Jāt territory and later became impregnable centres of Jāt power. The forts and the towns built around them introduced urban living to the Jāts , traditionally a rural people.[169]

Badan Singh married many women who were members of leading Jāt tribal groups; from these unions were produced thirty male sons who, when of age, took control of different villages. The most promising was the child of a concubine, not fathered by Badan Singh, but adopted as his own son and named Sūrajmal. About fifteen years before Badan Singh's death (7 June 1756) the real power had emerged as this son, then supported by Safdar-Jang. After the latter's retirement to Awadh, Sūrajmal transferred his support to Intizām al-Dawla. 'Imād al-Mulk's incessant attacks on Sūrajmal and the former's alliance with the Marāthas strained Jāt resources. However, even after a minor respite from these battles Sūrajmal was able to effectively reassemble his forces. Sūrajmal's sagacity and wisdom have justly earned him the title of Plato of the Jāt race.

In 1754 Sūrajmal made peace with the Marāthas and renewed his raids on imperial territory, seizing many places near Delhi such as Palwal (36 miles south of Delhi) and Ballabhgarh. In July 1755 the Emperor 'Ālamgir II made peace with Sūrajmal, allowing him to retain the occupied 'Aligarh district. During the fourth and fifth invasions of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni, Sūrajmal's effective diplomacy saved both the independence and prosperity of his kingdom near Mathurā.[170]

The acceptance of Bāji Rāo's terms by Nizām al-Mulk in 1738 had made the Marāthas masters of Mālwa and Bundelkhand. Peace with the Marāthas was inevitable in the light of political realities but Nizām al-Mulk's efforts to avoid honouring the terms of the treaty neither helped the imperial power nor his own sovereignty over the Deccan. From Rājarām's time the introduction of the *jāgirdāri* system in the Marātha kingdom had led to the development of many independent Marātha principalities. These movements weakened the central government of the Marāthas; however, the efforts of Mughal statesmen to play off one against the other also met with little success. Among these *jāgirdārs* Gaikwārs founded an independent principality in Baroda; Ranoji Sindhiā, who obtained a share in Mālwa, founded the Sindhiā house of Gwālior. Malhār Rāo Holkar's share in Mālwa gave rise to the rule of the Indore family of Holkars, and Pawār share in Mālwa founded the Pawār house in Dhār.

Raghūji Bhosle made some efforts to dominate Sāhū but Bāji Rāo I

169 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn,* pp. 456-57.
170 *'Imād al-Sa'ādat,* pp. 53-54.

thwarted his attempts. Bhosle, however, founded an independent dynasty in Nāgpūr and, imitating Bāji Rāo's policy, began to make raids on Orissa and Bengal which until 1742 had enjoyed considerable peace. Early in 1742 Bhāskar Bhosle, Raghūji Bhosle's prime minister, marched into Orissa at the head of a 20,000 strong cavalry force under the command of twenty-three Marātha leaders. Avoiding pitched battles against 'Ali-Wardi, the Marātha guerrillas struck terror into the army in Bengal and Orissa. Known as Bārgi from the Persian word 'bārgir' (meaning 'supplied with government arms and horses') the Marātha horsemen pillaged Orissa and West Bengal, treating both Hindūs and Muslims in a barbarous manner. 'Ali-Wardi was not, however, cowed by such reverses and showed his persistence when he succeeded in driving out the Marāthas from Bengal by the end of 1742.

Raghūji Bhosle now began to march against 'Ali-Wardi in order to realize the *chauth* of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa which Muhammad Shāh had promised to Sāhū and which the latter had in turn assigned to Raghūji. The Emperor appealed to the Peshwā Bālāji Rāo (Raghūji's rival) to intervene thus inadvertently falling from the frying pan into the fire. Marching through Bihār at the head of a cavalry of fifty thousand horsemen in March 1743, Bālāji reached the plains of Bengal, after having plundered all the regions through which he had passed. 'Ali-Wardi bought peace by promising *chauth* to Bālāji. The Marātha army, which under Raghūji had entered Bengal, was driven out by the combined forces of Bālāji and 'Ali-Wardi.

In August Sāhū made a treaty with Raghūji in which Mālwa, Agra, Ajmīr, Allahabad and the estates of Tikāri and Bhojpūr remained under his control. The rest of Bihār, Awadh, Bengal and Orissa remained with Raghūji. In March 1744, Raghūji again fearlessly entered Bengal and once more 'Ali-Wardi succeeded in driving him out.

'Ali-Wardi's strongest supporter at home in Bengal was his Afghān general, Mustafā Khān, but the latter's alienation from his master prompted Raghūji to make a fourth invasion of Bengal in 1745. 'Ali-Wardi fought against both the Afghāns and the Marāthas on two different fronts, defeating both. Roving bands of Marāthas, reinforced by the new Marātha troops, continued to elude 'Ali-Wardi's army and pillage Bengal. In the middle of 1751 'Ali-Wardi, who was nearing 75, decided to sue for peace with the Marāthas. Twelve lacs of rupees were settled as the annual *chauth* from Bengal for the Marāthas. If regular payments were received the Marāthas guaranteed never to invade Bengal again.[171]

On 10 April 1756 'Ali-Wardi died of dropsy. On 23 June 1757 the British general Robert Clive won the Battle of Plassey. Two years later

171 *Tārīkh-i Bangāla Mahābatjang,* pp. 51-125, 136-61; *Fall of the Mughal empire,* pp. 46-112.

the efforts to seize Bengal by the Mughal Prince 'Alī Gawhar, later known as Shāh 'Ālam, were frustrated by Lord Clive and his puppet governor in Bengal, Mīr Ja'far. On 23 October 1764 the British general, Major Hector, defeated a combined army at Baksar (Bihār) of Mīr Qāsim of Bengal, the rival of Mīr Ja'far, Shāh 'Ālam and Safdar-Jang's successor, Shujā' al-Dawla. The defeat firmly established the supremacy of the British in Bengal and their subsequent expansion was only a matter of time.

After returning to the Deccan in August 1741, Nizām al-Mulk crushed a rebellion led by his son, Nāsir-Jang. He then returned to the task of reorganizing the administration of the Deccan and two years later enthroned his agent, Anwār al-Dīn, in Madras as the Nawwāb (governor) of Arcot (Arkāt). The Arab Nawāyat family, previously the rulers of Arcot, remained alienated from the new rule. The death of Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh in 1748 deprived the region of its most experienced leader. Between 1748 and 1762 the entire Deccan, including Arcot and Mahārāshtra, were involved in chaotic wars. Anglo-French rivalries were an important factor in the struggles but the accession in 1762 of Nizām 'Alī to the throne of Haydarābād, opened a new chapter in the history of relations between Nizām and the British. On 12 November 1766, Nizām 'Alī formed both an offensive and defensive alliance with the East India Company. Subsequent treaties with the British saved the independence of Haydarābād.

From the 1760s the seat of Muslim power in the Deccan was Mysore. The state had been founded by Haydar 'Alī (b. 1721) who originally had held a minor post under the Hindū ruler of Mysore. Through his own skill and resourcefulness, he rose rapidly by fighting against the Marāthas and other enemies of Mysore. From 1760 Haydar 'Alī became the absolute ruler of Mysore while the rāja remained a mere figurehead. Haydar 'Alī was not cowed even by the triple alliance of the Marāthas, Nizām and the British. In December 1782, while engaged in one of his many wars against the British, Haydar 'Alī died, leaving behind a rich legacy in land and assets, as well as a high standard of diplomacy for Tīpū, his son, to follow.

In the Panjāb the invasions of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī crushed the Mughal power, leaving the field open to the Sikhs whom 'Abd al-Samad Khān had energetically managed to subdue. The Sikhs enriched themselves by making sporadic attacks on Durrānī's troops, returning home laden with spoils. In the central Panjāb, Jassa Singh Ahlūwālia assumed supreme command of the *Dal Khālsa* or Sikh community, which was divided into eleven *misals* (sections), each headed by a strong and adventurous leader. The *misals* were divided according to different regions of the Panjāb, and individual Sikhs were permitted to join any *misal* of their

choice. The death of Mir Mannū, the Mughal governor of the Panjāb, on 4 November 1753, plunged that state into administrative chaos and the Sikhs *misals* became the dominant power in their respective territories.

Both the Delhi government and Ahmad Shāh Durrānī appointed their own nominees as governors of the Panjāb but Mughlāni Begam, Mir Mannū's widow, assumed supreme power. She ignored the task of ruling the state and occupied herself with a sensualism which shocked the Panjābis. The plots to overthrow her were led by equally sordid men. In turn, Mughlāni Begam sought the help of both Ahmad Shāh Durrāni and the Mughal government. 'Imād al-Mulk Ghāzi al-Din, unable to bear the scandalous reports of Mughlāni Begam, his own aunt's conduct, reached Sirhind and carried both her and her daughter off to Delhi in March 1756. The governorship of the Panjāb was assigned to an adventurer, Ādina Beg Khān, who had never hesitated to make alliances with the Sikhs and the earlier governors of the Panjāb to assist his rise to power.[172]

Ahmad Shāh Durrāni was sympathetic to Mughlāni Begam, who had promised to marry her daughter Umda Begam, to his son. Burning with rage at the restrictions imposed on her freedom in Delhi by 'Imād al-Mulk, Mughlāni Begam wrote pathetic letters to Durrāni, urging him to avenge her by attacking the Mughals.[173] She informed him that with her help he could obtain crores of wealth hidden in Mughal palaces. Najib al-Dawla also invited Ahmad Shāh Durrāni to seize Delhi, saying that he had assembled 25,000 Afghāns under his banner.[174]

Durrāni, who had obtained a respite from his campaigns in Khurāsān, was badly in need of new financial resources. On 15 November 1756 he left Peshāwar for Lahore and reached there without meeting any resistance. At Sirhind the envoy sent by Emperor 'Ālamgir II to Ahmad Shāh was dismissed by the invader. The Shāh demanded two crores of rupees in cash, the Emperor's daughter in marriage and all the territories north-westwards extending to Sirhind. On 12 January 1757 Mughlāni Begam met Ahmad Shāh at Karnāl on behalf of the Emperor in order to persuade the invader to return to Qandahār, but Ahmad Shāh refused to return empty-handed.

Three days later Najib al-Dawla joined the advance Afghān army, marching under Ahmad Shāh's *wazir*. 'Imād al-Mulk surrendered, only to be rebuked for his humiliating cowardice by Ahmad Shāh Durrāni.

172 Tahmās Khān, *Tahmās-nāma,* B. M., Or. 1918, ff. 45a-55a.

173 Ibid., ff. 62a-63b, *Muqaddama-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma,* ff. 83b-84b.

174 Nūr al-Din, *Ahwāl-i Najīb al-Dawla,* f. 14b. According to another contemporary authority, even 'Ālamgīr II invited Ahmad Shāh to invade India in order to eliminate the dominance of 'Imād al-Mulk. W. Franklin, *The history of the reign of Shah Allum,* London 1798, pp. 4-5.

'Imād al-Mulk in turn accused Najīb al-Dawla of cowardice, he being responsible for the imperial defence as commander-in-chief.[175]

In January 1757 some of the nobles in Delhi hastened to have the *khutba* recited in the name of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. Contemporary historians marvel at the fact that no theologian objected to the fact that Emperor 'Ālamgīr II was still alive and neither deposed or expelled. 'Ālamgīr II quietly resigned himself to his fate. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, however, was himself uninterested in the throne of Delhi. His main concern was booty. Entering Delhi, both he and his wives occupied the palaces in the Delhi Fort; the town was granted amnesty and the citizens persuaded to return. Some Afghāns who had violated the Shāh's orders about looting received exemplary punishments. This, however, was done to obtain loot in a systematic manner. 'Imād al-Mulk and Intizām al-Dawla were forced to surrender and their entire wealth was seized. Qamar al-Dīn's mansion was razed to the ground and huge amounts of gold taken.[176] Mughlānī Begam spied to ferret out hidden wealth and the whereabouts of the most beautiful women amongst the nobility. The city was then divided into wards which were robbed of all their gold, the floors of the rich being dug up to discover any hidden wealth. The Hindūs were ordered to paint marks on their foreheads to distinguish them from Muslims and were forced to hand over to Durrānī any cash they had. Hindū women were raped at random by the Afghān troops.[177]

In February 1757 Zuhrā Begam, the daughter of Emperor 'Ālamgīr II, was married to Prince Timūr, Durrānī's son. 'Imād al-Mulk was reluctantly forced to marry Umda Begam and his beloved wife was handed over to Mughlānī Begam as a hand-maid.[178]

At the end of February 1757, Ahmad Shāh marched from Delhi against the Jāts. Ballabhgarh was seized and Mathurā, Brindāban and Gokul, the great centres of Hindū pilgrimage, were cruelly sacked and their inhabitants slaughtered. The commander of the Agra Fort thwarted the attempts of Jahān Khān, the Afghān commander-in-chief, to storm the fort. The Hindū bankers and merchants of Agra, however, were forced to pay large ransoms for their lives.[179]

The spread of cholera in Mathurā and the approach of summer made Durrānī's army restless and their clamouring to return prompted Ahmad

175 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, ff. 926-93a
176 Ibid., ff. 93b-94a.
177 Ibid., ff. 95a-100a.
178 Ibid., ff. 100b-101b; *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, pp. 606-658; Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī, *Khizāna-i 'Āmira*, Kānpūr 1900, pp. 99-100; *Tārīkh-i 'Imād al-Mulk*, Bānkīpūr VII, 615.
179 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, ff. 103a-109b; *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 79b-80b; *Fall of the Mughal empire*, II, pp. 81-91.

Shāh to refrain from launching an attack on Sūrajmal. The expedition against Awadh to help Ahmad Khān Bangash also petered out. The Shāh returned to Delhi where he forcibly married Hadrat Begam. The widows of Muhammad Shāh, Malika-i Zamāni and Sāhiba Mahal, had managed to protect her from 'Ālamgir II but were unable to stop the atrocious advances of Ahmad Shāh, the *mujāhid* (holy warrior) who suffered from leprous carbuncles. With her were also taken sixteen Mughal empresses and a large number of maid servants.[180] Finally, the men and women captured by Durrāni's soldiers from Delhi, Mathurā and Agra were released after the Emperor intervened. However, it was a non-altruistic move on Durrāni's part as the captives were an expensive liability. A Marāthi letter written at the time says:

> 'The Abdali's own goods were loaded on 28,000 camels, elephants, mules, bullocks and carts, while 200 camel-loads of property were taken by Muhammad Shah's widows who accompanied him, and these too belonged to him. Eighty thousand horse and foot followed him, each man carrying away spoils. His cavalry returned on foot, loading their booty on their chargers. For securing transport, the Afghan king left no horse or camel in any one's house, not even a donkey. The guns he had brought for taking the Jat forts, he abandoned because their draught-cattle had to be loaded with his plunder, and the Jat Raja took these guns away into his fort. In Delhi not a sword was left with anybody.'[181]

The throne was restored to 'Ālamgir II and 'Imād al-Mulk was appointed by Durrāni as *wazir,* whose principal agent in India, however, was Najib al-Dawla. On his way to Lahore, the unwieldy Afghān military equipment was constantly plundered by Sikh guerrillas and the great Durrāni only managed to revenge himself on the Sikh temple of Kartārpūr and Amritsar by desecrating and plundering them. He then appointed his own son, Timūr Shāh, viceroy of the Panjāb and Jahān Khān his deputy in Lahore.[182]

Timūr assigned only the Jālandhar Doāb to Ādina Beg. Smarting under this humiliation, Ādina Beg made an alliance with the Sikhs and defeated the Afghāns in the battle of Mahilpūr near Hoshiārpūr. However, Sikh depredations in the Panjāb prompted Ādina Beg to seek Marātha support. He approached Raghunāth Rāo, the brother of the Peshwā Bālāji Rāo, who in August 1757 had expelled Najib al-Dawla from Delhi

180 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī,* ff. 109b-114b; *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī,* pp. 688-708.
181 *Fall of the Mughal empire,* pp. 90-91.
182 *Tahmās-nāma,* f. 69a; *Khizāna-i 'Āmira,* p. 100.

and Sahāranpūr.[183] Raghunāth Rāo marched against Sirhind and seized the town. Ādina Beg then wrote to Jahān Khān informing him of the impending Marātha invasion, so as to maintain friendly relations with him. However he played a double game and remained in contact with both parties to ensure that he backed the winner. Finally, he joined the Sikh and Marātha armies which he had believed Tīmūr Shāh and Jahān Khān could not defeat. About 19 April 1757, Jahān Khān and Tīmūr Shāh were forced to evacuate Lahore.[184]

The following month Raghunāth Rāo left Lahore for Delhi after having appointed Ādina Beg as governor. On 15 September 1758 Ādina Beg's death by natural causes put an end to his ambition to uproot his Sikh allies. 'Imād al-Mulk persuaded the Marāthas to assist him in re-asserting Mughal power in the Panjāb. Although the Sikhs were very strong in Lahore, the rest of the Panjāb came under Marātha influence. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's preoccupation with the Balūch rebellion prevented immediate action and although he dispatched an expedition against the Panjāb it proved unsuccessful.[185]

Durrānī's deputy, Najib al-Dawla, ignored both the Emperor and the *wazir*, 'Imād al-Mulk. His men took the remainder of the *khālisa* revenue and the Emperor and his household were left in an impoverished state. The population of Delhi became incensed with the overbearing manners of the Rohēllas. Finally a Marātha invasion of the capital by Raghunāth Rāo strained Najib al-Dawla's financial and military resources to breaking point. For several days the Marātha cannons fired on the town and Najib al-Dawla was forced to sue for peace. On 6 September 1757 Najib al-Dawla and his Rohēllas evacuated the Delhi fort and 'Imād al-Mulk once more became its master. The greatest losers were the people of Delhi who bore the brunt of the war which was closely followed by epidemics and earthquakes.[186]

As 'Imād al-Mulk refused to tolerate Prince 'Alī Gawhar's presence in Delhi, sometime after May 1757 the Prince moved south-west to Jhajhjhar in the hope of receiving Balūch assistance. In May the following year he fought 'Imād al-Mulk in a battle outside Delhi near the shrine of Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki with a tiny army of 100 soldiers. The Emperor having provided military support for his *wazir*, the battle proved a debacle. The Prince fled to Rohelkhand but finding the prospects of an invasion of Bihār, Bengal and Orissa more promising, he left for Allahabad. His first attack on Bihār in 1759 was unsuccessful. After

183 *Tahmās-nāma*, f. 70b; *Khizāna-i 'Āmira*, p. 100.
184 *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 79a-82b; *Khizāna-i 'Āmira*, pp. 100-101.
185 *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 82a, 94a, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, ff. 121b-124b; *Tadhkira-i 'Imād*, ff. 125a-146b, *Ahwāl-i Najīb al-Dawla*, ff. 11b-18a.
186 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, ff. 132-133a.

receiving the news of Emperor 'Ālamgir's assassination Prince 'Alī Gawhar crowned himself Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, ordering that his regnal year be counted from 21 December 1759.[187]

In his bid to extract tribute from Shujā' al-Dawla (Safdar-Jang's son and successor in Awadh), 'Imād al-Mulk sent an army against Awadh, but the trans-Gangetic Rohēllas under Hāfiz Rahmat Khān would give him no assistance. Shujā' al-Dawla appealed to the Marāthas. Meanwhile his Gosā'in troops kept the imperialists and their Bangash supporters at bay. The arrival of the Marātha forces near Kāsganj, however, prompted the *wazir* to conclude a peace pact.[188]

The Marāthas overran the regions held by Najīb al-Dawla in the Gangetic Doāb. However, the *zamīndārs* stood firmly against the invaders, refusing to replenish their coffers. The unceasing battles dating from the time of Peshwā Bāji Rāo and the Marātha wars against the Rājpūts assumed threatening proportions from 1751 onwards. This undoubtedly crippled Rājpūt military power but in turn paralysed the continually precarious Marātha economy. Although tributes and *chauth* were gathered these could hardly meet their raiding expenses (*mulk-giri*). After overthrowing Durrāni's government in the Panjāb the Marāthas began to believe that their goal of establishing *Hindū pad-pādshāhī* (Hindū rule) had been attained. As noted by Sarkār, however, Raghunāth's achievement was a politically hollow facade which was also financially fruitless:

> 'No Marātha soldier could stand the winter of Lahore, and no first-rate Marātha chieftain (like the Peshwā's brother or cousin) was regularly posted as Warden of the North-western marches; no, not even a secondary general like Holkar or Sindhiā.' [189]

Although the Marāthas had ousted Najīb al-Dawla from Delhi, they knew that without completely annihilating him their hold over northern India was precarious. Najīb al-Dawla wrote to Hāfiz Rahmat Khān (leader of the trans-Gangetic Afghāns) to arouse his fear against a common enemy. In reality, however, there was little love lost between the two, and the shrewd Hāfiz was influenced mainly by political advantages. Najīb al-Dawla was left with no alternative but to appeal to Ahmad Shāh Durrāni to come to his assistance, in the name of Islām. Curiously enough the Rājas of Jaipūr and Mārwār also sent their envoys to Durrāni to help to expel the Deccanis from northern India.[190] Ahmad Shāh's preoccupa-

187 *Fall of the Mughal empire*, II, p. 384.
188 A. L. Srīvāstava, *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, I, 2nd edition, Agra 1961, pp. 35-40.
189 *Fall of the Mughal empire*, II, p. 112.
190 *Ahwāl-i Najīb al-Dawla*, f. 19b; *Khizāna-i 'Āmira*, p. 101; *Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar*, f. 15a.

tion with the Balūch rebellions finally left Najīb al-Dawla virtually alone to defend his territory. This he did remarkably well when he made a stand at Shukrtāl some sixteen miles due east of Muzaffarnagar in U.P. For about six months Dattājī Sindhiā besieged Shukrtāl. Finally a fierce battle took place on 15 September 1759. Although the Bārhā Sayyids fought valiantly in the vanguard of the Marāthas, they were unable to smash Najīb al-Dawla's defence. The Marātha attacks around Najībābād, the centre of Najīb al-Dawla's power, failed to distract him, for the trans-Gangetic Rohēllas under Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, other Rohēlla chiefs and a band of Gosā'īns from Awadh had already arrived near Najībābād to prevent penetration of the Marāthas into Ruhelkhand. The arrival of Shujā' al-Dawla to the rescue of Najīb al-Dawla, in conjunction with the news of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's departure from Qandahār, forced Dattājī Sindhiā to abandon the siege of Shukrtāl on 8 December 1759 and afterwards to proceed to Pānīpat.[191]

On 3 Rabī' I 1173/25 October 1759 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī crossed the Indus. The Marātha defenders at Attock deserted their posts without fighting Durrānī's advance forces; only the Sikhs stayed for the lengthy battle near Lahore in which they were the losers.[192]

'Imād al-Mulk was so frightened by Durrānī's invasion that he had Emperor 'Ālamgīr II murdered in Rabī' II 1173/November 1759 and strangled Intizām al-Dawla. 'Imād al-Mulk believed that they would act as tools of Durrānī in order to annihilate him. He placed a grandson of Kām Bakhsh on the throne, giving him the title Shāhjahān III. To all intents and purposes Delhi came to be without an emperor. The invasion also frustrated Marātha hopes of expansion. Meantime Ahmad Shāh defeated Dattājī Sindhiā near Thāneswar and the latter fled to Delhi, reaching there on 4 January 1760. 'Imād al-Mulk had already escaped to Kumhīr in the hope that Sūrajmal Jāt would protect him.

In December 1759 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī entered the Gangetic Doāb. Najīb al-Dawla paid obeisance to the Shāh near Sahāranpūr, while other Rohēlla chiefs hastened to join him in the hope of crushing the Marāthas. On 9 January 1760 a fierce battle was fought between Dattājī Sindhiā and Najīb al-Dawla at Barārī Ghāt, one of the fords of the Jamunā, close to Delhi, in which the Marāthas were defeated.[193]

Shāh 'Ālam II then appealed directly to Durrānī and wrote to him requesting that he be given the throne of Delhi under his own protec-

191 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, ff. 178a-190a; *Tadhkira-i 'Imād*, ff. 187a-209b; *Ahwāl-i Najīb al-Dawla*, ff. 21a, 28a; *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, p. 907; *'Imād al-Sa'ādat*, pp. 72-73, *Tārīkh-i Muzaffarī*, ff. 315a-340b, *Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, ff. 83b-86b.

192 *Marāthianchia itihāsachin sādhanen*, I, p. 146.

193 *Ahwāl-i Najīb al-Dawla*, ff. 29b-31a.

tion,[194] but Durrani gave no firm replies and turned his attention to the Jāts. Like the Rājpūt chiefs before him, Sūrajmal had also invited Durrāni to crush the Marāthas in a combined force but when Durrāni reached Delhi the Jāt rāja threw in his lot with the Marāthas. This prompted Ahmad Shāh to attack the Jāts. Delhi was plundered by stray bands of Afghāns.[195] Early in March 1760, Ahmad Shāh seized the 'Aligarh fort which was ruled by one of Sūrajmal's deputies. However, Sūrajmal could not be forced to submit. Ahmad Shāh remained there for two months and was joined by Shujā' al-Dawla who had been assured of the Shāh's friendship by Najib al-Dawla.

The Peshwā Bālāji Rāo was flushed with pride owing to his victory over Nizām al-Mulk at Udgir in March 1760. This reduced the boundaries of the Āsaf-Jāhi kingdom to Haydarābād, as well as some portions of Bijāpūr and a small part of Bidar. The Peshwā, however, blundered by seeking vengeance on Ahmad Shāh for the Marātha reverses in the north. Instead of compelling Ahmad Shāh to invade the Deccan, the Peshwā unwisely started behaving in the grand style of the Mughals. He sent a huge Marātha army against Durrāni, headed by the nominal commander, his own son, Vishwās Rāo, a lad of seventeen. The actual commander was Sadāshiva, himself no more than thirty. An invincible corps of Muslim sepoys under Ibrāhim Khān Gārdi, who had been trained by the French general, Bussy, remained loyal to the Marātha cause.

The Marāthas marched from the Deccan in the same unwieldy columns which characterized the Mughal armies. On 3 August 1760 Sadāshiva Rāo seized the palaces in Delhi. Unable to find any hidden treasure, the Marāthas removed what remained of the silver from the ceiling of the Diwān i-Khāss, most of it having previously been stripped by 'Imād al-Mulk. In October Sadāshiva deposed Shāhjahān III and proclaimed Shāh 'Ālam II Emperor. In order to win Shujā' al-Dawla to his side Sadāshiva appointed him *wazīr* to the absentee Emperor, although he had already thrown in his lot with Ahmad Shāh. Sūrajmal, an earlier supporter of the Marāthas, expediently deserted Sadāshiva.[196]

Ahmad Shāh's financial position was by this time critical. The situa-

194 Shāh 'Ālam's letter to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, *Murāsalāt-i Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*, Khālsa College, Amritsar Ms., no. 21.

195 *Marāthianchia itihāsachin sādhanen*, I, pp. 168, 169, 171, 174, 176, 180, 186-189, 194, 203, 212, 216-224; *'Imād al-Sa'ādat*, pp. 78-79.

196 Anonymous, *Manāzil al-futūh*, British Museum Or. 1895, ff. 5a-45b; *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, pp. 853-1036; *Ahwāl-i Najīb al-Dawla*, ff. 33a-47a; *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, pp. 911-915; *Khizāna-i 'Āmira*, pp. 106-8.

For modern accounts of the battle, see *Fall of the Mughal empire*, II, pp. 177-269 (a note on historical sources on Pānipat pp. 264-269); Harī Rām Guptā, *Marathas and Panipat*, Chandīgarh, 1961; Gandā Singh, *Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*, pp. 216-272.

tion deteriorated as his army became unable to bear the Indian summer. The final battle against the Marāthas occurred on 14 January 1761 on the famous field of Pānipat. For three hours the cannons of Ibrāhim Gārdi pounded the Rohēllas, although the Marāthas were hard-pressed against a combined Afghān-Rohēlla onslaught. Sadāshiva Rāo also fought desperately and Vishwās Rāo, the son of the Peshwā, was shot dead. Durrānī's camel swivels mowed down the Marātha troops like a sickle through green grass. Sadāshiva Rāo was also killed. By dusk the Afghāns had won a decisive victory. Once more Durrānī's soldiers sacked and plundered the houses of Delhi and what they did not take was left despoiled.[197]

A large number of Marātha captives were rescued by Shujā' al-Dawla and sent to the Deccan. The Marāthas were unable to recover from this disaster. When they reappeared as a force in the north in 1772 their power was confined only to the area from Delhi to the Jāt territory.

Between February and mid-March 1761, Ahmad Shāh was in Delhi. Again restlessness and homesickness forced his soldiers to return to Afghānistān. He was unable to make peace either with the Peshwā or with Sūrajmal in order to receive a regular flow of tribute. Ahmad Shāh Durrāni appointed Shāh 'Ālam II as Emperor, 'Imād al-Mulk as *wazir* and Najib al-Dawla as both *mir bakhshi* and his supreme representative. Realizing the importance of Sikh support for keeping the peace in the Panjāb, Ahmad Shāh Durrāni appointed Sardār 'Alā Singh the governor of Patiāla.[198] Other Sikhs, however, refused to allow Ahmad Shāh Durrāni to return home quietly by raiding his troops and looting his baggage.

The third phase in the political development of the Mughal Empire began with the departure of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni from Delhi to Qandahār in March 1761. The Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II preferred to lead a life of exile under the protection of the Nawwāb of Awadh and the British, rather than accept Durrānī's invitation to return to Delhi and submit to a Rohēlla dictatorship. It was only after the death of Najib al-Dawla (31 October 1770), that the Emperor found it safe enough to return to the capital.

This period saw the complete eclipse of Tūrāni leadership. The subsequent decline of Afghān dominance was followed by the resurgence of Īrāni influence and then of the Marāthas except for an eleven month interlude with Ghulām Qādir Rohēlla's catastrophic dominance over Delhi. The Marātha thirst for wealth remained unquenched. Nevertheless their respect for the Emperor and the royal family was so great that the Marātha leaders allowed the butchers of Delhi to kill cows in deference to the

197 Harī Rām Guptā, *Later Mughal history of the Panjāb*, Lahore 1944, I, pp. 18-82.
198 Ibid., p. 209.

earlier Muslim traditions in Delhi, and strongly suppressed the Marātha demand to impose a ban on cow-killing.[199]

The principal threat to Delhi and the neighbouring regions during this period emerged with the Sikhs. British inroads into northern India had reduced both the Jāts and the Marāthas to insignificant powers in this area. The same thing had happened to the Rohēllas who lost great chunks of their principality to the Nawwāb of Awadh, which was protected by the British. In the Deccan, Haydarābād also lost many of its territories; only Mysore (under Haydar 'Alī and Tīpū) emerged strongly. The old basis of the Deccan internecine power politics was replaced by Tīpū's heroic wars against the British.

199 Firāqī, *Waqā'i-'Ālam-Shāhī*, Rāmpūr 1949, pp. 56-57.

CHAPTER THREE

# *Eighteenth Century Muslim Society*

As is the case with the political history of the eighteenth century, Muslim social history of the same period can be assessed more scientifically by dividing it into three phases—

1. From 1712 to 1739
2. From 1739 to 1761
3. From 1761 to 1803.

During the first phase, Delhi played the pivotal role in Muslim social life and the court was the hope of the Muslim élite. Talented Hindūs were also attracted there. The uprisings of Bandā Bahādur led to some families migrating to Delhi and Lahore, but eventually the people seem to have settled down in their own homes in the Panjāb under the vigilant but humane administration of 'Abd al-Samad. It was suggested by a certain section of the Mughal *mansabdārs* that in all *parganas* only those Muslims whose ancestors had also been Muslim should be appointed as *chawdharis*, so that they could spread Islām among the downtrodden sections of society. However, a Hindū *qānūngo* could be appointed. The duties of the *muqaddams* should be shared equally between Hindūs and Muslims. The strength of the khattrīs should not be increased, for they were regarded as disloyal, cruel, cheats and extortionists. Similarly, the Kashmirīs, Kambohs[1] and Afghāns were seen as fraudulent. Kāyasthas and *baqqāls*[2] should be appointed as *mutsaddis*,[3] *dīwāns* and clerks. The brahmans should be appointed *wakils*[4] and the khattrīs should be encouraged to indulge mainly in trade and commerce. The Rājpūts were suitable only for military service.[5] Although in the eighteenth century the business of the empire was largely managed along the above lines, there were innumerable exceptions. The Tūrānis

1 Considerable controversy surrounds the origin of the Kambohs. However, they were essentially the community of Panjāb merchants who settled in western U. P. They were friendly to the Afghāns with whom they had ties of commercial interest.
2 Grain-merchants.
3 Subordinate government officials.
4 Ambassadors or deputies at other courts.
5 *Memoirs of Khān-i Dawrān*, B. M., Or. 180, f. 26b.

and Īrānis were of course members of the privileged class of the aristocracy who monopolized the higher *mansabs*.

The return of the war-worn Mughal *mansabdārs* from the Deccan to Delhi, not only led to a population spiral but also to an unprecedented orgy of extravagance, dissipation, sensuality and debauchery which in Awrangzib's reign lay largely dormant. In his account of the reception of Nādir Shāh's envoys, Murtada Husayn suggests that the regular sittings in the *darbār-i'āmm* (court where the general public was received) had stopped, but that when the court was redecorated for special occasions, the pomp and pageantry recalled the spectacle of Shāhjahān's days. The party accompanying the envoy could not help commenting that the Indian rulers behaved like God.[6]

Equally excited was Nawwāb Dargāh Quli Khān Sālār-Jang Mu'taman al-Dawla (b.1122/1710 at Sanganer near Ahmadnagar) when he first visited Delhi in 1150/1737 in the company of Nawwāb Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh. From the gateway of Delhi ran the *chawk* (market-place) of Sa'd-Allāh Khān, the famous *wazir* of Shāhjahān, under whose supervision the fort was built.[7] From the time it was built to Nādir Shāh's invasion, it seems to have attracted great crowds of visitors and shoppers, but in the reign of Muhammad Shāh its activities assumed new dimensions. Both in the morning and in the evening the market place bustled with crowds of visitors. Every inch of space was reserved for different types of activity. One corner glittered with the display of war weapons; in another were sold all types of fresh and dried fruits. Yet another section selling birds aroused considerable excitement because of the crowds of handsome boys who thronged there to buy them. This area sold the chosen roosters which could not be found anywhere else in India. A still more exciting corner was reserved for dancing by handsome boys. The buffoons, clowns, patterers and monologists exhibited their talents in yet a different corner. Even the professional preachers were not excluded. They would deliver lectures on the Muslim religious duties ordained for different Islamic months; for instance, in the month of Ramadān they would discuss the merits of fasting; in the month of Dhu'lhijja, the rules of the pilgrimage. During the days of Muharram they would deliver moving sermons on the martyrdom of Imām Husayn and on the tragedy of Karbalā. They would talk endlessly on the same topic for several nights and attracted both the *'ulamā'* and common people to their lectures. At the end of the talks their admirers would pay them fees. Moving to a different corner one could see geomancers, soothsayers, fortune-tellers and astrologers, all prophesying future

6 *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, pp. 42-44.
7 Ibid., p. 41.

events relating to the life of the individual as well as of nations. Men were not afraid to be seen there, sight-seeing with their arms around the necks of their beloved boys. Girls were also to be found roaming in the bazaar. Drugs for the cure of gonorrhoea, syphilis and other venereal diseases could be bought in any quantity from the quacks who truly excelled in the art of advertising.[8]

Chawk Sa'd-Allāh Khān was completely destroyed after 1858, but Chāndnī Chawk still survives. There Dargāh Qulī saw a canal flowing in the middle of the road. On its embankment were stalls of different articles, such as perfumes, swords, daggers, crockery, glass and porcelain. Innumerable shops sold similar items, as well as jewellery, gold and silver, costly weapons and arms. The centre of attraction, however, was the coffee house in the centre of the Chawk, where not only was coffee served but the poets recited their poems, eliciting comments from their appreciative audience. The crowd in the coffee house included all classes, from noblemen to ordinary people.[9]

The tombs of eminent Delhi *sūfis* also attracted all classes of people, and their *'urs* (death anniversaries) celebrations were the most impressive functions of the town. A large number of stalls selling different articles were established and the open spaces around the tombs were crowded with the tents of noblemen, and of the aristocracy. Even the *'urs* of Farrukhsiyar was celebrated with considerable festivity, accompanied by a dazzling illumination at night.

The number of other festivals and fairs offering opportunities for unbridled revelry and merry-making and outings was considerable. There were no impositions placed on the participants' drinking habits during the festivities, and the nights were mainly devoted to utter debauchery.

Of all such festivals, *basant* was the most popular, with both Hindūs and Muslims participating. It was celebrated continuously for seven days and nights. On the first day the festival was held at the Qadam Sharif[10] when all neighbouring gardens, open areas and houses were packed with visitors. The parties of handsome boys and beautiful girls—some sprinkling rose water wherever they went and some carrying bouquets or sweets—filled the crowd with delight. The occasion was marked by the best performance of the music of the *qawwāls*, dances and mimicry of the buffoons.

The second day of the *basant* was celebrated at the tomb of Khwāja

8 Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqa'-i Dihlī*, Haydarābād n.d, pp. 14-16.
9 Ibid., pp. 16-19.
10 Originally this was the tomb of Fath Khān (d. 776/1374), son of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq. In his reign Makhdūm Jahāniyān, the famous Suhrawardiyya *sūfī* brought to India a stone with the foot-panel of the Prophet Muhammad. Sultān Fīrūz had the stone fixed on the grave of his son.

Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyār Kāki.[11] In the evening, the crowd returned via the tomb of Shaykh Nasir al-Din Chirāgh-i Dihli[12] and lit a lamp there. The third day of the *basant* month was reserved for the visit to the *dargāh*[13] of Shaykh Nizām al-Din Awliyā'. As it was not far from the main road, the *dargāh* attracted enormous crowds. The *dargāh* authorities organized *samā'*[14] for the occasion. On the fifth day, the *basant* festival was held at the tomb of Shāh Turkmān,[15] crowds of attractive boys and girls again assembling there. On the sixth day the Emperor received *basant* greetings from the noblemen, and the revelry concluded on the seventh day with a visit to a fictitious grave in a Delhi suburb, Ahdipurā, where people indulged in unrestrained drinking and debauchery.[16]

The most interesting aspect of the eighteenth century *basant* festivals, besides their dissipation and sensuality, was their co-ordination with Muslim festivals, leading to both Hindūs and Muslims participating in activities around the leading *sūfi dargāhs*. Of the Hindū festivals, *holi* was also very popular. It offered the libidinous an opportunity to smear the girls and boys with colour, paste and powder, and to indulge in dancing and revelry.

Each year on the twelfth of Rabi' I, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad was and is celebrated throughout India. However, in Delhi a huge crowd would assemble at the Arab Sarā'i near Humāyūn's tomb. There the local Arab residents would recite verses pertaining to the Prophet's birth in a melodious voice and offer great delicacies from their own kitchen to their guests. However, this was also an occasion for those so inclined to observe the faces of Arab boys which, by Indian standards, were less appealing than those of Indian boys, lacking in flirtatious or coquettish expression. Nevertheless, the change was most welcome.[17]

Several other occasions for celebrating festivities were chosen each month by influential and rich members of the aristocracy. For instance, a wealthy Miran Sāhib organized a grand party on the eleventh of each month. The *wazir*, Mir Qamar al-Din, a firm friend of Miran Sāhib, also

11 The famous Chishtiyya *sūfi* of Delhi (d. 633/1235). *A history of sūfism in India*, I, pp. 136-9.

12 The Shaykh died in 757/1356, and was the successor of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325). *A history of sūfism in India*, I, pp. 145-88.

13 Literally, a king's court, a portal, the lower threshold; in Indian *sūfī* terminology the tomb of a *sūfī* is known as a *dargāh*.

14 Literally, hearing or listening to the music and dancing of *sūfīs* in order to produce a state of ecstasy. This was organized according to strict rules and regulations.

15 The *dargāh* of Shāh Turkmān (d. 24 Rajab 638/8 February 1241) situated near the Turkmān gate of old Delhi.

16 *Muraqqa'-i Dihlī*, pp. 31-32.

17 Ibid., pp. 34-36

attended the functions. Crowds of girls and boys were enticed there with whom both the *wazīr* and Mīran Sāhib satisfied their carnal desires.[18]

The largest brothels in Delhi were the Kasalpurā and Nāgal brothels. Kasalpurā was founded by Kasal Singh, a wealthy *hazāri mansabdār* of Muhammad Shāh, while the visit to the tomb of a fictitious saint by the city's prostitutes and dancing girls on the seventh of every month made Nāgal an enormous establishment.[19] There seems to have been a vast network of brothel-keepers' touts and agents, both men and women, who enticed girls from all social classes of Delhi and its neighbourhood. Consequently the seclusion and veiling of girls were more strictly supervised and early marriages for girls became more popular. A craze for licentiousness and debauchery also increased pederasty, for men were able to move more freely in the company of boys during this period.

The aristocracy also vied with one another in selecting the greatest beauties from wherever they were to be found. The most eagerly sought-after beauties were the Kashmīri women. Even before the reign of Muhammad Shāh, Qutb al-Mulk Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh Khān spent most of his time in the company of seventy or eighty most beautiful women whom he had collected in his harem; of these, two or three had been forcibly taken from amongst the ladies of the imperial harem.[20]

Generally speaking, however, the Mughal aristocracy continued to follow the pattern of life established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, according to Bernier, people thought that "a house to be greatly admired ought to be situated in the middle of a large flower garden, and should have four large *diwān*-apartments raised to the height of a man from the ground, and exposed to the four winds so that the coolness may be felt from any quarter."[21] The mansions of Shāy'ista Khān and Ja'far Khān were most imposing and their plan was fondly imitated by the aristocracy. In the eighteenth century the gilding of domes and minarets had become fashionable, largely to conceal the architectural defects. For instance, the mansion of the third *bakhshi* Zafar Khān Roshan al-Dawla appeared like a mountain of gold. The tapestry and furniture in his house were likewise very impressive.

The Mughal costumes which also developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to suit the climate of the country continued to be worn, both by the Muslim and Hindū aristocracy. However, the eighteenth century craze for licentiousness had prompted many members of the aristocracy to appear in their private musical gatherings dressed as women. The

18 Ibid., pp. 33-4.
19 Ibid., pp. 39-40.
20 *M. L.*, II, pp. 775, 934.
21 *Travels in the Mughal empire*, I, pp. 247-48.

Emperor Muhammad Shāh himself loved to enjoy his musical and dance parties dressed in ladies' *peshwāz*.[22] 'Abd al-Ghafūr, whom Muhammad Shāh had made a leading noble, dressed himself in women's attire, dyed his hands and feet with henna and enjoyed the performance of dancing girls in a total state of inebriation.[23] Even more sober members of the aristocracy wore coloured garments, white ones being meant only for mourning ceremonies, when the householders confined themselves to their own houses to receive condolence messages. Their food was richly seasoned with expensive herbs, saffron and spices.

Wastefulness and extravagance were the hallmark of the aristocracy. The leading nobles had set the standards themselves. For example, the ladies in Qamar al-Din Khān's household perfumed their last bath with rose water.[24] Women of yet another noble's household expended three hundred rupees daily for rose water and betel-leaf. Huge sums were expended on wedding celebrations, the astronomically high expenditure on Bahū Begam's wedding already having been mentioned. Other members of the aristocracy were equally extravagant.

Nādir Shāh's invasion of Delhi and the plundering and spoliation of the city which ensued filled Delhi with gloom, but it did not take long to return to the former levity and dissipation, because of the domination of the extravagant Udham Bā'i and Jāwid Khān over the Emperor Ahmad Shāh. Eventually the furniture, books, arms and the stores in the *kārkhānas* had to be sold to meet their wasteful expenditures.[25] In contrast, the starving troopers, whose salaries sometimes remained in arrears for months, or even for years, found no other alternative open to them but to indulge in frequent rioting. The soldiers also sold their arms and left their horses to starve, like their own families. Consequently the Marātha or Jāt invaders could no more be repelled from the town. During 'Ālamgir II's reign even the starving ladies of the imperial court could no longer bear the agonies of hunger and starvation.

By the end of the reign of 'Ālamgir II, the same Murtada Husayn, whose description of Delhi we quoted earlier, was shocked to find that all sources of water in Delhi had dried up. There were no flowers near the gateway of the fort, but only dust. The crowd of men which he had seen earlier had disappeared, only the washermen's donkeys were to be found grazing the wild grass. In the *diwān khāna-i 'āmm*, Najib al-Dawla's servants, who were waiting for the arrival of the *wazir*, a grandson of Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh, had tethered their horses. Cattle and horse-dung were heaped there.

22 A full dress or gown, reaching a little below the knee.
23 Āshob, f. 66b.
24 Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, Meerut 1897, p. 110.
25 *Tārikh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, ff. 14a-16a.

Only a few men were to be seen in the Chawk Sa'd-Allāh Khān and the Chāndnī Chawk. Some people were living in the Bāzār Khānam and Khārī Bā'olī, while other places had no more than a few male inhabitants. Many famous Delhi quarters were forgotten and the roads from the town to the tomb of Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki were plagued by robbers. Only if ten or twenty people could form a party would they visit the tomb of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.[26] In 1757 when Mirzā Muhammad Rafī' Sawdā left Delhi, he described the conditions to which the people were reduced thus: "How can I describe the desolation of Delhi? There is no house from where the jackal's cry cannot be heard. The mosques at evening are unlit and deserted, and only in one house in a hundred will you see a light burning. Its citizens do not possess even the essential cooking pots, and vermin crawl in the places where in former days men used to welcome the coming of spring with music and rejoicing. The lovely buildings which once made the famished man forget his hunger are in ruins now. In the once-beautiful gardens where the nightingale sang his love songs to the rose, the grass grows waist-high around the fallen pillars and ruined arches. In the villages round about, the young women no longer come to draw water at the wells and stand talking in the leafy shade of the trees. The villages are deserted, the trees themselves are gone, and the wells are full of corpses. Jahānābād (Delhi), you never deserved this fate, you who were once vibrant with life and love and hope, like the heart of a young lover, you for whom men afloat upon the ocean of the world once set their course as to the promised shore, you from whose dust men came to gather pearls. Not even a lamp of clay now burns where once the chandelier blazed with light. Those who once lived in great mansions now eke out their lives among the ruins. Thousands of hearts once full of hope are sunk in despair. Women of noble birth, veiled from head to foot, stand in the streets carrying in their arms their little children, lovely as fresh flowers; they are ashamed to beg outright, and offer for sale rosaries made from the holy clay of Karbalā.

"But Sawdā, still your voice, for your strength fails you now. Every heart is aflame with grief, every eye brimming with tears. There is nothing to be said but this: 'We are living in a special kind of age. So say no more'.[27]"

Comparing the life of Delhi following its plunder by the Muslim soldiers of Najīb al-Dawla and Ahmad Shāh Durrānī after January 1760 with that of the Jāt principality, Mīr Taqī Mīr wrote, "Delhi in those days was little better than a wilderness, which every six months was laid desolate afresh. Besides, a man cannot wander from place to place forever. In the Jāt country there was peace, under a prosperous ruler, and we settled down

26 *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, p. 44.

27 Ralph Russell and Khurshīdul Islām, *Three Mughal poets*, London 1968, pp. 67-8.

there under the shadow of his protection."[28] An even more pitiful glimpse of the feelings of the Delhi aristocracy who had escaped to Jāt principalities is given by the same Mir in the following words. "One day when I was sitting wondering where my next meal was coming from, I had the idea of going to visit A'zam Khān, the son of A'zam Khān the elder, who had once been a great noble and was a good and generous man. At any rate, I thought, it will pass a pleasant hour or two. Accordingly I went and sought him out in Sūrajmal's stables, where those who had been ruined in Delhi were now living. God bless him! he enquired tenderly after me. I told him all that had happened to me, and all who were present listened in shocked distress. Then when the hookah was set before me I recited [a verse of 'Urfī[29]] and one or two others appropriate to the occasion, until I was myself moved to tears. After a while I noticed that A'zam Khān seemed worried. I asked him what was the matter. 'It is nothing,' he replied. 'No, tell me,' I said, 'What is it?' He said, 'I was thinking how when you used to visit me in Delhi I would have all kinds of sweets brought in and we would sit and eat them together. And now I haven't even crude sugar to make you a drink of sherbet.' 'All those things,' I replied, 'were for happier days. For my part, as you well know, I am not a slave to my belly. And times change. That was a time for sweet things, and this is a time for bitterness.' As we were conversing a woman came in at the door bearing a tray on her head. She came to A'zam Khān and said, 'Sa'id ud-Din Khān's sister sends you these sweets with her blessing.' As he turned back the tray cover, A'zam Khān's face lit up; turning to me he said, 'I have long grown used to fasting: there have been days when I have not had so much as a piece of bread or a mouthful of water, let alone such luxuries as sweets. You are my guest. These are for you. Give me a little and send the rest home.' 'There is too much here,' I said, 'I shall not know what to do with it all.' 'Your son Mir Faiz 'Ali will know how to use it,' he replied. In the end, at his insistence, I allowed him to send a large dish of the sweets to my house, and it was on them that we lived for the next two days."[30]

The repeated ravages of Delhi, however, were not followed by any breakdown of traditional society and its values. Long before Nādir Shāh's invasion, some Muslim noblemen and other adventurers had founded new towns which sheltered the Muslim refugees from Delhi and introduced principal elements of the Mughal administrative system and culture there. Others had imbued the old provincial capitals with renewed life and vigour.

28 *Dhikr-i Mīr*, p. 95, in *Three Mughal poets*, pp. 34-35.

29 A famous Persian poet who was born in Shīrāz in 1555-56, but who later migrated to Akbar's court and died at Lahore in August 1591.

30 *Dhikr-i Mīr*, pp. 91-93 in *Three Mughal poets*, p. 34.

One of the earliest new towns was Farrukhābād, founded by Muhammad Khān Bangash in 1126/1714. He secured its prosperity by establishing small towns in the neighbourhood which were essentially grain markets (*ganjs*) and the distributing centres of grain from villages to town. This also ensured the stability of the government. Soon, poets, *'ālims* and *sūfis* were attracted there. Some of them lived in Farrukhābād only temporarily, like Sawdā, who remained from 1757 to 1760, when he left for the prosperous court of Awadh. Many new migrants did settle permanently in the town, however. Of these, the *sūfi* guides were the most important. Sayyid Abū Sa'id's ancestors had originally settled in Lahore but later migrated to Kālpi. Sayyid Abū Sa'id, the spiritual guide of Nawwāb Muhammad Khān, was initiated into both the Chishtiyya and the Naqshbandiyya orders.[31]

Sayyid Shāh Asad 'Ali, a Bukhāri Sayyid, also migrated to Farrukhābād in Muhammad Khān Bangash's reign. There he founded a Chishtiyya *khānqāh*. He fought against the Rohellas under Nawwāb Qā'im-Jang. Although seriously injured he survived until 7 Safar 1184/2 June 1770. Shāh Asad 'Ali initiated many *sūfis* into the Chishtiyya order.[32]

Sayyid Fadl Imām, a descendant of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilāni (470/1077-8—561/1166) also migrated to Farrukhābād. First he migrated from Multān to Gwālior but there the commandant of the fort, Khidr Khān Panni, was estranged from the Sayyid who left for Farrukhābād. Muhammad Khān and his sons accorded him a warm welcome, and he lived there until his death on 3 Ramadān 1167/24 June 1754. He was proud of having three characteristics which he claimed none shared with him. Firstly, he was a Sayyid of pure lineage, secondly he was brave, and thirdly, he was a dervish. This had prevented him from marrying his own daughters or those of his sons to anyone else.[33]

Amānat Shāh, a dervish who migrated to Farrukhābād during the early years of its development was appointed by Muhammad Khān Bangash as leader of all the other dervishes. He founded his *khānqāh* outside a gateway of the town and was engaged in agriculture on the land assigned to him. He died on 17 Safar 1163/26 January 1750.[34]

A Qādiriyya dervish, Shāh Muhammad Zamān (d. 1185/1771), also built a *khānqāh* and a large mosque. Nawwāb Ahmad Khān had built a house and a garden for a Qādiriyya dervish named Sayyid Zāhid 'Ali (d. 1227/1812), who was also a renowned scholar.[35] Sayyid Shāh Muhammad Zāhid (d. 1184/1770) who had migrated from Delhi delivered im-

31 *Tārīkh-i Farrukhābād*, p. 138a.
32 Ibid., ff. 139a-b.
33 Ibid., ff. 139b-140a.
34 Ibid., ff. 140b-141a.
35 Ibid., f. 141a.

pressive discourses on spiritual matters.[36] Sayyid Nasir was another very popular dervish. He had a large number of disciples and his *samā'* gatherings were very effective. Besides these, many other important dervishes migrated to Farrukhābād from Delhi, Agra, Jalesar, Allahabad, Gwālior, Bareilly, Sirhind, Lahore, Bilgarām, Safipūr (Unnao) and Shikārpūr (Bulandshahr).[37]

Fydābād (Fyzābād) was made the capital of Awadh by Nawwāb Sa'ādat Khān Burhān al-Mulk. The city started from nothing more than a wooden pavilion (*bangla*) which the Nawwāb built in 1132/1719-20, about four miles from the ancient town of Ayodhyā. Abu'l-Mansūr Safdar Jang and Shujā' al-Dawla extended it enormously. Gradually it became the centre of the Shi'i *'ulamā'* and scholars who migrated from different parts of India and even from Īrān. Many Īrānis who deserted Nādir Shāh's army also settled there. According to Mir Ghulām 'Ali Āzād Bilgarāmi, families of high and noble birth were to be found every ten or twenty miles throughout Awadh and Allahabad who had obtained *madad-i ma'āsh* grants and stipends from earlier rulers and governors. This had enabled them to construct mosques and *khānqāhs*. Teachers were able to promote education and to attract scholars. The eastern region of India was accordingly called the Shirāz of India by Shāhjahān. Until 1130/1717 the fame of the region as a centre of learning did not wane. Following this however, Burhān al-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān Nishāpūri, who ruled Allahabad, Jaunpūr, Banāras, Ghāzipūr, Kara-Mānikpūr and Korā Jahānābād, confiscated all *suyūrghāl* grants and stipends enjoyed by the old and new noble families, reducing them to extreme poverty. This led them to abandon acquiring an education and to take up a military life.[38]

Āzād's comments about the decline of education and learning in Awadh and Allahabad and the total confiscation of the *madad-i ma'āsh* grants and stipends are not substantiated by the conclusions to be drawn from the available documents of the *madad-i ma'āsh*. They also conflict with the evidence of the promotion of Sunni education in Awadh, but they do suggest that the entry of Muslims into the Awadh army drastically changed the character of their society. The entire region from Kākori (near Lucknow) to Allahabad was controlled by the Hindū *zamīndārs* of different castes and clans and by the Muslim Shaykhs, Shaykhzādas and Sayyids whose ancestors had started their careers as *madad-i ma'āsh* holders, but who by the end of Awrangzib's reign had also assumed the character of *zamindārs*. Like the Hindū *zamindārs* the Shaykhzādas had also recruited their own armies and built their fortifications. Even

36 *Tārīkh-i Farrukhābād,* p. 141b.
37 Ibid., f. 142b.
38 Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī, *Ma'athir al-kirām,* Lahore 1971, p. 214.

at the end of Awrangzib's reign most of them, like the Hindū *zamīndārs*[39] had become independent and defied imperial authority with impunity. Sa'ādat Khān crushed their lawlessness with his own forces and recruited fresh Muslim troops from the retainers of the Shaykhzādas. Some Shaykhzādas and Sayyids who were not interested in a scholarly or spiritual life would also have seized the opportunity, to become military officers and *jāgīrdārs*, with both hands. This army in conjunction with the army of *Gosā'ins* (Hindū mendicants) helped Sa'ādat Khān and his successors to retain their rule over Awadh and Allahabad, even ousting the Sunnī Bangash conqueror, as mentioned earlier. Many Shaykhzādas and the Sayyids of the region who worked as *fawjdārs* and revenue collectors under the Nawwābs of Awadh, strengthened the values of communal friendship, while adhering strictly to their own religions, which their ancestors from several centuries past had been developing. In short, not only Fyzābād, but all towns of Awadh and Allahabad gradually became pioneers in crystallizing what is known as Awadh culture.

The new capital of the Rohēllas, Ā'onla, which 'Alī Muhammad founded, also became a new Muslim centre. He too built palaces, mosques and *khānqāhs*, topped with gilded domes. Ā'onla was also able to attract scholars and artists from different parts of the country. 'Alī Muhammad invited Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Khān from Kābul and Sayyid 'Alī Shāh from Tirmiz to foster the development of spiritual life and piety. However, the glory of the town was short-lived; Murtada Husayn ascribes its fall to the over-indulgence of its inhabitants in homosexual relations, marriage between men and handsome young boys not being uncommon.[40]

In Murshidābād, the capital founded by Murshid Qulī Khān the Īrānī merchants and other adventurers who travelled between Bandar 'Abbās and Hugli were able to find a new home. Some migrants from Īrān also settled in 'Azīmābād (Patna). A considerable number of adventurers from Delhi likewise migrated to 'Azīmābād, Murshidābād and other towns of Bihār and Bengal.[41] Among these migrants the most notable were the ancestors of Sayyid Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātabā'ī, author of *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*. Shāh Haydar, an uncle of Ghulām Husayn's grandmother, converted some Biharis and Bengalis to Shi'ism. Another of Ghulām Husayn's ancestors, Shāh Ja'frī, was a young man of reckless courage who fearlessly suppressed lawless tribes, robbers and the Afghān enemies of the Nawwāb.[42] Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī whose ancestors had settled in Awrangābād obtained a higher education in Īrān and

39 Bhūpat Rāy, *Insha-i Roshan kalām*; *Maktūbāt-i Mansūriya*, Rifāh-i'Āmm Library, Lucknow, nos. 7, 9, 12, 40; *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, p. 139.
40 *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, p. 139.
41 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, II, p. 613.
42 Ibid., p. 614.

Irāq and finally migrated to Murshidābād. Mahābat-Jang was his great patron. He died in Sha'bān 1194/August 1780, having devoted the latter part of his life to writing commentaries on Shi'i classics in Arabic, on grammar and on *hikmat*.[43]

In the south, the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan had always attracted Muslim migrants from the north and from Middle Eastern and African countries. However, the establishment of the independent principality of Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh now served to attract a considerable number of talented scholars and men of letters from northern India, particularly those whose *madad-i ma'āsh* grants were cancelled. Among them were several Bilgarāmi scholars, such as Hassān al-Hind Mir Ghulām 'Ali, Āzād bin Sayyid Muhammad Nūh Husayni, Wāsiti Bilgarāmi Hanafi Chishti. Born at Bilgarām on 25 Safar 1116/29 June 1704, Mir Ghulām 'Ali first studied locally before completing his education in Delhi under his maternal grandfather, Mir 'Abd al-Jalil Bilgarāmi. From 1142/1730 Āzād worked for some years as deputy to his uncle, Mir Muhammad, son of 'Abd al-Jalil, the *mir-bakhshi* and *wāqi'a-nigār* of Sehwān in Sind. In Muharram 1151/May 1738 Āzād went to Mecca, studied the *Sahih al-Bukhāri* under Muhammad Hayāt Sindi Madani, returning to India in 1739. For some seven years he led a retired life at Awrangābād in a *sūfi khānqāh*, but towards the end of 1159/1746 he began to live with Āsaf-Jāh's second son, Nawwāb Nizām al-Dawla Nāsir-Jang, who succeeded his father as Nizām in 1161/1748 but was murdered four years later. However, by that time Āzād had become a firm friend of Samsām al-Dawla Shāh Nawāz Khān Awrangābādi and remained loyal to Shāh Nawāz throughout his chequered career.

After the murder of Shāh Nawāz Khān in 1171/1758, Āzād rescued the drafts of *Ma'athir al-umarā'*, which Shāh Nawāz had compiled between 1742 and 1747. He edited the work, added a preface, a biography of Shāh Nawāz Khān and other biographical notes. Āzād himself died in 1200/1786 but by that time he had produced an impressive corpus of Arabic and Persian works. Of these, the most important is the *Subhat al-marjān fi āthār Hindustān*, completed in 1177/1763-64. This work highlights the importance of India and the contribution of Indian Muslims to Islamic culture. The first section of the work deals with references to India in the Qur'ānic commentaries and the Prophet's *ahādi'th* (plural of *hadith*) which Āzād had already written as an independent work entitled *Sham-māmat al-'ambar fi-mawarada fi'l-Hind min Sayyid al-Bashar* in 1163/1750. The second section deals with the biographies of Indian scholars, again a part of the author's treatise *Tasliyat al-Fu'ād*. The third section contains twenty-three rhetorical figures of Sanskrit, exemplified by Āzād from

43 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, p. 11, pp. 616-18.

Arabic poetry, and thirty-seven rhetorical figures discovered or invented by the author himself. Of these, one is ascribed to Amir Khusraw. The fourth section deals with the different types of lovers depicted by the poets (*fi bayān al-ma'shūqāt wa'l 'ushshāq*) and is divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with the types of female lovers recognized in Sanskrit works; the second with the types classified by the author himself; the third gives a detailed description of the foregoing types. The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted to male lovers. In 1178/1764-5 Āzād himself rendered the third and fourth chapters into Persian and entitled the book *Ghizālān al-Hind*.

Āzād also wrote an Arabic commentary on the *Sahih* of *Bukhāri*, wrote enormous quantities of Arabic poetry and a very interesting *sūfi mathnawi Mashar al-barakāt*. He also wrote Persian verses and produced impressive *diwāns*, but his contributions to Persian biographical literature remain unsurpassed. He started writing biographical dictionaries from the time of his early career at Siwistān and had completed alphabetically arranged biographies of 532 poets by 1145/1732-3. He himself re-edited it twice. The *Ma'athir al-kirām tārikh-i Bilgarām*, which Āzād completed in 1166/1752-3 gives detailed biographies of eighty *sūfis* and of seventy learned men of Bilgarām. In fact, the work is a very important history of the intellectuals of Bilgarām who were also important architects of the life and society of the Awadh region. The Hindi verses of the Bilgarāmi poets quoted in the *Ma'athir al-kirām* indicate quite clearly that from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries their interest in their local environment was most profound. The second volume, entitled *Sarw-i Āzād* and completed in 1166/1752-53 contains biographical sketches of 143 poets born in India, including some from his own hometown, Bilgarām, and the biographies of eight poets who wrote *rekhta* (Urdū) poetry. The *Khizāna-i 'āmira* completed by the author in 1176/1762-3 contains biographical accounts of another 135 poets, as well as biographical sketches of Nizām al-Mulk, his sons and certain other nobles, the Marāthas and Ahmad Shāh Durrāni. The *Rawdat al-awliyā'* contains the lives of the *sūfis* who are buried at Khuldābād (about seven miles from Dawlatābād), three rulers who are buried there (Awrangzīb, Nizām al-Mulk Burhān Shāh and Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh) and the autobiographical notes of the author himself.

In Mālwa, Dost Muhammad Khān, an Āfridi Pathān who had migrated to Delhi in 1120/1708 obtained the *ijārā* of Berāsiā *pargana* and crushed both the rebellious Afghān and Gond *zamindārs*, carving out the independent principality of Bhopāl. In 1720 he fought with Dilāwar 'Ali Khān, Rāja Bhim Singh Hāda and Gaj Singh against Nizām al-Mulk. Despite Dilāwar 'Ali's death, Dost Muhammad remained stubbornly opposed to Nizām al-Mulk. Three years later Nizām al-Mulk again crushed Dost Muhammad's resistance and forced him to accept a conditional peace, on

the basis of his drawing his salary only from his *jāgīr* and that he send his son, Yār Muhammad Khān, to court. After Dost Muhammad's death in 1153/1740, Yār Muhammad established law and order in the region. His earlier failures to stop the Marātha incursions into Mālwa in 1731 and 1737 had convinced him that the regular payment of the *chauth* to the Marāthas was the only way to save the principality from ruin.[44] Putting that unhappy alternative into effect, he gave Bhopāl a new lease of life and strength, making it an important centre of Islamic culture.

The new state of Arkāt (Arcot) mentioned in the first Chapter continued to be the rendezvous of Muslim scholars down to 1272/1855, when it was escheated to the East India Company on the grounds that it had no male heir. Mysore and Bangalore were also able to attract talented Muslims from all parts of India.

The eighteenth century was by no means lacking in talent and enterprise, of course. It saw the rise of leaders such as Muhammad Khān Bangash, Dāwūd Khān, 'Alī Muhammad Khān, Dost Muhammad Khān, Sa'ādat Khān Burhān al-Mulk, Murshid Qulī Khān, Najīb al-Dawla and Haydar 'Alī, all of whom came from very humble origins, but their ability, initiative, enterprise, dynamism, qualities of leadership and foresight ensured their becoming the founders of various independent dynasties throughout India.

The early part of the eighteenth century also saw the rise of two outstanding Persian poets—Mirzā 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil (1054/1644-1133/1721) and Sirāj al-Dīn Khān Ārzū (1099/1687-88 or 1101/1689-90—1169/1756). Bīdil was born in Patna and led a carefree life, occasionally becoming a *majdhūb* (ecstatic). In 1096/1685, he settled down in Delhi, leading an independent life. He was a prolific writer who even compiled a mystico-philosophical treatise, *Nikāt*, dealing with such subjects as *wahy* (revelation), *ilhām* (mystic inspiration) and *nubūwwa*. However, it was his poetry which made him popular in the Persian-speaking world of India, Afghānistān and Central Asia.

Sirāj al-Dīn Khān Ārzū was born at Gwalior, was a pupil of Bīdil and a friend of an eminent Hindū poet and author of stylish prose works, Ānand Rām Mukhlis, son of Rāja Hirday Rām Khattrī Lāhorī (d. 1164/1751). Ārzū's most influential patrons were Mu'taman al-Dawla Ishāq Khān "Ishāq" and his son, Najm al-Dawla. Towards the end of his life he migrated to the court of Shujā' al-Dawla and died at Lucknow. His dead body was transferred to Delhi for interment. Twenty-seven recorded titles of works of prose and poetry are attributed to him.

The poet whose arrival in India from Īrān caused such a stir amongst

44 Mīr Hāshim Mūsawī Khān, *Munshāt-i Mūsawī Khān*, State (former Āsafiya) Library Haydarābād Ms., pp. 70a-73a-75a.

the Persian scholars and poets was the proud Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l Ma'āli Muhammad 'Alī Hazīn, who was born in Isfahān on 27 Rabī' II 1103/17 January 1692. He started writing poetry in his early childhood and was passionately fond of acquiring knowledge of other religions. In Isfahān he often called on the Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian priests. The political turmoils of Īrān, from the time of the Afghān invasion of 1134-5/1721-2 caused an upheaval in Hazīn's life and he was forced to move from one Īrānian town to another. On 10 Ramadān 1146/14 February 1734 he left for India from Bandar 'Abbās. During Nādir Shāh's invasion he remained concealed in a Delhi house. After the return of Nādir Shāh to Īrān, Hazīn went to Lahore but Zakariyya Khān, the governor of the Panjāb, became hostile to him. Hazīn returned to Delhi. At the recommendation of 'Umdat al-Mulk Amīr Khān "Anjām", Muhammad Shāh conferred a *suyūrghāl* on him, but Hazīn was neither satisfied with India, nor was he happy with contemporary Persian poetry of the Indian poets. Hazīn considered himself the master of pure Īrānian dialect and deemed it below his dignity to receive his visitors courteously. In Delhi, Ārzū and Hazīn came to loggerheads. Ārzū wrote a book entitled the *Tanbih al-ghāfilin*, selecting only the meaningless verses from Hazīn's *diwān*. Hazīn wrote a rejoinder and entitled it *Rajm al-Shayātīn*. Ārzū replied with a work entitled the *Ihqāq al-haqq*. Hazīn himself did not retaliate. This was done by his admirer, Maulawī Imām Bakhsh Sahbā'i, whose reply to Ārzū's objection was entitled *I'lā' al-haqq*.

Hazīn soon got tired of Delhi, went to 'Azīmābād in 1161/1748-49 and then settled in Banāras where he built a house and garden for himself. He died there in Jumāda I, 1180/November 1766, having taken care to build his own self-inscribed tomb there in the Fātimān quarter. As long as he lived in Delhi, he was always planning to return to Īrān, but he became so enamoured of Banāras that he decided never to leave it. In a verse he wrote—

*As Banāras na rawam ma'bad-i 'āmm ast īnjā,*
*har barahman bachcha-i Lachman o Rām ast īnjā.*
I have decided not to leave Banaras, the common centre of worship.
Every Brahman here is a progeny of Lakshmana and Rāma.

Hazīn wrote commentaries on different verses of the Qur'ān from the Shi'i point of view, treatises on Shi'i theology, a manual of administrative ethics entitled the *Dastūr al-'uqalā*, and an autobiography, *Tadhkirat al-ahwāl*, which is very famous.[45]

45. *Muraqqa'-i Dihlī* gives very interesting notes on Ārzū and Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān, pp. 40-44; C. A. Storey, *Persian literature*, part 2, London 1953, pp. 240-9.

The eighteenth century also saw the introduction of the crystallization of Urdū poetry in Delhi. Its seeds were sown from the very advent of Muslim rule in India. The Muslim conquerors and colonizers had already assimilated important local elements into their administrative, social and cultural framework.

**Urdū poetry**

The impact of poetry in local dialects and music which the Muslim settlers in India called Hindawī or Hindī, irrespective of its local variations in northern and southern India was extensive. The corpus of the early Hindī poetry written by the *sūfis* has largely been lost, only some verses written by *sūfis* such as Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī (d. 673/1274), Bābā Farīd Ganj-i Shakar (569/1173-74 or 571/1175-76—664/1265) and Amīr Khusraw (651/1253-725/1325) surviving. The *Chandā'in* of Mullā Dāwūd completed in 781/1379-80 is a real watershed in the development of Hindī *sūfi* poetry, the trend being followed all over India, in the Panjāb, Gujarāt, Mahārāshtra, Bengal and Rājasthān.[46] The kingdoms of Bījāpūr and Golkonda made very substantial contributions to the development of the Dakhinī dialects, adding Persian prosody, *qāfiya* (rhyme), *radīf* (double rhyme), Persian metres, and forms of Persian verse such as *qasīda* (odes), *ghazal* (elegy of love) and *rubā'i* (a verse of four hemistiches). The *sūfi* poets of northern India had already produced masterly *mathnawis* (long poems describing stories or morals). The Bījāpūrī and Qutb-Shāhī rulers themselves wrote impressive poetry in the Dakhinī dialects. After the conquest of Bījāpūr and Golkonda, Awrangzīb transferred some noblemen of those courts to northern India, appointing them *mansabdārs*. They were followed by the Deccanī soldiers, poets and scholars. Some settled permanently in Delhi and others returned to the Deccan. Among the Deccanī visitors was Walī (1688-1744) whose *dīwān* (collection of *ghazals*) so deeply impressed the Delhi poets that they were stimulated to pay more attention to the poetry of their own western Hindī dialect, in which Sirāj al-Dīn Khān Ārzū and many others had already occasionally written. The controversy between Hazīn and Ārzū surrounding what Hazīn called 'pure Persian' prompted Ārzū to advise his admirers and protégés to devote their energies to making contributions in their own mother tongue. Fortunately for the language, its early architects such as Khwāja Mīr Dard (1721-1785), Mīr Taqī Mīr (1724-1810), Mirzā Muhammad Rafi' Sawdā (1713-1780) and Mīr Hasan (1727 or 1728-1786) were unsurpassed in ingenuity and perfection.

The poets always recited their poems to their admirers, critics and other listeners. To compensate for the lack of facilities such as a printing

46 *A history of sūfism in India*, I, pp. 321-395.

press, an institution called *mushā'ira* also developed. These were evening gatherings convened by the lovers of poetry at their own residences. Amongst them were included members of the aristocracy and even the Emperor, for all wrote poetry and loved to listen to it. The poets generally sat on the carpet in a semi-circle, with a chairman in the centre. A lighted candle was passed from poet to poet, each being invited to recite his own poem as the candle was handed to him. The poets in the semi-circle and the audience sitting behind them expressed their appreciation or made brief critical comments upon completion of a verse. Sometimes the whole night was spent reciting poetry. The competitive spirit generated by the *mushā'ira* consequently contributed greatly to poetry development. The critical acumen of the listeners in attendance at these *mush'āira* also helped to sort out the gold from the dross. According to Mīr Taqī Mīr, the gold was scarce. He wrote—

> 'Though people still turn out to come to them *Mush'āiras* are dull affairs these days. Mir, Sawdā, Dard and just a handful more—
> These stalwarts still deserve a poet's praise.'[47]

**Muharram Celebrations**

A new eighteenth century development in northern India was the Deccan model of the celebration of the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imām Husayn (b. Sha'bān 4/January 626) and his followers. Imām Husayn was the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, and the son of 'Alī bin Abī Tālib (d. 21 Ramadān 40/28 January 661) by Muhammad's daughter Fātima. The martyrdom took place on 10 Muharram 61/10 October 680 at Karbalā in Irāq. All over the Islamic world *Muharram* was and is celebrated in alignment with local customs and ceremonies. For example, Father Monserrate gives the following account of the celebration he witnessed at Narwar in February 1580. He says, "Whilst the party was at this place (Narwar), about the 15th day of the month of February the Musalman nine-days festival began. At the same time the Hindūs held their Idaean [*holī*] festival. The former is held in honour of Asson and Hossen [Hasan and Husayn], grandsons of Muhammad by his daughter Fātima. Their father was Halis ['Alī]. They are said to have been conquered by the Christians in a war which they had undertaken in order to establish and spread their grandfather's religious system. They were thereupon cruelly tortured by the unbelievers (as the Musalmans call us) and were compelled to walk with bare feet over hot coals.[48] For this reason the Musalmans fast for nine days, only eating pulse; and on

47 *Three Mughal poets*, p. 244.
48 A Jesuit version of Islamic history.

certain of these days some of them publicly recite the story of the sufferings of Asson and Hossen from a raised platform, and their words stir the whole assembly to lamentation and tears. On the last day of the festival funeral pyres are erected and burnt one after the other. The people jump over these, and afterwards scatter the glowing ashes with their feet. Meanwhile they shriek 'Asson Hossen' with wild and savage cries."[49]

Around 1045/1635-36 Mahmūd bin Amīr Walī, a traveller from Bukhārā, who was at Lahore, gives the following description of the celebration of *Muharram* there.

'All the princes (*salātin*), officials and aristocrats prepare two sets of placards, one consisting of beautiful paintings representing the *Imāms*. The other contains repulsive-looking figures representing Ibn Muljam.[50] The first ten days of the Muharram month are divided into two parts; the first five days, representing the lives of Imām's indulgence to their weddings and the life of comfort, are celebrated in merrymaking. The houses and shops are profusely decorated, and the *qawwāls*, male and female singers and dancers, give exciting and impressive performances. From the sixth to the tenth of Muharram the same party of musicians start reciting mourning songs and put on black clothes. They form processions displaying the placards and along with their mourning songs, abuse and condemn the enemies of *Imāms*. On the tenth of Muharram all Shi'is and Hindūs lock their shops and houses and shut themselves up in their houses like bats. The organizers of the placards then rush to the *nakhās* (cattle market), where the holders of the two different sets of placards, joined by the crowds there, come to blows with each other. This leads to considerable killing and destruction of property.' The year Mahmūd bin Amir Walī was in Lahore, fifty Shī'is and twenty-five Hindūs were victims of the placard-bearers' war, and a property of about 120,000 rupees was destroyed.[51] The details given by the author seem to indicate that the merrymaking and the battle were organized by the Sunnis alone, the Shi'is remaining shut up in their houses.

The Qutb-Shāhī rulers of Golkonda and their Shi'i and Sunni subjects imitating them, built separate houses for their *Muharram* celebrations. These houses were known as *'Āshūr-khānas*. The poor people set apart a room of their house for the purpose, calling it the *'Āshūr-khāna*. There the *'alam* (standard or ensign) representing the flags of the *Imām* were displayed, often on a platform. The tops were made of metal, shaped like an open hand, showing the palm and the five fingers; some standards used other shapes. The tops were affixed to a pole and below the hand

49 *A commentary of Father Monserrate*, pp. 21-2.
50 Ibn Muljam ('Abd al-Rahmān al-Murādī), a *khārijī* who killed 'Alī in 40/661.
51 *Bahr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār*, Ethé 575, ff. 391a-b.

was tied a long piece of cloth, either red or green. The Qutb-Shāhī rulers also introduced the practice of keeping a *ta'ziya* in the *'Āshūr-khānas*. The *ta'ziyas* were models of the tomb of Imām Husayn at Karbalā and were made of a bamboo frame, or of thin wood work covered by coloured paper. The *'Āshūr-khānas* were profusely illuminated. During the first ten days of Muharram, many events took place. For instance, *marthiyas* (elegies) on the martyrdom of Husayn, his companions and on other *Imāms* were recited. The Qutb-Shāhī rulers themselves wrote touching and melancholy *marthiyas* in the Deccanī dialect. Processions of *'alam* and *ta'ziya* bearers paraded through the streets, particularly on the tenth day, carrying lighted torches at night. On that day also, the *ta'ziyas* were thrown in the river or buried. A considerable amount of cooked and uncooked food, as well as cash, were also distributed to the poor.[52]

When the Qutb-Shāhī nobles migrated to Delhi it was natural that they should continue to practise their Deccanī-style mourning ceremonies in their new homes. It was, therefore, just a question of time before their Shī'ī followers and some Sunnīs adopted similar practices. Dargāh Qulī Khān mentions the mourning celebration of the tenth day of Muharram near Jamunā. A big crowd sunk in a state of mourning assembled there. On the twelfth of Muharram a special mourning ceremony was also celebrated at the *Qadamgāh Hadrat 'Alī*.[53] The *'Āshūr-khānas* built in northern India came to be called *Imām-bāras*. Under the Shī'ī rulers of Awadh the *Muharram* celebrations became tremendously popular. Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq of Bānsa (in Bārābankī district, U.P.), an eminent Qādiriyya *sūfi* (d. 1136/1724), believed that the *ta'ziyas* were not simple frames of bamboo and paper, but were inhabited by the holy spirits of the *Imāms*. When old and infirm, the Shaykh would pay his respects to the *ta'ziyas*, passing through his house, standing against a wall or supported by a staff.[54]

However, many Sunnīs in Delhi, led by Muhammad Amīn Khān, Nizām al-Mulk's uncle, not only opposed the *ta'ziyas* but also condemned the mourning of Imām Husayn's death in any form. It is said that when Mīr Jumla was appointed the *sūbadār* of 'Azīmābād, Ni'mat-Allāh Khān, son of Rūh-Allāh Khān,[55] delayed in bidding Mīr Jumla farewell because of his preoccupation with the celebration of the first ten days of Muharram.

52 Khwāja Ghulām Husayn Khān, *Gulzār-i Āsafiya*, Bombay 1308/1891, pp. 22-29.

53 *Muraqqa'-i Dihlī*, p. 3. This *qadamgāh* is situated near the Safdar-Jang aerodrome.

54 Muhammad Khān Razzāqī, *Malfūz-i Razzāqī*, Lucknow 1896, p. 104.

55 Rūh-Allāh Khān was a *bakhshī* from January 1680 to his death in 1692; he was a Shī'ī but concealed his faith. His daughter was married to Bahādur Shāh's son, Prince 'Azīm al-Shān. Although Awrangzīb knew about his Shī'ī faith, Rūh-Allāh Khān always concealed it and even at his death-bed, in the interest of the future of his sons, to the disgust of the Emperor continued to show himself a Sunnī. *Anecdotes of Aurangzīb*, pp. 122-5.

When Ni'mat-Allāh finally called on Mir Jumla, Muhammad Amin was also present. Ni'mat-Allāh explained the reasons for his delay and asked Mir Jumla's pardon. Muhammad Amin sarcastically asked Ni'mat-Allāh if someone had died in his house. Ni'mat-Allāh replied in the negative, saying that he had been busy mourning the death of Sayyid al-Shuhada (leader of the martyrs, i.e. Imām Husayn). Muhammad Amin Khān then observed that Yazid, the second Umayyad Caliph (60/680-64/683), and Husayn were two rival princes and it did not behove Ni'mat-Allāh to mourn the death of Husayn while neglecting to do the same for Yazid and his followers. Ni'mat-Allāh replied that he was mourning the martyrdom of his Prince (Husayn) and Muhammad Amin should celebrate the victory of his (Yazid). The dispute assumed threatening proportions but Mir Jumla pacified the two men.[56]

Orthodox Sunni puritans considered the recitation of the verses in praise of 'Ali's descendants positively sacrilegious, although a large number of *sūfis* fondly recited and listened to them. In the *samā'* gatherings of Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far, a brother of Khān-i Dawrān, verses in praise of the Prophet Muhammad and the twelve Shi'i *Imāms* were recited. Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali Wā'iz was attracted to these verses and in his sermons would also acclaim the *Imāms*. A preacher from Multān, Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh, called on Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far, where he was shocked to see the latter's disciples kiss the ground before their *pir*, instead of simply greeting him with the customary 'Peace be upon you'. There he also heard *qawwāls* singing in praise of the twelve *Imāms*. Scandalized, Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh said that prostration should only be made before God, and that music, unless it accompanied songs referring to the Prophet and his eminent companions, was unlawful. Basing his ideas on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, the Khwāja argued that as the *sūfis* admitted only the presence of Being, they were not prostrating themselves before non-being. Moreover, the musicians recited only what they had learnt traditionally from their teachers. If Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh knew any verses praising the great companions, said the Khwāja, he could teach them to the *qawwāls* who would then recite them also. The Khwāja's reply convinced Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh of his sincere Shi'i tendencies.

In a sermon at Delhi's Jāmi' mosque, Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh repeated statements earlier made by certain bigoted Sunni scholars. For example, he said that 'Ali was not included in *Āl-i 'Abā*[57] and that the 'Alwis or descendants of 'Ali were not Sayyids ('descendants of Muhammad'). To call Panjtan[58] holy, said the Shaykh, was against Sunni beliefs, for it im-

56 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, II, pp. 450-1.

57 Prophet Muhammad, 'Alī, Fātima, Imām Hasan and Husayn are called the *Āl-i 'Abā* by the Shī'īs.

58 The above are referred to by the Shī'īs as the Panjtan.

plied that the eminent companions of the Prophet were correspondingly unholy. At the same time, he also criticized the Shī'is. When the contents of Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh's sermons were reported to Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far, he sent a message to the Shaykh that the controversial matters raised by him were contrary to Sunni traditions, and might lead to a misunderstanding that the preacher was a Khāriji.[59] He also requested the Shaykh to discuss such matters at his house or in some other assembly of the *'ulamā'*.

The following Friday, some vagabond Mughal youths with Karbalā rosaries around their necks and arms, sat in on a sermon given by the Shaykh. The audience, consisting of about two to three thousand, presumed that the Mughals had been hired by the Khwāja to assassinate the Shaykh, and began abusing the Shi'i sect. The Mughal youths walked out of the assembly and there was confusion when they were followed by a Hindū dressed in military attire, who had merely gone to hear the Shaykh's sermon. He was beaten by a mosque servant who was convinced that he was a hired assassin. Cornered by some other Muslims in the mosque, the Hindū turned and killed the *mu'adhdhin*, the person who called the *adhān*. The Hindū in turn was slain and his body remained in the mosque for a few days while an attempt was made to discover who had hired him.

After this event a group of *'ālims* and supporters of Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh went to the Emperor Farrukhsiyar and accused Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far of interfering in Sunni practices. At the same time, they reminded the Emperor that in Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh's reign the addition of the word *wasi* to the *khutba* had sparked off considerable disturbances. They demanded that the Khwāja be expelled from Delhi.

This incident, says Khāfi Khān, changed the religious atmosphere of Delhi. Formerly in each street and bazaar people would recite verses praising the twelve Shi'i *Imāms*, but the Jāmi' mosque incident unleashed hostility towards the Shi'is. The Emperor consulted Shari'at Khān, the court *qādi*, who submitted that any heresy on the part of Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far was unproven according to the *Shari'a*, and that authoritative Sunni works did not support the views of Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh. However, in order to maintain harmony, suggested the *qādi*, it was advisable that Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far leave Delhi. Khān-i Dawrān persuaded the Khwāja to retire temporarily to the mausoleum of Khwāja Nizām al-Din Awliyā', until passions had subsided. Khān-i Dawrān then summoned Shaykh 'Abd Allāh and ordered him to leave for Multān. At Multān the

59 The followers of the party of 'Alī who separated from him after Safar 37/July 657 when 'Alī chose to settle his differences with Mu'āwiya (against whom he was fighting at Siffīn) on the basis of the Qur'ān. They disowned both 'Alī and his predecessor 'Uthmān and did not hesitate even to secretly murder those who differed from them.

Shaykh reopened the controversy with 'Āqibat Khān, the regional governor, who in order to maintain peace had the Shaykh arrested and despatched him back to Delhi. En route the police escort was attacked by the Shaykh's disciples. Members of both parties were killed and wounded. The Shaykh was thrown into prison and seems to have been released early in the reign of Muhammad Shāh by his *wazir*, Muhammad Amin Khān.[60]

## A Naive Islamic Movement

The eighteenth century also witnessed a naive type of Islamic movement initiated by Mir Muhammad Husayn, a Sayyid of Mashhad, which ultimately involved Mir Muhammad Amin in great trouble. Mir Muhammad Husayn was well-read in both Arabic and logic. He migrated to Kābul in the days of the governorship of Amir Khān and married the daughter adopted by Amir Khān's wife, Sāhibji. Some leading members of Amir Khān's court and his sons by his other wives became Muhammad Husayn's friends. Of these, the most prominent was Hādi 'Ali Khān. On Amir Khān's recommendation, Awrangzib appointed Mir Muhammad Husayn superintendent of his perfume stores. After Amir Khān's death, Muhammad Husayn bought perfumes for the imperial stores from Peshāwar. From there he went to Lahore but in the meantime Awrangzib himself died. Muhammad Husayn then sold the perfumes for some sixty to seventy thousand rupees and set himself up as the founder of a new religion. He wrote a book entitled *The Holy Āqūza*, containing unfamiliar Persian and Arabic words and phrases, and called himself the *bigūk*. The work remained unknown. He claimed that all great prophets were given nine *bigūks*, the first eight of the Prophet Muhammad being the eight *Imāms* from 'Ali ibn Abi Tālib to Imām 'Ali al-Ridā. Until the death of the latter the *imāma*[61] was united with *bigūkiyat*,[62] after which it was transferred to Muhammad Husayn. From the ninth *Imām* to the twelfth, the *imāma* was separated from the *bigūkiyat*, and he himself was the seal of the *bigūks*. Similarly he invented a claim to convince the Sunnis that the first four caliphs and four others from among he Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphs were *bigūks* of the Prophet Muhammad, and that he was the ninth *bigūk*. As a *bigūk* he adopted the title *Numūd wā Numūd*. He also claimed that his religion did not interfere with any other religion and invented his own fast days, reducing prayer sessions to three times daily.

In the early years of Bahādur Shāh's reign, Muhammad Husayn arrived at Delhi from Lahore. By rejecting gifts offered to him he created a very good impression and succeeded in enrolling disciples. When the

60 *M. L.*, II, pp. 757-60.
61 Office of the *Imām*.
62 Office of the *bīgūk*.

Emperor Farrukhsiyar called on him, he was originally refused admission. After persistent requests by both the Emperor and his favourites, Numūd finally admitted Farrukhsiyar to his chamber, greeting him indifferently. Farrukhsiyar offered several thousand gold coins to him but Numūd accepted only seventy rupees which he had fixed as the price of his book of revelations. When Farrukhsiyar left Numūd's chamber, the latter even distributed the seventy rupees to the beggars.

In Muhammad Shāh's reign, his *wazir*, Muhammad Amīn Khān, deputed policemen to arrest Numūd. When the police reached his home, Numūd was eating his lunch. He sent some food to the policemen through his youngest and most handsome son. While the policemen were eating, Numūd received the news that Muhammad Amin, a chronic sufferer of colic, had had yet another serious attack. The police postponed the arrest and during the night the *wazir's* condition became critical. Early in the morning, Numūd fearlessly went to the mosque in front of Muhammad Amin's house and sat there with his followers. The ladies of Muhammad Amin's household and his son Qamar al-Dīn Khān thought that the *wazir* was dying because of Numūd's curses. They sent their *diwān* who offered five thousand rupees as a gift to Numūd, and requested him to give amulets for the Mīr's recovery. Numūd refused to accept the money, saying that his curses had already killed Mir Muhammad Amin and that there was no remedy. Nevertheless, he gave an amulet, saying however that it was of no use, and asked the *diwān* to distribute the money amongst the beggars. Before the *diwān* could reach Mir Muhammad Amīn's home, the latter died. The Mīr's death was eventually attributed to Numūd's miraculous powers.

Two or three years later, Numūd himself died and was succeeded by his middle son, Shāh Fughār. The Emperor Muhammad Shāh who after Nādir Shāh's invasion had become enamoured of the company of the *sūfis*, began to invite him to the court.[63] One of Muhammad Shāh's favourite discussions was the frivolous one on whether the egg preceded the hen or vice versa.[64] It is not surprising, therefore, that impostors such as Shāh Fughār were among his favourites. In the reign of Ahmad Shāh, Fughār became the favourite of Jāwid Khān and began to collaborate with others in the compilation of the *Ilhāmāt-i Jāwidi*, or book of revelations made known to Jāwid Khān. In the middle of Ahmad Shāh's reign, Fughār died and his followers, after Durrānī's invasion, migrated to different places, some becoming the associates of Mīrān, son of Ja'far 'Alī Khān, the governor of Bengal.[65]

63 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, II, pp. 445-50.
64 *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, p. 44.
65 *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, II, p. 450.

**Hindū-Muslim riots**

The eighteenth century Marātha, Jāt, Rājpūt and Sikh wars against the Mughal emperors and their governors discussed in the foregoing chapter, resulted essentially from political ambitions to extend their power and control over larger parts of the empire, although the rebels did in fact invent emotive communal and sectarian slogans to rally support. However, the eighteenth century was also marked by those Muslim sectarian disorders discussed earlier, and by communal riots, the likes of which became increasingly common under the British and the legacy of which is still felt in the subcontinent.

In the second year of Farrukhsiyar's reign, a communal riot broke out in Ahmadābād. The governor at the time was Dāwūd Khān, a man well-known for his Hindū sympathies. According to the historian Khāfi Khān, the incident concerned some Muslims who lived opposite a Hindū house, the streets between the courtyards of Hindū and Muslim houses being commonly shared. The Hindū family made a fire to celebrate *Holi* in front of their home, thinking they were fully entitled to use that area as they would. The following day, the Muslim family slaughtered a cow, in his house, to commemorate the anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad's birth. An incensed group of Hindūs attacked the Muslims, murdering the young son of the Muslim. Being a minority in the area, the Muslims hid in their houses, but Muslims from other areas of Ahmadābād declared war against the Hindūs and were joined by thousands of Dāwūd Khān's Afghān soldiers. They burned the house of the *qādi* who refused to entertain Muslim complaints, and began to burn Hindū shops and dwellings.

The Muslim mob set fire to the house of a jeweller named Kapūr Chand, a favourite of Dāwūd Khān. A bigoted Hindū, the Muslims believed that he was the leader of the Hindū rioters. However, Kapūr Chand barred the doors of his quarters and posted armed soldiers to fight the Muslim mob. Many Hindūs and Muslims were killed in the riot which lasted three days.

Finally, members of both sides went to Delhi to present their respective cases to the court. Dāwūd Khān drew up a *mahdar* (a document attested by seals) signed by the *qādi* and other government officials, in which the incident was blamed on Muslim aggression. Kapūr Chand took the document to Delhi. The Muslims were represented by three *'ālims*, Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahid and Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali. Rāja Ratan Chand, Qutb al-Mulk's *diwān*, supported the Hindūs and imprisoned the Muslim deputation and its leaders. Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far succeeded in having his brother, Khān-i Dawrān Bakhshi intervene and in securing the deputation's release.[66]

66 *M. L.*, II, p. 755.

Agra was the next town where Hindū-Muslim tensions threatened to end in violence. The 22 Ramadān 1132/28 July 1720 marked the beginning of an event which started as a petty affair. A Hindū girl was converted to Islām after deciding to marry her Muslim lover. The girl's relations lodged a complaint against the lad. Lāla Ratan Chand presented a distorted version of the case to his master and ordered the *kotwāl* to parade the girl in a humiliating fashion through the streets of Agra. When the girl passed through a mosque, the Muslim congregation there decided to attack her guards and free her.[67] However, they were unable to take any action and the threatened riot was averted.

Before the downfall of the Sayyid brothers a fierce communal and sectarian riot broke out in Kashmir. This was largely due to the hostility towards Hindūs of Mahbūb Khān (alias 'Abd al-Nabī Kashmīrī), a local Muslim leader. Using the political crisis as a pretext, Mahbūb Khān demanded that Mīr Ahmad Khān, the deputy governor, and the *qādi* ban Hindūs from riding horses, wearing costly dress or turbans, from keeping arms, organizing picnics in gardens and from observing their ritualistic bathing festivals. These he demanded on the basis of certain rulings of the *Shari'a*. The deputy governor refused to accept Mahbūb's arguments, saying that he would follow the rules which the court and the authorities controlling the *Shari'a* had introduced for Indian *dhimmis* (Hindūs) and would not make any new laws for Kashmīr.

Mahbūb Khān then took the law into his own hands. With a party of Muslim followers he began to harass Hindūs. Soon it became impossible for them to move freely about the streets and markets. The crisis finally came to a head when a Kashmīrī, Majlis Rāy, decided to take a group of brahmans for a picnic. Suddenly ten to twelve thousand Muslim followers of Mahbūb Khān appeared and began attacking them. Majlis Rāy escaped and took shelter with the deputy governor, Mīr Ahmad Khān. Mahbūb Khān and his followers ransacked the town and attacked Majlis Rāy's house, as well as other Hindū dwellings, plundering them and setting them alight. Anyone, either Hindū or Muslim, attempting to stop them was either killed or wounded.

Finally, Mīr Ahmad Khān, who was himself besieged by Mahbūb's men, formed an army and marched against Mahbūb Khān, supported by Mīr Shāhwār Khān Bakhshi and some other officers. A group led by Mahbūb Khān finally cornered the deputy governor and his supporters in the bazaar, which they then proceeded to burn. Women and children joined Mahbūb Khān in stoning Mīr Ahmad's army. Many people were killed, including Mīr Ahmad's nephew and the deputy *kotwāl*, Dhu'lfaqār

67 *M. L.*, II, p. 884.

Beg. Mir Ahmad himself only escaped with extreme difficulty. Many others were wounded.

Flushed with success, Mahbūb Khān again invaded the Hindū quarters, setting alight any buildings left standing. Finding Majlis Rāy and his associates in Mir Ahmad's house, Mahbūb's men dragged them into the street, slit their noses and ears, circumcised them and even cut off the penises of some.

The following day a large number of Muslims assembled in the Jāmi' mosque. Mir Ahmad Khān was replaced by Mahbūb Khān as deputy governor and the latter also assumed the title Dindār Khān. This was only an interim arrangement, however, so that Mahbūb Khān could introduce strict *Shari'a* rule until the arrival of a new deputy governor. For five months Mahbūb Khān held office while Amir Khān went underground. During this period Mahbūb Khān held court in the mosque.

When the Delhi court was informed of the riot, Mū'min Khān Najm Thāni was appointed deputy governor of Kashmir. Amānat Khān Khwāfi's son, Kāzim Khān, the *diwān* of Kashmir, was transferred and a large number of eminent officials received harsh treatment at the hands of the imperial government. At the end of Shawwāl, Mū'min Khān reached Srinagar, remaining some six miles outside the city.

Mahbūb Khān began to repent his violence and approached Khwāja 'Abd-Allāh, a leading Kashmiri officer in the administration, to lead a procession of *'ulamā'* and scholars to welcome the new deputy governor, and to bring him into Srinagar with full honours and ceremony, thus symbolizing a reconciliation. Kashmiris being born intriguers, says Khāfi Khān, Khwāja 'Abd-Allāh advised Mahbūb Khān to go to Mir Shāhwār Khān Bakhshi and apologise for the atrocities. The Khwāja then organized an ambush en route to the Mir's house. In the mēlée, Mahbūb Khān's two sons were killed first, as they walked before him reciting verses in praise of the Prophet Muhammad. The death of Mahbūb Khān then followed, provoking smouldering resentment amongst his supporters, who then retaliated by attacking the Shi'i residents of Charbili and Hasanābād where the ambush had occurred, looting and burning the houses there. The locals lost the fight and at least two or three thousand were killed. The excesses of rape and murder committed by the mob were, according to Khāfi Khān, indescribable. The houses of both the *qādi* and the *bakhshi* were set alight and razed to the ground, although both men escaped with their lives. After entering the town, Mū'min Khān sent Mir Ahmad Khān out of Srinagar and gradually restored peace in Kashmir.[68]

In March-April 1725, another incident strained Hindū-Muslim relations in Delhi even further. Three or four years previously a Hindū clerk

68 *M. L.*, II, pp. 867-70.

in the government had been converted to Islām, although his wife and daughter did not follow suit. The clerk appealed to the Chief *Qādī* that his conversion automatically made his daughter, who was a minor, a Muslim. The girl gave evidence to the *Qādi* that three months after her father's conversion signs of puberty had appeared, implying that she was no longer a minor. The Muslims demanded she should embrace Islām, while the Hindūs argued that as she was no longer a minor she was free to choose her own religion. Muhammad Shāh referred the matter to Mir Jumla, the *sadr al-sūdūr* (d.1733), who argued that menstruation was not necessarily a sign of puberty. A *mufti* violently disagreed with him. The Emperor's order that the girl be handed over to the custody of a Hindū cloth-seller increased Muslim agitation. The following Friday an excited Muslim mob prevented the recital of the *khutba* and forcibly circumcized two or three Hindūs[69]. The Emperor summoned the Chief *Qādi* and the *muftis* to discuss the matter and imprisoned the girl to pacify the mob. A few days later she was murdered and buried according to Islamic rites to satisfy the Delhi Muslims. The latter were further placated by the reimposition of *jizya* on Hindūs. However, the Emperor was unable to realize the *jizya* and transferred the *Qādi* and the *Mufti* from the capital, which put an end to the disorders.

In 1729, the shoe-sellers' riot broke out in Delhi and resulted in greatly embittered relations between the members of the merchant community. The trouble started at the corner of Sa'd-Allāh Khān's *Chawk*, which was lined with shoe-sellers' shops. Entry to the Jawhari Bazaar (the jewellers' market) was by way of the road occupied by the shoe-sellers, who were puritanical, orthodox Panjābi Muslims. In the first half of the month of Sha'bān both Hindūs and Muslims enjoyed themselves discharging fireworks, squibs and rockets. On 8 Sha'bān 1141/9 March 1729 a Hindū jeweller called Shubhkaran, who was also a *mansabdār*, passed through the bazaar on his palanquin. Someone let off a squib close to Shubhkaran's palanquin which slightly burnt his court dress. This sparked off a fight between his servants and the owners of the shoe shops in the bazaar. Shubhkaran's men, although armed, were driven off by the large number of shoemakers who joined in the fray, wielding rasps. That night Shubhkaran sent his men to avenge the day's defeat. In the melée a young Muslim boy was beaten to death and one Hājji Hāfiz, who had rushed to the scene to restore the peace, was also killed when he attempted to save the boy. The following morning the shoemakers and other Muslims in Delhi decided that the Hājji's body would not be buried until he had been avenged. The Muslim mob took the dead body on a cot and, crying *Din, Din*, laid it

69 This threat was used by the Muslims even on Aurangzīb's failure to prevent Marātha raids.

before Shubhkaran's door. The latter had already left his house and sought refuge with Sher Afgan Khān Pānipāti, the Khān-i Sāmān, under whom Shubhkaran worked. Leaving the dead body there, the mob rushed to the imperial palace to seek justice, but before reaching there they spotted the Emperor on his return to the palace. The Emperor, upon hearing their story, ordered his *wazir* and Nawwāb Roshan al-Dawla Zafar Khān (Turra-bāz Khān) to arrest Shubhkaran but Sher Afgan refused to comply with the order to give him up.

On Friday 11 Sha'bān 1141/12 March 1729, the shoe-sellers formed a procession and marched to the Jāmi' mosque, where a large number of Muslims had assembled, the most prominent among them being Arabs, Abyssinians and Turks from Istanbul. Interrupting the prayers the rioters proceeded to beat the *Qādi* and *Khatib* for having sided with the 'infidel criminal'. The *wazir* and Roshan al-Dawla rushed to the mosque with their retinue to pacify the mob, but the sight of Sher Afgan Khān, who happened to arrive simultaneously from a different direction, further incensed them. Being largely unarmed, they hurled their iron-heeled shoes at them. A vicious fight ensued when the Afghān followers of Roshan al-Dawla leapt in to defend their master. Some of the mob were armed with pistols and began firing but were overpowered by the Afghāns. Mughal troops rushed to rescue the *wazir* and a number of rioters were killed. Nevertheless, the mob carried the day and Sher Afgan Khān and the *wazir* beat a hasty retreat. During the night the mob demolished Shubhkaran's house and buried Hājji Hāfiz's body.[70] A mosque was erected on the grave and the 'heroic' war of the shoemakers was immortalized in Persian and Urdū poetry,[71] for although the defeat of the *wazir* in a war against the shopkeepers was unheard of in Mughal history, to be beaten by iron-heeled shoes was infinitely more humiliating to the Indian way of thinking.

An analysis of the different sections of the population that participated in the riots shows the emergence of the new Muslim leaders who now replaced the old Īrānī and Tūrānī groups or the *mansabdārs*. They were Arabs and Abyssinians, Turks from Istanbul and Afghāns from the neighbouring *parganas*, such as Sikandara and Khurja, and from the Rohēlla and Bangash principalities such as Shāhjahānpūr, Maū-Shamsābād and Farrukhābād. Some Afghāns from Thāneswar and Sirhind also played an active role in the riots. The Kashmīris were also the champions of Sunni orthodoxy.

The Afghāns of Delhi, who were very easily excited and provoked into fighting, were the retainers of the Rohēllas and Bangash adventurers, but

70 *Tārīkh-i shahādat-i Farrukhsīyar*, B. M., Rieu iii, 944a, pp. 56a-64b; *Mir'at-i Wāridāt*, B. M., Rieu I, 275b, ff. 26a-32b.

71 'Mukhammas dar madhammat Turra-bāz Khān', Panjāb University Ms. Mazhar Mahmūd Shīrānī, *Maqālāt-i Hāfiz Mahmūd Shīrānī*, II, pp. 130-45.

most of them were unemployed. The disintegration of the Mughal empire had made employment of soldiers on a permanent basis exceedingly difficult. The Rohēlla and Bangash leaders only recruited large forces of volunteers when they were engaged in wars, and were unable to offer any permanent employment. The men were untrained in agriculture or urban craftsmanship. Trade was also static. Thus, if one combines growing unemployment with the Sikh, Jāt and Marātha invasions—not to mention those of Nādir Shāh and Ahmad Shāh Durrānī—the picture of both Hindū and Muslim deprivation in Delhi is complete. A large number of Muslims ascribed their successive misfortunes to their departure from orthodox Islām, and to indulgence in sinful activities. Many *sūfi* impostors and charlatans now appeared on the scene, robbing the unsuspecting of the few meagre possessions left with them. Nevertheless there were as many as twenty-two *sūfi* leaders from different *sūfi silsilas* in Muhammad Shāh's reign[72] who sustained the hopes and spirits of the Muslim population. Of these, the most prominent was Shāh Wali-Allāh, but there were others too who must be discussed in order to gain a balanced picture of the eighteenth century Muslims.

72 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, p. 106.

CHAPTER FOUR

# *Shāh Walī-Allāh and His Ancestors*

The ancestors of Shāh Walī-Allāh, son of Shāh[1] 'Abd al-Rahim of Delhi, settled in Rohtak in the thirteenth century soon after the conquest of Delhi. At the time Rohtak, about thirty miles west of Delhi, was an important economic and political rendezvous for the Sayyids and the Shaykhs. The Shāh's ancestors served the Delhi sultāns as *qādis* and *muftis*, the first of them to have settled in Rohtak being Shaykh Shams al-Dīn *mufti*. According to Shāh Walī-Allāh, he was the first member of the Quraysh tribe (Qurayshi) to settle there. He was responsible for the first appearance of Islamic practices in the region and for stopping the flood of *kufr*. However, the Shāh adds that the flourishing condition of the town did not survive for long.[2] His statement, studied in conjunction with the local histories of Islamic towns suggests that the early settlers such as Shaykh Shams al-Dīn must have converted some Hindū prisoners of war to Islām to serve as barbers, butchers, cooks and domestic servants. These converts not having enough land in the villages to sustain themselves either migrated to other towns with their masters or lived in poverty in their villages. Like most Shaykhzādas, some of them joined the armed forces under the Mughals.

Shāh Walī-Allāh attributes great bravery and excellent swordsmanship to Shaykh Mu'azzam, his great grandfather,[3] and to Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn, his grandfather. As a child of twelve Mu'azzam is said to have defeated the army of a Hindū rāja singlehanded; on another occasion he is supposed

1 Shāh Walī-Allāh himself wrote his father's name as Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahīm. The latter in his own letters signed his name as Shaykh; for the sake of the uniformity with other works we have referred to him as Shāh.

2 *Anfās*, p. 152.

3 The family had descended from 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Umar and their descendants to Shams al-Dīn *mufti* were as follows.

Shāh Walī-Allāh b. Shāh (Shaykh) 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Wajīh al-Dīn b. Mu'azzam b. Mansūr b. Ahmad b. Mahmūd b. Qiwām al-Dīn alias Qādī Qādin, b. Qādī Kabīr alias Qādī Budh b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Qutb al-Dīn b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn Muftī. *Anfās*, p. 152.

to have defeated a band of thirty bandits who had robbed his village.[4]

Even more supernatural and incredible feats of bravery are ascribed to Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn. It is said that the Shaykh fought under Awrangzīb against his brother, Shāh Shujā' at Khajwā. When both armies were tired of fighting, two or three huge elephants from Shāh Shujā's army, accompanied by troops began to trample through Awrangzīb's followers. Only a few soldiers remained around the Emperor, and the rest fled. Instantly Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn came to Awrangzīb's assistance and with only four companions attacked the most ferocious elephant, chopping off its trunk. The elephant escaped and the Emperor won the day. Although Awrangzib wished to reward Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn by giving him a high *mansab*, the Shaykh retired to the life of a mystic.[5]

The story is a family myth. Nevertheless a few facts can be gathered from it, most notably that the father and grandfather of Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm were members of the imperial army, that their permanent home was in Rohtak, and that they also both lived for periods in Delhi and Agra.

Another story relating to Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn's bravery which may or may not be true, deserves mention because of the insight it gives into the traditions of the time. Once, the Shaykh killed three Hindū cavalrymen on the same occasion. The men were brothers and their mother, hearing of their deaths, came to see the Shaykh. Praising him for his courage, she invited the Shaykh to spend some time in her village home. The Shaykh's friends tried to dissuade him lest she kill him unawares. However, he decided not to follow their advice and was received by the woman with great affection. According to the story, she became almost like a mother to the Shaykh's family, and Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm would refer to her as his grandmother.[6] The story depicts the idea of substitutional relatives prevalent even amongst the Muslims.

Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn had three sons, Abū al-Ridā Muhammad, 'Abd al-Rahīm and 'Abd al-Hakim, all of whom later became *sūfis*. In his old age Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn, having resigned from the army and devoted himself exclusively to mysticism, felt he was divinely called to experience a martyr's death and to this end he bought a horse and went to the Deccan. At Burhānpūr he believed that he received a spiritual message telling him that he had already passed the place where he was to die. He rode back towards Hindūstān and en route was joined by a caravan of pious merchants. Just after they had crossed the Narbadā river they were attacked by a band of robbers. Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn was killed and buried nearby.[7]

4 *Anfās*, p. 155.
5 Ibid., p. 159.
6 Ibid., p. 158.
7 Ibid., pp. 160-61.

The fragmentary details available of the Shaykh's life show that he always remained imbued with the *futūwwa* (chivalric) spirit. The combination of the ideal of *futūwwa* (chivalry) with spirituality was a novelty in the general stream of Īrānian *sūfism*, although the *futūwwa* spirit was not unknown among *sūfis* of the sub-continent. Like the *sūfis*, members of the *futūwwa* movement also recognized 'Ali bin Abi Tālib, the fourth Caliph, both as their head and main source of inspiration.

The ancestors of Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn's second wife were also great *sūfis*; about the first wife, we have little information. Shāh Wali-Allāh traces their ancestral history from Shaykh Tāhir of Multān. Born into a family of aristocrats, Shaykh Tāhir spent his life largely in hunting. Once, unable to explain the meaning of a Qur'ānic verse to his sister, the Shaykh felt so deeply humiliated that he left home to devote his time to studies. He studied at Thāneswar and sent a belated reply to his sister's question. From there he went to Bihār where he completed his education. Impressed by Shaykh Tāhir's learning and ascetic exercises, the *Qādi* of Bihār gave his daughter in marriage to the Shaykh. In his old age the Shaykh migrated with his three sons to Jaunpūr and died there.

Shaykh Tāhir's eldest son Shaykh Hasan memorized the Qur'ān at the age of nine and completed his education at twelve. Attracted to *sūfism*, he became the disciple of Sayyid Hāmid Rāji Shāh, the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Husām al-Dīn Mānikpūri[8] (d. 853/1449-50). At Sultān Sikandar Lodi's invitation, the Shaykh settled in Delhi where he died in 909/1503-4.

One of his sons, Shaykh Muhammad Khayāli, visited Mecca and Medina, performed hard ascetic exercises in Medina and was a Qādiriyya. His younger brother, Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz, who at the time of their father's death was only two or three years old, acquired higher theological and mystical education and was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya and Chishtiyya orders. He died on 6 Jumāda II 975/8 December 1567. His fame as a *sūfi* had earned him the title *Shakar-bār* (raining sweetness).

Of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz's sons Shaykh Qutb al-'Ālam obtained great fame as an *'ālim* and a *sūfi*. During his first visit to Delhi about 1590, Khwāja Bāqi Bi'llāh, an eminent Naqshbandiyya *sūfi* stayed in the Shaykh's *khānqāh* and was advised to return to Bukhāra and obtain *sūfic* initiation.

Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn's sons were all scholars and mystics but the most prominent was Shaykh Rafi' al-Dīn Muhammad who, at his father's advice, became Khwāja Bāqi Bi'llāh's disciple on his return to Delhi from Bukhāra.

Although the Naqshbandiyya devotees of the Mujaddid considered there was no-one more highly respected in the eyes of Khwāja Bāqi Bi'llāh than he, the following anecdote related by Shāh Wali-Allāh shows in fact

8 S. A. A. Rizvī, *History of sūfism in India*, I, pp. 264-65.

that another of his disciples took preference over the Mujaddid. He says that once, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, in a state of mystic intoxication expressed some remarks (*shath*)[9] about Khwāja Bāqi Bi'llāh which so deeply annoyed the latter that he picked up a thread lying nearby and tied a very strong knot in it. Shaykh Rafi' al-Din picked it up and kept it with him. After some time, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi was seized with a mystic depression (*qabd*).[10] Thinking that this was due to his unfortunate remarks, he returned to Delhi and asked the Khwāja's disciple to intercede with the Khwāja for him. None dared to approach the Khwāja except Shaykh Rafi' al-Din, who succeeded in getting him to agree to forgive Shaykh Ahmad. First, however, the Khwāja said that without the thread nothing could be done. The thread was then produced by Shaykh Rafi' al-Din who subsequently proceeded to untie the knot, whereupon Shaykh Ahmad's depression vanished. Thus it can be concluded that in fact, the Khwāja held Shaykh Rafi' al-Din in higher esteem than the Mujaddid.[11]

It was because of his great respect for Shaykh Rafi' al-Din that the Khwāja, despite his poor health, attended his disciple's wedding party at A'zampūr near Bachrāwān in Bijnor. The bride was the daughter of Shaykh Muhammad 'Ārif, b. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghafūr, a disciple of the famous Chishtiyya *sūfi* Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangohi (d. 944/1537). Khwāja Bāqi Bi'llāh's attendance at Shaykh Rafi' al-Din's wedding was a great event for the local *sūfis* who came in large numbers to call on him. Later, the daughter of the bride became Shaykh Wajih al-Din's wife.

Of Shaykh Wajih al-Din's three sons, Shaykh Abū al-Ridā Muhammad is renowned for having successfully integrated the *futūwwa* and *sūfi* traditions. He is known to have resided in both Delhi and Agra. He was in Delhi during the Satnāmi revolt of May 1672,[12] apparently having left the family in Rohtak. However, it would seem that rampages of Rohtak by Durgādās in August 1679 finally prompted him to transfer the family to Delhi.[13] En route the party was protected by the Shaykh, whose courage was always remembered by the family.[14]

In Delhi the Shaykh retired from public life to become a mystic. He rejected Awrangzib's request to allow him to call on the Shaykh. Gifts from

9 Expressions made by the *sūfīs* in a state of mystic intoxication. For example Abū Yazid al-Bistāmī (d. 261/874 or 264/877-78) declared, *Subhānī! Ma a'zama shānī* ("Glory be to me! How great is my majesty"!) or al-Hallāj Abū Mansūr (244/858-309/922) declared *Ana'l Haqq* [I am (God) The Truth].

10 The *sūfīs* generally preferred the state in which they made utterances of *shath* over the state of *qabd*.

11 *Anfās*, p. 167.

12 Ibid., p. 89.

13 Ibid., p. 90. The contemporary historians do not mention this event but it is not unlikely.

14 *Anfās*, pp. 90-91.

the rich were refused, but those from such devotees as cobblers and millers were welcomed. After the Friday congregational prayers, he would deliver a sermon and fluently quote three traditions from the Prophet Muhammad which he then translated with some ability into Persian and Hindi. In his commentary on the traditions he explained their significance without any exaggeration.[15] At the beginning of his career he taught his students all subjects but towards the end of his life he restricted his teachings exclusively to Qur'ānic exegesis as taught by Baydāwī[16] and to the *hadith* lessons from the *Mishkāt al-masābih*.[17]

The Shaykh was formally initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Khwāja Khwurd,[18] Khwāja Bāqi Bi'llāh's son. Like Khwāja Khwurd, however, the Shaykh was an ardent believer in the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. In several letters to Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad,[19] a grandson of the Mujaddid, he tried to convince him that the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was the acme of *sūfi* beliefs and was far superior to the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. What is most remarkable is that both Shaykh Abū al-Ridā and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad used Hindī *dohās* by Kabir[20] (1425-1505) and other *bhakti* poets[21] to illustrate their ideas.[22]

15 *Anfās*, pp. 88.

16 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Umar al-Baydāwī (d. 685 or 692/1286 or 1292), a famous author of the Qur'ānic exegesis *Anwar al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl*, was for some time the chief *qādī* of Shīrāz. The work is the amended and condensed edition of the Qur'ānic exegesis of a Mu'tāzilī scholar, Qāsim Mahmūd al-Zamakhsharī (467/1075-538/1144) of Khwārizm.

17 *Mishkāt al-masābīh* by Walī al-Dīn (d. 747/1342) is the most popular collection of *hadīth*. In fact it is a new edition of the collection of *hadīth* made by Abū Muhammad al-Husayn al-Baghwī (d. 510/1117 or 516/1122). The work is a compendium of *hadīth* (traditions) from *Sahīhs* of Bukhārī and Muslim, and of those of other *imāms* such as Abū Dāwūd, Tirmidhī and others.

18 Khwāja 'Ubayd-Allāh, known as Khwāja Khwurd (younger Khwāja), the son of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh was born on 6 or 8 Rajab 1010/31 December 1601 or 2 January 1602. His elder brother, Khwāja 'Abd-Allāh, born of a different mother on 1 Rabī' I 1010/30 August 1601, was known as Khwāja Kalān (elder Khwāja). Khwāja Khwurd was the most ardent supporter of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, wrote several books on the subject and enthusiastically organized *samā'* gatherings at Delhi. This had made his teachings different from those of the Mujaddid. *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, pp. 332-34.

19 Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad Wahdat Sirhindī (d. 1126/1714) was the son of Shaykh Muhammad Sa'īd, the elder brother of the Mujaddid's successor Shaykh Muhammad Ma'sūm. He compiled a collection of letters (*Gulshan-ī Wahdat*, Karāchī 1966) embodying the teachings of his grandfather. (*Intibāh fī salāsil Awliyā'-Allāh*, Delhi 1311/1893-94, p. 60). Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad was known as Miyān Gul (rose). As a poet he had adopted *Wahdat* as his *nom-de-plume*. Bindrāban Dās Khwushgo, *Safīna-i Khwushgo*, Patna 1959, pp. 69-70,

20 The famous *bhaktī* poet who generally lived in Banāras.

21 *History of sūfism in India*, I, pp. 321-93.

22 *Anfās*, pp. 119-137.

Shaykh Abū al-Ridā asserted that opposition to the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was in reality due to the misunderstanding of the term itself and managed to prove his point to contemporary *sūfis* and theologians. He also believed that the concepts associated with the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* were of no use without the concurrent practice of severe ascetic exercises.[23] He would often stress that the real meaning of the *sūfi* belief of 'God as Absolute Being' was misinterpreted and that *sūfis* were consequently wrongly accused of infidelity. To them, he said, the Absolute meant Being stripped of all attributes.[24]

Shaykh Abū al-Ridā died on 17 Muharram 1102/21 October 1690. His younger brother, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm, is not known to have performed any significant exploits in the *futūwwa* tradition, although on one occasion at least he was known to have changed his *sūfi* garb for a soldier's uniform.[25] To him, the wearing of *sūfi* attire was presumptuous, but at the urging of a *majdhūb* (ecstatic) he finally reverted to the clothes of a mystic.[26]

Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm was born about 1056/1646-47. As a child he studied under his elder brother but later studied the more advanced works on *kalām* and rationalism under the guidance of Mīrzā Zāhid Harawī[27] at Agra. The Mīrzā was also interested in *sūfism* and strengthened the Shāh's hereditary spiritual interests.[28]

An anecdote concerning Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm as a young man depicts him in a compassionate light. On a cold, rainy night, while out riding with a servant he was alerted by a whining dog to the plight of a puppy, drowning in the deep mud of an Agra street. The Shāh rescued the puppy, then washed it carefully with some warm water. Food was acquired from a baker's shop and the puppy was fed. The Shāh then turned to the people who had gathered to see what was happening and asked if someone would take the little animal. If not, he said, he would care for it himself. The baker decided to accept and the puppy was handed into his care.[29]

The Shāh wished to become the disciple of Khwāja Khwurd[30] but on the latter's suggestion he began as a disciple of Hāfiz Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh

23 *Anfās*, p. 100.
24 Ibid., pp. 116-17.
25 Ibid., pp. 150-51.
26 Ibid., p. 31.
27 Supra, p. 66.
28 *Anfās*, pp. 14, 32-34.
29 *Anfās*, p. 48.
30 According to Shāh Walī-Allāh, Khwāja Khwurd gave him three lessons and told him that since his maternal uncle, Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn had only taught him three lessons, he (the Khwāja) could not teach the Shāh any more than that. Shāh Walī-Allāh gives an interesting account of Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn's concern for Khwāja Khwurd's education. One of the Shaykh's sons was exceedingly handsome. Khwāja Khwurd

Akbarābādi, a Bārhā Sāyyid and the *khalifa* of Shaykh Ādam Banūrī.[31] After the Hāfiz's death the Shāh became the disciple of Khalifa Abu'l Qāsim Akbarābādi. Like the Khalifa, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim also led an ascetic life.

Between 1075/1664 and 1083/1672, at the time that the *Fatāwa al-'Ālamgiriyya* was being compiled, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim was unemployed. One of the compilers of the work, Mullā Hāmid, had been a class fellow of Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim in Mirzā Zāhid's seminary. He asked him to help on the work and for his pains a daily allowance was promised. At first the Shāh refused the offer. Then, at his mother's insistence, he relented. His *pir* Khalifa Abu'l Qāsim, was angry and ordered him to refuse it again. To resolve the impasse, the Shāh asked his *pir* to pray that he might be dismissed so that his mother would not blame him. This in fact was what happened, the Emperor cancelling the stipend and offering him land as *madad-i ma'āsh*. This the Shāh also declined.[32]

At the Khalifa's suggestion the Shāh travelled around Agra and Delhi, visiting the *majdhūbs* and *sūfis* living in the region, but making Delhi his base. As a Naqshbandiyya of the school of Khwāja Bāqi Bi'llāh, he saw no objection to visiting the Chishtiyya tombs in Delhi to receive grace.[33]

(*F. N.* 30 *Contd.*)
went to the Shaykh's house on the pretext of learning something about *sūfism* from a book he took with him. His real intention however was to seek the company of the Shaykh's son. The Shaykh intuitively guessed the Khwāja's intentions but out of deference for the latter's father, showed great respect to the Khwāja and discussed something about *sūfism* with him, eventually calling for his son to come and spend some time with Khwāja Khwurd. The Khwāja was ashamed but next day he again went to the Shaykh's house with the same intention. The Shaykh again entertained the Khwāja but the teacher's courtesies destroyed the pupil's passion for his son. The third day the Khwāja again went to the Shaykh's house with genuinely pious intentions of learning *sūfism*. The Shaykh taught the Khwāja with great interest but concluding the lesson informed the Khwāja that because of respect for his father (Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh) he would prefer going to Khwāja Khwurd's house to teach him rather than the other way round. As a compromise the Shaykh pointed out a quiet place in the mosque of Fīrūz Shāh where meditation on any lessons would help to solve his problems. *Anfās*, pp. 15-16.

31 Shaykh Ādam who lived in Banūr near Sirhind was first initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Hājjī Khidr Khān Afghān, a disciple of the Mujaddid, but afterwards he sat at the feet of the Mujaddid himself. He wrote several books explaining the teachings of the Mujaddid. He is known to have initiated a large number of Afghāns as his disciples. Considering Shaykh Ādam's large following a threat to the empire, the Emperor banished him to Mecca in 1642-43. At Mecca Shaykh Ādam Banūrī's lectures on the Mujaddid's teachings, greatly upset the *'ulamā'* and the *sūfīs* of the Muslim holy land. Although Shaykh Ādam had some followers there, the majority became his opponents. Among his disciples in Arabia were *sūfīs* and *'ulamā'* of different ethnic groups such as Turks, Kurds, Afghāns and Indians, who had settled in Mecca and Medina.

32 *Anfās*, pp. 20-4.

33 Ibid., pp. 27-31.

Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm had no source of income and any *futūh* (unsolicited gift) received by him was often meagre. On the occasion of one *'urs* of the Prophet Muhammad (12 Rabi' I) he could not arrange to have any food cooked as a *niyāz* (offering), due to his penury. He, therefore, made an offering of roasted pulse and brown sugar. That evening in a vision, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm saw the Prophet with a mountain of tempting food before him, yet he happily partook of some of the Shāh's humble offering, distributing the rest among his companions. Shāh Walī-Allāh commented that such stories were also told of other holy men and that possibly this one might have been a repetition of the earlier tales.[34]

Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm's confidence in his own understanding and knowledge of Ibn al-'Arabi's *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was so great that he claimed he could convince the spiritual élite of its truth through evidence contained in the Qur'ān and *hadith*. Nevertheless he avoided public discussion of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, for he believed most of his contemporaries inferior to the task of realistically following this belief and therefore likely to fall into blasphemy and infidelity.[35] In one of his Hindi *dohās* he explained the Unity of Being this way :

Beloved existed before the creation; now there is creation but Beloved is untraceable;
Rahīm wishes to join the Beloved in the manner rain drops join the ocean.[36]

According to his own intuition, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm believed he himself had obtained a very high mystic level and was the *Qayyūm*[37] of the Universe and that every particle of matter was connected to him.[38] Naturally such a claim conflicted with the assertion of the Mujaddid, who had informed his son, Shaykh Muhammad Ma'sūm, that God had appointed him (Shaykh Ma'sūm) to be the *Qayyūm*; from that time, such

34 *Anfās*, p. 42.
35 Ibid., p. 80.
36 Ibid., p. 81.
37 According to the *sūfīs* all religions and worldly affairs of the universe are controlled by a hierarchy of *walīs* (protégés of God). The lowest among them are the *akhyār*, numbering three hundred; above them are forty *abdāls*, and above the *abdāls* are seven *abrārs*, above the *abrārs* are four *awtāds*, and above the *awtāds* are three *nuqaba'*. Above all is one *qutb*.
According to the Mujaddid the *Qayyūm* was even higher than *qutb* and obtained inspirations directly from the Prophet. *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, II, no. 74. The Mujaddid claimed he was the first *Qayyūm*, and his son and successor Khwāja Muhammad Ma'sūm, was the second *Qayyūm*. To the Mujaddidiyya the office of the *Qayyūm* was hereditary.
38 *Anfās*, p. 35.

status came to be claimed by the descendants of Shaykh Muhammad Ma'sūm as their special prerogative.[39] Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm also claimed that he had received divine instructions that his spiritual descendants would survive until the Day of Resurrection.[40]

Shāh Wali-Allāh ascribes innumerable supernatural feats to his father. According to him, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm constantly had visions. Once, he saw the Prophet Muhammad offering him an Indian dish of sweetmeats.[41] Another time he saw Hasan and Husayn (Prophet Muhammad's grandsons) travelling on an Indian bullock cart entirely composed of rubies, moving supernaturally without the aid of an animal. They offered the Shāh a lift, but he refrained out of respect for them. They made a joke of it and bundled him into the cart. Reaching their house, Hasan and Husayn introduced the Shāh to their father, 'Alī.[42] Shah 'Abd al-Rahīm also saw Khwāja [Bahā' al-Dīn] Naqshband, the founder of the Naqshbandiyya, Khwāja Mu'in al-Dīn, the founder of the Chishtiyya, and Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (470/1077-78-561/1166), the founder of the Qādiriyya orders, in a dream, and received from them extensive spiritual blessings.[43]

Shāh Wali-Allāh claimed his father's prayers brought rain to drought-stricken Delhi. Through mystic intuition he could distinguish the graves of the *yogis* from those of other mystics because, according to him, the former were filled with fire.[44] Once, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm's father fell seriously ill at Agra. For one entire week there was a great downpour of rain. Intuitively, the Shāh realized that the house in which he and his family were living would collapse at any time. Although it was extremely difficult to find accommodation at the time, owing to the presence of the imperial army in the city, the Shāh managed to rent the house of a Hindū which was reportedly haunted by the spirit of a *yogi* magician. As his father needed shelter and care, however, he was obliged to take it. A war then ensued between the evil spirit of the *yogi* and the Shāh's own spirit which resulted in the eviction of the former.[45]

The only recorded occasion on which Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm's miraculous powers failed is worth mentioning. It was during Emperor Awrangzīb's march to Hasan Abdāl, to crush the Afghān rebellion there. The

39 Muhammad Hāshim Kishmī, *Dhubdat al-maqāmāt,* Lucknow 1885, pp. 312-13; *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī,* III, letter no. 104; *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Muhammad M'asūm,* Kanpur, n.d. letter no. 86; *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India,* pp. 377-04.

40 *Anfās,* p.37.

41 Ibid., p. 38.

42 Ibid., pp. 41-42.

43 Ibid., pp. 43-44.

44 Ibid., p. 47.

45 Ibid., p. 60.

uprising had commenced in 1667 but the worsening of the situation prompted the Emperor to join his troops in June 1674. Some of the Delhi population, concerned for the fate of the imperial army, asked Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm to pray for a favourable outcome of the war. Although he attempted to do so, the form of an old man kept appearing before him. Later, the Shāh learnt that Hājjī Yār Muhammad, an eminent *khalīfa* of Shaykh Ādam Banūrī [an eminent disciple of the Mujaddid] had gone over to the Afghān side. The great spirit of the Hājjī being too strong an opponent for his own, the Shāh was consequently unable to help the Emperor on this occasion.[46]

Towards the end of his life, the Shāh prophesied Prince A'zam's defeat. He predicted Farrukhsiyar's success as long as he himself lived. Shāh Wali-Allāh implies that no harm came to the Emperor during Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm's lifetime and, as mentioned earlier, he lost his life in tragic circumstances some four months after the Shāh's own death.[47]

Perhaps the most remarkable decision taken by the Shāh towards the end of his life was to remarry at the age of sixty. Although he had already fathered one son, he answered his critics by saying that he felt divinely inspired to produce more offspring. His choice was a daughter of his pupil, Shāykh Muhammad of Phalit [Muzaffarnagar district of the western U.P.].

Shaykh Muhammad's ancestors came from Sidhor, east of Lucknow, the dissemination of Islamic knowledge was their profession. One of them, Shaykh Ahmad b. Yūsuf, became a favourite of Sultān Sikandar Lodī and was awarded as a *madad-i ma'āsh* some villages around Phalit, near the region inhabited by the Bārhā Sayyids. The grant became the starting point for the development of a Sunnī theological and mystical region near the Shi'i Bārhā one. Many other *sūfis* and *'ālims* also began to settle there.

Shaykh Abu'l-Fath bin Shaykh Farīd, a grandson of Shaykh Ahmad Yūsuf's brother, Shaykh Mahmūd, acquired a very high standard in theological education and then became a disciple of the famous *sūfi*, Shaykh Nizām of Nārnol (d. 997/1588-9),[48] whose educational attainments as compared with his disciple's were very poor. Shaykh Abu'l-Fath wrote a treatise on the prayers recited by the *sūfis*. He was succeeded by his own son, Shaykh Abu'l-Fadl, who was also a reputed teacher. Shaykh Abu'l-Fadl's elder son, Shaykh Abu'l-Karam, who had become a soldier, tried to assert his right to succeed his father, but Shaykh Abu'l-Fadl's orders, conveyed to one of his servants in a dream, prompted his

46 *Anfās.*, p. 62.
47 Ibid., p. 62.
48 A famous Chishtiyya *sūfī* of the Gwālior and Nārnol region. *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, III, pp. 26-27.

disciples to appoint a *sūfi*, Shaykh Muhammad 'Āqil instead.[49] Shaykh Abu'l-Karam, finding *khānqāh* life not very much to his liking, reverted to soldiering and the dispute of succession ended. Shaykh Muhammad 'Āqil's bounties attracted many students to the *khānqāh* which became famous in the region.

Shaykh Muhammad 'Āqil's son, Shaykh Muhammad, was very promising and made rapid progress under the tutelage firstly of Shaykh Abū al-Ridā Muhammad and then under Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim, becoming the lifelong companion of the latter. Hearing of the Shāh's intention to marry he offered the hand of his daughter to his teacher. After his marriage, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim stayed frequently in Phalit. Shaykh Muhammad's son 'Ubayd-Allāh and the latter's son, Shaykh Muhammad 'Āshiq, obtained considerable religious and spiritual benefits from the Shāh.[50]

On Wednesday the 4th Shawwāl 1114/21 February 1703, a son was born to Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim at Phalit. The baby was called Ahmad, and nicknamed Wali-Allāh (God's protégé). Later the name Qutb al-Din was added, because Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim had a revelation while on a visit to the tomb of Khwāja Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyār Kāki, the great Delhi saint, that a son would be born to him. Thus the lad was often called Qutb al-Din Ahmad Wali-Allāh, although it was by his nickname, which he himself used frequently, that he was later to become famous.

When exactly Wali-Allāh's father, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim, moved permanently to Delhi from Agra is unknown, although it may have been long before his second marriage. The family lived in a house in the district of Kotlā Fīrūz Shāh, where the Shāh also ran a seminary. He was something of a mystical if prudent teacher. His curriculum was not too different from the traditional syllabus studied by the '*ulamā*', but the *kalām* and rationalism of Mirzā Zāhid Harawi were reconciled with *sūfism*, *fiqh* and *hadith*. He also encouraged his pupils, including his son, Wali-Allāh, to study the treatises of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. The *Lawā'ih*, the *Sharh-i Rubā'iyāt* and the *Muqaddama* of the *Sharh-i Rubā'iyāt*, all by the famous *sūfi*-poet Mullā Nūr al-Din 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmi (817/1414-898/1492), were treated at great length. *Naqd al-Nusūs*, also by Mullā Jāmi, a commentary on the *Fusūs al-hikam*, was another favourite text. Nevertheless, he advised his disciples not to oppose orthodox Sunni ideas publicly, even though they felt them to be incorrect.[51]

Never was the Shāh known to call at the house of a noble, although he would receive them with courtesy if they called on him. If he found it necessary to advise someone who had broken the laws of the *Shari'a*, he did

49 *Anfās*, pp. 169-70.
50 Ibid., p. 171-75.
51 *Al-Juz' al-latīf fi tarjama 'abd al-da'īf*, published as an appendix to *Anfās*, p. 193.

so gently.[52] For some time after the death of his elder brother, Shaykh Abū al-Ridā, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm, at the request of some friends, undertook to deliver public lectures in which he discussed the *Mishkāt*, the *Tanbīh al-ghāfilin*,[53] and the *Ghunyat al-tālibin*.[54] Later his lectures were based on ideas contained in the Qur'ān. Finally, due to increasing age he gave up lecturing altogether. Like most dedicated *sūfis* he persisted with his praying and fasting even during serious illness. He died on Wednesday 12 Safar 1131/4 January 1719.[55]

By the time of Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm's death, the education of his precocious son Shāh Walī-Allāh had been completed. It had begun at five, and by the age of eight the boy had read the whole of the Qur'ān. After this he learnt Persian and by the age of ten was studying the *Sharh-i Mullā*.[56] He continued to show progress in the traditional forms of Islamic education. Besides learning *hadith* from his father, Shāh Walī-Allāh attended the lectures given by Shaykh Muhammad Afdal Siālkoti. When he was fourteen, Shāh Walī-Allāh's father decided the boy should marry. This was despite the objections of the intended wife's parents, who thought they were unprepared financially for such an early marriage. Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm argued strongly that he was mainly prompted by considerations which emanated from a divine source. Immediately after the wedding a series of calamities and deaths ensued. So disturbed was the Shāh's father at this sequence of events that he fell ill and his own death followed three years later. In his work *al-Juz' al-latif* Shāh Walī-Allāh implied that if these events had been foreseen the wedding would probably not have taken place.

Family tragedies did not undermine Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm's interest in his son's education, however. A year after the boy's marriage, his father initiated him into the Naqshbandiyya branch of Khwāja Khwurd and Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh, which was radically different from the Mujaddidiyya branch of the same order. Shāh Walī-Allāh was also initiated by his father into the Qādiriyya and the Chishtiyya orders but he remained predomin-

52 *Anfās*, p. 82.

53 A famous work on moral precepts based on the Qur'ān and *hadīth* written by Abū al-Layth Nasr bin Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Samarqandī. The author was born in 290/902; his date of death is given differently by his biographers as 373/983, 375/985, 383/993, 393/1002-3.

54 A work on religious duties by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, the founder of the Qādirīyya order.

55 *Anfās*, pp. 83-85.

56 *Al-Kāfiya* dealing with Arabic syntax, written by Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān bin 'Umar (d. 646/1249), the famous grammarian and *faqīh* of Egypt, was very popular in Arabic seminaries. A large number of scholars wrote commentaries on it, the most popular in Indian seminaries being *Al-fawā'id al-Dīya'iya* by Mullā Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, nicknamed *Sharh-i Mullā*.

antly a Naqshbandiyya of Khwāja Khwurd's school[57] Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim organized a grand feast to celebrate his son's inception into the ranks of independent teachers. Shāh Wali-Allāh says that by the age of fifteen he had already studied many important works on *tafsir*, *hadith*, *kalām* and *fiqh*.[58]

After Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim's death, the responsibilities of his father's seminary fell to Shāh Wali-Allāh. Between the ages of seventeen and twenty-nine he worked almost exclusively as a teacher, although he still continued to study. Some of the works he read were the principles of *fiqh* of all four Sunni schools and the works of *hadith* on which they were based. This made him a *faqih-muhaddith*, a master of jurisprudence and a traditionalist combined. He also made a practice of meditating on his father's grave and this reportedly widened his understanding of mysticism.

Twelve years of deep involvement with teaching followed, accompanied by studying and meditation. Then the Shāh decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. This he did in 1143/April 1731, also visiting Medina. His stay in Mecca coincided with the education of Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1115/1703-1201/1787) from Najdat al-'Uyaina, who was the Hanbali founder of the puritanical form of Sunnism later known as Wahhābism. The two men had different teachers though, and in fact there is no evidence to suggest that they ever met each other.

Of all Shāh Wali-Allāh's teachers the most important was Shaykh Abū Tāhir Muhammad bin Ibrāhim al-Kurdi al-Madani (d. Ramadān 1145/ February-March 1733).[59] The Shaykh ascribed the contradictions in the traditions of works such as the *Sahih al-Bukhāri* to the universality of the nature of the Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, he argued, jurists and scholars of *hadith* interpreted the same tradition in a different way. Shaykh Abū Tāhir was also deeply concerned about the enmity existing between leading *sūfis* which he believed they passed on to their followers, thus perpetuating the animosity. He himself had been initiated into all the significant *sūfi* orders of the time and he handed down to his pupil, Shāh Wali-Allāh, their respective *khirqas*.[60]

Another important teacher in Mecca mentioned by the Shāh, was Shaykh Tāj al-Din Qal'i Hanafi, a *mufti* of Mecca who had attended the lectures of many scholars of *hadith*. Shāh Wali-Allāh also attended his talks given on the *Sahih al-Bukhāri* and other *hadith* works. For his efforts he obtained a certificate dated 1144/1731-32.[61]

The impact of these teachers on Shāh Wali-Allāh confirmed in him

57 *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, pp. 332-34; *Anfās*, p. 6. *Tafhīmāt al-Ilāhiyya*, Haydarābād (Sind) 1970, I, pp. 11-14, 113-115, II, p. 167.
58 *Al-juz' al-latīf* (*Anfās*), pp. 193-96.
59 *Anfās*, pp. 189-90.
60 Ibid., pp. 191-92.
61 Ibid., pp. 192-93.

his earlier training as a scholar and *sūfi* under his father, and his belief in his own destiny as a great religious reformer and leader. This belief was strengthened by the recurring visions he experienced during his sleep, of the Prophet, his family and companions. At other times during the day he also believed he received direct revelations from God about the sort of lead he was destined to give to his contemporaries and to posterity in general. The Shāh himself explained that holy dreams were merely the manifestation of forms and ideas previoulsy conceived by the dreamer. Taking the blind and the deaf as an example, he said that in their dreams, those born blind still did not see forms or colours, although their other senses still functioned normally in the dream state. Similarly, deaf people did not hear sound in their dreams, their impressions being restricted to those of sight and touch. In the same way, divine guidance (*tadalli*) was revealed in forms taken for granted by human beings. In the *Ham'āt* the Shāh ascribes one's strange mystical experiences to a holy man's ascension from the stage of *nāsūt* (the world of humanity) to *malakūt* (the psychic domain existing between the realm of the spirit and the physical world). He himself claimed to have identified the Prophet Muhammad's spirit in several different forms, such as elegance, grandeur or love.[62]

The detailed account of the dreams and revelations which Shāh Wali-Allāh recorded several years after his return from Mecca and Medina tend to show that he was inspired to become both a religious and a political leader. Through what he considered a divine inspiration he also came to believe that divine guidance had been personified in his own existence, that his name was Zaki (pious) and that he was the 'omega' of all knowledge. Therefore he was raised to the status of a *mujaddid* (renewer of Islām), a *wasi* (executor of the divine will), a *qutb* (pivot of faith), and an *imām* (leader) along the *sūfic* path.[63]

On 10 Safar 1144/14 August 1731 the Shāh claims to have had a vision in which he saw the two grandsons of Muhammad, Hasan and Husayn, visiting his house. In his hand Hasan held a pen originally owned by the Prophet, the point of which was broken. Offering it to the Shāh he asked him to wait till it could be repaired to its original form by Husayn. The Shāh expressed great pleasure. To this gift was added the Prophet Muhammad's green and white patterned scarf which Husayn put over the Shāh's head, but the Shāh, wishing to show respect to the Prophet Muhammad placed it on Husayn's head.[64]

In his various visions the Shāh claims to have asked the Prophet a

62 Shāh Walī-Allāh, *Fuyūd al-Haramayn* (Urdū translation by Muhammad Sarwar entitled *Mushāhadāt wa ma'ārif*, Lahore 1947, pp. 89-93; *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 113-115, 133, 142, 160, II, pp. 59,145, 150, 160, 179, 184-186.

63 *Fuyūd*, pp. 127, 229-239, 297-98; *Tafhīmāt*, II, pp. 59, 112, 137, 145, 150, 160.

64 *Fuyūd*, pp. 99-100.

number of questions. The answers he received were clarified by the Shāh in his many works. As he wrote he believed he was using the Prophet's pen. According to the Shāh, the Prophet considered all the four legal schools of equal importance, without favouring the followers of any one of them.[65] Nevertheless, the Prophet expressed displeasure at the issues which were a constant source of friction between Muslims. Of the teaching of the four schools, it was suggested that the one whose ideas were the most compatible with the authentic *ahādith* (plural of *hadith*), was the most legitimate. He was also ordered by the Prophet not to try to go beyond the limits of the four schools of Sunni theology, although he himself disliked *taqlid* (the adherence to the rulings of the earlier jurists).[66] Similarly, the Shāh was told that the Prophet assigned equal importance to all the schools of *sūfism*.[67] In another vision the Shāh saw himself appointed as arbitrator in the dispute between followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*, and his decisions, he asserted, were to be accepted by both parties.[68]

In yet another vision, Shāh Wali-Allāh was ordered by the Prophet to give precedence to Abū Bakr and 'Umar over 'Ali, despite his own preference and love for 'Ali. He ascribed this conflict in himself to the universality of his own nature and expressed the desire that conflict be eliminated.[69] During this vision the Shāh said to the Prophet that, as 'Ali was the first *sūfi*, ecstatic and saint of Islām, he wished to be reassured of the superiority of Abū Bakr and 'Umar over 'Ali. The Prophet Muhammad's reply was that superiority depended upon matters related to Prophethood, and to the dissemination of knowledge in helping people to become obedient to the faith. The achieving of ecstasy and *fanā'* (extinction of the individuality in Essence) were only minor accomplishments, whereas Abū Bakr and 'Umar had dedicated themselves fully to matters relating to Prophethood. Although 'Ali was a close relation of the Prophet and both a great saint and ecstatic, the Prophet himself loved Abū Bakr and 'Umar more.[70]

On another occasion, in a dream Shāh Wali-Allāh sought permission from the Prophet Muhammad to contradict the *'ulamā'* of the two holy cities who had refused the ideas which had been expressed by members of the *sūfi* movement. Permission was denied. The Prophet Muhammad explained this by saying that it was the responsibility of the *'ulamā'* to disseminate knowledge and to see to the continual purification of Islām to the best of their ability. These duties endeared them to the Prophet more

65 *Fuyūd*, pp. 124-25.
66 Ibid., pp. 124-25, 226.
67 Ibid., pp. 125-26.
68 Ibid., pp. 53-57, 197-202.
69 Ibid., p. 228.
70 Ibid., pp. 183-85.

than the *sūfis* who were engrossed in their own individual experiences of *fanā'* and *baqā'*[71] (the opposite of *fanā'*, or abiding in God).

In another dream, the Shāh saw himself given the mission of re-establishing the waning political superiority of Islām over India. The vision is dated 21 Dhu'lqa'da 1144/16 May 1732. He believed he was the *Qā'im al-Zamān*,[72] an instrument of the Divine Will, who helped restore righteousness to the world. In the same vision he saw that the king of the *kāfirs* had seized Muslim towns, plundered their wealth and enslaved their children. Earlier the king had introduced infidelity amongst the faithful and banished Islamic practices. Such a situation infuriated Allāh and made Him angry with His creatures. The Shāh then witnessed the expression of His fury in the *mala' a'lā'*[73] which in turn gave rise to the Shāh's own wrath. Then the Shāh found himself amongst a gathering of racial groups such as Turks, Uzbeks and Arabs, some riding camels, others horses. They seemed to him very like pilgrims in the 'Arafāt.[74] The Shāh's temper exasperated the pilgrims who began to question him about the nature of the divine command. This was the point, he answered, from which all worldly organization would begin to disintegrate and revert to anarchy (*fakk kull nizām*). When asked how long such a situation would continue, Shāh Walī-Allāh's reply was until Allāh's anger had subsided. Instantly the pilgrims started fighting amongst themselves; then they either injured or killed their camels. Shāh Walī-Allāh and the pilgrims then travelled from town to town, slaughtering the infidels in the same manner in which the latter had earlier killed Muslims. Ultimately they reached Ajmīr, slaughtered the non-believers there, liberated the town and imprisoned the infidel king. Then the Shāh saw the imprisoned infidel king with the Muslim army, led by its king, who then ordered that the infidel monarch be killed. The bloody slaughter prompted the Shāh to say that divine mercy was on the side of the Muslims. However, when asked what would happen to those Muslims who were fighting amongst themselves, the Shāh avoided a direct answer.[75]

Modern Muslim scholars interpret the above dream as foretelling the internecine wars of the Muslim rulers of India, the dominance of Hindūs over the sub-continent and the ultimate massacre of the Hindūs by Ahmad Shāh Durrāni. However, this does not have any historical basis.

71 *Fuyūd*, pp. 179-81.

72 Preserver of the worldly order.

73 Supreme angel and the spirits of the prophets and other eminent spiritualists who inhabit the ontological realm where objects and events are shaped before appearing on earth. *Tafhīmāt*, I, 83, 87, 111, 112, 114, 124, 134, 135, 142, 148, 149, 167, 175, 176, 191, 220, 223, 235, 240, 263-68.

74 The plain of 'Arafāt southwards from the hill of 'Arafāt, about twelve miles to the east of Mecca. There the pilgrims assemble on the ninth of Dhu'lhijja.

75 *Fuyūd al-Haramayn*, (Urdū translation), pp. 297-99.

The claims made by Shāh Walī-Allāh relating to his unique and privileged role in the rejuvenation of Islām in India are not confined to the dreams and inspirations which he described in the *Fuyūd al-Haramayn*. In another mystical work entitled *Tafhimāt-i Ilāhiyya* he makes several extensive claims. For instance, he says that God led him to believe that he was the chief *imām* in the journey along the *sūfi* path. God had closed all earthly paths leading to the Divine except for one, which was achieved only through obedience to and love of the Shāh. His enemies could obtain no benefit either in heaven or on earth. Moreover, everyone inhabiting the East and the West were his subjects and the Shāh was their king. If people knew this they would prosper spiritually. If not, their loss would be great.

Again in the same work, Shāh Walī-Allāh wrote that God had inspired him to tell people that the age in which they lived was under the Shāh's control. Not to walk under his banner, he said, would bring shame.[76] Further, he claimed that one of the special divine favours he had received was his appointment as final spokesman of the last cycle of the world. He was, moreover, the world's philosopher, leader and surety.[77]

Again in the *Tafhimāt*, Shāh Walī-Allāh asserted that it was because of his saintly nature that he had been able to remove contradictions and conflicts from Islamic interpretation (*tatbiq*).[78]

The Shāh's other works also contain similar claims. However, he took care to add thanks to God for His grace in enabling him to attain such an exalted role. He also mentioned that his belief in that role did not emanate from a sense of pride. Not only to the reader acquainted with *sūfi* humility did these claims appear incredible, but a most orthodox Muslim purist from Pākistān has the following comments to offer:

> '...I am accused of refusing to believe in the innocence of the eminent religious heads of the past; but if I feel their statements to be incorrect, I shall not hesitate to call a spade a spade. I shudder to be too outspoken in this manner, lest another charge be added to my charge sheet. But, as one must subordinate the fear of the world to the fear of God, I cannot help saying, irrespective of what the world might say, that it is certainly one of the wrong actions on the part of these two sages (Shāh Walī-Allāh and Mujaddid Sirhindi) to personally proclaim of their being *mujaddid* and to repeatedly explain this viewpoint on the basis of divine revelations and inspirations... If a man is able to render some service towards renovating the faith, he must

76 *Tafhimāt*, I, pp. 37, 45, 110, 115, 133, II, pp. 15, 24, 59, 78, 81, 89, 112, 137, 145, 150, 160, 167, 178, 184.
77 Ibid., II, pp. 160, 178, 181.
78 Ibid., II, pp. 174-76.

perform it ungrudgingly, leaving it to God to judge his actions and to assign him a place accordingly in Heaven. The real place of a man is the one which the Almighty affords him after judging his bona-fide actions, and not that which he claims for himself or which others may give him. It is not a good thing to coin titles and epithets for one's own self and to assertively describe them or to boast of the *maqāmāt* (mystic stages) one has reached.'[79]

**The Works of Shāh Walī-Allāh**

Before he left for Mecca and Medina, Shāh Walī-Allāh's preoccupation with studies and teaching gave him little leisure to complete even the Persian translation of the Qur'ān which he had planned. He was able to translate two chapters only and possibly had written two potential treatises. From the time of his return to Delhi on 14 Rajab 1145/31 December 1732, to his death on 29 Muharram 1176/30 August 1762 he completely dedicated himself to literary activities and teaching. In order to relieve himself of the routine tasks in his father's seminary he trained one or two specialists in the various branches of religious knowledge to take over, while he devoted his energies to advanced lectures on spiritual matters and the writing of books. It would seem that before he left on pilgrimage, and possibly after his return, his financial condition was very poor. He had no money to purchase even the *Sihāh Sitta*, the *Sharh Nuwāwī* and the *Tanqih Sharh Bukhāri* which someone was selling, let alone the house he so earnestly wished to buy.[80]

Between 1732 and 1736 the Marāthas regularly ransacked Mālwa and in April 1737 Bāji Rāo attacked Delhi, rendering life there utterly miserable. It was only after the arrival of Nizām al-Mulk in July 1737 that the confidence of the Muslims of Delhi returned, and Shāh Walī-Allāh seems to have become Nizām al-Mulk's friend. Possibly Muhammad Shāh, at Nizām al-Mulk's recommendation, offered him a huge mansion near the Jāmi' mosque in the heart of Shāhjahānābād or old Delhi. Shāh Walī-Allāh and his family lived in the house, while using most of it as a seminary. A mosque was also attached and became a place of meditation for the Shāh and his associates. The seminary became an important centre of advanced Sunni learning in northern India for about a century, managed by the descendants and disciples of Shāh Walī-Allāh. In the first year of 'Ālamgīr II's reign 51 *bighās* of land were granted to Shāh Walī-Allāh in Haveli Pālam for the *madrasa*.[81]

79 Abu'l A'la' Mawdūdī, *Tajdīd wa ihyā'-i dīn*, Rāmpūr 1954, pp. 162-63.

80 *Maktūbāt Shāh Walī-Allāh*, Rāmpūr Ms., letter to Shaykh Muhammad 'Āshiq, no. 15.

81 Bashīr al-Dīn Ahmad Dihlawī, *Wāqi'āt-i dār al-hukūmat Dihlī*, II, Agra 1919, pp. 173-74; Proceedings of the Governor General in Council in the Political Deptt. under date the 16th July 1807, Panjāb State Archives, Lahore.

The Shāh's writings cover all branches of traditional Islamic learning, such as Qur'ānic translation, its rules and the principles of the interpretation of the Qur'ān, *hadith*, *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *kalām* (scholasticism), *munāzara* (religious polemics), *'aqā'id* (Sunni beliefs), *sūfism*, biographies, poetry and religious and political correspondence. Some authors put his works at over two hundred, although Abū Muhammad Rahim Bakhsh, an early biographer of Shāh Walī-Allāh, puts the number at forty-five.[82] The number of known titles is about seventy but about half of these works are only short treatises of four to five pages. Even more difficult is the task of determining their dates, for only a few contain such specifics. The certificates the Shāh gave to some of his pupils also contain the titles and dates of some of his works. Lastly, the reference in some books to earlier works also helps to assess the date at which they were written by the Shāh.

Works written before 1143/1731 include :

1. The Arabic translation of the *Radd-i Rawāfid* of the Mujaddid.
2. The *Radd* (refutation) of the *Gawhar-i Murād* by Mullā 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhiji (d. 1071/1661), a disciple of Mullā Sadra.

Works written between 1145/1732 to 1151/1738-39 are :

1. *Al Qawl al-jamil fi sawā' al-sabil* (Arabic), written before Jumāda II 1146/December 1733. The work discusses the different *sūfi* orders, criticizes some *sūfi* practices and beliefs of the Chishtiyyas and explains the significance of *bay'a* (initiation into the *sūfi* order), the *awrād* (litanies), rules of *dhikr* (recollection), and sermons and different invocations for overcoming pain, and problems such as theft etc.
2. *Fuyūd al-Haramayn* (Arabic), written before Jumāda II 1146/December 1733, containing autobiographical reminiscences and the spiritual benefits received by the author in Mecca and Medina.
3. *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha*, the author's *magnum opus* in Arabic. The idea to write the *Hujjat* came to the Shāh as a divine inspiration in Mecca, and it was completed in Delhi at the urgent request of his disciple and friend, Shaykh Muhammad 'Āshiq, the son of Shāh Walī-Allāh's maternal uncle, Shaykh 'Ubayd-Allāh. The work examines aspects of the development of *hadith*, *fiqh*, *kalām* and the reasons for the rules of the *Shari'a*.
4. *Anfās al-'ārifin* (Persian), biographies of his ancestors, mainly of his father and uncle and their teachings; notes on some scholars and *sūfis* of Mecca and Medina. Following seven treatises available as independent works are in fact different sections of the *Anfās*.
   a. *Bawāriq al-wilāyat*, biography of Shāh 'Abd al-Rahim.

82 Mawlānā Rahīm Bakhsh Dihlawī, *Hayāt-i Walī*, Delhi n. d., pp. 296-317

b. *Shawāriq al-ma'rifat*, biography of Shaykh Abū al-Ridā Muhammad.
c. *Al-imdād fi ma'athir al-ajdād*, biographies of Shah Wali-Allāh's other relations.
d. *Al-nabidhat al-abriziyya fi al-latifat al-'aziziyya*, biographical account of the ancestors of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz.
e. *Al-'atiyat al-'amdina fi anfās al-Muhammadiyya*, biography of Shaykh Muhammad Phaltī.
f. *Al-insān al-'ayn fi mashā'ikh al-Haramayn*, biographical account of the *sūfis* and scholars of Mecca and Medina.
g. *Al-juz' al-latif fi tarjamat al-'abd al-da'if*; Shāh Wali-Allah's own autobiography.

5. *Lamahāt* in Persian, discussion on Being, Reality, and the mystical relations of the Divinity with the universe.
6. *Lama'āt* on *sūfism*.
7. *Altāf al-quds* (Persian). *Sūfism*.
8. *Hama'āt* (Arabic), historical development of *sūfism* and its practices, written in 1148/1735-36.
9. *Fath al-Rahmān* (Persian), translation of the Qur'ān, completed in Sha'bān 1151/November 1738.
10. *'Atyab al-naghm fi madh Sayyid al-'Arab wa'l 'Ajam*, an Arabic *qasida* (ode) on the Prophet Muhammad, written on 24 Rabi' II 1150/21 August 1737.
11. *Qasida-i Na'tiyya Hamziyya*, an Arabic ode on the Prophet Muhammad written in 1151/1738-39

Works written from 1152/1739-40 to 1160/1747 :

1. *Al-Musawwa*, an Arabic commentary on the *Kitāb al-Muwatta* of Abū 'Abd-Allāh Mālik bin Anas (d. 179/795), the earliest surviving compendium of Muslim law and practices, based on the *ijmā'* (agreement) of the *'ulamā'* of Medina.
2. *Al-intibāh fi salāsil awliyā' Allāh wa asānid wārithi Rasūl-Allāh*, an account of different *sūfi* orders, written in Persian.
3. *Al-Fawz al-Kabir fi usūl al-tafsir*, principles of the Qur'ānic exegesis and a discussion on the abrogation of certain verses of the Qur'ān *nāsikh* and *mansūkh*. (Persian).
4. *Muqaddima dar fann-i tarjama-i Qur'ān*, rules for the guidance of the translators of the Qur'ān, in Persian.
5. *Tāwil al-ahādith*, the relevance of *ahādith* to the Qur'ān and their interpretation. (Arabic).
6. *Qurrat al-'aynayn fi tafdil al-Shaykhayn*, discussions relating to the superiority of the first two caliphs and the theory that their souls were intermingled with the light emanating from the soul of the Prophet Muhammad (Persian).

7. *Izālat al-khofā' 'an khilāfat al-khulafā'*, a more detailed discussion of the superiority of the first two caliphs and different forms of the caliphate (Persian).
8. *Al-Khayr al-kathir*, a discussion on Being and other mystical problems, in Arabic.
9. *Al-Budūr al-bāzigha*, a companion volume to the *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha*, in Arabic. The work deals with the superiority of human beings, their innate qualities and the ethical and social factors in the development of civilization.
10. *Sat'āt*, a treatise on mystical philosophy, in Arabic.

Works between 1160/1747 and 1176/1762:

1. *Sarf-i Mir*, a short treatise in Persian to teach Arabic grammar to his son, 'Abd al-'Aziz (b. 1159/1746).
2. *Al-Musaffa*, a Persian commentary on *al-Muwatta*.
3. *Al-Insāf fi bayān sabab al-ikhtilāf*. This work ascribes the legal differences in different schools of *fiqh* to the misunderstandings arising out of the reports of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad on his practices. It is written in Arabic.
4. *Arba'ūna hadithan musalsalatan bi'l ishrāf fi ghālib sanadiha* (Arabic), forty authentic traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.
5. *Al-durr al-thamin fi mubashsharat al-Nabiyy al-amin*, a short collection of *hadithes* in Arabic.
6. *Al-nawādir min ahādith Sayyid al-awwal wa'l ākhir*, a short collection of *hadithes* in Arabic.
7. *Al-Irshād ila Muhimmāt 'ilm al-isnād*, a treatise on the authorities of the *hadithes* in Arabic.
8. *Sharh Tarajam ba'd abwāb Bukhāri* (Arabic), an annotation of some chapters from the *Sahih* of Bukhāri with problems of the *fiqh* of Hanafi and Shafi'i schools.
9. One of the most important works by Shāh Wali-Allāh is the *Tafhimāt-i Ilāhiyya*, containing short treatises in Persian and Arabic written at different times and later collected into a single volume. Besides dealing with various aspects of divine mysteries and mystical problems, some treatises also give social, political and ethical counsels to the Muslims. It also contains Shāh Wali-Allāh's famous letter to Ismā'il Āfandi in which the author claims that differences between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* are purely semantic. Another famous treatise included in the *Tafhimāt* is the *Wasiyat-nāma* in Persian.

Other important works by Shāh Wali-Allāh, the dates of which cannot be easily ascertained are—

1. *'Iqd al-jid fi bayān ahkām al-ijtihād wa'l taqlid* (Arabic), on *ijtihād* and *taqlid*.

2. *Kashf al-ghayn fi Sharh-i Rubā'yatain* (Persian), a commentary on the *sūfic rubā'is* of Khwāja Bāqi Bi'llāh, an improvement, according to the Shāh, on the Mujaddid's interpretations of the Khwāja's *rubā'is*.
3. *Surūr al-mahzūn*, a Persian translation of *Kitāb Nūr al-'Uyūn* by Sayyid al-Nās, dealing with the biography of the Prophet Muhammad.
4. *Al-sirr al-makthūm fi asbāb tadwin al-'ulūm* (Arabic).
5. *Risāla-i Dānishmandi* (Persian).
6. *Husn al-'aqida*, relating to his own beliefs in Arabic.
7. *Hawāmi'*, *Sharh-i hizb al-bahr*, Persian translation of famous invocations.
8. *Al-irshād ilā muhimmāt 'ilm al-isnād*, a treatise on the chain of the transmitters of *hadith* in Arabic.
9. *Al-fadl al-mubin fi musalsal min hadith al-Nabiyy al-amin*, relating to the Prophet Muhammad's *ahādith* in Arabic.[83]

No complete collection has been published of Shāh Wali-Allāh's letters. The *Kalimāt-i Tayyibāt*, published at Agra in 1914, contains selected letters by him, as do the *Hayāt-i Wali*, and another small collection published in Delhi. A reference is made by Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmi to two volumes of Shāh Wali-Allāh's letters, the first containing 281, and the second 77 letters, which are in the possession of his maternal uncle Maulawi Nasim Ahmad Faridi. In 1950 Nizāmi published twenty-six of these letters which were of political importance, together with the Urdū translation, introduction and notes.

The first volume was compiled by Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān, after whose death in 1168/1754-55, his father, Shaykh Muhammad 'Āshiq, the Shāh's favourite disciple, compiled the second volume. A complete copy of the first volume exists in the Razā Library, Rāmpūr, being letters written to the following: —

1. Shāh Nūr-Allāh, 1, 3-7, 17, 19, 24, 31, 32, 43, 46, 49, 53, 54, 62, 79-88, 103, 141, 226, 227, 253.
2. Shaykh Muhammad 'Āshiq, 2, 10, 12-16, 18, 20, 25-30, 33-42, 44-48, 51, 52, 55-61, 91-97, 99, 100, 106, 110-114, 117, 121-129, 136-138,

83 Jalbānī considers Shah Wali-Allah's letters in different collections as separate treatises and mentions six such collections. G. N. Jalbānī, *Teachings of Shāh Waliyullāh of Delhi*, second revised edition, Lahore 1973, p. 240. He also mentions three other treatises of the Shah—

1. *Imdād fi ma'āthir al-ajdād* (Persian).
2. *'Atiāt al-Samadiyya fi'l anfās al-Muhammadiyya* (Persian).
3. *Insān al-'ayn fi mashā'ikh al-Haramayn*.

The first corresponds to pages 152 to 161, the second to pages 169 to 177 and the third to pages 178-196 of the *Anfās al-'arifin*. *Fath al-khabīr* treated as an independent treatise by Jalbānī is the fifth chapter of the *Fawd al-kabīr*.

140, 142-148, 151-153, 155-163, 166, 170-74, 176, 177, 183-191, 199, 201-217, 221-225, 228-238, 246, 247, 249-252, 254, 259, 261-270, 274, 276-279.

3. Shāh 'Abd-Allāh, brother of Shāh Wali-Allāh, 8-9, 11, 239.
4. Shaykh Muhammad 'Ābid, 49.
5. A rich man, 50.
6. Shaykh Muhammad Qutb, 63-73, 248.
7. Makhdūm Muhammad Mu'in of Thatta, a leading *'ālim* of Sind, 74-76, 78, 107, 108, 119, 139, 167.
8. Khwāja Muhammad Amin, 89, 90, 275.
9. Shaykh 'Ubayd-Allāh, grandfather of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān, 98, 115, 116.
10. A friend living in Sind, 101.
11. Khwāja Muhammad Fārūq Kashmīrī, a friend of Khwāja Muhammad Zubayr, 102.
12. Pā'inda Khān Rohēlla, congratulating him on his conquest of the eastern mountainous region (probably Pilibhīt) and suppression of the infidels, 104.
13. Khān-i Zamān Khān, the *fawjdār* of Sahāranpūr, 105.
14. Khwāja Nūr Kashmīrī, 109.
15. Mir Rahmat-Allāh, a prisoner in jail, 118, 120.
16. Shaykh Abū Tāhir al-Kurdi al-Madani, from Mecca, 130-132.
17. To a *sūfi*, 133.
18. To friends (anonymous), 134.
19. Mir 'Abd-Allāh Qārī, 135.
20. Sayyid Muhammad Wādih, a descendant of Sayyid 'Ilm-Allāh of Rāebareli, 150.
21. Shaykh Muhammad Panāh Phaltī, 154.
22. Bābā 'Uthmān Kashmirī, 164, 175, 178-181, 192-195.
23. Shaykh Abū Tāhir Madani, 165, 168.
24. An Arab's son, 169.
25. Nawwāb Majd al-Dawla, 182, 198.
26. Maulawī Miyān Dād, 196, 244.
27. An eminent man, 197.
28. Hāfiz Jār-Allāh Panjābī, 200, 218, 280.
29. Sayyid Najābat 'Alī of Bārhā, 219, 255.
30. A *mujāhid* (crusader) *amīr*, 220.
31. Nawwāb Fīrūz-Jang, Nizām al-Mulk Ahmad Shāhī, 240, 241.
32. Sayyid Muhammad Ghawth Pēshāwarī, 242.
33. Mawlānā Shaykh 'Umar Pēshāwarī, 243.
34. Mullā Sher Muhammad, 245.
35. Sayyid Ahmad Rohēlla, 256.
36. A distinguished scholar, 257.

37. Maulawī 'Ināyat-Allāh, a friend of Makhdūm Muhammad Mu'in, 258.
38. Maulawi Ahmad 'Attārpūrī, 260.
39. King (Sultān Ahmad Shāh), *wazir*, and nobles, 271.
40. Wazir al-Mamālik Āsaf-Jāh, 272.
41. A *sūfi*, 273.
42. 'Āqibat Mahmūd, 281.

Letters nos. 21, 22, 23, 77, 149 are missing from the present volume which ends after the letter to 'Āqibat Mahmūd. There are two additional sections in the Rāmpūr collection, one containing nineteen unnumbered and fifty-four numbered letters. The unnumbered letters are written to the following :—

1. Compiler's grandfather, Sayyid Muhammad Jeo, 1-7, 17-22, 25.
2. Shaykh Muhammad 'Āshiq, 8, 14.
3. Miyān Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 9.
4. Some friends, 10.
5. Shaykh Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the Mujaddid's grandson, 11-12.
6. Some friends, 13, 23.
7. Shaykh Husām al-Din Sahāranpūrī, 15, 26, 27.
8. Some pious women, 24.
9. Shaykh Fayd-Allāh, 16.

The numbered letters are to the following :—

1. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad, son of Shaykh Muhammad Sa'id, grandson of the Mujaddid, letters nos. 1-13, 26.
2. Shaykh Muhammad Naqshband, son of Shaykh Muhammad Ma'sūm, 14-15.
3. Muhammad Mirzā Sirhindi, 16-21.
4. Shaykh 'Abd al-Hafiz Thāneswari, a favourite companion of Shāh Wali-Allāh, 22-25, 27.
5. Khwāja Muhammad Murād Kashmirī, a favourite companion of Shāh Wali-Allāh, 28-30.
6. Khwāja 'Abd al-Rahim Kashmirī, 31-32.
7. Shāh Muzaffar Rohataki, 33-34.
8. Mulla 'Ismat-Allāh Qādi Murād, 35-40.
9. Shihāb al-Din Quli, entitled *Ghāzi al-Din Khān*, 41-42.
10. Sayyid 'Ali Akbar, 43.
11. Shaykh Mahmūd, 44.
12. Hājji 'Abd-Allāh Sultānpūri, 45.
13. Thābit Khān, 46.
14. Recommendation of a dervish, 47.
15. Mir 'Izzat-Allāh, 48.
16. Mir 'Abd al-Hakim, 49.
17. Khwāja 'Abd al-Karim, 50.

18. Shaykh Bāyazid, 51.
19. Shaykh Muhammadi, 52.
20. To a *sūfi*, 53.
21. To a friend, 54.

The letters to a king (Ahmad Shāh Durrāni) and letters to Najib al-Dawla, two letters to Āsaf-Jāh, and a letter to Tāj Muhammad Khān Balūch, are not available in the Rāmpūr collection. It would seem that Shaykh Muhammad 'Āshiq included them in the second volume, deleting some of the numbered and unnumbered letters of the Rāmpūr collection. Perhaps he may have excluded all the unnumbered letters and added the political letters to compile a second volume. Unless Nizāmi's uncle's collection is collated with the Rāmpūr collection a scientific conclusion is not possible. Although Rāmpūr is very near to 'Aligarh, Nizāmi, like the editors of the Nawal Kishore Press, did not consider it essential to collate the text he chose to publish with the Rāmpūr manuscript.

The first letter of Nizāmi's edition, addressed to the king, *wazir* and nobles, deals with Shāh Wali-Allāh's programme to streamline the administration. After *kalima-i haftum*, in the text, Nizāmi puts an asterisk, and in the footnotes writes *kalima-i hashtum*, followed by a few dots, and does not say anything further. The present author has always been puzzled by this omission, but the collation of Nizāmi's text with the microfilm of the Rāmpūr manuscript suggests that the *kalima-i hashtum* (the eighth point) might have been available in Nizāmi's manuscript but was deliberately omitted in order to make the letter compatible with his own self-chosen, cosmopolitan and modernist image of Shāh Wali-Allāh.

> *Kalima-i Hashtum* : *Ānki qadghan baligh bāyad numūd ki dar shahr-i Islām rusūm-i kufr mithl Holi wa raftan-i Gangā fāsh na bāyad wa dar 'āshūra rawāfid pā az hadd-i i'tidāl birūn naguzārand wa dar bāzārha wa kūchaha i'lāniyya shūkhiha wa bibākiha nakunand wa la ta'ināt ki migūyand nagūyand.*
> Eighth point : Strict orders should be issued in all Islamic towns forbidding religious ceremonies publicly practised by infidels (such as the performance of Holi and ritual bathing in the Ganges). On the tenth of Muharram, Shi'is should not be allowed to go beyond the bounds of moderation, neither should they be rude nor repeat stupid things (that is recite *tabarra*, or condemn the first three successors of the Prophet Muhammad) in the streets or bazaars.

There are significant gaps in the text of other letters published by Nizāmi, and comparison of these letters with the Rāmpūr copy indicates annoying omissions, thus undermining the utility of this edition. However, the importance of the collection of Shāh Wali-Allāh's letters is far-reaching. Although the Shāh's works have been published and no new mystical and

religious ideas can be gleaned from the letters, the panorama of the eighteenth century religious and mystical life of Delhi revolving around Shāh Wali-Allāh is to be found only in the *Maktūbāt-i Shāh Wali-Allāh. Sūfic* strains in the Shāh's letters are accompanied by a deep sensitivity flowing from a heart dedicated to the moral and material elevation of the Sunnis.

CHAPTER FIVE

# *The Religious Mission of Shāh Walī-Allāh*

We have already witnessed many examples of Shāh Walī-Allāh's great self-confidence. We should not be surprised therefore that he believed in his own competence to indulge in debates with *sūfis*, philosophers, commentators of the Qur'ān, scholars of *hadith* and *kalām*, as well as philologists, and to make some original contribution of his own to their knowledge. He was deeply concerned about the differences among the scholars of *fiqh* and the Qur'ānic exegesis and asserted that were the Muslims to develop a full understanding and perception of his own interpretations, which were based on *burhān* (the demonstrative proof), *wijdān* (intuition) and *manqūl* (traditional knowledge), their differences would be eliminated.[1]

In the *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha* the Shāh urged that the time was ripe to present the *Sharī'a* in the light of demonstrative proof but that the reasoning of the *ma'qūliyān* (speculative rationalists) and that of the Greek and Babylonian philosophers was to be totally rejected.[2]

Of all the gifts bestowed exclusively upon him Shāh Walī-Allāh assigned the highest place to his capacity to harmonize (*tatbīq*) the traditional, mystical and truly rational sciences of the Muslims, such as the Ash'arī *kalām*.[3] Shāh Walī-Allāh identified Islām with Sunnism and stated that the Shī'ī doctrine of the impeccability of *Imāms* (*Imām-i ma'sūm*) amounted to the denial of the doctrine of the Prophet Muhammad as the seal of the prophets and therefore made their faith false (*bātil*).[4]

Both his medieval biographers and modern admirers regard Shāh Walī-Allāh's Persian translation of the Qur'ān as a revolutionary step. For example, Shaykh Muhammad Ikrām writes—

1 *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 20-22, 30, 225-29, 260; *Maktūbāt-i Shāh Walī-Allāh*, Rāmpūr Ms., no. 94.
2 *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha*, with Urdū translation by 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqānī, Karāchī, n. d. I, p. 4; *Juz' al-latīf*, p. 196; *Tafhīmāt*, I, p. 30, 117.
3 *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 278-82, II, pp. 15-16; *Budūr al-bāzigha*, Bijnor 1936, p. 223.
4 *Tafhīmāt*, II, p. 294; *Wasīyat-nāma*, Lucknow 1894

'A task to which Shah Waliullah set himself early in life was the diffusion of the knowledge of the Qur'an. His most memorable contribution in this field was his translation of the Qur'an, which he completed within five years of his return from Arabia. A biographer has recorded that this bold step so enraged some contemporary *maulawis*, that they and their followers surrounded Shah Waliullah's *madrasah* with drawn swords and for some time his life was in danger. Even if this story were incorrect—and the general esteem in which Shah Waliullah was held in all religious circles on account of his profound learning, piety and sanity of views must have blunted the edge of opposition in everything he did—the revolutionary nature of the step taken by him must be obvious to everybody acquainted with Muslim history. In the entire history of Islam except, perhaps, for a translation made by the Berber leader, Ibn Tumarth, in order to discourage the use of Arabic, there was no previous instance of a translation of the Qur'an being made by a Muslim in a foreign language and its having gained currency and acceptance.'[5]

Muhammad Mujib states:

'The publication of a Persian translation of the Qur'an, which he had undertaken in the belief that it would help considerably in disseminating knowledge of the Holy Book, brought him into unpleasant prominence. The conservative *'ulamā'* accused him of innovation, strong opposition was aroused and once some people even went to the extent of hiring ruffians to beat him up. Both Shah Waliullah's project of making the Qur'an accessible to practically all literate people and the violent opposition to the project are characteristic of the religious attitude of those days. Shah Waliullah went to the Holy Cities to meet scholars and add to his knowledge. It may also have been his motive to let the opposition die down, for both the orthodox *'ulamā'* and the *Shi'ah* nobles of the court were involved in it.'[6]

The modern authors uncritically following Mawlānā Rahim Bakhsh, the author of the *Hayāt-i Wali*, and the writings of Mawlānā 'Ubayd-Allāh Sindhi, have coloured the Shāh's motives in translating the Qur'ān into Persian to such an extent that only a study of the Shāh's preface to the *Fath al-Rahmān* can clarify the position. He says, "A most remarkable type of divine inspiration prompted this *faqir* (my humble self, Shāh Wali-

5 S. M. Ikrām, "Shāh Walīullāh", in *A history of the freedom movement*, I, Karāchī 1957, pp. 500-1.

6 M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London 1967, p. 277.

Allāh) to examine the existing translations of the Qur'ān. He began to examine them in order that he might introduce and popularize the best one among his contemporaries. Some translations were unacceptably long, while some briefer ones corrupted the text. Finding none satisfactory he decided to make a new translation himself. He translated the *zahrāwān* [the two brilliant chapters, i.e. the second, *baqarat* (the Cow) and the third, *ālu 'imrān* (The family of 'Imrān)] but then his journey to Mecca and Medina interrupted his work. After a few years a friend started studying the Qur'ān and its translation under this *faqir*. This initiated the resumption of its translation and he (Shāh Wali-Allāh) decided to write down the translation as the lesson (of his friend) progressed. When one-third of the Qur'ān was translated, the friend left for somewhere else and once again the writing down of the translation stopped. After some time a different opportunity prompted [the *faqir*] to fulfil his old desire of translating the Qur'ān, and another third was translated. Then [the *faqir*] requested a friend to prepare a fair draft copying the original verse before the translation in order to complete the manuscript. On 10 Dhu'lhijja 1150/1 April 1738 the fortunate friend started copying the draft. After the completion of the manuscript, the *faqir* decided to finish the translation, which was done by early Sha'bān 1151/end of November 1738 and the complete fair copy was ready by early Ramadān 1151/middle of December 1738. However, it was only in 1156/1743-44 that Shāh Wali-Allāh's brother in Islām (disciple) Khwāja Muhammad Amin made efforts to popularize the translation; several copies were made and the translation became acceptable to his contempories."[7]

The above preface shows that a number of Persian translations of the Qur'ān were already available, the new translation being started by Shāh Wali-Allāh to satisfy his own literary and spiritual tastes. He did not give high priority to its production; the work was not immediately resumed even upon his return to Delhi, the incentive to commence it coming in the course of his teaching Qur'ānic translation. Another five years were to elapse before the appearance of further copies of the first complete manuscript of the translation. Even then, for some years more, reading of the copies was probably confined to his admirers and disciples.

Shāh Wali-Allāh's father also translated the Qur'ānic chapters in his lectures and many other preachers also followed suit. However, some orthodox scholars had always opposed the literal translation of the Qur'ān for they felt that the miraculous effect of the original Arabic was lost. Similar objections might have been voiced against the new translation by Shāh Wali-Allāh. However, he, like the Mujaddid[8] and other Sunnis

7 Qur'ān [*Fath al-Rahmān*] Karāchī and Lahore, Tāj Company, pp. *alif-bā*.
8 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, III, no. 101.

before him, was deeply concerned with the impairment of orthodoxy caused by the popularity of Qur'ānic exegesis based on the unorthodox Mu'tazila, philosophers and Shī'ī points of view.

In his *Wasiyat-nāma* (last testament), Shāh Walī-Allāh suggested that the *tafsīr* should rate second only to the literal translation of the Qur'ān.[9] With great confidence in the belief that God had gifted him with an understanding of the secrets of the Qur'ān, he wrote a short treatise containing the principles of translating the Qur'ān[10] and one containing rules for the guidance of scholars in the understanding of Qur'ānic exegesis. Unless the laws laid down by him in *Al-Fawz al-kabir fi usūl al-tafsir* were properly mastered, he claimed, a whole lifetime spent in studying Qur'ānic exegesis could prove to be futile.[11] In another place Shāh Walī-Allāh observed he had mastered all the different aspects in this vast field and had researched them deeply. His position was, therefore, he believed that of a *mujtahid* (one who used his individual reasoning) who adhered to different schools and he was able to remove all doubts and misgivings arising from the study of Qur'ānic exegesis among scholars. So penetrating was his analysis, said the Shāh, and so perceptive his interpretation of uncommon words and phrases, that they could not be questioned, except by the pig-headed and the stubborn.[12]

Repeatedly in his works, Shāh Walī-Allāh, underlines the fact that the Qur'ān was written in the Arabic of the time of the Prophet and should therefore be interpreted in the light of the traditions of the language and literature of those times. The *qasidas* of the Arabs were the sole guide to the connotative aspects of the complex semantics and vocabulary in the Qur'ān. The sciences relating to rhetoric and stylistic lucidity did not exist in the times of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad, only being invented later. An understanding of the various figures of speech had little relevance to the exegesis of the Qur'ān and their application to Qur'ānic verses could in the long run, be more misleading than enlightening.[13]

According to the Shāh, several verses of the Qur'ān illustrate the fact that it is not poetry. For example, it says :

> Therefore warn (men, O Muhammad). By the grace of Allāh thou art neither a soothsayer nor madman. Or say they : (he is) a poet, (one) for whom we may expect the accident of time ?[14]

9 *Wasīyat-nāma*, p. 6.
10 *Muqaddima dar fann-i tarjama-i Qur'ān.*
11 *Al-fawd al-kabīr fī usūl al-tafsīr*, Karāchī 1383/1963-64, pp. 9-10.
12 Ibid., pp. 140, 158, 32.
13 Ibid., pp. 52, 110, 116, 118.
14 Qur'ān, Lii, 29-30.

Regarding the unique and supernatural aspects of the Qur'ān the Shāh had much to say. Although Qur'ānic verses reflect the poetical rules of the Arabs and non-Arabs, he said they were marked with a natural rhythm and artistry in order to appeal to all tastes and ethnic groups. Some verses were repeated to inculcate a special ethical effect. The controversy over the nature of the Qur'ān was sparked off in the tenth century A. D. Its eloquence, its inimitability and uniqueness, made it an *i'jāz* (miracle).[15] Other reasons for this were its style which was extraordinary because at the time it was compiled the Arabs were experts only in writing odes (*qasidas*), addresses, epistles and Arabic idioms. The fact that the Prophet Muhammad who was known as an *ummi* (illiterate) was able to present a unique and inimitable work, was nothing but miraculous. Secondly, the correct description of the history of other nations and their legal systems contained in the Qur'ān was also supernatural, as was its eloquence. Lastly, says the Shāh, the Qur'ān adopts a new style for every narrative, yet nowhere is its effectiveness as a religious text lost. All this is possible only through a miracle.[16]

As the knowledge of the figures of speech and rhetoric, however, is of no use to Qur'ānic exegesis, neither is an understanding of the subtle, mystical interpretations of the Qur'ānic verses essential. The *sūfic* reaction to Qur'ānic verses may be compared to the emotional condition of a lover who, by listening to such love stories as those of Layli and Mujnūn, is transported into indescribable ecstasy. Others are not moved in the same manner. Particular reaction to the *sūfi* verses should not, therefore, be generalized.[17]

The Shāh divided the scholars of Qur'ānic exegesis into seven categories.

1. The class of the expounders of the Qur'ān known as *muhaddithūn* (experts of *hadith*) who invariably felt they should ascribe some relevance to each Qur'ānic verse. They freely drew upon unauthentic *ahādith* (plural of *hadith*), unreliable events and even on the anecdotes of the Israelites.
2. The *mutkallimin* (scholars of scholastic theology) who dialectically interpreted the names and attributes of Allāh in order to assert His transcendence. They offered hidden meanings to verses which were interpreted differently by their opponents.
3. The *usūliyin* or those who deduced juristic laws from Qur'ānic verses. If it was possible to glean different laws from one verse

15 *E. I.*[2], III, pp. 1018-20.
16 *Al-fawd al-kabīr*, pp. 134-35.
17 Ibid., pp. 158-59.

they preferred the most relevant ones and would argue their conclusions logically.

4. The scholars of grammar and lexicographers, who mainly discussed grammatical and lexicographical principles underlying the verses of the Qur'ān, illustrated their conclusions with excerpts from Arabic poetry, in the process often going to unnecessary lengths to prove their arguments.
5. The literary stylists engaged in writing Qur'ānic exegesis who over-emphasized the examples of figures of speech and rhetorical elements in their Qur'ānic exegesis.
6. The *qāris* or those who read the Qur'ān according to the prescribed rules, and who devoted all their energy to quoting different types of readings as laid down by the experts on the subject.
7. A small group of *sūfis* who underlined only the *sūfic* problems in the Qur'ānic interpretation, considering this the sole duty of the author of the exegesis.[18]

Commenting on the principal obstacles to a true understanding of the Qur'ān, Shāh Wali-Allāh reminds scholars that the contemporaries of the Prophet Muhammad had no difficulty in understanding it.[19] As advised by the Prophet they neither involved themselves in controversies over the interpretation of verses of uncertain meaning nor with a discussion of the subtle points of divine attributes. When the Prophet's generation had passed away and non-Arab elements were absorbed into Islām, they began to find many passages difficult to understand. This led to research into the field of lèxicography and grammar and the first books on Qur'ānic interpretations were written.[20]

Shāh Wali-Allāh listed the main difficulties in understanding the Qur'ān thus :

1. Some words in Qur'ānic verses are obscure and not in common usage. This tends to make the verse difficult to understand. Probably one should therefore refer to the interpretations of the Prophet's companions or to those of consecutive generations, which should make the correct meaning clear.
2. Lack of a correct perception of abrogated (*mansūkh*) verses makes verses replacing them both irreconcilable and contradictory. This also applies to verses whose historical genesis is incomprehensible.
3. Ignorance of the grammatical structure and style of expression in the Qur'ān also makes its comprehension difficult.[21]

18 *Al-fawd al-kabīr*, pp. 138-40.
19 Ibid., p. 140.
20 Ibid., pp. 52, 142-43, 157-58.
21 Ibid., pp. 52-53.

The Shāh draws attention to the fixation of abrogating (*nāsikh*) and abrogated *(mansūkh)* verses. In this connection he states that the companions of the Prophet Muhammad and the generation following them used the term *naskh* (abrogation), literally meaning the replacement of one thing by another. To later scholars *naskh* amounted to the replacement of some ordinances contained in the verses with other ordinances. This may happen in two ways; firstly, an ordinance remains in vogue for a certain period after which it is no longer valid; secondly, the sense of an ordinance may change. According to later scholars the number of abrogated verses extended to five hundred, but others believed they were unlimited. On the basis of Ibn al-'Arabi's arguments, Shyakh Jalāl al-Din al-Sūyūti (d. 911/1505) in the famous work *al-Itqān*, set the number of abrogated verses at twenty, but in a lengthy discussion the Shāh concluded that the number of these verses was a mere five.[22]

Shāh Wali-Allāh also believed that the technical terms used by earlier and later scholars to outline the circumstances in which Qur'ānic verses were revealed were also different. Generally scholars of exegesis quoted some anecdote or event relating to the revelation of each verse. *Hadith* scholars quoted many events preceding the revelation of different verses which were completely unconnected with the revelation itself. Companions of the Prophet quoted verses from the Qur'ān to prove their theological points and would sometimes use verses allegorically. The *hadith* scholars naively tended to incorporate these discussions in the traditions of the Prophet.

According to Shāh Wali-Allāh, it is necessary for scholars of Qur'ānic exegesis to have grasped two important points. Firstly, they should be aware of the facts implied in the verses, as this was vital to a precise perception of the Qur'ān; secondly, they should know the situation surrounding a general ordinance. These facts changed the apparent meaning of the verses. No other knowledge was required of those who interpreted the Qur'ān.[23]

Discussing the nature of the Qur'ān's contents, Shāh Wali-Allāh called attention to the fact that unlike modern books it was not originally divided according to either subject, chapters or sections. Its nature resembled a collection of imperial edicts issued from time to time under particular conditions and then revoked or amended according to the circumstances. Allāh revealed His commands in the form of verses and chapters to the Prophet Muhammad during his lifetime but although written down, they were not compiled in any organized form. In the days of Abū Bakr and 'Umar all the chapters were arranged in an organized

22 *Al-fawd al-kabīr*, pp. 56-57, 67.
23 Ibid., pp. 68-70.

manner and the book was known as *mushaf* (a written leaf or book). The eminent companions of the Prophet Muhammad arranged the chapters as follows :

1. Seven of the longest chapters.
2. Chapters containing 100 or more verses.
3. Chapters containing less than 100 verses.
4. Remaining chapters.

In the reign of 'Uthmān, two thirds of the chapters from the third category were transferred to the second one, according to sense and relevance. Copies of this *mushaf* were sent to different parts of the empire to be treated as the authentic and final version of the Qur'ān.[24]

Shāh Wali-Allāh divided the contents of the Qur'ān into five categories:

1. Knowledge of injunctions relating to matters that were imperative, the approved, the disapproved and the forbidden. They may concern prayers, social relationships, household administration or state politics. Details are expounded by the *faqihs*.
2. Knowledge of polemics of those communities who strayed from the right path, such as Jews, Christians, polytheists (*mushrikin*) and hypocrites.
3. Knowledge of divine gifts, and spectacular signs of Allāh, the most High. Under this heading are included revelations relating to the creation of Heaven and Earth and other matters the knowledge of which is indispensable for the people.
4. Knowledge of matters relating to divine creation that concern rewards to the righteous and punishment of the evil.
5. Knowledge concerning death and events relating to after-death; the Day of Resurrection, rendering an account of one's actions, the scales on which the actions of all men would be weighed, Paradise and Hell.[25]

The Shāh discussed at some length the nature of the controversial verses. These, he said, related firstly to the false beliefs of Jews, Christians, polytheists and hypocrites and to the evils they produced. Secondly, the verses discussed these beliefs and refuted them logically. Following the historical sequence, Shāh Wali-Allāh gave priority to the Qur'ānic evidence which opposes the beliefs of the *mushriks* (polytheists). According to the Shāh they were the greatest enemies of Islām, who called themselves Hanifs and claimed to be the followers of the religion of Ibrāhim (the Abraham of the Old Testament). In reality they had abandoned the original Abrahamic ordinances, relating to the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba; facing towards the Ka'ba during prayer, marrying women who could not

24 *Al-fawd al-kabīr*, pp. 112-14.
25 Ibid., pp. 11-13.

be lawfully taken as wives, ablution after ceremonial uncleanliness, circumcision, other natural dispositions (*fitra*). They failed to observe rules relating to sacred months, the slaying of animals according to the prescribed form (*dhabh*) and the lawful slaughtering of camels and other animals during their pilgrimages. The *mushriks* had replaced these laws of which the followers of the Abrahamic faith were justly proud, with murder, theft, adultery, usury, and usurpation of others' rights. They then became slaves to their own vice.

The basic doctrine of the Abrahamic religion, to Shāh Wali-Allāh, was the belief in the absolute omnipotence of God and in His role as Creator. God controlled everything of significance, sent emissaries to various religious communities, had total power over punishment for evil, and directed destinies. Angels, according to the Shāh, were God's respected servants and therefore deserved the esteem of the faithful. Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry confirmed these beliefs. The confusion caused by the *mushriks* over these ideas had given rise to *shirk* (polytheism), *tashbih* (corporeal conception of God), *tahrif* (corruption of correct practices of worship), the denial of the Day of the Resurrection and to disbelief in Muhammad's prophethood.

The *mushriks* of the Prophet Muhammad's time, according to Shāh Wali-Allāh, did not make the mistake of associating others with God's creative activity or with the divine will. On the analogy of worldly rulers who delegated power to their deputies and governors, later *mushriks* argued that God had invested some of his servants with some of His divine power. The *mushriks* therefore thought it imperative to please them and to seek their intercession in obtaining their worldly needs. Such a belief in turn prompted them to acknowledge these people with great respect, make sacrifices for them and take vows in their names. Stone and metal idols were made of them and eventually they were believed to represent God.

To the Shāh *tashbih* was the 'act of assigning human attributes to God'. The *mushriks*, he added, believed angels to be the daughters of Allāh, and were unable to understand the true meaning of God's attributes such as knowledge, hearing and seeing. To them God possessed these faculties as did human beings and they even fixed places for the corporeal existence of God.

Shāh Wali-Allāh ascribed the *tahrif* to the successor of Isma'il (Ishmael), the eldest son of Abraham, who lived about three centuries before the Prophet. Although the *mushriks* believed in the prophethood of Moses, Abraham and Isma'il, they raised meaningless objections to that of the Prophet Muhammad.

The contemporary representatives of the *mushriks*, believed Shāh Wali-Allāh, were the illiterate and common people of his own time, particularly

those who resided around *dār al-Islām* (the territory in which the law of Islām prevails). They believed that there had been *awliyā'-Allāh* (protégés of God, or saints) in the past but they could not recognize them in their own time. They visited the graves and tombs of these people and performed various acts which in reality were a form of *shirk*. It was noteworthy that the ideas of *tashbih* and *tahrif* had penetrated their beliefs. Quoting from an authentic *hadith* which said that the Muslims would also follow the traditions of previous nations, the Shāh added that some of his contemporaries had been following all the false beliefs and corrupt practices of pre-Islamic communities.[26]

After explaining the principal areas of conflict over the interpretation of the Qur'ān by the *mushriks*, the Shāh commented on the Qur'ānic references to the Jews. He said that the Jews believed in the *Tawrat* (*Tora* or Book of Moses) but they had made *tahrif* (interpolations) both of language and meaning in the work, omitting some verses and adding others. Moreover, the Jews were fiercely bigoted, miserly and greedy. Following 'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Abbās (*c.* 19-68/637-88), the father of Qur'ānic interpretation, the Shāh stated that in their exegesis of the *Tawrat* the Jews made verbal *tahrif* interpreting the original verses incorrectly. They particularized statements that were in fact general, confining them only to Jews and Israelites, whom they declared to be the chosen people of God. The inventions of Jewish scholars, however, reminded the Shāh of the wicked, misguided *'ulamā'* of his own time whose main concern was their own gain, even though they knew they were ignoring the clear injunctions of the Qur'ān and the Sunna. Cleverly they followed only those principles which were sanctioned by their own kind, rather than by the founders of the Islamic *Shari'a*. They interpolated fabricated *ahādith* and offered senseless interpretations of the genuine rules of the *Shari'a*.[27]

Referring to the clash between the Qur'ān and the Bible (New Testament) of the Christians, which claimed that Jesus Christ was the son of God, Shāh Walī-Allāh upheld the traditional Muslim belief that the Bible as it had been handed down was unauthentic and that no single verse could be regarded as completely reliable. Secondly, he pointed out that even if the Bible were accepted as containing the real ideas expressed by Jesus, the word 'son' in ancient Semitic languages was interchangeable with 'beloved' and 'favourite of God', which he believed to be the true meaning as it related to Jesus.

The Shāh maintained that some passages in the Bible in which Jesus Christ was supposed to have performed certain miracles were purely allegorical. He felt in Christ's time, allegory might have been a common

26 *Al-fawd al-kabīr*, pp. 14-20.
27 Ibid., pp. 23-32.

means of expressing divine revelation. The Qur'ān, wrote Shāh Wali-Allāh, firmly denied the Trinity and the crucifixion and affirmed that Jesus was the favourite servant of God and the son of the Virgin Mary of whom he was born. According to the Qur'ānic beliefs he was conceived of the Faithful Spirit (i.e. Gabriel) who, at a divine command, blew on Mary's vulva. To Shāh Walī-Allāh the ascent of Jesus into Heaven was wrongly interpreted as his crucifixion. What really happened, he said, was that the Jews thought they had executed Jesus but in fact before they had done so God had delivered him and taken him to Heaven.

Shāh Walī-Allāh also compared the beliefs of Christians with those of the descendants of the great saints of his own time, who made fantastic religious claims regarding their ancestors. Although, said the Shāh, they did not really believe their ancestors to be God, the way in which they described their achievements and greatness led one to believe they were at least of the same status.[28]

Continuing his slashing criticism of those he regarded as in error, the Shāh divided the *munāfiqs* (hypocrites) into two categories. Firstly, there were those who outwardly professed to be Muslims but who in reality were infidels. Secondly, there were those who were only lukewarm in their faith, having adopted it to suit the purposes of other members of their tribe. To them hedonism had left no room for the love of God and His Prophets. Many were so absorbed in lives which showed distinct signs of avarice, envy and vindictiveness at the expense of such pursuits as prayer and meditation. Some hypocrites were deeply in love with other members of their tribes who had not embraced Islām but whom sometimes they would secretly help, irrespective of the harm to the Islamic faith. The counterparts of such people during the Prophet Muhammad's lifetime, according to Shāh Walī-Allāh, were the friends and companions of the noble and powerful. They adhered firstly to the wishes and inclinations of their masters before the rules of the *Shari'a* and the teachings of the Prophet. Therefore, there was little difference between the contemporary hypocrites and those of the Prophet Muhammad's time who, although they had learnt the *Sharī'a* directly from the Prophet, violated it with impunity. Shāh Walī-Allāh also included amongst the hypocrites the contemporary scholars of the rational sciences. These were described by him as having their hearts filled with innumerable doubts about the faith and some as having rejected their belief in the Day of the Resurrection.

Following on from these views, the Shāh told Muslims that they should always believe that the Qur'ān was not just addressed to the community at the time of the Prophet or to succeeding generations. Its injunctions had universal and eternal application and thus were relevant to contempo-

28 *Al-fawd al-kabīr*, pp. 33-37.

rary society. The traditions in which the Prophet was reported to have told later generations of Muslims to follow the path of earlier [pious] communities was still applicable to contemporary society. Scholars of Qur'ānic interpretation should therefore discuss basic principles only and avoid wasting energy on old tales.[29]

Referring to the sermons in the Qur'ān, Shāh Walī-Allāh drew attention to the fact that the Qur'ān had been revealed with the purpose of reforming the conduct and morals of all mankind. This aspect of the Qur'ān made no distinction between Arabs and non-Arabs or sedentary and nomadic Bedouin communities. Divine prudence was responsible for the belief that it was fitting to refer only to such matters in the Qur'ān as could be comprehended by a large section of any community. The study of *kalām* or of hair-splitting philosophers was not regarded as a prerequisite for understanding the subtle thoughts regarding such topics as divine names and attributes. The Qur'ān, therefore, briefly refers to the existence of God without delving more deeply into controversies over the reality of Being. The main reason for this is that no judicious community in the world denies the existence of God; however, questions relating to divine attributes are not clear. To understand them needs deep thinking and research. The fact is, says Shāh Walī-Allāh, that the understanding of the divine attributes is impossible, yet no insight into God is possible without some idea of His attributes. God resolved this dilemma by choosing some human attributes of which people were proud of and by adopting them Himself in a manner that could easily be comprehended by the average intelligence. Nevertheless, because nothing at all was like Him, He warned men that false comparisons should not be made.

The same technique was followed in the Qur'ān to describe both the signs of God and His munificence to man. Only comparisons which could be easily grasped by both Arabs and non-Arabs were mentioned. Topics which could be understood only by the *'ulamā'* and *sūfis* were excluded, as were matters which concerned only kings and rulers. Therefore, the Qur'ān dealt with such important subjects concerning nature as the creation of heaven and earth, rainfall, the flowing of water to make rivers and streams; the production of fruit, seeds and flowers because of the interaction with water; the way to control natural phenomena.[30]

In many places certain spiritual and ethical failings are referred to. In order to illustrate rewards and punishments, popular and well-known stories only were chosen, such as those relating to 'Ād and Thamūd, Abraham and the Israelites and also to the Great Flood. Īrānian and Indian stories, which were unfamiliar to the Arabs, were not included in the Qur'ān.

29 *Al-fawd al-kabīr*, pp. 37-41.
30 Ibid., pp. 42-43.

The Qur'ān features special techniques used to relate events and stories, continued Shāh Wali-Allāh. There were no lengthy details of aspects that had no moral value and nothing which helped people to indulge in fantasy and romance. The principal motive of story-telling was to continuously remind us that *shirk* (polytheism) and disobedience met with severe punishment from God. The stories were also designed to assure eternal submissive obedience to Him.

Qur'ānic stories relating to the events between human death and the Day of Judgment and also heaven and hell, according to the Shāh, are intended to confirm and clarify the laws of Abrahamic monotheism. They also seek to purify the morals of Arabs and are intended to reform the rest of the world. The Qur'ān strictly rejects all sinful accretions and innovations introduced into the Abrahamic faith during the pre-Islamic days of *Jāhiliyya* (ignorance) by a re-introduction of balance and moderation into the current misguided practices of the Arabs. The Qur'ān reforms the social, economic and political corruptions and depravity prevailing at the time and brings to mind the different types of sins, both heinous and minor.[31] What T. Izutsu describes as the "Islamization of non-Islamic elements in the period of *Jāhiliyya*"[32] such as generosity, courage, loyalty and truthfulness was, to Shāh Walī-Allāh, a repetition of the virtues of the true religion of Abraham.

The Qur'ān, said Shāh Walī-Allāh, briefly describes the religious duties of members of the Muslim community. Although it mentions how prayers were introduced, detailed rules for the construction of mosques for congregational prayers and the times of prayer were codified by the Prophet Muhammad. The same is true of regulations relating to *dhakāt*, fasting, pilgrimage, *jihād*, *nikāh* (matrimony), succession and inheritance. The Qur'ān also mentions the *ghazw* (military expeditions) at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Scholars of Qur'ānic exegesis should describe the relevant history behind these ordinances.[33]

In an attempt to offer further guidance to scholars of Qur'ānic interpretation, Shāh Walī-Allāh compiled another treatise in Arabic to explain some of the incomprehensible and controversial words and phrases found in the Qur'ān. The work is based mainly on the traditions of 'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Abbās and the methodology is based on *Al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* by Jalāl al-Dīn Sūyūtī.

## The *Hadith*

Gradually a need developed to supplement the revelation contained

31 *Al-fawd al-kabīr*, pp. 43-48.
32 T. Izutsu, *Ethico-religious concepts in the Qur'ān*, McGill 1966, pp. 74-104.
33 *Al-fawd al-kabīr*, pp. 49-51.

in the Qur'ān. This was fulfilled by the accumulated judgments on various issues reported to have been made by the Prophet Muhammad during his lifetime. These were collected under the title of *hadith* (tradition). The rapid expansion of Islām and the Islamicization of many newly conquered countries by the Arabs led to the creation of a class of raconteurs (*qussās*) who fabricated such traditions with impunity. The challenge presented by the false *ahādith* was met by genuine scholars of *hadīth* who devised rules to reject apocryphal traditions and in the ninth century the six canonical books of *hadith* emerged. Of these two are known as *Sahīh* (sound). Muhammad bin Isma'īl al-Bukhārī, the author of one of the two *Sahihs* was born in 194/810. He was educated in Bukhārā and travelled extensively. Of 600,000 traditions collected by him, he reproduced 7,397 with full *isnāds* (impeccable chains of transmitters). His *Sahīh* is classified according to the chapters of *fiqh;* material on subjects like the beginning of creation, the prophets, Muhammad, and heaven and hell was also included. Sunnis consider the work as second only to the Qur'ān and follow it unquestioningly. Bukhārī died in 256/870.

The author of the second *Sahih*, Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj of Nīshāpūr, (d. 261/875) produced a work which was also marked with a similar vision. Strangely enough both were non-Arabs and yet their impact is felt even today as it was then. The *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (202/817-275/889) who migrated to Basra and died there, the *Jāmi'* of Abū 'Isa Muhammad al-Tirmidhī (d. 270/883-84 or 275/888-9), the *Sunan* of Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad Ibn Māja (209/824-273//887) and the *Sunan* of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nasā'ī make up the remaining four canonical books of *hadith.*

Many other works of *hadith* were written, as were books scrutinizing the six canonical books. Among them most notable were the work of Muhammad bin 'Abd-Allāh, known as al-Hākim of Nīshāpūr (321/933-405/1014), the author of *Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-hadīth.* He points out that many *isnād* transmitted by reliable authorities were weak and argued the need for acquiring considerable knowledge of their background before being able to pronounce any conclusive judgments.

Shāh Walī-Allāh reminds his readers that individual *hadith* should be divided into three categories according to their authenticity. (1) The *mutwātir* or *ahādith* transmitted by reliable authorities, being those which the *umma* (community)had agreed to accept *(ijmā')* and follow. (2) Those *ahādith* which jurisconsults *(faqihs)* from different parts of the Islamic world had accepted as correct, particularly the *'ulamā'* of Mecca and Medina. The agreement of the latter was essential because the *Khulfā' al-Rāshidin* used to reside there and throughout the history of Islām the *'ulamā'* would visit these holy cities. It was not possible therefore for the *'ulamā'* of the two holiest cities of the Muslims to agree to something

palpably incorrect. Furthermore, the material contained in the *mutwātir ahādith* had already become established as custom in a large section of the Islamic world, and had been transmitted by the companions of the Prophet and their successors.

On the authority of Muhammad bin 'Abd-Allāh al-Hākim Nishāpūrī (321/933-405/1014) the author of *Ma'rifat 'Ulūm al-hadith*, Shāh Walī-Allāh went on to divide *hadith* into four sections. In the first he placed *al-Muwatta* of the celebrated jurist and founder of the Mālikī school of law Mālik ibn Anas of Medina (d. 179/795), and the *Sahihs* of Bukhārī and Muslim. Following the lead of many eminent scholars of *hadith*, the Shāh excluded the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja from the list of six canonical works and included in them *al-Muwatta*. The Shāh placed the *Muwatta* second only to the Qur'ān, mainly because it came second in historicals equence and also because it was a compendium reflecting the genius of the generations of Muslims in Medina who had access to the best sources. Although some traditions of *Muwatta* contain complete, incomplete and non-existent chains of authority—and Shāh Walī-Allāh himself admitted that the inferences of Imām Mālik were debatable—he nevertheless categorically asserted those traditions were correct. He added that many competent contemporaries of Imām Mālik had compiled works also called *al-Muwatta* which helped to shed further light on his great work.

Among Imām Mālik's disciples were such eminent scholars of *fiqh* as Imam Shāfi'ī, Muhammad bin Hasan, Ibn Wahb and Ibn Qāsim. They also included some eminent scholars of *hadith* such as Yahya Ibn Sa'id Qattān, 'Abd al-Rahmān Mahdi and 'Abd al-Razzāq. The 'Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809) and his two sons al-Amīn (809-813) and al-Ma'mūn (813-833) could also be numbered among this privileged group.

In his Persian commentary of *al-Muwatta*, Shāh Walī-Allāh mustered his arguments for favouring Imām Mālik's work more systematically. He wrote :

1. The transmitters of the traditions mentioned in the *Muwatta* of Imām Mālik were the *'ulamā'* of Medina, (the home of the *Sunna*) who enjoyed, during the Imām's lifetime, a very high degree of credibility and respect.
2. Some controversies in *al-Muwatta* which are not founded on traditions trace their origin to the practices of the people of Medina. This guarantees a continuity of practice from the time of the Righteous Caliphs to that of the *Muwatta*. However, scholars may make independent research relating to the traditions which support that continuity.
3. Both Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Muhammad, were students of Imām Mālik. Both wrote commentaries on the *Muwatta* and

> although their ideas differ from the inferences drawn from Imām Mālik's work, they do not question his chain of narrators. Other works of *hadith* only supplement *al-Muwatta* adding more *isnād*, and are thus founded on Imām Mālik's work.[34]

The curriculum set out by Shāh Walī-Allāh in his last testament prescribes that as soon as a student had acquired proficiency in Arabic, he should be taught the *Muwatta* of Imām Mālik and its commentary by Yahya bin Yahya of Andalus (d. 234/848). They were the key, according to the Shāh, to the study of the Qur'ān and he gave preference to the study of the *Muwatta* over the Persian translation of the Qur'ān and the Arabic commentaries.[35]

Shāh Walī-Allāh, however, did not consider the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī, which he had listed in the first category of the *hadith* works, as second only to *al-Muwatta*. In his Arabic treatise *Sharh Tarājim abwāb Sahih al-Bukhārī* he discussed the real significance of the various chapter headings used in the great work by al-Bukhārī.[36] In a letter describing the eminence of this particular author, the Shāh wrote that 100 years after *hijra*, the *ahādith* were transmitted orally and that al-Bukhārī had begun writing *ahādith* another 100 years later. According to the Shāh, al-Bukhāri's principal contribution lay in distinguishing the more reliable types of *ahādith* from the rest. He was a master at separating *sahih* (sound) and *hasan* (good) traditions.[37]

The second category of the authentic works of *ahādith*, according to Shāh Walī-Allāh, comprised the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, the *Jāmi'* of Tirmidhi and the *Sunan* of al-Nasā'ī respectively. The third category comprised the works of scholars who were either predecessors or contemporaries of Bukhārī, and later Muslims whose main concern was to compile traditions and summarize them. They were not interested in searching out their authenticity or in making them practicable for readers. The scholars of jurisprudence did not draw upon their works and the scholars of *hadith* did not care to ascertain the credibility of such scholars.

Under the fourth category came the traditions collected by authors of a much later date. These traditions were not contained in the works of the first two groups and were available only in obscure collections. Although rejected by leading scholars of *hadith*, they were used by fiery preachers to frighten their audiences. They were either related by unreliable authorities, were the sayings of the companions of Prophet Muhammad or

34 *Al-Musawwa*, Karāchī n. d., p. 5.
35 *Wasīyat-nāma*, p. 6.
36 *Sharh tarājim abwāb Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, revised edition, Haydarābād 1949, pp. 1-6.
37 *Maktūbāt mai manāqīb Abī 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad bin Isma'īl al-Bukhārī wa fadīlat Ibn Taymiyya*, Delhi n. d., pp. 20-23.

were based on the anecdotes of the philosophers and the stories of the Israelites.

Besides the above four categories, jurists, *sūfis* and historians relate many traditions which may fall into a fifth classification. These were invented by irreligious linguists who supported their own fabrications with weighty evidence and related their falsehoods so eloquently that they would appear to have emanated from the Prophet Muhammad. Although these people were a curse to Islām, eminent scholars had little difficulty in exposing their works along the lines of rules established by earlier *hadith* scholars. Shāh Wali-Allāh went to the extent of saying that groups of sinful innovators, such as Shi'is and Mu'tazilas, based their religious beliefs on these traditions.[38]

## Fiqh

While tracing the history of the *fiqh* (jurisprudence), the Shāh came to the conclusion that, until the death of the Prophet Muhammad, no ordinances of *fiqh* had been compiled; nor was there a need to indulge in detailed and lengthy discussions about ordinances such as were later adopted by jurists. According to 'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Abbās[39] (d. 68/687-88) only thirteen problems were referred to the Prophet Muhammad during this period and all the answers were recorded in the Qur'ān. The companions of the Prophet discussed only those matters which were relevant to their current needs. The second Caliph, 'Umar, was known to have cursed people who asked hypothetical questions. After the Prophet Muhammad's death, his successors were forced to make decisions according to precedents established in *ahādith* and also according to *ijtihād* (individual reasoning), basing their decisions on what they understood to be legal decisions made by the Prophet. Naturally this led to differences of opinion as few people were acquainted with every decision the Prophet made. Neither was it to be expected that there should be no disputes over the interpretations of what exactly the Prophet had done, said or meant.

During the time of the first four Caliphs, however, two schools of law emerged. One was the Medina school which was based on the *ijmā'* (the agreement of the *Umma*) of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad, and had developed during the leadership of the first three Caliphs. Its main framework was evolved by the second Caliph who continually discussed every controversy and difficulty with the Prophet Muhammad's companions. The decisions made in Medina by the Caliph were accepted

38 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 299-301.

39 'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Abbās or simply Ibn 'Abbās (d. 687-88) is regarded as the father of the Qur'ānic exegesis. He is greatly admired for his painstaking researches.

by the entire Muslim community. 'Abd-Allāh ibn Mas'ūd,[40] a famous scholar of *hadith*, often said that he found 'Umar's decisions most practical. The fourth Caliph 'Alī generally did not consult anyone and made his decisions independently in Kūfa; this was the main reason for the unpopularity of his decisions. Nevertheless, the Qur'ān, *hadith, ijmā'* and *ijtihād* became the recognized sources of *fiqh*.

After the middle of the eighth century A.D., the *fiqh* of the Medina and Kūfa schools was codified. The interpreters of the Medina school, the most representative school of jurisprudence, were Mālik bin Anas, the celebrated author of *Muwatta* and his disciple, Shāfi'ī. Later Shāfi'ī was to differ substantially from his master and establish an independent school.[41] The most influential of the founders of *fiqh* in Kūfa was Abū Hanīfa al-Nu'mān (80/699-150/767). Ahmad bin Hanbal (164/780-241/855), an Arab who spent most of his life in Baghdād, was one of the founders of the fourth major school of *fiqh*, distinguished by its extreme puritanism.

Shāh Walī-Allāh's ancestors, however, and the overwhelming number of Sunnīs in India were the followers of Abū Hanīfa and were known as Hanafīs. Among Shāh Walī-Allāh's teachers at Medina, Shaykh Abū Tāhir was a Shāfi'ī and Shaykh Tāj-al-Dīn was a Hanafī. A large number of the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina at that time were Shāfi'īs. Shāh Walī-Allāh remained a Hanafī but his studies convinced him that the other three schools were of equal importance. A crisis in his mind regarding which school the Prophet Muhammad preferred was resolved when he received an inspiration from him that none was singled out for precedence.[42] On another occasion the Shāh was advised from the same source that all four schools should be followed and that the Shāh should try to reconcile them. Personally, however, the Shāh was opposed to *taqlid* (the unquestioning acceptance of the rulings of *faqihs*), but he surrendered to the Prophet's orders. He believed though that he had been requested to adhere to *taqlid* against his wishes because of some subtle reasons he preferred not to disclose.[43]

The Shāh emphasized that until the fourth century of *Hijra* (the tenth century A.D.) people had never blindly accepted the decisions of the various schools of law. He then quoted the *Qūt al-qulūb* of the *sūfi* and *hadith* scholar, Abū Tālib Muhammad al-Makkī (d.386/996) on which the *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Din* of Ghazālī is significantly based. Abū Tālib says that the collection of books covering the authorities who issued *fatwas* (opinions

40 'Abd-Allāh ibn Mas'ūd was a famous companion of the Prophet Muhammad and an authority on the Qur'ān and the *hadīth*. He died in 32/652 or 33/653 when over sixty.

41 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 291, 316-327, *Izālat al-khafā' 'an khilāfat al-khulafā'*, I, Karāchī n. d., pp. 282-83; also *Insāf fī bayān sabab al-ikhtilāf*, Delhi n. d., pp. 5-40.

42 *Fuyūd al-Haramayn*, pp. 123-25.

43 Ibid., pp. 227-28.

on points of law) based on different judicial schools, were later inventions. He also believed the first two generations of Muslims had not accepted such authorities. Commenting on these theories, Shāh Wali-Allāh says that the people of the fourth century were not unanimous on the *taqlid* of any particular school. However, only the *mujtahids*[44] were appointed *qādis* and issued *fatwas*. When these scholars died and ignorant caliphs and sultāns began to depend on the opinions of the *'ulamā'*, the *faqihs*[45] rose in importance. The *'ulamā'* became so engrossed in the *taqlid* that no unanimity was ever reached between the *faqihs*. Moreover the *qādis* by this time had also become dishonest tyrants. This situation led to the development of hair-splitting doctrines, the study of ancient and modern histories, the unearthing of strange and unauthentic traditions and the development of the method of legal reasoning (*usūl al-fiqh*). The continued development in the belief of *taqlid* was also responsible for the emergence of a situation in which now those people who were loquacious enough were called *faqihs* even though they were unable to discriminate between sound and weak *ahādith*. Added to this, blind adherence to the infallibility of one's ancestors became widespread.[46]

Although Shāh Wali-Allāh bemoaned such developments, he recommended his 'ignorant' contemporaries, who believed in their own judgments, to follow the four schools of law. However, he opposed the tendency for one school to criticise the ideas of another and argued that the judicial schools must not be indiscriminately replaced by the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*.

The Shāh considered himself to be another Ibn 'Abbās, and the most outstanding researcher of legal decisions based on *hadith*. He underlined the fact that in each age *ijtihād* was recognized as *fard bi'l kifāya*, or the collective duty of talented Muslims, the fulfilment of which by sufficient number of individuals absolved others from its neglect. It was not like *ijtihād-i mustaqil* or independent *ijtihād* made by *mujtahids* such as Shāfi'i and others.

In a treatise entitled the *'Iqd al-jid fi bayān ahkām al-ijtihād wa'l-taqlid*, Shāh Wali-Allāh endorsed the five conditions prescribed for *faqihs* by Abū Muhammad al-Baghawi of Herāt (d. 510/1117 or 516/1122); namely, that they should be proficient in the knowledge of the Qur'ān and of the examples and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, as well as of the statements of earlier generations of Muslims concerning various controversies. They should also have a sound knowledge of Arabic and of the use of analogy based on principles gathered from the Qur'ān or *hadith* in case the two

44 Competent to perform *ijtihād* or give juridical rulings on the basis of his own reasoning.
45 Scholars of *fiqh*.
46 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 355-60; *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 202-12.

sources and *ijmā'* (the consensus of opinion) do not unequivocally establish a precedent.[47]

To outline the differences between the various types of *ijtihād* the Shāh classified them under the following four categories.

1. 'That in which the truth is decisively determined, it being necessary in such a case for its opposite to be contradicted, for it is false.
2. That in which the truth is determined by common consensus, the opposite of which is therefore false.
3. That in which definite choice has been given to adopt either one or the other of the two alternatives.
4. That in which the above choice is given by the dominating opinion.'[48]

The background to these differences is as follows:

1. One *mujtahid* receives a Tradition (*hadith*) and the other one does not. Now in this case he who is right is (already) determined (i.e., known for certain).
2. Every *mujtahid* (engaged in the same issue) has some conflicting Traditions and he exercises *ijtihād* in bringing about congruence between some of them and preference of some over others; his *ijtihād* leads to a certain personal judgment and so differences of this nature appear.
3. They may differ in the explanation of the words used and their logical definitions, or regarding the supply of what might be considered omitted in speech (and left to be understood), or in eliciting the *manāt* (i.e., the common factor which justifies the application of a primary principle from the Qur'ān or the *hadith* to a derivative situation, or in application of general to particulars, etc.).
4. They may differ in primary principles leading to a difference in derivative principles.

In all these cases each of any two *mujtahids* will be right provided the sources from which they derive their support are easily acceptable to intellects.[49]

The Shāh concluded that, in the cases where *ijtihād* is resorted to, 'the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes of difference, that in the matter of religion there is breadth (and not narrowness), and that being unreasonably stubborn and determined to deny what the opponent says, is ridiculous.'[50]

47 *'Aqd al-jid*, Delhi 1310/1892, pp. 7-9.
48 Ibid., translated by Muhammad Daūd Rahbar, *The Muslim World*, XLV, 1955, p. 353.
49 Ibid., p. 355
50 Ibid., p. 357.

Although Shāh Wali-Allāh advised uneducated Muslims to follow the decisions of the *mufti* of the school to which they belonged, he gave them the freedom to satisfy themselves with these rulings by consulting different *muftis*.[51] However, according to the Shāh, the *mujtahids* should rely heavily upon *ahādith* and turn mainly to the *Muwatta* for guidance.

**Shī'i-Sunni Polemics.**

Shāh Wali-Allāh, unlike many narrow-minded Rohēllas and the Hanafī *'ulamā'* of Transoxiana, did not go so far as to unequivocally declare Shī'is to be infidels.[52] However, he wrote that the Mu'tazila, Imāmiyya and Isma'iliyya were outside the main body of Islām.[53] In his last work he claimed the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad had advised him that the religion of the Shī'is was false (*bātil*), and that this was confirmed by the way in which they interpreted the word *imām*. They considered that their *imām* were *ma'sūm* (immaculate) and received esoteric revelations, although they believed that Muhammad was the last of the Prophets.[54] However, like a large number of Sunnis he advocated that the *ahl al-bayt* ('the descendants of 'Alī by Muhammad's daughter Fātima) should be respected. Referring to the religious practices of the Īrānis, he wrote that they were more like Zoroastrians than Muslims. The only difference was that they performed *namāz* and recited the *kalima al-Shahāda*.[55]

In the *Fuyūd al-Haramayn*, Shāh Walī-Allāh claimed that although instinctively he considered 'Alī superior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the Prophet Muhammad had commanded him in a revelation to give superiority to the first two Caliphs.[56] It was in fulfilment of this command that he wrote *Izālat al-khafā' 'an Khilāfat al-Khulafā'* and *Qurrat al-'aynayn fi tafdil al-Shaykhayn*. The *Hujjat-Allāh al-Bāligha* was part of the same objective. These works were not written to persuade the Shi'is "to smooth over these (Sunni-Shi'i) differences" or "to remove the misconceptions of the Shi'ahs", concerning "the personalities of the first three Caliphs",[57] as modernist Mus-

51 *'Aqd al-jid*, pp. 76-80.

52 Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz says that someone enquired of his father (Shāh Walī-Allāh) whether the Shī'īs were heretics. His father reiterated the different views of the Hanafī jurisconsults on the subject. The man was not satisfied and urged the Shāh to give his own ruling. On getting the same reply, he went away filled with rage and is said to have declared that Shāh Walī-Allāh was a Shī'ī. The anecdote is quoted as evidence of Shāh Walī-Allāh's liberalism. Manāzir Ahsan Gilānī, *Tadhkira-i Hadrat Shāh Walī-Allāh*, Karāchī 1959, pp. 198-99. For a similar view see K. A. Nizāmī's comment in *India and Contemporary Islam*, edited by S. T. Lokhandwālla, Simla 1971, p. 434.

53 *Qurrat al-'aynayn fī tafdīl al-Shaykhayn*, Delhi 1892, p. 314.

54 *Wasīyat-nāma*, pp. 5-6; *Tafhīmāt*, II, pp. 244, 250.

55 *Izālat al-khafā'*, I, p. 610.

56 *Fuyūd al-Haramayn*, p. 228.

57 I. H. Qureshī, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pākistān Subcontinent*, The Hague 1962, pp. 185-86.

lims seek to demonstrate, for Shāh Wali-Allāh, like all other orthodox Sunnis considered Shi'is to be odious and damned and therefore cut off from grace. Any attempts to convince them of their errors was a sheer waste of time. His books were intended to prevent Sunnis from wavering in their beliefs in the face of Shi'i propaganda and were designed to convince the Tafdiliyya Sunnis that their assumption that 'Ali was superior to the first three Caliphs was misguided. In the introduction of the *Izālat al-Khafā'* he says:

> 'In this age the *bid'at* (sinful innovations) of Shi'ism had come into existence and the common people (Sunnis) have been confused by the doubts raised by the Shi'is. This has led to the rise of misgivings about the *khilāfat* (caliphate) of the *Khulafā'-i Rāshidin*. Inevitably the light of divine assistance confirmed the theory in the heart of this humble one (Shāh Wali-Allāh) that the affirmation of the caliphate of the *Khulafā'-i Rāshidin* is true and is a part of the principles of faith.[58] Unless this is not firmly believed, the *Shari'a* cannot be strengthened.'[59]

Shāh Wali-Allāh challenged both the later Sunni Ash'ari scholars and the Shi'is. According to him the later Ash'ari scholars were wrong to assume that the *khilāfat* of the *Khulafā'-i Rāshidin* was not confirmed by a Qur'ānic injunction (*nass* that is, a clear and unchallengeable Qur'ānic verse), but was decided on the basis of the *ijtihād* of their contemporaries. He sought divine pardon for the Shi'is' belief that in the first decades of Islām a great injustice had been done to those who deserved to be appointed *khalifas* and that undeserving people had usurped the positions.[60]

At the end of the second chapter of the first volume of the *Izālat al-*

58 The Mujaddid's views on this fact were different. He wrote to Khān-i Jahān, a well known Tafdiliyya, "The Sunnis do not consider the discussion on *khilāfat* and *imāmat* as the fundamental basis of their faith (*usūl-i dīn*). To them it is related to beliefs (*i'tiqād*). It was because of the exaggerated notion of the Shi'is about the *imāmat* that the Sunni *'ulamā'* were forced to discuss it in the course of their study of *kalām* and to give a true account of the real position. The Sunnis believe that after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the true *Imām* was Abū Bakr Siddiq, then 'Umar Fārūq, then 'Uthmān Dhu'l-Nūrayn, and then 'Ali. Their pre-eminence is subject to their place in the order of the Caliphs." *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbāni*, II, No. 67. On the other hand, to the Imāmiya Shi'is, belief in the *Imāmat* is one of the fundamental doctrines of their faith (*usūl-i dīn*). They believe that after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, 'Ali was their first divinely appointed *Imām*, although he was not elected as the Prophet's successor. The eleven other descendants of 'Ali are also believed by them to have been their divinely appointed *Imāms*.

59 *Izālat al-khafā'*, I, p. 8.

60 Ibid., I, p. 10.

*khafā'*, Shāh Wali-Allāh says that although each subject in the book was based on the Qur'ān, *hadith*, and the statements of the leading personalities of the *Umma* and the *Sunna*, his original contribution lay in their rearrangement, which now linked coherently what had originally been stray facts.[61] Of the unnamed sources and the earlier writings of his predecessors the most important ones are the *Minhāj al-sunna al-nabawiyya* of the Hanbali scholar, Ibn Taymiyya (661/1263-728/1328), which refutes the *Minhāj al-Karāma* of the Shi'i scholar, Jamāl al-Din Hasan bin Yūsuf al-Hilli(648/1250-726/1325), and *al-Sawā'iq al-Muhriqa fi al-radd'alal ahl al-Zaygh* or *al-rafd wa'l zandaqa* by the Hanbali Ibn Hajar al-Haytami (909/1504-974/1567).

Like these two great predecessors and their imitators, the Shāh forcefully demonstrated that 'Ali tacitly and yet explicitly admitted the superiority of the first two Caliphs to himself. Shāh Wali-Allāh divided the caliphate into two categories, the *Khilāfat-i Khāssa* (special vicegerency) and the *Khilāfat-i Ā'mma* (common vicegerency). Those who held the *Khilāfat-i Khāssa*, argued the Shāh, were sent to fulfil the functions of the messenger prophets. Prophethood (*Nubūwwa*) associated with a revealed book was neither acquired by physical nor spiritual exercises; nor was it innate in the messenger. From time to time, the predominance of evil in the world moves God to send to mankind a reformer. Only the most holy, noble-minded and just can be used to guide others to the right path. The intellects of such outstanding individuals were obedient to the sphere of angels (*malā' al-a'la*), the Shāh asserted. The qualities of such people enabled them to receive divine revelation. The prophet guides people by teaching, arguing and admonishing. Finally he wages *jihād* against those whom the Shāh terms 'recalcitrant and stubborn' refusing to accept the true faith.

Neither is the *Khilāfat-i Khāssa* of the Prophet innate or acquired through effort, according to the Shāh. It is to be viewed as a desire which God puts into the heart of the *khalifa* (vicegerent) to fulfil the prophetic mission. Thousands of people may be inspired to strengthen the Prophet's *din*, but the person endowed with the *Khilāfat-i Khāss* occupies the place of heart to the body, the others are in the limbs.

On the basis of the analogy of the prophecy (*risālat*) the Shāh continues that Prophets commissioned to discriminate the divinely-revealed law are granted both exoteric and esoteric abilities. The exoteric are devoted to the spreading of the divinely-revealed law, but the esoteric faculty is the strong will of the Prophet Muhammad. Likewise the external aspect of the *Khilāfat-i Khāss* devoted to the implementation of laws are revealed to the Prophet, but the inner aspect of a vicegerent's life is filled with the strong will (because of his association with the Prophet) which is firmly rooted in the heart of the *Khalifa*. The real nature of the *Khilāfat-i Khāss* is identical to the

61 *Izālat al-khafā'*, I, p. 74.

nature of the Prophet; the discretionary power of the *Khilāfat-i Khāss* resembles that of the Prophet Muhammad who received divine revelation. The practical powers of the *Khilāfat-i Khāss* are akin to immunity from sin and are known as *siddiqiyat*, being a faithful witness to the truth. His sanctity and power are so great that even the devil dares not approach him. The only difference between the *Khilāfat-i Khāss* and Prophets is that the angelic soul of the former is awakened by the Prophets, not independently. A lengthy association with the Prophet, extreme types of self sacrifice (including those of life and property) and intense love for the Prophet Muhammad, annihilates the egoism (*anāniyat*) of the *Khalīfa-i Khāss*. The latter considers participation in *jihād* not as an act of expediency but an expression of the truth. To him the sufferings of the Prophet are his own; the Prophet repeatedly forecasts his lofty place in paradise. Unless the Divine will intends to make a person a *Khalīfa*, such noble qualities are not created in his own heart. In short, according to Shāh Walī-Allāh, the *Khalīfa-i Khāss* like messenger Prophets, is divinely appointed and universally obeyed.[62]

The period of the *Khilāfat-i Khāss*, according to Shāh Walī-Allāh, was confined to that of the Caliphate of the *Khulafā'-i Rāshidin*. A *hadith* ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad fixes the duration of the Caliphate as thirty years after his death, another makes it thirty-five. Shāh Walī-Allāh sees no contradiction in the above two traditions. He adds that in view of the fact that 'Alī (35/656-41/661) was among the earliest to embrace Islām (and was therefore superior to the average Muslim), his Caliphate may be included in the *Khilāfat-i Khāss*. This would make the length of the *Khilāfat-i Khāss* thirty years, but taking into consideration the view that 'Alī's Caliphate was torn by civil war, the *Khilāfat-i Khāss* would have ended with the death of 'Uthmān (23/644-35/656) and therefore lasted for twenty-five years.[63] In a further chapter in the *Izālat al-khafā'* the Shāh states that the continuous progress of Islām during the first three Caliphs indicates that the *Khilāfat-i Rāshida* survived only until the death of 'Uthmān. Discussing the Prophet's *ahādith* on the merits of different *qarans* (epochs) the Shāh marshalled evidence to prove that the best age was that of the Prophet Muhammad, followed by that of Abū Bakr (11/632-13/634) and 'Umar (13/634-23/644). The third in merit was the age of 'Uthmān and the fourth, starting with his assassination, was the age of the *ikhtilāf* (differences). The true period of the *Khilāfat-i Khāss*, however, according to Shāh Walī-Allāh, was during the tenure of the Caliphate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar.[64]

62 *Izālat al-khafā'*, I, pp. 44-65.
63 Ibid., I, pp. 113-14.
64 Ibid., I, pp. 194, 211, 491-95.

According to Shāh Walī-Allāh, verses from 78 chapters out of the 114 chapters of the Qur'ān either openly or tacitly refer to the eminence of the first two Caliphs or their *Khilāfat-i Khāss*. Comparing the prophecies relating to the Prophet Muhammad in the Jewish *Tora* and the Christian gospels, and those about the first two Caliphs in the Qur'ān, Shāh Walī-Allāh says that as Muhammad is not named in these Biblical verses but his appearance is implied in various prophecies, the same is true of the prophecies regarding the first two Caliphs in the Qur'ān. He asserts that the following Qur'ānic verse is a prophecy of the reign of the first two Caliphs. The verse says:

> 'Allāh hath promised such of you as believe and do good works that He will surely make them to succeed (the present rulers) in the earth even as He caused those who were before them to succeed (others) and that He will surely establish for them their religion which He hath approved for them, and will give them in exchange safety after their fear. They serve Me. They ascribe nothing as partner unto Me. Those who disbelieve henceforth, they are the miscreants.'[65]

Shāh Walī-Allāh continues by saying that the Caliphs, forecast in the above verse, were neither the Umayyads nor the 'Abbāsids. The fulfilment of the promise at the beginning of the verse explicitly relates to events occurring after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. According to the Shāh the assassins of the third Caliph and the Imāmiyya(Ithna 'Ashari Shī'is)who believed that the Caliphate had been usurped from its rightful successors were most prominent among those guilty of ingratitude to God, who had appointed such wonderful successors to the Prophet Muhammad. The Shī'is were quite misled to believe that the promise—'He will surely make them to succeed'—would be fulfilled at the appearance of Īmām Mahdī. This had already occurred under the first two Caliphs, because of the dominance Islām had obtained over the world.[66] The first two Caliphs had waged *jihād* against Qaysar (the Emperor of Byzantine) and Kisra (the Emperor of Īrān) who collectively ruled the entire world, said the Shāh, and had annihilated them both. The neighbouring rulers who paid tribute to Kisra and Qaysar had also been uprooted and Islām took over the conquered territories. In each town mosques were built and *qādis* (judges of the *Shari'a*) were appointed. *Hadīth* scholars and the *muftis* of *fiqh* (those who gave *fatwa* or judicial sentence based on the *Shari'a*) settled in these regions. Recounting the greatness of Kisra and Qaysar the Shāh states that the two divided up their respective areas into religious zones. Rome,

65 Qur'ān, xxiv, 55.
66 *Izālat al-khafā'*, I, pp. 37-132.

Russia, Frank, Germany, Ifriqiya, Syria, Egypt and Abyssinia, as well as towns in the West, followed Christianity and were supporters of Qaysar. In Khurāsān, Tūrān, Turkistān, Zābulistān and Bactria were Zoroastrians who were ruled by Kisra. Other religions such as Judaism, Hinduism and various types of polytheism and paganism were under the control of either of the two emperors and were generally weak and in a state of disintegration. We are invited by the Shāh to believe that the annihilation of these two emperors was followed by the crushing defeat of all other religions and resulted in the ascendancy of Islām over the whole world (because of the pious efforts of the first two Caliphs).[67]

No comment is necessary on Shāh Wali-Allāh's insight into seventh and eighth century World history. But what does emerge from his assertions is that to him successful military campaigns and the process of colonization represented an affirmation of the innate truth of Islām. The failure of the Shī'i *Imāms* to become powerful politically to him implied that they did not enjoy divine assistance. Moreover, as the Shī'is claimed their *Imāms* were always persecuted by other Muslims (the Sunnis) they were therefore excluded from the hopes and promises extended in the *istikhlāf* verse to the Muslim people at large.[68] Shī'ism was therefore to the Shāh a misguided sect.

The conquests made under the first three successors of the Prophet Muhammad were to Shāh Wali-Allāh different from those of later Muslims. The earlier ones he believed were an extension and fulfilment of the prophetic mission of the Prophet Muhammad and were also marked by certain other distinctive features. Firstly the regions conquered after the period of the first three Caliphs (such as Turkistān, India, Frank and Abyssinia) were never fully Islamicized and there Muslim practices were not satisfactorily introduced. Secondly, the first three Caliphs gained large tracts of territory within a very short period, and although later conquests were not so extensive their Islamicization took many years. Thirdly the conquests made by the first three successors of the Prophet Muhammad were followed by the strict implementation of the rules of *Shari'a*, such as the distribution of *ghanima* (booty) and the enforcing of *kharāj* (land tax) and *jizya* (poll tax). Later Muslim conquerors failed to pay adequate attention to these factors. Fourthly, the territories of Qaysar and Kisra represented the conquest by Islām of the entire world which God had promised to the Prophet Muhammad and had been achieved with his assistance.[69] Shāh Wali-Allāh contradicts Shāhrastāni (d. 548/1153-54), the celebrated author of *al-Milal wa'l Nihal,* who believed that immediately after

67 *Izālat al-khafā'*, I, pp. 33-35, 170-74.
68 Ibid., I, p. 80.
69 Ibid., I, pp. 106, 160-64.

Muhammad's death *ikhtilāf* (differences) had emerged among the Muslims. There is no difference of opinion among any Islamic sect, argued the Shāh, that 'Ali did not accept Abū Bakr as *Khalifa*.

Shāh Wali-Allāh underrated the many divisive elements contained in early Islām and asserted that *ikhtilāf* did not include differences of opinion expressed in a discussion which was concluded with consensus. *Ikhtilāf* was rather the dissemination of two different ideologies, the protagonists of each trying to seek the support of a majority and a disapproval of the arguments of opponents.[70]

In the same vein the Shāh continued that *ijmā'* (the unanimous doctrine and opinion of recognized religious authorities at any given time) did not imply that all *mujtahids* unanimously accepted a particular point of view and believed that no-one should differ. According to him *ijmā'* could be defined as those orders of the *Khalifa-i Khāss* which he issued after consulting people qualified to pronounce on such topics, or issued by the *Khalifa-i Khāss* without consultation, which became acceptable and were followed by the entire Islamic world. To the Shāh, the Prophet Muhammad had imposed on Muslims a duty to follow his *Sunna* and that of the *Khulafā'-i Rāshidin*. The *ijmā'*, he added, did not suggest that a decision was reached in accordance with the requirements of the time, but that each companion of the Prophet Muhammad had convinced himself about the vicegerency of the *Khulafā'-i Rāshidin* (either from the *Sunna* of the Prophet or from his statements dealing with the problem of succession). The Shāh believed such a decision was perhaps the best example of *ijmā'*.[71]

Naturally Shāh Wali-Allāh supported his arguments with Sunni *ahādith*, as well as various statements made by Shi'i authorities which he believed proved the rightful succession of the first Caliph. He did not ignore the most famous Shi'i *hadith* that, on his way from Mecca to Medina after his last pilgrimage, on 18 Dhu'lhijja 10/16 March 632, the Prophet Muhammad had stopped near a pool named Ghadir-Khumm,[72] and had delivered a sermon in which he said: *'man kuntu mawlāhu fa 'Ali mawlāhu* (He to whom I am the *mawla* [the patron] of him 'Ali is also the *mawla*). According to the Shi'is this sentence represented the Prophet Muhammad's nomination of 'Ali as his successor. However, Shāh Wali-Allāh interpreted the word '*mawla*' as 'friend', and added that it had no relevance to the nomination of the *Khalifa*. The statement, he believed, was a suggestion to Muslims to be friendly to 'Ali and his family. Similar advice, said the Shāh, had been given on the friendship of Muhammad's uncle, 'Abbās (d. 32/653), his descendants and wives.[73]

70 *Izālat al-khafā'*, I, p. 509.
71 Ibid., I, pp. 100, 212-215.
72 *E. I²*, II, pp. 993-94.
73 *Izālat al-khafā'*, pp. 453-54.

According to Shāh Walī-Allāh, the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid Caliphs belonged to the category of the *Khulafā'-i'Āmm* (ordinary vicegerents). They were required to possess extensive resources and military power, to be able to counter any attempted territorial attack. It was imperative on the part of ordinary Caliphs to exterminate rebellious kings, without depending on assistance from their subordinates. The appointment of just and pious Caliphs, continued the Shāh, helped to quell rebellious elements and prompted other kings to obey them. To him the terms of ordinary Caliphs, kings and *Imāms* were interchangeable.[74]

The discussions of Shāh Walī-Allāh on the controversial subject of the *khalifa* cover about half of all the works known to have been written by him. There is no doubt that he argued the Sunni case very forcefully and the present section can best be summed up by drawing attention to a chapter on the *khalifa* in the *Kitāb al-luma' fi'l-radd'alā ahl al-zaigh wa'l bida'* by Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'arī (260/873-74-324/935-6). It refers to some verses in the Qur'ān which according to him embody the prophecies of the nomination of the first two Caliphs after Muhammad. Strangely enough he does not quote the verse which the Shāh believed supported his argument. Ash'arī concluded the discussion with the following remarks: 'Thus what we have cited from the Qur'ān proves the *Imāmate* of al-Siddiq (Abū Bakr) and of al-Fārūq ('Umar). And if Abū Bakr's *Imāmate* be certain because of the proofs which we have mentioned—from the ostensible meaning of the Qur'ān and the consensus of the Muslims of his time on it—then the view of him who holds the Prophet Muhammad explicitly designated, the *Imāmate* of another is false. For, the *Imāmate* of a certain individual would be impossible if the Apostle had explicitly designated the *Imāmate* of someone else. And this necessitates the falsity of the assertion of him who maintains that the Prophet appointed 'Alī to be *Imām* after him.

The view of him who holds that Abū Bakr was explicitly designated to be *Imām* is refuted by the fact that on the Day of the Porch Abū Bakr said to 'Umar : "Stretch forth thy hand that I may swear allegiance to thee !" For if the Apostle of God had designated Abū Bakr's *Imāmate*, the latter could not have said : "Stretch forth thy hand that I may swear allegiance to thee !"[75]

**Hikma**

Shāh Walī-Allāh's concept of *hikma* differed widely from that of the *Ishrāqis* and the Muslim peripatetics. He had some sympathy with the

74 *Hujjat*, I, p. 96.

75 Richard J. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ash'arī*, Beyrouth 1953, translation, pp. 115-16, text, p. 83.

latter, but condemned outright the *Ishrāqis* as worshippers of light and fire.[76] To the Shāh, the *hakim* was a divine sage and *hikma* the Qur'ānic science different from other forms of *Ilāhiyāt* or science of Divinity.[77] Before their prophetic missions a number of prophets, according to him, were *hakims*, including even the Prophet Muhammad, who in his early career was an infallible sage.[78] A *hakim*, Shāh Wali-Allāh wrote, was endowed with that kind of personal *tajalli* (theophany) which had uprooted other forms of non-spiritual, latent realities from his inner being. To a *hakim* were opened the doors of all spiritual realities, practical subtleties and the secrets of life after death and such other sciences as are mentioned in the Qur'ān.[79] The most reliable instrument of *hikma* was *wijdān* (intuition) and not *burhān* (the demonstrative proof).[80]

Shāh Wali-Allāh states that according to the speculative philosophers, Being (*Wujūd*) can be mentally conceived in two forms; firstly, Being which exists by itself or as pure essence, devoid of all types of particularization and relation; secondly, Being which exists as a result of something else, in other words, whose existence is included in the existence of its cause.[81] The Shāh disregards the debates of the speculative philosophers and distinguishes the Primal One, or Ultimate Being (*al-Wujūd al-Aqsa*), i.e. God, from the concept of being and asserts that non-being (*adam-mahad*) is in fact not the opposite of Ultimate Being. '*Adam* (not-being) or imperfection[82] being the creation of reason cannot be associated with Ultimate Being or God, who is the Primal One, the Real.[83] The Ultimate Being is the genus of all genera and the essence of all essences and it exists by reason of its cause (*Wujūdhu fi nafsihi*).[84] All Realities are embraced by the First or the Ultimate Being to whom they return.[85]

Criticizing the views of the Muslim philosophers and *hakims* of Mullā Sadra's school on creation, Shāh Wali-Allāh formulated his own theories which he considered to be an original contribution. To a certain section of the philosophers who followed Plato and Philo, creation was an act by which God brought into existence "things that were non-existent".

76 *Khayr al-kathīr* with Urdū translation by Mawlānā 'Ābid al-Rahmān Siddīqī Kāndhalwī, Karāchī n. d., p. 35.
77 *Tafhīmāt*, I, p. 159.
78 *Khayr al-kathīr*, pp. 248-49.
79 Ibid., p. 248.
80 *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 157-200, 216-36; *Budūr al-bāzigha*, pp. 9-10.
81 *Khayr al-kathīr*, pp. 25-26.
82 *Budūr al-bāzigha*, 10; Ghulām Mustafa Qāsimī, ed.; *Lamahāt*, Haydarābād (Sind) *lamahā* 2.
83 *Khayr al-kathīr*, pp. 31-32.
84 *Lamahāt*, p. 9; *Khayr al-kathīr*, p. 28; *Tafhīmāt*, II, pp. 246-50.
85 *Budūr al-bāzigha*, p. 10.

According to Wolfson, "This use of the term 'non-existent' in the sense of nothing can be traced to two passages in Aristotle. In one passage, contrasting his own view with that of Platonists who have conceived of Plato's pre-existent matter as 'the non-existent'...., he says that 'matter' is non-existent only 'accidentally', whereas 'privation' is non-existent 'essentially' and, in another passage, having in mind that use of the term 'non-existent' described by him as being non-existent essentially, he says that 'the non-existent'....is 'nothing'."[86]

The scholars of *kalām* concerned themselves mainly with the problem of whether the non-existent (*al-ma'dūm*) was nothing (*lā shay*) or something (*shay*), instead of discussing directly whether the world was created from nothing or from some pre-existent, eternal matter. Shāh Wali-Allāh's *hikma* explained the relationship between God and the universe through three successive processes. First is *ibdā'* or the generation of something new from nothing.[87] To the philosopher al-Kindi (*c.* 185/801-260/873) *ibda'* means creation from nothing by the true efficient cause, interpreted as God. However, to Shāh Wali-Allāh it is the overflowing of Divine power from the pure Being to actuality. The first thing which originated from the Divine Essence through the *ibda'* was the *Nafs al-kulliya* (Universal Self) or the Qalam.[88] It is an abstract existence and represents His active knowledge (*Fi'liyyūn*). The Pen, according to the Shāh, could be identified with the First Intellect of the rationalists. The passive knowledge (*infi'āli*) of God is represented by the Guarded Tablet (*lawh*) or universe.[89] The *khalq* (creation) according to the Shāh is a logical corollary of the *ibda'*. *Khalq* means creation of something from something else.[90] The Universe (*Shakhs al-akbar*, macrocosm), its forms (*haula*), space (*makān*) and time (*zamān*) belong to the realm of creation. To Shāh Wali-Allāh both time and space belong to the realm of *jawhar* (abstract substance) and are not accidents. They are not two categories, inseparable and indivisible, and one cannot be conceived without the other.[91] In the *Khayr al-kathir*, he says, "When God intended to create the creation, He first caused something to flow from pure abstraction and pure absoluteness. By that something is meant a complete body which has limited all the directions (*Jihāt*) and is not capable of any rend and mend. This (complete body) is the Great Throne (*'Arsh*). Though it is material, it is spiritual in respect of the complete nearness (it enjoys with God) and in its being the source of the uni-

86 H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the kalām*, London 1976, p. 356.
87 *Hujjat*, I, p. 22.
88 *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 75, 76, 79, 147, 148, 160-64, 186, 189; *Lamahāt*, nos. 21, 23.
89 *Khayr al-kathīr*, pp. 119-21.
90 *Hujjat*, I, p. 22.
91 *Khayr al-kathīr*, pp. 111-12.

versal administration (*Tadbir*). It has a complete, universal soul. Thus, it deserves to be said about it that "God mounted it".

"Thereafter, He caused another body, incomplete and limited by directions and capable of rend and mend, to flow. By this body I mean that it accepts all that happens to it and assumes every form for granted. And that body is *al-Mā'* (water), which is pure material, has no nearness (with God) and is not the source of Divine administration. It does not possess any soul and is unfit to become the seat of God. It is interpreted as *Mā'*, because of its resemblance to water in absoluteness and capability (of recipiency), just as the *'Arsh* is so named because God mounted it and because of its being a complete body. This is the 'taste' of a Divine Sage (*Hakim*), and there is no way but to accept it in the light of the investigation carried through. Those who have differed have differed because they did not know the real secret.

"There are many verses and Traditions in support of it. God has said in His Book: 'It is He Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His Throne was on the water, in order that He may try you, as to which of you is best in deeds.' On the authority of 'Imrān b. Husayn as narrated by Imām Bukhārī, the explanation which the Holy Prophet gave of this verse is: 'There was God and nothing was before Him, and His Throne was on the water. He, then, created the heavens and the earth and wrote everything in the Guarded Tablet (*Dhikr*).' According to another authority, the Holy Prophet is reported to have said that 'He created the heavens and the earth from water. This much is the 'taste' of the Prophets and the Divine Sages (*Hukamā'*).'

"When we pay our attention to the philosophers who are engaged in matters which do not concern them, we are led to interpret their saying in this way, that the *'Arsh* is existing as it is. Its (prime) matter depends on its form and its form depends on its matter. The water is a body composed of matter and the general form which (form) is capable of assuming every form. This saying of theirs is like the one they make about the secondary matter (*Hayūlā Thāniyyah*) and the vegetative form (*Sūrat Nabātiyyah*).

"A self-spreading substance which is the time (*Zamān*) and a self-enlarging substance which is the space (*Makān*) have encompassed the whole of materiality (*Jismāniyyah*). Both these are common to all the bodies and have penetrated them. Thus, (by) the actualisation of time is (meant) its actualisation (it has) in the body (*Jism*), and (by) the actualisation of space is (meant) its actualisation (it has) in the body. It is, therefore, that some have taken them to be an accident, but the 'taste' of the Sages (*Hukamā'*) refuses to accept such a view. As the spread of time was not familiar to their imagination, it became difficult for them to imagine it.

"Let it be known that God has created all the things, united with each

other. Had this (unity) not been there, the matter would have fled to pure absoluteness which is one of the Names of God, and the form also would have taken flight to a Name which it had represented. God by His manifest wisdom tied one with the other. Through this the universe became established.

"The whole universe is originated (*Hādith*). However, as regards time and its co-existence, their origination is limited. While as for the other things, they are originated by both the meanings of origination. He who tries to prove the temporal origination (*Hudūth Zamānī*) for the time and its co-existents is wandering in a wilderness. He cannot find any verse or Tradition as a proof in support of it.

"Remember that every characteristic (*Khusūsiyyah*) of the Divine Names necessitates the appearance of a particular form in the world of possibility. The reason is that there exists a particular relation between the two, which is a matter of fact with God. The Holy Prophet has said that God created Adam after His (particular) form. This is how the celestial spheres and the elements with their particular forms appeared (from the Divine Names). Then in the particular creation (*Nash'at*) every element and every celestial sphere has a particular form.

"The mineral (one of the three Kingdoms of Nature) is a purely bodily thing with a weak soul. Its function is to protect its form and nature. The mineral form of the celestial spheres is, however, more perfect than that of the elements. The common people use the word 'mineral' for the earth in particular, but the intuitionists, according to the requirement of their 'taste', use it in the general sense like (all kinds of) water (which is the origin of all creation).

"Vegetable is a body with a soul. Its function is to look after nourishment and growth coupled with the protection of the vegetable form. They both (the mineral and the vegetable) are sometimes compulsorily dressed (on account of the outside effect) in the predications of the animal and the rational being; but here we are discussing only the requirement of the natures.

"The animal is a body which has a soul. Its function is to have the perception of feeling, thinking, imagination, comprehension, pleasure and anger, etc.

"The rational being (*Nātiq*) is a body with a soul. The function of it is to understand things in general, namely, to understand the Names of God which are the principles of the worlds, both intellectually and practically. This rational being is of many kinds, and they are as under:

(1) *The rational being, which in quantity is dominated by the earth (earthly element)*. Its four humours are, however, in the normal state but that normality is not real, and is only popularly known as such. This (kind of the rational being) is man.

(2) *The rational one (Nātiq), which is dominated by air quantitatively and all its four humours are really in equilibrium qualitatively.* It is the angel of the low rank. Some of the angels of the low rank are helpers of the angels of the high rank and are their images (*Tamāthil*). They are put in charge of certain duties, are more near to chastity than man and others and are stronger than them spiritually.

(3) *The rational one, who is dominated by the element of water quantitatively and whose four humours are in equal proportion qualitatively.* Such a one is the acquatic man. Nothing is heard about him save what a narrator of a particular taste sometimes tells of him.

(4) *The rational one, who is dominated by the element of fire in quantity but whose four humours are in equal proportion in quality.* Such a one is the (community of the) *Jinn*. It is easy for them to cause effects in the *Nasmah* which cannot be easily caused by man but only after hard, strenuous effort.

(5) *The rational one, which is made from the celestial spheres.* This one is an angel of a high rank.

"The angels are the images of Names. Spiritually, they are more perfect than men and their constitutional form is more subtle than the constitutional form of men. They, therefore, are wholly and completely a revelation and a knowledge. They follow their principles (Names) thoroughly well. Some of them are universals (*Kulliyūn*) and are, thus, entrusted with universal affairs. Their effect is also universal both in the process (*Nash'at*) of nature and intellect. Some of them are particulars (*Juz'iyyin*) and are, therefore, committed to look after the mountains, the oceans, the clouds and some such other things."[92]

Between the material world and God, Shāh Walī-Allāh placed the existence of the *'ālam al-mithāl* which is different from the *'ālam al-arwāh* (world of spirits). The *'ālam al-mithāl* is a world of imagination, being lower than the *'ālam al-arwāh* but higher than the *'ālam al-ajsām* (the material world).[93] In the *'ālam al-mithāl* are manifested all ideas and actions in suitable physical form before they are actually born into the world. The *'ālam al-mithāl* also explains many supernatural experiences which would otherwise seem senseless. The perception of *tadbīr* or divine management is also, according to Shāh Walī-Allāh, associated with the understanding of the *'ālam al-mithāl*.[94]

**Sūfism**

Shāh Walī-Allāh's age was exceedingly rich in the teaching of *sūfism*. In Muhammad Shāh's reign, says Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz there were twenty-

92 G. N. Jalbānī, *Al-Khayr al-kathīr*, English translation, Lahore 1974, pp. 40-43.
93 *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 80, 105, II, pp. 180-82.
94 *Hujjat*, I, p. 27.

two outstanding *sūfi* leaders from different orders in Delhi. *Sūfi* impostors, charlatans and preachers with antinomian tendencies were also rampant at the time. To Shāh Walī-Allāh his mission was to reconcile differences between the various *sūfi* orders and their teachings and practices. He also wanted earnestly to make *sūfism* acceptable to orthodox Sunnis.

To do so Shāh Walī-Allāh again emphasized the belief that Islām was a dominant and divinely assisted religion. He believed it was divided into two vital aspects. Its exoteric side was concerned with the protection of the public good but its esoteric aspect involved the purification of the heart through virtuous deeds (*ihsān*). The *faqihs*, scholars of *hadith*, *ghāzis* (warriors of holy war) and the *qāris* (reciters of the Qur'ān) were the guardians of the exoteric section of Islām in each age. All these also played a role as defenders of the faith, fighting against those movements which falsified Islām. At the end of each century there arises amongst them a *mujaddid* (renewer) who purifies and restores the faith to its original pristine glory.[95]

The esoteric aspect of the faith was identified by Shāh Walī-Allāh with *ihsān*.[96] *Ihsān*, the Shāh goes on to say, was the worship of Allāh with the certainty that the worshipper was watching Him or else He was watching the worshipper. Those who upheld *ihsān* were holy men who were known as *awliyā'-Allāh* (protégés of God) or *sūfis*. They could perform miracles, and through intuition, divine revelation and the illumination of their hearts they could also diagnose the condition of the hearts of others. As Allāh seemed to grant their prayers they attracted to their side many disciples. This helped them to recognize mystic meditational practices and then to found new orders of *sūfis*. Divine assistance was responsible for the progress

95 *Izālat al-khafā'*, II, p. 377. He mentions the following *mujaddids* appearing at the end of earlier centuries of the *hijra* era:

1*st*. 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-101/717-720) who uprooted the tyranny of the rulers (*mulūk*) and instituted noble practices.

2*nd*. Imām Shāfi'ī (150/767-204/820) the founder of the principles and branches of *fiqh*.

3*rd*. Abu'l Hasan al-Ash'arī (260/873-74-324/935-6) who strengthened the *Sunna* and uprooted the *bid'a* (sinful innovations).

4*th*. Hākim (Nīshāpūrī 321/933-405/1014), Bayhaqī (Abū Bakr Ahmad 384/994-458/1066) and others promoted the learning of *hadīth*. Abū Hāmid and others made original contributions to *fiqh*.

5*th*. Ghazālī (Abū Hāmid Muhammad 450/1058-505/1111) carved out a new path and reconciled *fiqh*, *sūfism* and *kalām*, removing their differences.

6*th*. Imām Rāzī (Fakhr al-Dīn 543/1149-606/1209) propagated *kalām* and Nūwī, made contributions to the *fiqh*. There is no mention of the *mujaddids* of the seventh century in the list. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī claimed himself the *mujaddid* of the first millennium and of course Shāh Walī-Allāh claimed himself to be the *mujaddid* of his own century. The fourth and fifth centuries contain more than one *mujaddid*, making the theory of the appearance of the *mujaddids* at the end of each century confusing.

96 *Ham'āt*, (Urdū translation) *Tasawwuf kī haqīqat awr uskā falsafa-i tārīkh*, Lahore p. 51; *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 56, 113, 115.

of particular *sūfi* orders (*tariqas*), but as they developed the orders changed constantly. Eventually one prominent *sūfi* order would slip into the background, a new order emerging. As the *Mujaddids* of the *Shari'a* were raised to eminence by God, so were the *mujaddids* of the *tariqas*.[97]

Shāh Wali-Allāh divided the history of *sūfism* into four epochs. The first, he said, began at the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions and extended until the time of Junayd of Baghdād (d.298/910). At that time, holy men were concerned with obeying the outer forms of the holy law. Their *ihsān* (essence of *sūfism*) was confined to performing *namāz, dhikr,* reciting the Qur'ān, fasting, paying *dhakāt* and performing *jihād.* They did not consider these obligatory duties merely as divine commands but were often transported into spiritual ecstasy by their performance.

During the lifetime of Junayd of Baghdād, or perhaps even earlier, a new trend in *sūfism* emerged. A large section of *sūfis* still upheld these earlier beliefs, but a chosen few turned to asceticism and withdrew from the world to live as hermits. Continual meditation and contemplation led to such intense states of spiritualism and a corresponding illumination that they began to express their feelings by using symbols and unusual phrases. Listening to *samā'* would fill them with spiritual bliss and ecstasy, prompting them to tear their clothes and fall into a swoon. This spiritual illumination and intense inspiration enables the *sūfis* to understand the actual condition of other people's hearts. Some lived in mountains and jungles, ate grass and leaves and wore tattered rags. Their self-mortification was an attempt to protect themselves from the last of the world and the enticement of devils of whom they had had personal experience.

Until this period, the mystic *tawajjuh* (spiritual telepathy) had not reached its final point, in the sense that the soul did not pay much close attention to the *haqiqat al-haqā'iq* ('reality of realities') as to be fully absorbed in the latter. *Sūfis* were still mainly concerned with obedience to God and the state of *tawajjuh* was experienced only occasionally.

From the time of Shaykh Abū Sa'īd bin Abi'l-Khayr (357/967-440/1049) and Shaykh Abu'l Hasan Kharaqāni (d. 425/1034) the *sūfi* system underwent a radical change. This according to Shāh Wali-Allāh marked the beginning of its third epoch. A large number of perfect *sūfis* continued to follow earlier beliefs and practices but the élite among them spent most of their lives in a state of ecstasy and through this path were led to *tawajjuh.* The veils separating them from the Divine were pulled aside and they were able to see existence emanating from Being. They became lost in Being and their individual selves were coloured with His colour. While in this state they neglected their acts of mortification and were lost to the world.

97 *Ham'āt* (Urdu translation), pp. 45-49.

Their sole interest was the perfection of all spiritual requirements along the *tawajjuh*; the mystical stages remaining to them were only luminous veils. At this time there was no discrimination between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* (Unity of Appearance). The main aim of *sūfis* was to lose their individual identities in Being and enjoy the spiritual benefits of that exalted mystic state.

The fourth epoch, says Shāh Wali-Allāh, started a short time before Shaykh al-Akbar Muhiy 'al-Din ibn al-'Arabi (560/1165-638/1240) emerged on the scene. This generation of Muslims went beyond the existing knowledge relating to mystic states and stations and began discussing the subtle differences of *sūfi* theories. They discovered stages of descent (*tanzullāt*) from the *Wājib al-Wujūd* (Necessary Being) and the circumstances at the beginning of this process.[98]

Shāh Wali-Allāh pointed out that the customs of all four different groups were acceptable to God and the *malā' a'la* (superior angelic sphere) recognized the importance of each. However, in the *Ham'āt* and in other works he warns that the assessment of the sayings and actions of each group of mystics should be made according to the prevailing spiritual convictions of the respective periods. The yardstick of a judgment in one period should not be applied to another.[99]

According to the Shāh, *sūfis* list five stages of descent from the Necessary Being. The first is the stage of *Ahadiyya* (the Essence of the Primal One or Unknowable Supreme Being). The second stage is the *Wahdāniyya* (the Unity or God); the third descent is the sphere of *Arwāh* (pure spirits); the fourth is the sphere of *Mithāl* (similitude) and the fifth is the sphere of *Ajsām* (bodies of physical world). The problems of the Unity of Being lie in untangling the skein of these different stages. The main question is whether the stages are essentially One or merely have the appearance of One.[100]

By the eighteenth century the controversy over the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*, sparked off by Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnāni and taken up by the Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni had attracted the attention of intellectuals and *sūfis* all over the Muslim world, including Mecca and Medina where the disciples of Shaykh Ādam Banūri had made some impact. In Transoxiana and Turkey also the translation of the letters of the Mujaddid and Shaykh Muhammad Ma'sūm had aroused considerable interest in the controversy.[101] Shāh Wali-Allāh advised *sūfi* masters to avoid involving their disciples in this timeworn argument. Although his father and uncle believed in the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, he himself considered that the differen-

98 *Ham'āt* (Urdū translation), pp. 51-56.
99 Ibid., pp. 56-57.
100 Ibid., pp. 140-57.
101 S. A. A. Rizvi, *History of sūfism in India*, II, in press, chapter six, "Indian Sūfīs and the Medieval Islamic World".

ces in the two theories were merely a matter of semantics and that essentially they were the same.

In one of his many letters Shāh Walī-Allāh explained the differences in the two theories according to the writings of the Mujaddid and his disciples. Summing up their views, the Shāh wrote that these two terms were often used to denote a *sayr ila'Allāh* (journey towards God). In this context, the stage called the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* applied to mystics who became lost in their search for the Universal Reality. At this point all reason and worldly distinctions imposed by the *Shari'a* were effaced. Although this mystical stage was only temporary, divine assistance was needed to move beyond it.

The *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*, according to the Shāh, indicates that a mystic has reached a stage where *jama'* (union) and *tafriqa* (separation) are mingled and he can clearly perceive that unity and a distinct form of multiplicity come from a related cause. This latter stage *ma'rifa* (gnosis), the followers of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* believed, was superior to the earlier ones.

Shāh Walī-Allāh summarized the differences between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* by pointing out the relationship between the *hādith*, the contingent or relative, and its opposite the *qadim* (eternal). He stated that the followers of both believed that only One Reality pervaded the entire universe. Using an analogy he said that wax models of men, horses and donkeys had different shapes but the common factor between them was that they were all made of the same material. Although they were each given a name distinguishing them from each other, without the wax, in the phenomenal world they were non-existent.

Shāh Walī-Allāh called attention to the need for understanding the relationship between Being and the *Nafs al-Kulliya* (Universal Self) as a basis for recognizing that the difference between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* was really only nominal. The *Nafs al-Kulliya* emanated from Being through a power of creating things from nothing (*ibda'*) not the power of creating things from something already existing (*khalq*). The Shāh believed that this idea was too subtle for many people to understand. The *sūfis*, seeing unity in diversity, perceived the unity of the *Nafs al-Kulliya* but not that of Being.

The difference between Being and the *Nafs al-Kulliya* may be compared to that between the figure four and two pairs of two—'4' can be seen as one figure or as something totalling two twos; therefore it exists in two forms. Another way of looking at it is to term '4' as the Creator or independent and the pair of twos as dependent or created, the latter being the manifestation of the former. In such an analysis there is no conflict or contradiction in the two interpretations of the figure '4'.

Similarly, the relationship between Being and the *Nafs al-Kulliya* could be extended to such a degree that any name or title could symbolize either

of them. Those who believed in the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* affirmed the unity of the *Nafs al-Kulliya,* while those who believed in the *tanzih* or transcendence, God being totally distinct from His creatures through His essence could conceive different stages between *Nafs al-Kulliya* and Being. The latter is the view of the believers of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd.* Shāh Walī-Allāh, however, warned that mystics should not confuse the relationship between Being and *Nafs al-Kulliya* with that between *Nafs al-Kulliya* and its forms. The Shāh believed this amounted to seeing everything as either red or green after putting on glasses tinted with those colours.

The Shāh in his letter continued by saying that people who believed in the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* tried to establish a relationship between *hādith* and *qadim.* They saw the universe as a reflection of the Divine Names and Attributes which were embodied in the mirror of pre-existence. These Names and Attributes were the antithesis of each other, as for example, the non-existence of Omnipotence was impotence. The reflection of Omnipotence in the mirror of impotence results in the appearance of relative power. The same argument applies to all attributes of Being.

The Shāh went on to say that his interpretation of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* could be classed as irreconcilable with the writings of Ibn al-'Arabi but he thought that without resorting to similes and metaphors, Ibn al-'Arabi had tended to indicate that *Haqā'iq al-Imkāniya* (contingent realities) were insignificant and without total power, only the *Haqiqat al-Wujūdiyya* (Reality of Being) being omnipotent. It would therefore follow, said the Shāh, that the *Haqā'iq al-Imkāniya* (contingent realities) were non-existent and the different forms of existence were reflected in Being.

Shāh Walī-Allāh noted certain conflicts between the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi and those of Mujaddid regarding the *Haqā'iq al-Imkāniya.* According to Ibn al-'Arabi, said the Shāh, the latter denoted Names and Attributes and their individuation (*ta'ayyun*) took place in divine knowledge. However, the Mujaddid believed that Names and Attributes did not belong to a pre-existence which had been acted upon by *tajalli* (theophany) to change them into existence. What was true, said Shāh Walī-Allāh, was that everything that was non-existent and cast in shadows was incorporated into divine knowledge. When the Omnipotent God wished to transfer any quiddity (*māhiyya*) from the region of His knowledge to the region of existence and thereby assume individuation, He endowed it with an existence called *zill* (shadow). The views of the Mujaddid about the universe, added Shāh Walī-Allāh, were neither firm nor clear. At times he believed it to be a gift of shadowy existence, at others he saw it as adorned with an imaginary existence which was endowed with great strength. To Shāh Walī-Allāh, *Haqā'iq al-Imkāniya* was referred to in a different sense.

Firstly, *Haqā'iq al-Imkāniya* meant *Wujūd al-Khāssa,* that is, a specific existence, such as that of an animal. These were intelligible realities, very

much in existence in the phenomenal world and incorporated in everyone's knowledge.

Secondly, they referred to 'fixed prototypes of things' neither in a state between existence nor non-existence. When existence was attached and became fixed, prototypes of things which were part of divine knowledge were identified as either being or non-being.

Rationalists identified 'the fixed prototypes of things' with quiddity, said the Shāh, and decided that they were into a category of being neither existent nor non-existent. Rationalists, commented the Shāh, failed to understand the real nature of the intelligible ideas in the mind of the First of Firsts (that is, God); only the *sūfis* who believe in the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* know the real relationship between the fixed prototypes of things and God's knowledge.

Shāh Walī-Allāh considered the Mujaddid's views to be based on a misunderstanding of Ibn al-'Arabī's theories of *Nafs al-Kulliya*, but glossed them over with the remark that they had not emerged from faults in revelation; everyone was subject to minor errors, and the high spiritual state of a great *sūfi* was not impaired by such mistakes.[102]

In one of his letters Shāh Walī-Allāh claimed he had endorsed a large number of Mujaddid's theories, including the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*.[103] In another letter he gave unqualified support to the Mujaddid's controversial claims which he made in his letter (No. 94, Volume II of the *Maktūbāt*) addressed to his son, Khwāja Muhammad Ma'sūm.[104]

102 *Faysala Wahdat al-Wujūd wa'l Shuhūd,* (Shāh Walī-Allāh's letter to Āfandī Isma'īl bin 'Abd-Allāh Rūmī who had settled in Medina), Delhi n. d. The letter is also reproduced in the *Tafhīmāt,* II, pp. 261-71, 34-35.

103 *Maktūbāt mai manāqīb,* pp. 7-9.

104 This volume of 124 letters compiled in 1031/1621 contained letters written after 1028/1618-19. In this letter the Mujaddid restated the traditional Muslim belief that although the *ta'ayyun-i awwal* (first individuation) was an expression of the *wilāya* (friendship) of Ibrāhīm Khalīl-Allāh (Abraham, the friend of God), its main aim was the creation of the friendship between Muhammad and God. Thus the *wilāya* of Abraham may be likened to a circle whose centre was the *wilāya* of Muhammad. In order to reach the latter it was imperative to cross the periphery of the *wilāya* of Abraham and acquire perfections relating to his status. The central point of the circle representing the *wilāya* of the Prophet Muhammad was the stage of the love of God for Muhammad. One thousand years after the Prophet Muhammad the central point relating to the Reality of the Prophet Muhammad formed an inner circle. The completion of the second circle was made through the Mujaddid and he was also the agent in the granting of the Prophet Muhammad's prayers. "Oh Lord, have mercy on Muhammad as Thou hast shown on Ibrāhīm." No disrespect to the Prophet was involved, the Mujaddid asserted, in the mediation of any true members of the Prophet's community with God. This could be illustrated through the analogy of a servant who prepared for himself beautiful clothes acquired from his master's money in order to enhance the glory of the latter. Another analogy which could be made was that of rulers who conquered with the help of their slaves

Replying to the controversy which had existed from the time of the Mujaddid to his own day, Shāh Walī-Allāh wrote that the revelations witnessed by holy men were always right. Sometimes the men restated the truth; sometimes they revealed it in further detail; at times their inspirations were written explicitly and at others were expressed through mysterious allusions. Each saint experienced divine inspiration relevant to his own age. The assertions of the holy men should not be interpreted literally, said the Shāh, for they expressed their beliefs in the light of the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*. The Shāh felt that the Mujaddid's reference to 'circle' and 'centre' in his explanation of *wilāya* and the perfections radiating from it were not to be despised. The Mujaddid had stated that the central point of the circle representing the *wilāya* of Muhammad was the stage when God conceived a love for the Prophet Muhammad. One thousand years after the Prophet's lifetime the central point relating to his Reality formed an inner circle. The completion of the second circle came from the Mujaddid. He was also the agent in the granting of the Prophet Muhammad's prayers. 'Oh Lord, have mercy on Muhammad as Thou hast shown on Ibrāhim'. Shāh Walī-Allāh saw that no disrespect to the Prophet was intended in the mediation of any true member of the Mujaddid's community. This could be illustrated by the analogy of a servant who prepared for himself beautiful clothes which were acquired with his master's wealth so as to enhance the latter's glory. Another analogy could be made with rulers who were military conquerors with the support of their slaves and army but who suffered no reduction of power by enlisting help. It followed therefore, said the Mujaddid, that it was incorrect to assume that the prophets did not need help and according to authentic traditions, the Prophet Muhammad used to invoke the prayers of the saints in Medina to assist him in his campaigns.

The second cycle, beginning one thousand years after *hijra*, was marked by the Mujaddid's total understanding of the states of the heart, the spirit and the Infinite. In earlier ages these matters were confused and not properly understood. During Islām's second millennium, the Mujaddid was able to integrate all spiritual experiences into a coordinate whole. Although he expressed a considerable number of spiritual truths in an enigmatic manner he was the *qutb* (axis) of all religious guidance in his age. A large number of misguided people were finally led to a correct understanding through his efforts and were subsequently liberated from the darkness of materialism and sinful innovation. The respect shown to the

and army without any diminution of their own power because of assistance from others. It was wrong to assume that the prophets did not need help; according to authentic traditions, the Prophet Muhammad used to invoke the prayers of the saints who had migrated to Medina to assist in his victory.

Mujaddid was really gratitude to the Creator of the universe for the grace bestowed on him.[105]

Shāh Wali-Allāh not only interpreted these ideas of the Mujaddid sympathetically but also those which emerged from other *sūfi khānqāhs* (monasteries). His attitude had sprung from his deep understanding of *sūfism*. After experiencing spiritual ecstasy himself, the Shāh found the secrets of all the important *sūfi* orders of India, Mecca and Medina revealed to him. In these orders he acquired both spiritual and academic illumination.[106] He advised those who were interested in *sūfi* discipline to first complete the *sūfi* course in ecstasy (*jadhb*). 'Alī, he said, had been the first of the early Muslims to experience *jadhb* and therefore all *sūfi* orders could trace their origins from him. Later, however, in his work *Qurrat al-'aynayn*, the Shāh argued against such a practice on the grounds that he saw in it the germs of the subsequent *tafdiliyya* doctrines, and squabbles arising over the relative superiority of the Prophet Muhammad's successors. Contemporary *sūfis* believed in the superiority of 'Alī he said, on the authority of the *sūfi* genealogical trees. They linked 'Alī either with Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815) or Hasan Basrī.[107] By tradition, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī was said to have been connected either with Dāwūd Tā'ī (d. 164/781) or 'Alī al-Ridā.[108] Hasan al-Basrī was said to have been linked with 'Alī bin Abī Tālib.[109] *Sūfis* argued that 'Alī managed to walk the road to union with God through the Prophet's special assistance and was therefore superior to the first two successors of Prophet Muhammad. To them, the real mark of superiority was *fanā' wa baqā'*,[110] possessing a true knowledge of Being and Attributes. According to them, 'Alī was decidedly superior because Abū Bakr and 'Umar were more concerned with politics and government (*imāma*) and the organization of Islamic practices.

These false theories, said Shāh Wali-Allāh, had developed from stories invented by the Isma'ilis, the Qarāmitā and the materialists. Nevertheless, the *sūfis* had exaggerated the statements of Ibn al-'Arabī beyond all pro-

105 *Maktūbāt Shāh Walī-Allāh*, Rāmpūr Ms.

106 *Ham'āt*, pp. 174-76.

107 Abū Sa'īd bin Abi'l-Hasan Yasar al-Basrī was born at Medina in 21/642, and went to Basra a year after the battle of Siffīn in 37/657. Hasan participated in the wars against eastern Īrān in 43/663 and lived in Basra until his death in 110/728.

108 Abu'l-Hasan bin Mūsa bin Ja'far known as 'Alī al-Ridā, the eighth Shī'ī *Imām* was born in Medina in 148/765. In 201/816 Caliph Mā'mūn summoned him to Marw and appointed him his heir. However, alarmed with the opposition that his scheme to gain the support of the 'Alīd sparked off, the Caliph secretly had him killed in 203/818. He was buried near Tūs and his sanctuary (*mashhad*) became a famous pilgrimage centre of the Shī'īs.

109 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Naqd al-'ilm wa'l 'ulamā' aw talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo 1928, p. 191.

110 *fanā'* (extinction of the individuality in the Essence); *baqā'* (the opposite of *fanā'* meaning permanently abiding with Reality).

portions in order to establish 'Alī's superiority. He summed up the main *sūfi* theories regarding the latter thus :

1. Knowledge was divided into two categories—knowledge of the Divine and knowledge of divine laws. The chief goal of spiritualist was union with the Divine. Laws were merely a means to that end. All *sūfi* orders had emerged from 'Alī, as their *sūfi* genealogical trees would indicate, and none could be traced back to the first two successors to the Prophet Muhammad.
2. Profound statements about *sūfism* and gnosis were ascribed to 'Alī in an attempt to demonstrate his superior spiritual status. *Sūfis* perpetuate such ideas through their writings and ascribe to 'Alī miracles which cannot be understood by the average person without a thorough grounding in *sūfism*.
3. Being the Prophet Muhammad's cousin, 'Alī had therefore been intimately connected with him from his earliest life and had been offered greater attention by him than was given to others. Consequently the guidance received by 'Alī and passed on to his successors was perfect.
4. The Prophet Muhammad said, 'I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī is its gate.' This would indicate that 'Alī obtained the same exoteric knowledge as other companions of the Prophet, even though 'Alī's superiority was supposed to have come from the esoteric knowledge which the Prophet Muhammad imparted to him.
5. The descendants of 'Alī had all disseminated esoteric grace.

Shāh Walī-Allāh exploded what he believed to be *sūfi* myths in the following two main points:

1. The *sūfi* claim that their orders had originated from 'Alī was not based on sound research. Ideas could become widely known and even accepted, argued the Shāh, through two processes : firstly, they could be quoted by a large number of (scholarly) authorities and secondly, they could evolve within a select group. The *sūfi* claim of 'Alī's superior status came under the second category and was based on weak or false authorities. One example of such a weak authority (*hadith*) relates to the accepted relationship between 'Alī and Hasan al-Basrī.
2. The bequeathing of the *sūfi khirqa* or robe was not a feature of mystic life in the first century of Islām. According to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, it began with Junayd of Baghdād. The *dhikr*, '*Lā Ilāha illā'llāhu* at that time was taught by every father to his son. Although Hasan al-Basrī was known to have quoted a number of legal decisions 'Alī had made, he never traced one *dhikr* or tradition to him. The scholars who memorized

the *hadith* in 'Alī's generation also failed to mention any mystic connection between 'Alī and Hasan al-Basrī. If *baya'* ('initiation') was regarded as the basis for all *sūfi* relationships, *sūfi* genealogical trees should be traced from the first two successors of Muhammad, for 'Alī was initiated into *sūfism* by them. According to the Shāh these strong arguments negated *sūfi* claims of Hasan al-Basrī's being a disciple initiated into *sūfi* traditions by 'Alī.

The Shāh quotes further extracts from the *hadith* and several other arguments in support of this view, at the same time reminding his readers that in the days of the companions of the Prophet and of the subsequent generation, later *sūfi* practices (e.g. living on no fixed income, wearing special clothes, celibacy and residing in *khānqāhs*) had not yet emerged. *Sūfis* were not known then to have discussed the idea of *Tawhid* (Unity of Being) and the extinction of everything in the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. Rather they urged men to devote more time to worship and to the purification of their soul and heart.

The Sunnī works of *hadith*, added the Shāh, did not quote extensively from 'Alī, his two sons, Hasan and Husayn, and his grandson, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and statements ascribed to them in the works of the Zaydī Shī'as were untrustworthy.

According to the Shāh, the earliest *sūfi* authority tracing Hasan al-Basrī's connection with 'Alī was Shaykh Abū Tālib Makkī, an unreliable writer of *hadith*. After mentioning early *hadith* authorities from Medina, Mecca, Basra and Syria, the Shāh says that Hasan was born two years before the death of Caliph 'Umar and was raised in the house of Umm-Salama at Medina. Hasan might have seen 'Alī in mosques or at Umm-Salama's house; however, there is no firm evidence that he spent any time with 'Alī. Nevertheless, *sūfis* should continue to believe in the superiority of the Prophet Muhammad's first two successors rather than 'Alī, according to the tradition established by early mystics. To support this argument Shāh Wali-Allāh quotes Khwāja Muhammad Pārsa[111] who wrote in the *Risāla-i Qudsiya* that 'Alī had obtained spiritual training from the Caliphs who preceded him. Shaykh Abū Tālib Makkī wrote that until the Day of Resurrection the *qutb*[112] for each age was Abū Bakr. Similarly Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh Ansārī (396/1005-481/1089) Abu'l-Qāsim Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), Imām Ghazālī, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (539/1145-632/1234), the *sūfi* leader of Transoxiana, Chishtiyya, Shādhiliyya, the *sūfis* of Medina and all other mystics continually point out in their writings the superiority of the first two successors of the Prophet Muhammad. On this basis the Shāh decided that all *sūfis* should accept this.

111 Muhammad b. Muhammad, (d. 822) was an eminent Naqshbandiyya *sūfī*.
112 Head of the *sūfī* hierarchy.

According to Shāh Walī-Allāh, Hasan al-Basrī's eminence was attributed not to his association with 'Alī but to the following:

(a) A knowledge of *hadith* (as a large number of people from Basra quoted him as a source). It should be noted, says the Shāh that Hasan does not quote *hadith* directly from 'Alī but from other sources.

(b) The jurists of Kūfa quoted a large number of legal decisions of 'Umar and 'Alī drawing upon *ahādith* of Hasan al-Basrī.

(c) The art of recitation of the Qur'ān was also perfected by Hasan; 'Alī supposedly did not introduce this custom.

(d) *Tadhkīr* (sermonizing) and *sūfism;* the scholars of these disciplines do not discuss Hasan's association with 'Alī neither do the *sūfis* of the first generation.

As regards the superiority of 'Alī himself, Shāh Walī-Allāh wrote—

1. The *Ahl-i Hadith*, Zaydiyya and Imāmiyya who have collected many profound statements attributed to 'Alī are unreliable. Authentic statements are quoted only by the Prophet's companions. Indeed 'Alī's glory was his asceticism and intense pursuit of worship. As to miracles, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī very explicitly stated that in the days of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad, miracles and supernatural feats were rare occurrences. All that 'Alī performed in reality was also performed by Abū Bakr and 'Umar.
2. The *ahādith* describing 'Alī as the 'gate of knowledge' only sought to draw attention to the duty of Muslims to respect knowledge; this was not an indication of 'Alī's superiority as a religious figure over Abū Bakr and 'Umar. It only showed that his knowledge of religion was superior to others.
3. As far as the superiority of 'Alī's descendants was concerned, Imām Muhammad Bāqir (57/676-117/735) and Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq (80/699-700 or 83/702-3—148/765) were undoubtedly learned, pious and devoted to God. *Sūfis* frequently quoted traditions attributed to them, although, of course, they also drew upon others too.[113]

Shāh Walī-Allāh then quoted Shaykh al-Islām 'Abd-Allāh Ansārī who had remarked that he knew about 1,200 saints of whom only two were the descendants of 'Alī, and these were insignificant. The Shāh also mentioned that although there were some saintly personalities among the descendants of 'Alī, the founders of the Isma'īliyya, Zaydiyya and Imāmiyya sects, whom Shāh Walī-Allāh considered sinful innovators, were also included in this group. Moreover, he added, there were historical records

113 *Qurrat al-'aynayn,* pp. 298-318.

of the activities of about a hundred 'Alwis, or descendants of 'Ali, whose rebellions caused great havoc until they were annihilated. Conversely, the descendants of 'Umar and Abū Bakr produced only pious leaders. Muhammad, son of Abū Bakr, is mentioned by the Shāh in a different context in which the Shāh states that he was not immune to sin.[114] To believe that *namāz*, fasting, *jihād* and *hajj* were merely exercises for the body and of no help in the quest for God was heresy and impiety and automatically excluded one from Islām. Followers of such a belief should be exterminated by the sword, according to the Shāh. Spiritual illumination and inspiration were valid only in as far as they could be reconciled with the *Shari'a*; if they conflicted with it, then they were automatically impious.

Shāh Wali-Allāh, however, believed that 'Ali himself was not responsible for the many claims which had been made in his name. The Shāh's higher spiritual flights often took him to angelic spheres where he even met the spirits of Shi'i *Imāms*. In his Last Testament, the Shāh asserted that the *Ahl al-Bayt*, that is, members of the Prophet Muhammad's house, should not be treated more deferentially than other companions. Nevertheless, the Shāh was aware of the fact that some followers of the Prophet Muhammad, the Ithna 'Ashariyya who were regarded as *aqtāb* (the plural of *qutb*), were respected by a large number of *sūfis* who reconciled their theories of *qutb* with the Shi'i theory of *Imāma*. In the seventeenth century this led to quite a large degree of understanding between Shi'is and Sunnis. However, according to the puritanical Sunni stance adopted by Shāh Wali-Allāh, this was a dangerous trend. Esoteric matters were prone to be interpreted differently and the Shi'i theory of *Imāma* which had political connotations, was no help to *sūfism* according to the Shāh. In his last Testament, he warned *sūfis* that they should depend on *hadith* only, rather than on esoteric sources.[115]

Shāh Wali-Allāh's criticism of *sūfi* beliefs about 'Ali did not go unchallenged. As we shall see later a spirited defence was put up by Shāh Fakhr al-Din Chishti of Delhi.[116] Shāh Wali-Allāh's arguments were really directed against *Tafdiliyyas* and he had no intention of offending the Chishtiyya order. Nevertheless, while admitting the popularity of that order with the common Muslims he advised them to think of the implications of the Chishtiyya association with *samā'* and the reasons which prompted the Naqshbandiyya to prohibit it.

Shāh Wali-Allāh also worked towards attaining a sympathetic understanding of the *sūfi* practices of *dhikr* and meditation followed by different *sūfi* orders. In the *Qawl al-jamil*, Shāh Wali-Allāh gave a summary of the

114 *Qurrat at-'aynayn* p. 214.
115 *Wasiyat-nāma*, p. 6.
116 Infra, p. 376.

practices of the leading Indian *sūfi* orders of his time, and discussed at great length the *pās-i anfās* (breath control) of the Naqshbandiyya order and its spiritual advantages, remembering to add that it was intensely different from the *habs-i dam* (breath control) or *prānāyāma* of the *yogis*. The Shāh mentioned that the breath control practised by the Naqshbandiyya was not *habs-i dam* but *hasr-i nafas*, or restriction of the breath, and composed a quatrain asking how eminent Muslim spiritualists should reject the yogic exercises.[117] This was at the time of the amicable relationship between Chishtiyya and *yogis*, the former readily acknowledging their debt to yogic practice.

In passing, Shāh Wali-Allāh mentioned *salāt al-ma'kūs* (inverted *namāz*) of the Chishtiyya. Without going into great detail, the Shāh related that this practice had not come from the Prophet Muhammad's *Sunna* or from *fiqh*.[118] Neither had it been invented by the Chishtiyya. Shaykh Abū Sa'id bin Abi'l Khayr,[119] who was an enthusiastic exponent of the custom, was considered by the Shāh to be the founder of the third epoch of *sūfism*. Shaykh Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar (b. 1173-74 or 1157-74; d. 1265), a highly respected Chishtiyya saint of Ajodhan (Pāk Pattan) was the first to perform *chilla-i ma'kūs* (*salāt-i ma'kūs*) and his disciple, Shaykh Nizām al-Din Awliyā' traced this practice back to the Prophet.[120]

It is interesting to note that Shāh Wali-Allāh enthusiastically advocated the practice of reciting verses from the Qur'ān for the cure of various diseases, as well as for the granting of wishes and for finding robbers. Verses to expel house genie and evil spirits were also prescribed by the Shāh.[121] These he had learnt orally from his ancestors and decided to put them down on paper both for the benefit of his contemporaries and for later generations.

Through divine inspiration the Shāh became convinced that miracles and supernatural feats were not altogether unnatural. Intense forms of asceticism and meditation revealed to *sūfis* ideas which were known only to the invisible world (*ghayb*). This represented a perfect mystic stage which when attained by a *sūfi*, provided that everything he prayed for was granted. It was also revealed to Shāh Wali-Allāh that each type of miracle depended on a corresponding form of ascetic exercise. One part of the miracle was registered through the experience of ecstasy, while another part was the result of human reasoning. Those endowed with miraculous power trans-

117 *Al-Qawl al-jamīl*, Delhi n. d., p. 49.
118 Ibid., p. 47.
119 Muhammad bin Muhammad, *Asrār al-Tawhīd fī maqāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Sa'īd*, Tehrān 1348 *shamsī*/1969, pp. 33-34.
120 Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubārak bin Muhammad 'Alawī Kirmānī, *Siyar al-awliyā'*, Delhi 1302/1885, pp. 68-69.
121 *Al-Qawl al-jamīl*, pp. 78-98.

mitted a knowledge of ascetic exercises necessary for certain types of miracles.

A knowledge of the future and the invisible worlds was also regarded as miraculous. Sometimes future events were revealed to *sūfis* in visions and their interpretations led to the fore-knowledge of true facts. Sometimes an incident flashed before the eyes of someone who was wide awake. On other occasions future events were seen by people who were in a half-conscious state between sleeping and waking.

All future worldly events took shape, continued the Shāh, in the sphere of angels (*malāʿ-i a'la*); and knowledge from here was often passed on to the spheres of the angels of the lower category (*malāʿ-i asfal*). The Divine Will can direct a superior soul (*nafs-i nātiqa*) to the sphere of the angelic soul and enable it to see into the future. Such revelations were conditioned by a continuing interest on the part of humans in a specific matter or by other reasons not always apparent. Human nature may have some innate inclination to understand or to have knowledge of a particular event. God may wish to protect someone from a calamity; or a soul having rid itself of the baser side of its nature may gain an insight into what was preordained in the *hadirat al-quds* (encirclement of purity or divine encirclement.)

The miraculous power of the *sūfis*, believed the Shāh, was manifested in many forms. It could induce a sinner to repent, reveal a future event, enable someone to adopt initial filiation (*nisba*) of an eminent saint or assist in a cure of some serious illness. The main reason for miraculous feats was the grace which *malāʿ-i a'la* and *malāʿ-i sāfil* bestowed on *sūfis* giving rise to the emergence of circumstances which caused the appearance of miraculous feats. The Shāh, however, warned that many *sūfis* in the past had claimed to perform miraculous feats and had sought out corresponding publicity,[122] and to him miracles in no way contradicted the laws of causality. He was not, asserted the Shāh, concerned with such magicians. In the *Qawl al-jamil* he affirmed that the company of ignorant *sūfis* should be strictly avoided. A true spiritualist should acquire adequate religious knowledge, abandon the world and devote himself exclusively to meditation. He should carefully learn the true *ahādith* of the Prophet, the traditions of his companions and the teachings and activities of those *sūfis* who followed the *Shari'a* closely.[123]

Like all *sūfis* of Ibn al-'Arabi's school, Shāh Wali-Allāh paid due emphasis to the mystical importance of man. He based his ideas on the *hadith* that God, who could not be identified with anything human beings could conceive themselves, by His own Will brought Himself into existence

122 *Al-Qawl al-jamīl*, pp. 64-69; *Ham'āt*, pp. 233-54.
123 Ibid., p. 106.

from nothing. Arguing along the lines of Ibn al-'Arabī and Jilī,[124] Shāh Walī-Allāh asserted that *Wujūd* (Being), meaning existence and not *ibdā'* (origin), had three aspects—Pure Being (*Dhāt-i Baht*), Universal Reason (*'Aql-i Kull*) and Universal Form (*Shakhs-i Akbar*). Universal Form consisted of all the features of the proposed creation and all the elements which could be termed "Collective Nature", the rest being Partial Nature. Immediately it came into existence the Universal Form recognized its Creator and bowed before Him. This made the search for Absolute Reality the *sine qua non* of the human beings and subsequently divine guidance (*nuqta-i tadallī*) operated within human beings perpetually.

The place of the Universal Form in relation to human beings can better be understood by obtaining correct perception of the three states of existence. Firstly, there was the sphere of souls, which was the closest in proximity to the Absolute Reality (*'ālam al-arwāh*). This was inhabited by the *malā' al-a'la* or the angels of supreme importance such as Gabriel and Michael, directly created by God from His own Light. Some highly pious souls were also associated with them. The *malā' al-a'la* were the closest to the *hazira al-quds* (sacred precincts)[125] which represented the Divine Will although not God himself. The Divine Will was implemented by the inhabitants of the *malā' al-a'la*. Pious souls were attracted to *hazira al-quds* like iron to a magnet.

Next in the sphere of the soul on the hierarchical scale was the sphere of similitude (*'ālam al-mithāl*), which was both half spiritual and half material. In it the fixed prototypes of things (*al-a'yān al-thābita*) took an ideal form. Generally only the pious with their deep spiritual insight could observe their movements. One such prototype was a man whose 'spiritual pledge' was mentioned in the Qur'ān in the following verse:

> 'Lo ! We offered the trust unto the heavens and the earth and the hills, but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. And man assumed it. Lo ! he hath proved a tyrant and a fool.'[126]

The appearance of human beings in the sphere of similitude (*'ālam al-mithāl*) can be explained through an analogy of a musician who first tests out the tunes created by the different strings of his instrument and then

124 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (767/1365-820/1417), who also visited India in 790/1388, wrote a monumental work *al-Insān al-kāmil fī ma'rifat al-awākhir wa'l-awā'il*. He was also the author of a commentary on the *Futūhāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-'Arabī. In the light of Ibn al-'Arabī's ideas Jīlī gave a new orientation to the cosmic, metaphysical, religious and psychological theories of his times.

125 Ontologically it is a luminous circle constituted by the supreme angels and is the realm in which human decrees are determined, *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 88-92.

126 Qur'ān, XXXIII, 72.

produces various melodies by mixing them together. Similarly, having emerged from an ideal prototype, human beings obtained diverse skills and potentialities. The ideal human being originated from *hazira al-quds* where he was known as a Divine Man and where he continually received divine illumination. As soon as the human soul rid itself of its baser nature it was diverted to the *hazira al-quds* and plunged into a state of ecstasy. Pious souls were then allowed to have knowledge of future events and their sequence.

The sphere of matter (*'ālam al-mahsūsāt*) was lower than the first two. It consisted of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms (*mawālid*), each being subdivided into countless species. A gradual evolution from fossil to animal life was the principal characteristic of these three kingdoms. In man the spheres of soul and matter unite and both strive to return to their origin, that is in the Universal Form. The central position of man in the scheme of creation distinguishes him from the angel and the beast who achieve neither perfection or imperfection. He, on the other hand, is a responsible creature empowered with the ability to choose good from evil. In him there exists the opposing nature of animal and angel which are constantly at war with each other. It is possible that one or the other nature emerges dominant and that the weaker one disintegrates. The Divine Will assists in the emergence of the nature chosen to dominate. Nevertheless, sometimes there is a compromise between the two, but man is naturally inclined towards the divine and his good fortune can liberate him from his baser nature.[127]

As regards the Perfect Man, Shāh Wali-Allāh presented his emergence as a part of the ontological scheme of the *Tajalli-i A'zam* (Grand or Divine theophany) which is uncreated and eternal.[128] It belongs to the realm *ibdā'* and is a single entity, a disbelief of which is infidelity.[129] Shāh Wali-Allāh conceives the Perfect Man as the manifestation of Divine theophany which is an overflowing (*fayd*) of the *Tajalli-i A'zam*. The Perfect Man, according to him, sees his own vision in God's mirror and the vision of God in the mirror of his own self.[130]

**Asrār-i-Dīn (Rationale of Dīn)**

Shāh Walī-Allāh advocated that all knowledge to be found in works on medicine, mathematics, non-Arabic history, geomancy and even some Arabic works on *kalām* and the principles of faith be carefully analysed and should be accepted only to the extent that they contained nothing contrary

127 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 25-40, 55; *Fuyūd al-Haramayn*, pp. 80-82.
128 *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 139-142, 159-163.
129 Ibid., I, pp. 78, 89, 93, 94, 118.
130 Ibid., I, pp. 302-5.

to the *Shari'a*. He was deeply concerned about the following undesirable elements which had entered the *Din*: the sciences of the Israelites, the sermons and preachings of pre-Islamic Arabia, the philosophy of the Greeks, the pretentious claims of the Babylonians, the history of Īrān, astronomy, geomancy and *kalām*. When a copy of the *Tora* was recited before the Prophet Muhammad he was reportedly infuriated, said the Shāh. Similarly, 'Umar severely chastized a scholar who studied the works of Daniel.[131] The rationale of their concern, according to Shāh Walī-Allāh, was the fact that the study of non-Islamic literature gave rise to confrontation over interpolations. He attached primary importance to the study of *hadith* but also considered an understanding of the rationale behind "*Din*" as necessary to that study and equally as important. Such a study, he asserted, endowed men with a deep perception of the *Shari'a*. He admitted that the *ahādith* of the Prophet Muhammad and the statements of his companions and those of the following generations covered important points on rules of the *Shari'a* but only a few people had written any comprehensive works on the subject. Only those who had a deep knowledge of the *Shari'a* and were simultaneously filled with divine inspiration could look forward to understanding the rationale behind the "*Din*".

Counting himself among the few who were endowed with this type of perception, Shāh Walī-Allāh, in his great work the *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha*, thanked God for such a privilege. Written in Arabic it was summarized by the Shāh in the *Budūr al-bāzigha* and in another *al-Tafhimāt Ilāhiya*, partly in Persian. His other works, such as *al-Khayr al-kathir*, *al-Insāf fi bayān sabab`al-ikhtilāf* and *Ta'wil al-ahādith*, which are in Arabic, also continue this theme. However, the *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha* remains the most comprehensive work of all. Shāh Walī-Allāh did not fail to acknowledge the contribution of early Islamic authors to the *Shari'a*, singling out Abū Hāmid Muhammad al-Ghazālī, whose *Ihyaʿ 'ulūm al-din* gave him the broad framework for his *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha*.

In his introduction to the latter, the Shāh strongly criticized those who he asserted wrongly believed the rules of the *Shari'a* had no rational basis and were of no benefit to those who adhered to them. To him, in any case, the rules were to be obeyed unquestionably, as they were based on sound injunction in the Qurʿān and the *hadith*. Obedience to them he likened to a situation in which a noble's servant falling ill, the master ordered other slaves to administer medicine to him. If they obeyed, the sick man lived; otherwise, death would occur.[132] Discussion of the reasons for the laws of the *Shari'a* and the compilation of explanatory books on them was a fruitless exercise, said Shāh Walī-Allāh, as human reasoning was in-

131 *Hujjat*, I, p. 264.
132 Ibid., I, pp. 6-7.

capable of comprehending them. Adherence to the laws did in fact carry several advantages, he argued, including the following:

1. The Prophet Muhammad's contemporaries identified the advantages of obedience to the *Shari'a* through the light emerging from the *ma'rifa* (gnosis), whereas later generations did not have the advantage of such a perception.
2. A large number of reasons for the enforcement of any law strengthened the corresponding belief by satisfying the heart.
3. However, those who worshipped knowing the reasons why they did so, gained more benefits. This was the reason why Imām Ghazāli fully explained the rationale behind the faith and its innermost secrets in his works on *sūfism*.
4. The differences of the jurisconsults on certain subsidiary laws could be understood only through following the basis of their deductions and inferences.
5. Confusion and doubts in religious laws did not occur naturally but were the work of sinful innovators who advocated that laws, which appeared irrational, should either be rejected or interpreted in an esoteric way. Among these they included punishments meted out by the dead, which they rejected as contrary to reason. They also made allegorical interpretations of the Resurrection, such as trial, *sirāt* (bridge) and *mizān* (balance). One group (Shāh Wali-Allāh apparently meaning here the Isma'ilis) had questioned why fasting on the last day of Ramadān was obligatory and yet prohibited on the first day of Shawwāl. Others had ridiculed beliefs about reward and punishment, asserting that these arose from what were simply figurative statements in the *Sharī'a* designed to persuade people to pursue the virtuous course. One unfortunate fellow (here meaning Mu'tazila Ibn al-Rawandi), said the Shāh, had even gone to such lengths as to invent spurious *ahādith* about egg plants to show that the Muslims lacked discrimination. The only way to meet this sort of attack on the *Shari'a* was to explain the benefits of those laws and expose the accusations of the Jews, Christians and materialists.
6. Some *faqihs* had ruled that Muslims should reject all *ahādith* which were contrary to the syllogistic principles of analogical reasoning. According to the Shāh this was wrong. As the ruling was likely to cause great confusion, *hadith* scholars were left with little alternative but to explain the individual advantages of *ahādīth*.

Shāh Wali-Allāh traces the origin of the *Ahl al-Sunna* or Sunnis back to the period when the different sects of Islām emerged. The differences among these sects regarding religious dogmas could be divided into two categories. Firstly, there were conflicts related to explicit verses in the

Qur'ān, authentic *ahādith*, the statements of the companions of the Prophet and the sayings and activities of the *salaf* (pious men of earlier generations of Islām). To the Shāh those who adhered to the truths contained in these sources without questioning their compatibility or rationality came to be known as *Ahl al-Sunna* (Sunnis). The others, who indulged in allegorical and figurative interpretations of rules they considered to be irrational, such as questioning the dead, the rewards and punishments on the Day of Resurrection, the vision of God and the miraculous power of the saints, were deviants from the right path of Islām. Shāh Wali-Allāh believed that only he himself and other Sunnis of similarly sound ideas firmly believed in the authentic ordinances of the *Shari'a* and understood them perfectly.

The second category emerged from the beliefs of the *mu'tazila, falāsifa* (followers of Hellenistic philosophy) and the Shi'is. It was most undesirable, warned the Shāh, for pious Sunnis to heed the controversies raised by these groups.[133]

'*Din*', translated as 'religion' to the Shāh, as to all Muslim scholars, meant not simply a system of belief, dogma and ritual, but a dynamic method by which the orthodox were able to develop their lives along the lines of the lives of the *salaf* (orthodox ancestors). However, the Shāh emphasized that unquestioning obedience to one God and the performance of noble deeds had been the duties of the Prophets from the time of man's creation. He quoted the following verse from the Qur'ān to support his ideas:

> 'He hath ordained for you that religion which He commended unto Noah, and that which We inspire in thee (Muhammad), and that which We commended unto Abraham and Moses and Jesus, saying : Establish the religion, and be not divided therein...'[134]

Changes in the law occurred with differing circumstances. For example, the community which had been led by Noah was physically so strong that its members were ordered by God to continuously fast in order to suppress their aggressive base natures. Conversely the Prophet Muhammad's people were physically weak and were therefore not required to follow such stringent rules. The communities before the time of the Prophet Muhammad had not been allowed to seize booty from wars, but for the contemporaries of the Prophet Muhammad, God had ordained that such a thing was legal.[135] The Shāh, however, did not see any contradiction in his theory of the physical weakness of Muslims and that of his own theory of *istikhlāf*—the fulfilment of God's promise that a weak nation should domi-

133 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 12-18.
134 Qur'ān, XLII, p. 13.
135 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 186-87.

nate the world under the guidance of the Prophet's first two successors. Since the aim of the prophets had been to reform the social and economic life of human beings, Shāh Walī-Allāh went on to say, they did not deviate drastically from the natural laws which had been followed earlier. As mentioned repeatedly, the Shāh again called attention to the fact that in each age relevant reforms were introduced according to the needs of its people. The abrogation of certain laws was necessitated for the same reason as well, but Shāh Walī-Allāh said that this in no way changed the essence of Islām. To give some examples of what he meant Shāh Walī-Allāh said that Jews who were expert in economic affairs prayed that Saturday should be fixed for prayers. They believed that after creating the world God had rested on Saturday. The Prophet Muhammad's community made no such request, and Friday became their holy day, this, according to Shāh Walī-Allāh, being clear evidence of Muslim superiority. He also said that the Prophet Muhammad had declared that the '*Dīn*' of women was extremely weak and their intelligence poor. As during menstruation they were neither allowed to perform *namāz* nor to fast, therefore their whole religious life was affected.[136]

Shāh Walī-Allāh challenged the beliefs of those Islamic philosophers to whom rewards and punishments were connected with ethical behaviour. They maintained that the *Shari'a* discussed reward and punishment only to illustrate subtle and difficult points. Arguing against these philosophers, Shāh Walī-Allāh upheld the beliefs of religious scholars regarding reward and punishment and asserted that all ordinances of the *Sharī'a* were based on sound reasoning. Islām did not impose heavy burdens on its believers.

Islamic *Shari'a*, according to Shāh Walī-Allāh, was the epitome of *fitrat*[137] or natural or original qualities of mankind and, as the last in the cycle of divine laws, was the guardian of the best interests of mankind.[138] The Islamic *Shari'a* was destined to dominate the world and crush all undesirable elements. All misinterpretations which entered it were

136 *Hujjat*, I, p. 188.

137 The Qur'ān says, "So set thy purpose (O Muhammad) for religion as a man by nature upright—the nature (framed) of Allāh (*fitrat Allāh*), in which He hath created man. There is no altering (the laws of) Allāh's creation. That is the right religion, but most men know not—" Qur'ān, XXX, 30.

A prophet's *hadīth* says, "Every child that is born conforms to the true religion (literally, *human nature*), then his parents make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian, as a beast is born entire in all its limbs (or without a defect); do you see one born maimed and mutilated?" Then he repeated (i.e. in support of what he said): "The nature made by Allāh in which He has created man; there is no altering Allāh's creation that is the right religion". *Al-Jāmi' al-Musnad al-Sahīh* (*Hadīth*), by Al-Imām Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad bin Isma'īl al-Bukhārī, 23, 93, in Muhammad 'Alī, *The Holy Qur'ān*, 5th edition, Lahore 1963, p. 780, note 1937.

138 *Budūr al-bāzigha*, p. 191.

removed by a renewer whom God raised up at the end of each century.[139]

Shāh Walī-Allāh's thesis on the basic universality of all religions was confined only to the Abrahamic ways and excluded from divine grace fire-worshippers, idol worshippers and polytheists. Like all orthodox Muslims, Shāh Walī-Allāh also advocated that by the time of the Prophet Muhammad, the religious law of all earlier prophets mentioned in the Qur'ān had become perverted through interpolation and that Islām (Sunnism) was the true "*Dīn*".[140] Many Islamic laws, the Shāh repeatedly emphasized, were designed to distinguish Muslim practices from those of the infidels. For example, they were forbidden to perform prayers at sunrise for this was the traditional time of worship for infidels (*kuffār*).[141]

Even within the framework of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, which he ardently professed, the Shāh believed that Islām was markedly superior to Hinduism. He was not prepared to concede, like a majority of the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, that no difference existed between Mecca, the Muslim pilgrimage centre, and Haridwār, that of the Hindūs. Neither did he consider Haridwār as the manifestation of Divine names. He asserted that the *mumkin* (contingent beings) could be considered from two different points of view:

1. From a universal point of view. This acknowledges the extinction of the contingent beings into the Absolute Being. According to this view-point, both goodness and evil are inevitably manifestations of Divine authority.
2. From a particular point of view. The realities of different contingent beings are, in this view-point, characterized by their respective properties.

In an epistle, he goes on to explain that particular forms of existence are endowed with their own individual characteristics. As an example he says that the properties of ginger and camphor are different, the former being hot, and the latter cold. The Shāh quotes the following verse of Rūmī to prove his point.

> 'Since colourlessness [Absolute] became the captive of colour [Manifestations in the phenomenal world].
> The Jews began to fight against Christians.'

This theory, the Shāh adds, is not inconsistent with the theory of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, for all distinctions are latent in the very nature of the Divine self-manifestation. Accordingly, the existence of each object in its primordial form is Absolute Good (*Khayr-i mahad*), to which evil has no

139 *Hujjat*, I, p. 409.
140 Ibid., I, pp. 181-83.
141 Ibid., I, pp. 8, 257; II, p. 440.

access. In their subsequent forms, some realities of existence are good, and some are evil. Again, what in reality is evil to one object is not necessarily evil to another, for God has endowed each object with its own individuality. Inevitably, the question of evil has to be decided in relation to the individual characteristics of each particular object. For example, poison is good for snakes but it is evil for human beings, as they are of a moderate nature. God's words are the sole criteria for discriminating between lawful and unlawful, and are the principal directive for determining evil.

To connect these arguments with the two pilgrimage centres, Shāh Wali-Allāh then proceeds to distinguish between Mecca and Haridwār. He claims that Mecca could be regarded as good, and Haridwār as evil, although both from the universal point of view were the manifestations of Divine Authority. He also refutes the contention that, since everything is the manifestation of Divine Authority, no distinction should be made between, say, prayers and adultery, or between poison and its antidotes. He concedes, however, that no distinction can be made between different objects insofar as the question of their existence, actions, reality, certainty and vanishing into Being is concerned. Both good and evil are inevitable for contingent beings, and both are related to Being. On the basis of this argument, he says, there is no reason to call any object false. The differences lie in the special characteristics of different objects, and each can therefore be distinguished from the other. It is with reference to these individual characteristics that the *Shari'a* recognises good and evil, particularly in the case of human beings, who in their primordial form are identical with the Divine Names.

In the light of the above argument, according to the Shāh, the evil of Haridwār, which is the centre of the infidels' worship and polytheism, stands proven for all human beings, whether they live in the present age or belonged to the past. By this, he means to say that Haridwār does not, like the Ka'ba, prompt human beings to worship the true God.

After pointing out how the Muslims came to enjoy superiority over all religious communities by the Prophet Muhammad's exaltation of the Divine Names, the Shāh adds that the individual characteristic of each community may be likened to its spirit, and its external activities to its body. When the Divine Name wishes to bring a community into existence, He creates both its body and its spirit. The matter of the community's body, its arts and sciences, habits, popularity and dominance are pre-determined by Divine decree. Consequently, the falseness of Haridwār emerges from the opposition of the Divine Name, and is manifested in its bodily form. Shāh Wali-Allāh concluded that to be proud of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* without unravelling the nature of multiplicity was childish.[142]

142 *Tafhīmāl*, I, pp. 222-225.

**Preaching**

*Tadhkir* (reminding and reproving) and *wa'z* (exhorting, admonishing, preaching, sermonizing) were and still are regarded as the most important religious duties of Muslims. In Islām's first hundred years the enthusiasm of story-tellers (*qussās*) for sensational, moralistic tales created a corpus of false traditions which were often quoted in religious sermons by irresponsible preachers. This trend was remedied by the generation which created the main body of *hadith*, instituted *fiqh* and wrote commentaries on the Qur'ān. Preachers were also required to learn *hadith* from a qualified teacher and to acquire authoritative knowledge of the meaning and commentaries of the Qur'ān. There was, however, no restraint on sermons by the official preachers appointed by the administration, some of whom were learned, but whose association with the state devalued their spiritual impact. Many independent scholars of *hadith*, *fiqh* and *tafsir* as well as *sūfis* indulged in preaching and attracted a wide audience. To the Shāh a large number of silver-tongued preachers with a superficial religious knowledge posed a serious challenge to all genuine scholars both official and private.

In the *Qawl al-jamil*, Shāh Walī-Allāh outlined some important rules of preaching he believed would help both preacher and audience. To him preachers should first obtain training under qualified scholars of *hadith* and *tafsir*. The sermons should not be delivered too frequently. The psychological readiness of people to listen was an important consideration in the successful delivery of sermons, for preaching to the unattentive and disinterested was a waste of time. Confidence in the preacher and a reasonable level of understanding of the audience were also significant factors in the success of sermons.

Such difficult and involved concepts as the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and those connected with *fiqh* should not be preached to people of simple learning and understanding. Moreover, sermons should not exclusively use appeals of either fear or reward; both should be mixed together. Preachers should not cater to any particular group but make general statements applicable to the entire community. The virtues of early generations of Muslims should be described in order to arouse interest in the social ethics of Islām. Commands contained in the *Shari'a* should be described in detail and evil deeds should be strongly condemned.

Preachers should not include for discussion unreliable and false stories, for the companions of the Prophet Muhammad would expel the false story-tellers from the mosque. Only authentic *ahādith* of true events should be related in sermons. No exaggerated statements should be made in order to make people love virtue and despise vice; for example, people should not be told that the recitation of a particular Qur'ānic chapter in a specific type of *namāz* eradicated the sins of an entire lifetime, or that the use of

Indian hemp amounted to adultery with one's own mother in the Ka'ba.

Shāh Wali-Allāh chose what he believed to be the indiscretions of his contemporary preachers for special condemnation. They did not discriminate between authentic and unauthentic *ahādith* and collected their material from attractive storybooks. They relied upon their power of imagination and eloquence to explain some mysterious Qur'ānic words.

The principal target of Shāh Wali-Allāh's attack were those contemporary preachers who related the events of the martyrdom of Husayn at Karbala which the Shāh believed could be included in the category of imaginary or false stories.[143] In one comment in the *Qawl al-jamil* the Shāh lamented that each year people composed touching elegies on the events of Karbala so as to reduce the listeners to tears. He found it incredible that preachers admonished neither themselves nor others for neglecting congregational prayers although to them, absence from assemblies of *ta'ziya* and other similar sinful innovations amounted to enmity with the *ahl al-bayt* (family of the Prophet Muhammad) and created public scandal.[144] It should be noted, however, that these criticisms lamented by Shāh Wali-Allāh were directed not against the Shi'is who he states in a note in the *Qawl al-jamil* were unworthy of even the concern of Sunni preachers;[145] but against Sunnis who had become enmeshed in Shi'i practices.

**Jihād and Proselytization**

The modern interpretation of *jihād* or Islamic holy war over-emphasized its defensive character. To the *'ulamā'*, *jihād* was the *fard kifāya* (collective duty) and it remained a duty as long as Islām was not the universally dominant religion in any area. According to Shāh Wali-Allāh the mark of the perfect implementation of the *Shari'a* was the performance of *jihād*. He compared the duties of Muslims in relation to the law to those of a favourite slave who administered bitter medicine to other slaves in a household. If this was done forcefully it was quite legitimate but if someone mixed it with kindness it was even better. However, there were people, said the Shāh who indulged in their lower natures by following their ancestral religion, ignoring the advice and commands of the Prophet Muhammad. If one chose to explain Islām to such people like this it was to do them a disservice. Force, said the Shāh, was the much better course—Islām should be forced down their throats like bitter medicine to a child. This, however, was only possible if the leaders of the non-Muslim communities who failed to accept Islām were killed; the strength of the community was

143 *Qawl al-jamīl*, pp. 102-116.
144 Ibid., p. 117.
145 Ibid., p. 110.

reduced, their property confiscated and a situation was created which led to their followers and descendants willingly accepting Islām.[146] The Shāh pleaded that the universal domination of Islām was not possible without *jihād* and by holding on to the tails of cows. Not only would this be humiliating but it would make other religions more powerful.[147]

Shāh Wali-Allāh was pessimistic about the real depth of faith of those converted by the sword. Such converts were in reality hypocrites and on the Day of Judgment they would be thrown to the very deepest part of Hell, together with the infidels.[148] Islamicization by the sword, added the Shāh, did not remove doubts from the minds of newly converted Muslims and it was always possible they might revert to infidelity. The Shāh believed that *Imāms* (here meaning rulers) should convince the people through rational argument. They should preach that other religions were worthless since their founders were not perfect, and that their practice was opposed to divine law, interpolations having made them unbelievable. The superiority of Islām should be explained in positive terms and it should be brought home to converts that Islāmic laws were perfectly clear and easy to follow. What appeared confusing (literally, night) in reality was clear (literally, day).[149]

Another means of ensuring conversions was to prevent other religious communities from worshipping their own gods. Moreover, unfavourable discriminating laws should be imposed on non-Muslims in matters of rules of retaliation, compensation for manslaughter and marriage, and in political matters.[150]

By the timè of Shāh Wali-Allāh's death no power in the disintegrating Mughal empire had been left to convert Hindūs to Islām, but it would seem that the rising Balūch and Afghān *zamindārs* and the military adventurers converted Hindūs to Islām in their respective areas of influence. Shāh Wali-Allāh's son Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz claims to have Islamicized hundreds of Hindūs.[151] They might have been Hindūs living between Phalit and Delhi. However, the proselytization programme of Shāh Wali-Allāh only included the leaders of the Hindū community. The low class of the infidels, according to him, were to be left alone to work in the fields and for paying *jizya*. They, like beasts of burden and agricultural livestock, were to be kept in abject misery and despair.[152]

146 *Hujjat*, II, p. 480.
147 Ibid., II, p. 487.
148 Ibid., I, p. 387.
149 Ibid., I, p. 258.
150 Ibid., I, p. 257.
151 *Malfūzāt-i Shah 'Abd al-'Azīz*, p. 22.
152 *Hujjat*, I, p. 257.

CHAPTER SIX

# *The Political and Social Thoughts of Shāh Walī-Allāh*

As already mentioned, Shāh Wali-Allāh was essentially a religious reformer and a *sūfi*, whose grasp of esoteric spiritual ideas was to be revealed for the regeneration of the entire Sunni community. His role as the *mujaddid* of his century, however, was not confined merely to reforming the religious and mystical life of the Sunnis. His ideas for the implementation of *Dīn* throughout the world were comprehensive and included not only religious matters but also took into consideration the social, economic and political lives of the Sunnis.

In the *Shari'a,* actions associated with worship (*'ibāda*) and relations between people (*mu'āmala*) were not in conflict. Al-Ghazālī had previously divided sins according to those against God, men (meaning Sunnis) and against oneself. In the *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha* Shāh Walī-Allāh divided the various discussions and comments on the rationalization behind the *Shari'a* into two categories. Firstly, there were issues relating to virtues and vices; secondly, there were those concerning the government of the Muslim community (*milla*).[1]

The Shāh's political ideas were based on two important groups of sources. In the first were included the works on Sunni *fiqh* and *hadith* and those of orthodox Sunni theorists such as al-Māwardī (b. 364/974, d. 450/1058), al-Ghazālī and ibn Taymiyya (b. 661/1263, d. 728/1328). Secondly there were the ideas outlined by leading Muslim philosophers such as Abū Nasr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), Miskawaih (d. 421/1030) and ibn Sinā (370/980-428/1037); all to be found in the *Akhlāq-i Nāsiri* by Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī (597/1201-672/1274) and the *Akhlāq-i Jalāli,* written by Muhammad bin As'ad Jalāl al-Dīn Dāwāni (830/1427-908/1502-03). Although the Shāh had read both the Arabic and Persian translations of the *Kalila wa Dimna,* he rejected its conclusions.[2] The Shāh's own contribution in the realm of poli-

1 *Hujjat,* I, p. 20.
2 Ibid., I, p. 254.

tical thought lay in reconciling orthodox Sunni ideas with those of the philosophers, in suggesting the means by which to establish the domination of orthodox Sunnis in government and to spread among contemporary Sunnis the ideal piety of the *salaf* or earlier generations of Muslims. The latter was the part of his great mission which the Shāh himself termed *tafhīq* (making things complementary to each other, or reconciliation). He asserted that he had not invented the word but had obtained the ability to perform such a task through Divine grace.[3]

Prophets, Shāh Wali-Allāh writes in his works, protect men from becoming corrupted by evil tradition and custom and lead others to a correct knowledge of God.[4] They receive guidance from Divine revelation and are empowered to perform miracles to aid them in their mission.[5] The basic distinctions amongst the many classes of people lead to different kinds of laws being prescribed for them.[6] Changes in reform techniques make it imperative that old laws be replaced with new ones, so that both balance and moderation are maintained in peoples' temperaments and dispositions. The natural social, national and international laws discussed under *irtifāq* (the principles of devising useful schemes to promote social, political and cultural life) by Shāh Wali-Allāh[7] were also controlled by the prophets but after Muhammad (the last of the prophets), the function of offering religious guidance to Muslims was to be continued by a *mujaddid* (renewer) whom God would send to Muslims at the end of each century. This would prevent them from unanimously pursuing an incorrect path.[8]

Shāh Wali-Allāh, as mentioned earlier, divides the Caliphate into two categories: the *Khilāfat-i Khāssa* and the *Khilāfat-i 'Āmma* (common vicegerency). To all intents and purposes, argued the Shāh, those elevated to the *Khilāfat-i Khāssa* were sent to fulfil the functions of messenger prophets (*Rusūl*). Shāh Wali-Allāh laboured to prove that the *Khilāfat-i Khāssa* had been confined to the first two successors of the Prophet Muhammad. However, the *Khilāfat-i 'Āmma* was dependent on traditional conditions outlined by orthodox Sunni *faqīhs* and political theorists. For example, the *khalifa* should be a descendant of the Qurayshite clan, but not of the Hāshimite branch (to which the Prophet Muhammad and 'Ali had belonged). Nobility of blood, according to the Shāh, prompted people to obey whoever was the *khalifa*. Moreover, he should be a Muslim, being wise, adult and male. This latter qualification was necessitated by a *hadith* of the Prophet Muhammad who, upon hearing that the Persians had elevated a daughter of

3 *Tafhīmāt,* II, pp. 62-70, 217; *Budūr al-bāzigha,* p. 223; *Hujjat,* I, pp. 82-83.
4 *Budūr al-bāzigha,* pp. 96, 99, 167, 181, 183, 197.
5 *Tafhīmāt,* II, pp. 134, 156.
6 *Hujjat,* I, p. 187.
7 Ibid., I, pp. 79-92.
8 Ibid., I, p. 409.

Kisra to the throne,[9] had prophesied that those who entrusted their government to a woman would never be successful. As well as not being a female, the *khalifa* should never have been enslaved nor debilitated through deafness or blindness; he should be an expert warrior and be able to use discretion in the appointment of military leaders. In matters relating to war and peace he should be just. The ideal *khalifa* should also be a *mujtahid*, that is, one who was a competent scholar of the following: the Qur'ān, Qur'ānic exegesis, *ahādith* and their assessment, of Arabic and analytical reasoning in matters relating to *fiqh*. The views of the *'ulamā'* were divided on the question of the *khalifa's* ability to write, wrote Shāh Wali-Allāh.

Like all other Sunni jurists, the Shāh also mentions the following procedures for the appointment of the *khalifa-i 'āmm*, general caliphs, although they are based on the precedent of the appointment of the caliphs after the Prophet Muhammad's death.

1. *Bay'a* of the élite, such as those *'ulamā'*, *qādis*, leaders and eminent people present at the spot where *bay'a* was offered. The presence of the élite of the entire Muslim lands was not obligatory. However, the *bay'a* of one or two individuals was not sufficient. This was how Abū Bakr was elected.
2. The caliph was to nominate the most highly qualified among all the possible candidates for the caliphate as successor (*istikhlāf*). He was to declare his choice to an assembly of people and was to issue an injunction in this connection. This was how the second caliph was chosen.
3. The caliph could choose a number of well-qualified candidates and order that after his death, those candidates elect a caliph for themselves (*shūra*). The third caliph, 'Uthmān, was elected in this manner.
4. After the death of the caliph a new leader could come to power by military means, or by winning the heart of the majority to his side. This method known as *istila* legitimized the authority of the caliph, and obedience to his orders which were in accordance with the laws of the *Shari'a* was imperative. There were two categories of *istila*. According to one, the caliph should be competent to prevent opposition without resorting to arms. Such was the caliphate of Mu'āwiya bin Abi Sufyān (41-60/661-680) who had made peace with Imām Hasan, the son of 'Ali. In the second category were those caliphs who, although unsuited to the appointment, could not be displaced without war and bloodshed. Obedience to the orders of such caliphs which did not conflict with the *Shari'a* was also imperative. For example, the *zakāt* was to be paid to his tax collectors,

9 Boran, the daughter of Khusro II (591-628), ruled from 629 to 630 A.D.

> the orders of his *qādīs* were not to be violated, and *jihād* could be fought against the infidels under his banner. The fear that someone worse than the earlier caliph might seize power was the principal obstacle to rebelling against the reigning caliph. Although the 'Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān (65-86/685-705), and the first 'Abbāsid caliph (al-Saffāh 132-136/749-754) seized power by military force, their authority was recognized mainly because of the above fear.[10]

To Shāh Walī-Allāh, *Khalīfa-i 'āmm* and the Sultān[11] were interchangeable terms. He concurred with the *ahādith* relating to the prohibition of rebellion mentioned in the works of *hadith*, such as *Sahih* of Muslim, but stressed the following three conditions under which rebellion was permissible.

1. Should the caliph refuse to obey the rules of the faith and turn apostate, rebellion against him was the most meritorious form of *jihād*.
2. Should the caliph begin to kill his people, plunder their property and rape their women, he and his followers then came under the category of robbers and as such it was imperative to defend the people and annihilate such tyranny.
3. War against the caliph who clearly violated Islamic laws was permissible in order to establish the laws of *Dīn*.[12]

According to the Shāh, only the reign of the first three caliphs had been free of civil war, and that the peaceful caliphate had ended with the martyrdom of 'Alī and the abdication of his son Hasan. The period following the seizure of power by Mu'āwiya bin Abī Sufyān resulted in civil war among the Prophet Muhammad's companions and the Umayyads. The 'Abbāsids had imposed their authority by coercion and force, and their rule differed little from that of the Emperors Qaysar and Kisra.[13] The Shāh, therefore, was not concerned with the transformation of the caliphate into a monarchy and its final disintegration and extinction. He defined the word *khalīfa* as one who possessed such great authority and extensive resources as to be able to counter any attempted territorial seizure of his power with the assistance of his huge army and great wealth. According to him, the kings (*mulūk*) survived only in abject obedience to the caliphs (emperors). Applying Shāh Walī-Allāh's definition of the caliph to a situation in Mughal India which was always in his mind, we may identify the Mughal emperors with the

10 *Izālat al-khafā'*, I, pp.18-26; *cf* conditions of the appointment of Imām in Abī al-Hasan al-Māwardī, *al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyya,* Beirut 1978, pp. 6-22.
11 *Izālat al-khafā'*, I, pp. 574-610.
12 Ibid., I.
13 *Hujjat,* I, pp. 96-98.

caliphs, and the Rājput rājas with kings.[14] However, contrary to the traditions of Akbar, Shāh Wali-Allāh considered that the caliph was expected to keep tributary chiefs disunited and weak. They should be so intensely frightened of the caliph, the Shāh advocated, that they would not consider rebelling. Were they to indulge in any machinations to seize power, the powerful caliph should be able to forestall their intrigues, impose heavy *kharāj* and *jizya* on them, and demolish their forts to prevent them from rebelling. Spies should be appointed throughout the empire to keep the caliph informed of any such intrigues. Moreover, said the Shāh, basic differences among various classes of people were responsible for the different kinds of caliphs who came to rule them.[15] Violent communities were in far greater need of strong caliph than those whose members were instinctively meek. The appointment of a strong caliph, he continued, helped in quelling rebellious elements and prompted other kings to obey his orders. The caliph should wage ceaseless war against those who indulged in stealing people's property, enslaving their children and raping their women. As Israelite communities had suffered from such tyrannies, their members had asked God to send a king to implement His ways amongst them. As a result men who could not be reformed were liquidated, for they were like an incurably diseased limb which had to be amputated in the interests of the entire body. Firstly, the caliph should severely deal with such people as illustrated in the Qur'ān:

> 'And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is all for Allāh.'[16]

It was also imperative, said Shāh Wali-Allāh, that a caliph should be aware of the laws of war and peace, especially those relating to *kharāj* and *jizya*. There were vicious people whose power had to be shattered and they themselves ruthlessly punished. Leaders of seditious organizations should be identified so that they may be imprisoned and their property confiscated and destroyed.

The Shāh believed it improper for the caliph to involve himself in problems purely for worldly motives; nor should he destroy his followers through war in order to collect riches. The chief duty of the *khalifa* was to please the majority of his supporters and try to benefit each one. It was unreasonable to expect from a person more than his natural ability could fulfil. He should honour those who were endowed with qualities of leadership

14 In the text he mentions *mulūk* (kings) but by 'kings' he means not tributary chiefs but caliphs.
15 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 92-96.
16 Qur'ān, VIII, 39.

and wisdom. He should also use both persuasion and threats to prepare them to fight the enemy. A caliph's subjects should be forced to show profound loyalty and submissiveness. Even their action in large crowds should be watched in order to see whether they really were his well-wishers and obeyed all his orders.

While discussing the peace and prosperity of towns, Shāh Wali-Allāh listed a number of virtues which a king[17] should possess. He should be brave in the face of opposition from his rivals and forcefully assert his prestige among his subjects. However, a king, if not affable (*halīm*) and wise would be unable to carry out his policies and would ruin his kingdom by reckless administration.

Of a king's attributes it was essential he possessed such virtues as maturity, independence and prudence. Moreover, he should have highly developed senses of sight and hearing and should be a good speaker. His noble lineage and those of his ancestors should be well-known and of such distinction as to arouse universal respect. Everyone believed, argued the Shāh, that unless the king was endowed with such virtues the rationale behind his appointment was meaningless; however, if he possessed them and failed to nurture them his subjects would still become alienated. Every action of a king should be directed towards enhancing his dignity.

The Shāh likened the king to a hunter who pursued his people by varying means according to their temperaments. For example, if he were hunting deer he would remain hidden and silent until they could be caught unawares or he could sing to them and feed them until they became fearless, then strike. Kindness increased love for the benefactor; a chain of love was stronger than the sword. One who held kingly office should be appealing in action, dress and speech. His obvious sincerity and warmth towards others should inspire their confidence. As well as showering favours and kindness on people (with the intent of making them submissive) the king should not hesitate to punish those who rebelled. He should promote loyal servants to fulfil certain rules to fight in battle, collect revenue and generally act unselfishly for the benefit of the government. Traitors and embezzlers of the state coffers should be dismissed. If a king suspected anyone of disloyalty he should never be promoted as it became too difficult to dismiss him later. People who were given positions because they had powerful relations should never be assigned to tasks of importance.

'*Ushr* (tithe) and *kharāj* should be judiciously gathered without the population being unnecessarily harassed. A king should not compel people to cultivate unproductive land or force them to migrate far from their original homes. Additional taxes should be realized from affluent sections of society, such as those with considerable assets of gold and silver or livestock,

17 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 92-94.

or were involved in prosperous forms of trade. Should these sections fail to fulfil the financial needs of the government, then additional taxes had to be levied on artisans.

In relation to the treatment of the military, said the Shāh, a king should follow the pattern of excellent horsemen. On occasions horses should be whipped and yelled at and at all times should be kept under tight control. Army commanders and town administrators should be recruited according to the needs of each town. A town's administration should feature five classes of officers:

1. A *qādi* who should have never been a slave, was a male, both adult and sagacious. Strictness and kindness should be harmoniously combined in a *qādi's* personality. In a dispute he should excel in deciphering the real truth and unveiling any frauds perpetrated by the different factions. Firstly, a *qādi* should examine every aspect of the dispute and arrive at independent conclusions; secondly, the real intentions of the rival parties should also be unearthed and the arguments of each party carefully examined.
2. An *amir* (army commander), who should have a thorough knowledge of current war equipment and accept only the bellicose and courageous into his army, adequately reimbursing them. Among his accomplishments he should understand logistics, the most advantageous use of espionage and all possible stratagems used by an enemy.
3. A *sā'is* (governor) of the town who should also exhibit the quality of courage and be aware of factors which both debilitate and improve the standard of living in a town. He, too, should be kind, yet stern and ruthless when dealing with crime. A leader from each section of the population should be chosen by him, with extensive knowledge of his own group, which he himself can in turn administer. Detection of the crimes of the group should be the responsibility of each leader.
4. An *'āmil* (revenue collector) who should be an expert in the sources of revenue collection and should be adept at the distribution of revenue among the needy sections of society.
5. A *wakil* (minister) who should be aware of the correct control of the finances, while enabling the king to devote his time to more pressing government matters.[18]

It is not surprising that Shāh Wali-Allāh considered Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna (388/998-421/1030) Islām's greatest ruler as, according to him the Sultān launched and sustained the first real conquest of northern India. His fame had a natural qualification—Mahmūd was the greatest ruler since the *Khilāfat-i Khāssa*. Shāh Wali-Allāh argued that with reference to Mahmūd

18 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 92-96.

historians failed to recognize that his horoscope had been identical to the Prophet's and that this fact had enabled him to obtain significant victories in wars fought for the propagation of Islām.[19] However, he did not support Turkish expansion without qualification and quoted a tradition of the Prophet Muhammad which implied that as long as the Turks remained aloof from the Arabs, they should do likewise.[20]

Not only Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and the Rohēlla chief, Najīb al-Dawla in turn were the great hopes of Shāh Walī-Allāh, but he also tried to awaken in the imbecilic, licentious Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shāh (1161/1748-1167/1754) the need to revitalize the disintegrating Mughal empire. In a letter to the Emperor, Shāh Walī-Allāh suggested a number of traditional schemes to streamline the Mughal administration, adding:

> "Strict orders should be issued in all Islamic towns forbidding religious ceremonies publicly practised by infidels (such as *Holī* and ritual bathing in the Ganges). On the tenth of Muharram Shi'is should not be allowed to go beyond the bounds of moderation and in the bazaars and streets neither should they be rude nor repeat stupid things, (that is, recite *tabarra* or condemn the first three successors of Muhammad)."[21]

Shāh Walī-Allāh seems to be oblivious of the remarks of Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī (689/1290-695/1296) that he himself had been incapable of preventing Hindūs from openly passing his palace en route to their ritual bathing and idol worship.[22] In fact it was even more impractical for eighteenth century Indian rulers, even if they had possessed such vast power as had Awrangzīb (1068/1658-1118/1707), to overtly interfere with Hindū religious practices and traditional customs. Ahmad Shāh was quite unable to implement any of Shāh Walī-Allāh's extreme suggestions; however, his successor, 'Ālamgīr II (1167/1754-1173/1759), did recklessly usher in his reign by prohibiting certain Shī'ī ceremonies attached to *Muharram*. Marātha dominance had made any religious restrictions on Hindūs out of the question.

The reason which prompted Allāh to create the Islamic community originally was, according to the Shāh, mainly a political one. Allāh wished that no religion superior to Islām should exist on earth and that Islamic laws including those regarding different forms of punishment, should be adhered to wherever people lived a communal life. In this regard, he stated

19 *Qurrat al-'aynayn fī tafdīl al-shaykhayn*, p. 324; *Tafhīmāt*, I, p. 323.
20 *Hujjat*, I, p. 256.
21 *Maktūbāt Shāh Walī-Allāh*, Rāmpūr Ms.
22 Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Calcutta 1860-62, p. 216.

that the chief reason for fixing the blood-money[23] for killing an infidel at half that of killing a Muslim was necessary in order to firmly establish the superiority of the latter; moreover, the slaughter of infidels diminished evil amongst Muslims.[24]

The disintegration of the Mughal empire did not even faintly undermine the Shāh's belief in the inevitable reassertion of Muslim power. He had a firm conviction that were Hindū power to re-emerge in India, the mysterious Divine power would guide their leaders into the bosom of Islām.[25] This he asserted because of the earlier conversions of Berke[26] (665/1257-665/1267), a grandson of Chingiz Khān and of the Īlkhānid Mahmūd Ghāzān Khān[27] (694/1295-703/1304). The Shāh and other orthodox Muslims considered the Mongol conversions a great triumph for Islām without considering the political factors which had motivated them. Clearly the Shāh was neither separationist nor exclusivist, as many modern Muslims claim; his political mission was to see the restoration of Islām's dominance over the world, the starting point being India.

Although we have no documentary evidence to support the belief that Shāh Wali-Allāh's concern with the political disintegration of the Mughal empire began before he left the country on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina in 1143/1731, we may not be wrong in assuming that his sensitive soul had for many years been deeply disturbed by the decline of Mughal rule in India. On his return in 1145/1732 he began to exhibit for the first time his conviction of the need for a return to Mughal rule. This idea was to become an obsessive and integral part of his beliefs for which he was later to be renowned.

In April 1737 the Marāthas had beaten back the imperial army, but their hasty retreat from Delhi and Sa'ādat Khān's victory over a Marātha army had convinced the Muslims that the Marāthas were not invincible. Nizām al-Mulk's arrival in Delhi from the Deccan in July 1737, and his preparations to fight against the Marāthas augured well for a new Islamic resurgence in India. The Shāh wrote telling Nizām al-Mulk that this would enable him to become eminent spiritually. The letter said:

> "It has become clear to my mind that the kingdom of heaven has predestined that *kāfirs* should be reduced to a state of humiliation and

23 According to the Islamic law of retaliation, a freeman is slain for a freeman, and a slave for a slave: according to Abū Hanīfa, a Muslim is put to death for killing an unbeliever, but Shāfi'ī maintains otherwise.
24 *Hujjat*, II, p. 440.
25 *Tafhīmāt*, I, p. 269
26 *E. I.*², I, pp. 1187-88.
27 *E. I.*², II, p. 1043.

treated with utter contempt. Should that repository of majesty and dauntless courage (Nizām al-Mulk) gird his loins and direct his attention to such a task he can conquer the world. Thus the faith will become more popular and his own power strengthened; a little effort would be profoundly rewarded. Should he make no effort, they (the Marāthas) would inevitably be weakened and annihilated through celestial calamities and in such an event he would gain no credit.... As I have learnt this unequivocally (from the divine) I spontaneously write to draw your attention to the great opportunity laid before you. You should therefore not be negligent in fighting *jihād*."[28]

In another letter also addressed to Nizām al-Mulk, the Shāh urged him to ensure that Muslims in his area were not oppressed in any way and that only customs which were virtuous, according to Islām (Sunni) were introduced.[29]

Another letter by the Shāh to Nizām al-Mulk states that God had given him complete dominance over India. This had aroused great hopes among *faqirs* like himself. It was most desirable that injustice be uprooted, evil customs abandoned and the firm faith of Sunnism restored. Along with a request to promulgate knowledge (that is of Sunnism), prayers and fasting, the Shāh's letter contained a practical request—it begged him to stem the rapidly rising cost of living and put an end to plundering, raids and depredations.[30]

Nizām al-Mulk's treaty of Dauri Sarāy near Sironj, undertaking to obtain from the Emperor Muhammad Shāh the whole of Mālwa for the Marāthas, was disappointing to the Muslims, but the gathering clouds of Nādir Shāh's invasion of Delhi relegated the Marātha struggle to the background, and at the Emperor's urgent instructions, all leading nobles accompanied by their troops hastened to Delhi. The Persian invasion plunged Delhi into chaos. After Nādir Shāh's retreat, Muhammad Shāh had no use for Nizām al-Mulk and the old statesman left Delhi on 7 August, 1740. He turned to the task of strengthening the Deccan. On 4 Jumāda II, 1161/21 May 1748, he fell ill at Burhānpūr and died, at the age of 78.

The shock of the 21 May 1748 which had been inflicted by Nādir Shāh, and the departure of Nizām al-Mulk seem to have temporarily frustrated Shāh Walī-Allāh's hopes of the revival of Sunni power. The period between 1748 and 1753, when Safdar-Jang, the Shi'i *wazir* of the Emperor Ahmad Shāh, dominated Delhi politics, was exceedingly frustrating for the

28 *Maktūbāt Shāh Walī-Allāh,* Rāmpūr Ms., letter no. 262; K. A. Nizāmī ed. *Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī ke siyāsī maktūbāt,* 'Alīgarh 1950, no. 20.
29 *Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī ke siyāsī maktūbāt,* no. 21.
30 Ibid., no. 22.

majority of the Delhi Sunnis. It would seem that during the period of his war against the *wazir* the Emperor and his mother often called on Sunni *'ulamā'* and *sūfis* of Delhi. About the same time they visited Shāh Wali-Allāh in his mosque. Here is the Shāh's letter to Shaykh Muhammad 'Āshiq, regarding the visit:

> The Emperor and his mother made a visit to the mosque. Arrangements were made for a separate women's apartment in the mosque for use by the mother. The motive for the Emperor's visit was to unceremoniously sit and indulge in conversation. He stayed for about three hours, and also ate his food there. Mainly he discussed the possibilities of seeking my spiritual assistance in matters relating to the welfare of the people. He told me that during the period of his imprisonment when he had withdrawn to a life of continuous prayer, many things which he wished for used to materialize. Nevertheless he was unable to understand what mistakes he had committed which stopped him from returning to his former state of purity. During an earlier period when he had achieved that state, he used to have visions of the elegant figure of the Prophet Muhammad which he could now no longer see. The Emperor then related the following three visions he had experienced.
>
> When Rafi' al-Dawla came to the throne, the Emperor asked the Prophet the name of his successors and he replied that Roshan Akhtar (Muhammad Shāh) would succeed Rafi' al-Dawla. He then asked who Roshan Akhtar's successor would be. The Prophet said that there was one other king destined to ascend the throne but that his existence was without meaning. To Ahmad Shāh's question about who was to be the real successor to Muhammad Shāh, the Prophet replied that it was he (Ahmad Shāh) but Ahmad Shāh added that he had not asked the duration of his own reign.
>
> The second of the Emperor's visions occurred at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion. In it the Prophet drew an enclosure and beckoned him with his finger. The Prophet explained that a huge fire would blaze and he had made an enclosure around the fort to protect it.
>
> In his third dream, Ahmad Shāh found the Prophet Muhammad preparing an ornament to place on a turban and was told that he (the Prophet) was preparing it for the Emperor.
>
> The *faqir* (Shāh Wali-Allāh) explained to the Emperor the method of performing *ba'ya* at the hands of the Prophet and asked him to keep the image of the Prophet Muhammad in mind. Later the Emperor performed *namāz,* the Shāh acting as *Imām.*[31]

31 *Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī ke siyāsī maktūbāt,* no. 10.

In both the Rāmpūr manuscript and the Nizāmi's edition of the *Maktūbāt* by Shāh Wali-Allāh a letter is addressed to the Bādshāh (Emperor), *wazir* and *'umarā'* (nobles). It seems to have been written by the Shāh after Ahmad Shāh's visit to him and before the dismissal of Safdar-Jang. Although it does not contain any advice not already documented by contemporary administrators, Shāh Wali-Allāh's letter is regarded by modern scholars as important because of its alleged revolutionary and political content. His hostility to both Shi'is and Hindūs is also evident in the following ten points outlined in the letter—

1. The most important factor on which the well-being of the empire and the glory of the faith depend is the approval of God and the Prophet. The moment the enemies[32] are crushed priority should be given to vanquishing the towns and forts of the Jāts. This project is indispensable, both in the interests of Islām and of the Muslim community. Were the wretched Jāts crushed, no *zamindār* would then dare to rebel.
2. The areas under *khālisa* should be extended, particularly as far as the regions around Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), as far as Akbarābād (Agra) and from the Hisār and the Gangetic regions to Sirhind. The main reason for the decline of the Islamic administration was the small area covered by the *khālisa* and the indigence of the imperial treasury.
3. Following the practice prevalent in Shāhjahān's reign, only important *amirs* should be assigned *jāgirs;* petty *mansabdārs* should be paid in cash as they were generally unable to control the *jāgirs* and depended on *ijāra* (farming of revenue). In general poor financial resources and lack of administrative experience prevented them from devoting themselves to imperial duties.
4. Those who secretly assist enemies in these civil wars should be deprived of their *jāgirs* and *mansabs*. Their dismissal from government service would serve as a lesson to the rest who would never dare rebel.
5. The imperial army should be organized along these lines :
   (a) The *dāroghas* (military commanders) should possess these qualities—noble birth, bravery and consideration of their colleagues and total loyalty to the reigning monarch.
   (b) The spiritless, disloyal soldiers in the army should be replaced with loyal and energetic ones who had excellent records of fighting the rebels.
   (c) There should be no delay in paying the soldiers, otherwise

32 Safdar-Jang and his supporters.

they borrowed money (on interest) and were reduced to poverty.

6. The system of *ijāra* in the *khālisa* should be totally abolished. In each *mahāl* only honest and efficient *amīns* should be appointed. The *ijāra* helped to devastate the country and ruin the peasants financially.
7. The *qādis* and *muhtasibs* (censors of morals) should be sincere Sunnīs. It should be widely known that they were incorruptible.
8. Orders prohibiting *Holi* and *Muharram* festivals (mentioned earlier) should be issued.[33]
9. The *Imāms* in the mosques should be paid their daily stipends regularly and their presence at congregational prayers should be compulsory. Moreover, they should strictly be ordered not to violate the reverence due to the observation of fasting at Ramadān.
10. The king of Islām [the Emperor Ahmad Shāh] and leading nobles should refrain from luxurious living (as forbidden by the *Shari'a*). They should sincerely repent of past sins and become totally committed to virtuous behaviour.

Shāh Wali-Allāh believed that if a king observed all these rules his reign would most likely survive its natural term and that during it he could rely on divine assistance.[34] In the *Tafhimāt-i Ilāhiyya,* Shāh Wali-Allāh went on to remind rulers of the dominant role of Muslims even in a multi-religious society, saying—

> "Oh Kings ! *Malā' a'lā* urges you to draw your swords and not put them back in their sheaths again until Allāh has separated the Muslims from the polytheists and the rebellious *kāfirs* and the sinners are made absolutely feeble and helpless."

When the Muslims and *kāfirs* were separated in accordance with this verse, said the Shāh, because of the wishes of those in the *malā' a'lā*, rulers were requested to act in the following manner: 'In each district, separated by three or four days' journey, a just *amir* (here, meaning 'military commander') should be appointed to dispense justice to the oppressed and to enforce the penal code as sanctioned by the *Shari'a.* They should also crush rebellions in their own areas and see to it that apostasy and sin were dealt with swiftly. Under them, Islām would be clearly dominant in their areas. Each person in the government should faithfully perform his own duties—especially governors. It should be known that each *amir*

33 Nizāmī has not reproduced this point.
34 *Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī ke siyāsī maktūbāt,* no. 1, Rāmpūr Ms., p. 261.

possessed enough power to implement the conditions specified by holy law, yet he should be held in some check so that he would not be emboldened to rebel. It was also essential that in each *iqlīm* (province) a powerful *amir* (governor) be appointed who was responsible for military affairs. Under him there should be 12,000 *mujāhids* (fighters of holy war) in each province who would be fierce fighters for Allāh. After ensuring military security then, also at the wishes of the *malā' a'lā*, *amīrs* (governors) could turn to the question of civil administration. In this area, not even the tiniest rule of the *Shari'a* should be neglected; this would automatically lead to happiness and prosperity for all.'[35]

No modern historian is able to comment on the reassurances of the *malā' a'lā'*. However, to Shāh Wali-Allāh the fact remained that from the time of the thirteenth century Muslim exclusivists and puritans, such as Shaykh Nūr al-Din Mubārak Ghaznawi and Diyā' al-Din Barani, had been demanding the annihilation of the Shi'is and seizure of the wealth of affluent Hindūs. Some rulers did in fact pay lip service to these ideas but the over-riding political situation of the Indian Muslim community having to exist, and rule, amongst a Hindū majority, baulked all attempts to implement stern puritanical demands. The *mansabdāri* and *jāgirdāri* systems were a legacy from Akbar and their success depended upon tolerance. As we have seen, various factors, including Awrangzib's extreme orthodoxy and unrealistic attempts to fulfil his dreams of annihilating the Marāthas plunged the entire Mughal administrative system into a crisis to which there seemed to be no solution and from which it never recovered. In the eighteenth century the system declined even further, due both to the inanity of various emperors who reigned in Delhi for but very brief periods, and to the insatiable hunger for power of the nobles. Any expectations that the debauched and drunken Emperor Ahmad Shāh (whose only merit was his decision to fight against his Shi'i *wazir*) might revive Shāhjahān's administrative system in order to escape control by the powerful Hindū financiers, were merely unrealistic dreams. With regard to Hindū religious practices, Shāh Wali-Allāh seems unaware of the remarks made by Sultān Jalāl al-Din Khalji (689-695/1290-1296) that he was utterly incapable of preventing Hindūs from openly passing his palace en route to ritual bathing and to idol worshipping. The imposition of restrictions on the celebration of *Holi* was impossible, for eighteenth century rulers and their nobles could never overtly interfere with Hindū customs and traditional practices. A further current conflict which also complicated Mughal rule in India was the increasing tension between the very small Shi'i minority in Delhi and the Sunnis.

Shāh Wali-Allāh did not confine his stern reproaches only to kings; he

35 *Tafhīmāt,* I, pp. 284-85.

also reserved some for the nobility. Sometimes his comments were intended for application to the majority, while others were addressed to individual members of the ruling classes. In his general statements he reminded nobles to fear their God and to refrain from worldly pleasures. The Shāh rightly believed that the blue-bloods of his time had neglected the people of lower rank who had been entrusted by God into their care. Instead they devoted their time to attacking each other's political power and were enslaved to debauchery and prodigality.[36] Anxious to see the reinstatement of Islām in its purest form, he wrote to Ghāzi al-Din the Younger ('Imād al-Mulk)—

"In his testament to 'Umar, Abū Bakr had informed him that if he feared God, the entire world would be frightened of him ('Umar). Sages had declared that the world resembled a shadow. If a man ran after his shadow it would pursue him, and if he took flight from the shadow it would still pursue him. God has chosen you as the protector of the Sunnis as there is no-one else to perform this duty, and it is crucial that at all times you consider your role as obligatory. By taking up the sword to make Islām supreme and by subordinating your own personal needs to this cause, you will reap vast benefits."[37]

With regard to Ahmad Shāh Durrāni's invasions of the Panjāb, the first three met with little enthusiasm from Shāh Wali-Allāh, and he received the news of Durrāni's invasion of Kashmir in 1752 with positive dismay. Calling the invasion a 'scourge', the Shāh wrote to Shaykh Muhammad 'Āshiq, that were Durrāni to reach Lahore he would send his family and that of the Shaykh to Phalit. However, any haste in sending the families away from Delhi would be foolish, he added.[38]

By the time Ahmad Shāh Durrāni marched against India for the fourth time in November 1756, his target was not just the Panjāb, but Delhi in particular. The Mughal court, however, considered it more urgent to get rid of the *wazīr,* Ghāzi al-Din Khān ('Imād al-Mulk), whom they saw as a greater evil than the invader. Najib al-Dawla, an ambitious adventurer, dreamed of becoming the dictator of Delhi. Many members of the Mughal court, even the Emperor 'Ālamgir II and Mughlāni Begam wrote letters to Durrāni, actually seeking his help to overthrow the *wazir*, while Najib al-Dawla, motivated by his desire to fill the vacuum created by the *wazir's* downfall, offered to assist the invader with his forty thousand Afghāns. Shāh Wali-Allāh, however, does not seem to have had any direct contact with Ahmad Shāh Durrāni, as the following letter to

36 *Tafhīmāt,* I, p. 285.
37 *Maktūbāt Shāh Walī-Allāh,* Rāmpūr Ms.
38 Nizāmī has omitted the last two sentences, *Siyāsī maktūbāt,* Rāmpūr Ms., no. 218.

Mullā Amān-Allāh and Mullā Sher Muhammad, written for the Shāh's own safety, shows. Here is its translation:

> 'When the Shāh (Durrānī) marches against India, you should write to some of your sincere friends in the Durrānī's army that so and so (Shāh Walī-Allāh) is in Delhi. Should the Durrānī's army suddenly enter Delhi, some of his guards should be posted for his (Shāh Walī-Allāh's) protection. By way of precaution it would be better to depute a student to the Durrānī's army, in order that he might warn the army in time to protect this sincere friend (Shāh Walī-Allāh). It would also be advisable to get a letter from one of Durrānī's friends about this sincere friend's (Shāh Walī-Allāh's) protection, and to send it through the student. Although everything is predestined, and even the prophets surrender to God's Will, human nature prompted me to make arrangements for safety and to write to you.'[39]

Early in 1757, Shāh Walī-Allāh was also in touch with Ahmad Shāh Durrānī personally. Although the latter's devastation of Mathurā and the Marātha towns in February and March 1757 apparently gave the Shāh great satisfaction, the sack of Delhi had deeply upset him. Soon after Durrānī's departure from India, the Marāthas seized power from Delhi to Attock. The reassertion of his power over the Panjāb became imperative for the Durrānī and in October 1759 he was again ready to invade. Once more Najīb al-Dawla urged him to restore Islamic power in Delhi. This time, Shāh Walī-Allāh also wrote a letter. Below are the main points covered in the letter.

Firstly, there is a short description of the early conquests of the Delhi sultanate and the provincial kingdoms. He also mentions the mosques and *madrasas* (colleges) built under sultanate rule, the immigration of Muslims from Arab and non-Arab countries to these principalities and the introduction of Islām in different regions of India.

The Shāh then writes that the Timūrids annexed the independent sultanates to their empire and made treaties with the Rājpūts, considering them to be their servants, thus making *jihād* unnecessary. There is an account of the rise of the Marāthas of the Deccan and the short-sightedness of the eighteenth century Timūrids, who first gave them Gujarāt and then made them the governors of Mālwa. The domination of the Marāthas and the imposition of *chauth* upon the Muslims and Hindūs are also mentioned; only the descendants of Nizām al-Mulk, through diplomatic means or the assistance of the Europeans, could maintain control of the

39 *Maktūbāt Shāh Walī-Allāh*, Rāmpūr Ms., no. 245.

important towns of the Deccan, such as Burhānpūr, Awrangābād and Bijāpūr, leaving the rest to the Marāthas.

The annihilation of the Marāthas was an easy task, writes the Shāh. They were themselves a small army but large numbers from various racial groups had joined them. Were the Islamic *ghāzis* to take up their weapons and annihilate two or three of the Marātha groups in battle, the others would flee. Their only strength lay in their ability to assemble a large army to fight. In reality they were neither strong militarily nor courageous.

The Shāh then turned his attention to the Jāts. Next to the Marāthas he believed the second greatest enemy of the Muslims was the Jāt peasantry, who inhabited the regions between Delhi and Akbarābād (Agra). The Timūrids had followed the old custom of residing in Delhi so as to neutralize all opposition in the regions as far as Sirhind, and on occasions lived in Agra, to assert power over Rājpūtāna. Shāhjahān had forbidden the Jāt use of horses or guns. Later rulers neglected to suppress the Jāts and they began to rearm. Although Awrangzib was almost totally occupied conquering Bijāpūr and Haydarābād, he dispatched an army under his grandson to suppress them. However, the Rājpūts did not give their loyal support to the Mughals[40] and quarrelling among the commanders forced them to return unsuccessful. Under Farrukhsiyar, the Jāts became a formidable foe. The *wazir*, Qutb al-Mulk, also fought them. Churāman the Jāt leader was forced to surrender and come to terms. Finally he was pardoned and Shāh Wali-Allāh believed this had been against the interests of Islām. Under Muhammad Shāh, Churāman, the nephew of Sūrajmal, rose to the Jāt leadership and started plundering Bayāna, which had been an Islamic centre for the last 700 years. The resident *'ulamā'* and *sūfis* were expelled in a humiliating fashion. Elated by their success the Jāts became increasingly rebellious. Obsessed with their own personal rivalries and being generally apathetic, the Mughal nobles ignored the need to overthrow the Jāt power. If any one of them urged the Emperor to embark on a punitive expedition against the Jāts, the representatives of Sūrajmal would seek assistance from that man's rivals and would manage to have the Emperor's orders changed. During the reign of Muhammad Shāh's son, Safdar-Jang Īrāni, in collaboration with Sūrajmal, devastated the older part of Delhi. After a protracted war both Safdar-Jang and Sūrajmal were unsuccessful and sued the Emperor for peace. War-weary imperial servants took the opportunity to come to terms with Sūrajmal, thus helping to enhance his power. He was able to seize the regions from the neighbourhood of Delhi to Agra in length, and from Mēwāt to Firūzā-

40 In fact the Rājpūt help enabled the Mughals to gain a remarkable victory over the Jāts. Supra, p. 103.

bād and Shikohābād in breadth. According to Shāh Walī-Allāh it was impossible to call *adhān* or perform prayers in this region. In the last year Sūrajmal occupied Alwar, the most important fort of Mēwāt and it had proved impossible to expel him.

At that time India's revenue was no less than seven or eight *crore* rupees but it was difficult to collect. The area under the Jāts yielded one *crore* and if all the Rājpūtāna rājas were also made to pay taxes another two *crores* could be added. Until the reign of Muhammad Shāh, the governor of Bengal regularly paid one *crore* in revenue. Even then he was the richest governor of the empire. Then an inexperienced grandson of the Bangāli governor ruled the province, who possessed very rich treasuries. Sa'ādat Khān Irāni and his son-in-law Safdar-Jang, the rulers of Awadh, collected two *crores* from their province, half of which they spent themselves, saving the other half. Such affluence, said the Shāh, had prompted Safdar-Jang to rebel against the Mughal emperor.

In summary, the annihilation of the Jāts was no problem, said Shāh Wali-Allāh, for the owners of the territories the Jāts had occupied were still alive and, given some encouragement by any powerful ruler, they would rebel against Sūrajmal, the leader of the Jāts, and help to overthrow him.

After giving an account of the strength of various *kāfirs*, the Shāh described the condition of the Muslims in Mughal India. The Emperor's servants, numbering more than 100,000, were paid either in cash or were given *jāgirs*. The weakness of the Emperors had made it impossible for the holders of *jāgirs* to control their territories. When revenues failed to reach the imperial treasury, all the government servants who were paid in cash fell into penury and the administration survived only in name. The stipend-holders, merchants and artisans were also reduced to a similar miserable condition, and financial difficulties were rampant. The plunder of old Delhi by Sūrajmal and Safdar-Jang had rendered a large number homeless and impoverished; repeated famines added to the fire and the plight of the Muslims was pitiful.

Shāh Wali-Allāh pointed out that one of the crucial conditions leading to the Muslim decline was that real control of the govenment was in the hands of the Hindūs. All the accountants and clerks were Hindūs. Hindūs controlled the country's wealth, while Muslims were destitute.

In the same letter the Shāh wrote to Ahmad Shāh Durrāni that he was the only king with sufficient manliness, gallantry and foresight for the task of annihilating polytheism. It was therefore his religious duty to declare a *jihād* and liberate the enslaved Muslims. Unless this was done Muslims would forget their religion and would be reduced to a state which was half Islamic and half idolatrous. The letter concluded with the remark,

'We beseech you (Durrāni) in the name of the Prophet to fight a *jihād* against the infidels of this region. This would entitle you to great rewards before God the Most High and your name would be included in the list of those who fought *jihād* for His sake. As far as worldly gains are concerned, incalculable booty would fall into the hands of the Islamic *ghāzis* and the Muslims would be liberated from their bonds. The invasion of Nādir Shāh who destroyed the Muslims left the Marāthas and Jāts secure and prosperous. This resulted in the infidels regaining their strength and in the reduction of the Muslim leaders of Delhi to mere puppets.'

Nevertheless the Shāh was also deeply concerned for the safety of the Sunni Muslims and suggested this plan for their protection:

> 'When the conquering army arrives in an area with a mixed Muslim-Hindū population, the imperial guards should transfer the Muslims from their villages to the towns and at the same time care for their property. Financial assistance should be given by governments to the deprived and the poor as well as to Sayyids and the '*ulamā*'. Their generosity would then become famous with prompt prayers for their victories. Each town would eagerly await the arrival of the Islamic army ('that paragon of bounty'). Moreover, wherever there was even the slightest fear of a Muslim defeat, the Islamic army should be there to disperse infidels to all corners of the earth. *Jihād* should be their first priority, thereby ensuring the security of every Muslim.'[41]

This lengthy letter which anticipated the establishment of Durrāni's rule in India was in reality a vain dream. Durrāni's main preoccupation was with the Marāthas and the protection of the provinces under his rule in the Panjāb, which had been subject to attack since mid-1759. By the end of that year Durrāni's general, Jahān Khān, had expelled the Marāthas from the Panjāb territories, at the same time massacring isolated remnants of their army. However, the total liquidation of Marātha control in Delhi was the only solution to ensure the safety of Durrāni's Indian possessions. The restoration of power of Najib al-Dawla in Delhi and the protection of Sunnism were only secondary considerations.

Shāh Walī-Allāh's primary interest, however, was to restore the domination of the Sunnis, whose life and property he feared were in danger. He did not dare call Durrāni's attention to the havoc wrought in Delhi by his invasion of 1757, diplomatically mentioning only the plunder and devastation caused by Nādir Shāh, in which Durrāni had nevertheless been

41 *Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī ke siyāsī maktūbāt,* no. 2.

involved. However, Shāh Walī-Allāh implored Najīb al-Dawla to thwart any possible devastation when Durrānī's armies invaded Delhi. Previous plunderings and despoliation of the city had delayed Durrāni's success and the sufferings of the oppressed had had numerous disastrous repercussions, wrote Shāh Walī-Allāh. Orders should be given forbidding interference in the affairs of either Muslims or *dhimmis* (Hindūs) for both suffered equally through pillage and the destruction of war.[42] There is no evidence to suggest that the victims of Durrāni's plunder and carnage were only Shi'is or Hindūs, but Shāh Walī-Allāh's son, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, wrote some years later :

> 'It so happened that my revered father said that next year, no *Rafidis* (Shi'is) would be left in our town. This came to be true, as the Durrāni killed them.'[43]

In January 1760, the Durrāni halted at Lūni near Delhi and planned to proceed to Dig. Although the sack of Delhi was not intended, stray columns of his army, joined by Najīb al-Dawla's soldiers, could not forego the opportunity to enrich themselves from whatever wealth they could lay their hands on. Here is a description of the eye-witness, Mir Taqi Mir. He wrote,

> "In the evening Rāja Nāgar Mal (Mir's patron at the time) left the city, and in due course safely reached the forts of Sūraj Mal (ruler of the Jāt kingdom). I stayed behind to look after my family. After evening, proclamation was made that Shāh Abdāli had granted security to all, and that none of the citizens should be in any fear. But night had scarcely fallen when the outrages began. Fires were started in the city and houses were burnt down and looted. The following morning all was uproar and confusion. The Afghans and Rohillas (Najīb's soldiers) started their work of slaughter and plunder, breaking down the doors, tying up those they found inside, and in many cases burning them alive or cutting off their heads. Everywhere was bloodshed and destruction, and for three days and three nights this savagery continued. The Afghans would leave no article of food or clothing untouched. They broke down the walls and roofs of the houses, and ill-treated and tormented the inhabitants. The city was swarming with them. Men who had been pillars of the state were brought to nothing, men of noble rank left destitute, family men bereft of all their loved ones. Most of them roved the streets amid

42 *Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī ke siyāsī maktūbāt,* nos. 5, 6.
43 *Malfūzāt Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz.*

insult and humiliation. Men's wives and children were made captive, and the killing and looting went on unchecked. The Afghans humiliated and abused their victims and practised all kinds of atrocities upon them. Nothing which could be looted was spared, and some would strip their victims even of their underclothing. The new city (Shāhjahānābād) was ransacked.

"On the third day some sort of law and order was introduced, but the officer in charge himself completed the work of despoliation; and when at last the looters were driven out of the new city, they simply turned their attention to the old, where they put countless people to the sword. For seven or eight days the tumult raged. Nobody was left with clothes to wear or with enough food even for a single meal. Many died of the wounds they had received, while others suffered greatly from the cold. The looters would carry off men's stores of grain and then sell it at an extortionate price to those who needed it. The cry of the oppressed rose to heaven, but the king (Abdāli), who considered himself a pillar of true religion, was quite unmoved. Large numbers of people left the city and fled into the open country, where many of them died. Others were carried off by force to the invader's camp. I, who was already poor, became poorer . . My house, which stood on the main road, was levelled with the ground."[44]

After his victory at Pānipat, Durrāni entered Delhi at the end of January 1761, and stayed in Shāhjahān's palace until 20 March of the same year, fleecing the people of Delhi of whatever they possessed. He made several abortive efforts to conclude a peace treaty with the Marātha Peshwā and Sūrajmal. Ahmad Shāh's principal concerns were the safety of the Panjāb from the Satlaj onwards, having annexed this region to his Afghān empire, and the receipt of an annual tribute of 40 lakhs of rupees which he had imposed on the Mughal empire. During Ahmad Shāh's brief stay in Delhi, his Sunni troops and Shujā' al-Dawla's Shi'i troops fought a war, forcing the latter to leave Delhi early in March.[45] For three days the retreating *mujāhids* plundered Delhi yet again. Shāh Wali-Allāh's prophecies about vast amounts of booty falling to the *mujāhids* were in part fulfilled, all other problems remaining unresolved.

From 1761 to 1770, Najib al-Dawla remained dictator of Delhi. The Shāh continued to write to Najib al-Dawla, calling him a *ra'is al-mujāhidīn* (leader of the *mujāhids*), *ra'is al-ghuzzāt* (leader of the *ghāzis*), and *amir al-umarā' (amir of amirs)*. One of his letters assures Najib al-Dawla that he had seen a vision in which the Jāts were completely wiped out as the Marāthas

44 *Three Mughal poets*, pp. 32-33.
45 Sarkār, J. N., *Fall of the Mughal empire*, II, Calcutta 1934, p. 376.

had been and that the Muslims had seized Jāt villages and forts. Shāh Wali-Allāh also suggested that the Rohēllas remain in the Jāt forts but added that he had received no word from the angelic world that victory had yet been confirmed. However, he advised Najib al-Dawla to mount *jihād* against 'those accursed ones' (the Jāts), thereby enforcing the words of Allāh. Najib al-Dawla should inform him when he left for battle so that the Shāh could pray for his success. He advised Najib al-Dawla to pay no heed to the vicissitudes of war. The most important thing he should remember, said the Shāh, was that the Hindūs in his service were sympathetic to the Jāts. Although they would constantly urge him to conclude peace with the Jāts this should be ignored or all divine assistance would cease.[46]

To Najib al-Dawla's question as to what action should be taken against the Muslims who were friendly with the Jāts, the Shāh replied that divine providence had made the defeat of the Jāts, like that of the Marāthas, inevitable. Such people should not be feared, for God would render them incapable of fighting. Neither should Najib al-Dawla be afraid of having Jāt enemies, or concern himself about the friendship of Muslim traitors. Lastly, Shāh Wali-Allāh added that in no case should peace be concluded with the Jāts. He assured Najib al-Dawla of his prayers for his victory.[47] In another letter, the Shāh stated he hoped that the extinction of Jāt power would be followed by that of the Sikhs.

His death in 1176/1762 prevented Shāh Wali-Allāh from seeing Najib al-Dawla's victory over Sūrajmal Jāt and his death in early January 1764. However, Sūrajmal's successor, Jawāhir Singh Jāt was an equally tough warrior who, in the teeth of opposition of his rival chiefs, bombarded and plundered Delhi in November 1764. Between 1763 and 1765 he became a formidable challenge to Najib al-Dawla, plundering regions from Delhi to Sahāranpūr. The Durrāni invasions did more harm to Muslim power than good, says a modern Sikh author, who calls him a great benefactor of Sikh power.[48] Ahmad Shāh Durrānī was indeed "a great warrior", but certainly not "the liberator of north-west India"[49] as Annemarie Schimmel unrealistically paints him.

46 *Shāh Wali-Allāh Dihlawī ke siyāsī maktūbāt*, no. 7.

47 Ibid., no. 8.

48 "Abdālī was the bitterest antagonist of the Sikhs and paradoxically their greatest benefactor. His repeated incursions destroyed Mughal administration in the Punjāb and at Pānīpat he dealt a crippling blow to Marātha pretensions in the north. Thus he created a power vacuum in the Punjāb which was filled by the Sikhs. Abdālī failed to put down the Sikhs because they refused to meet him on his terms. They were everywhere and yet elusive; they displayed temerity in attacking armies much stronger than theirs and alacrity in running away when the tide of battle turned against them." Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, I, Oxford 1963, pp. 167-68.

49 A. Schimmel, *Pain and grace*, Leiden 1976, p. 12.

We shall be dealing with the post-1761 history in our second volume, centring round Shāh Wali-Allāh's son Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz; in the following pages we shall be discussing Shāh Wali-Allāh's social ideas.

Like earlier authors whose works were covered in *Akhlāq* literature, the Shāh defines a city (*madina*) as a group of people living in different houses but leading an interdependent and corporate life as one social unit.[50] The *sa'āda* or ultimate aim of man, the Shāh emphasized, should be to get closer to God by strictly adhering to the Sunni *Shari'a* according to the authentic rulings of the four schools of *fiqh*. His theory of the high position of man was based on the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi and Jalāl al-Din Rūmi. The latter had beautifully written :

> "I died as mineral and became a plant,
> I died as plant and rose to animal,
> I died as animal and I was a Man.
> Why should I fear ? When was I less by dying ?
> Yet once more I shall die as Man, to soar
> With angels blest; and even from angelhood
> I must pass on: all except God doth perish.
> When I have sacrificed my angel-soul,
> I shall become what no mind e'er conceived.
> Oh, let me not exist ! for Non-existence
> Proclaims in organ tones: 'To Him we shall return'."[51]

Using a similar line of reasoning in the *Tafhimāt-i Ilāhiyya*, Shāh Wali-Allāh asserted that the Divine Will first manifested itself in the mineral world, then in the realm of plants, animals and lastly amongst humans. In the early stages the development of the human community and its social organizations differed little from that of animals, the only major distinction being that humans had a highly-developed sense of *irtifāq*, an instinct for co-operation in a collective situation. Amongst animals this had not been fully evolved. Therefore even in its initial stages, the human group was superior to those of animals. In the very first stage of social organization human beings were prompted to provide themselves with dwellings or animal skins as a protection against the weather. Man had to seek for food and then to invent agricultural and cooking methods. Even in this stage the human organization had begun to choose a leader and to follow a very general type of ethical code. This stage in the hierarchy of creation could be compared with the world of minerals, the second stage with the vegetable world. The second stage contained all the features of the first

50 *Hujjat*, I, p. 90.
51 *Fīhi ma fīhi*.

but was more organized, subtle and refined. The third human stage could be compared with the level of development of animals and featured all the attributes of the second stage, just as the animal world contained aspects which could be applied to the vegetable world. The fourth stage of human organization was as fully developed as the previous one. This was equivalent to what the Qur'ān called *fitra*[52] (innate disposition). The *fitra* of humans enabled them to support themselves by means of a process of discrimination, while in animals it was instinct alone which prompted such things as the collection of honey by bees, and pigeons nesting and feeding their young. Nevertheless, human beings could often be misled into developing undesirable attitudes towards society and their environment.[53]

The *sine qua non* of city life, said the Shāh, was mutual co-operation. Men should be more involved in civic affairs than women, because they were stronger physically.

According to Shāh Walī-Allāh, *bādiya* life (life in the desert in the Arabian context, and rural life in the Indian context) was a low stage in the evolution of social development.[54] The ideal social life was to be found in towns with a predominantly Muslim population, where there was little contact with infidels. Such contact undermined the Muslims' faith, said the Shāh. The ideal cities to him therefore were Mecca and Medina, where everybody was a Muslim.[55] He quoted a tradition of the Prophet which advised Muslims to reside so far from *kāfir* towns that their lights could not even be seen by them from their highest buildings.[56] The second type of towns, according to the Shāh, were those where Muslims were a minority group. They were conquered either by sword or were acquired by treaty. Such towns called for the appointment of big army and police forces, *qādis* and other officers for security reasons.[57]

Shāh Walī-Allāh compared a city to a human body with its different limbs. Just as the efficient operation of the human body depended upon each limb performing its own particular function, so the welfare of the town depended on each economic and professional group performing its prescribed duties.[58] For example, agriculturists should not be allowed to indulge in trade practices, or to be recruited into the army. The migration of people from one town to another and the migration of the town dwellers to the villages should also be prohibited.[59] These views of the

52 Qur'ān, XXI, 30.
53 *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 62-63.
54 *Hujjat*, II, p. 503.
55 Ibid., II, pp. 498, 501.
56 Ibid., II, p. 468.
57 Ibid., II, p. 498.
58 Ibid., II, p. 480.
59 Ibid., I, p. 91.

Shāh on professional immobility were not strictly in line with the ancient Īrānian class divisions[60] but were definitely influenced by the Hindū class and caste distinctions.[61]

The villagers devoted themselves to agriculture and to the rearing of cattle, but the city-dwellers practised a large number of specialized arts and crafts, so that finally the administration of a town also became a profession. The growing luxury and comfort in towns increased the need for specialization. For example, brave men entered the army, people with intelligence and a retentive mind took accountancy and office work, while the strongly built began to work as labourers. Heredity and environment also contributed to specialization. For example, the sons and neighbours of tinsmiths automatically took up that trade and men living near rivers became fishermen. Those who were not trained in any useful trade or profession became the town parasites, working as thieves, beggars or gamblers.

The administrative needs of the town led to the promotion of mutual friendship and co-operation between the inhabitants of the town and to the development of an administrative institution.[62] Mutual co-operation demanded a higher respect for law and order from men, whose physical and mental strength was greater than that of women. In a healthy society a husband should adhere only to his wife, and not consort with the wives of others. Although man was by nature polygamous, an instinct he shared with the animals, adultery was strictly prohibited by all laws.[63] All unnatural practices such as homosexuality and lesbianism ravaged society. Equally destructive were drunkenness, bribery, black-marketeering, extortion and purchasing goods outside the town without allowing them to come onto the market.[64] The latter remarks of the Shāh were obviously based on the *farmāns* of Awrangzīb, who insisted on the sale of goods in the market in order to prevent hoarding and profiteering by black-marketeers and the moneyed class.

No society, the Shāh repeatedly urged in his writings, could survive without maintaining some semblance of equilibrium. A proper adjustment between income and expenditure and the avoidance of extremes of poverty and wealth were imperative laws of society. The administration of a town inhabited by, say, ten thousand men, he said, demanded obedience to the common laws of human nature and society. Were a majority of them to become businessmen, artisans or administrators, and only a few to become agriculturists, their town would soon collapse due to hunger. On the moral side, should a large number of people indulge in distilling liquor

60 *Hujjat*, I, pp. 79-90.
61 Ibid., I, p. 168.
62 Ibid., I, p. 91.
63 Ibid., II, pp. 315-17.
64 Ibid., I, pp. 225-27.

and carving idols, they would corrupt the religion of the other inhabitants, who would naturally be tempted to use them. On the other hand, were all professions organized judiciously, and those indulging in perverted practices stopped, the general welfare of the town would be improved. The towns had been corrupted by the insatiable demands of their inhabitants who developed sudden crazes for jewellery, costly garments, food, beautiful women and the like. All Arab and non-Arab thinkers were agreed that an over-abundance of trades and professions catering only for the crazes of the aristocracy upset not only the town's economic equilibrium, but also devastated its society. For example, in order to cater for the luxuries and profligacy of the aristocracy, a large section of society would have to wallow in teaching singing and dancing to girls; some would start making garments more attractive by various painting and embroidery devices; another section would be lost in improving the quality of jewellery and in inventing means to make them more expensive and rare. Yet another section would be engaged in the building of lofty mansions, and in their decoration. This would leave only a very meagre section of society to devote itself to agriculture and commerce, and these indispensable professions would be neglected. The demands of the aristocracy for luxury goods would relegate the important needs of the town to the background, with the result that the agriculturists, merchants and artisans would be required to pay heavy taxes. The venom of the extravagance of the aristocracy would kill the society in the same way as a man affected with rabies surely died.[65]

Shāh Walī-Allāh repeatedly wrote in his works that the aristocracy's extravagance was the principal reason for the fall of the Persian and Byzantine towns and, in turn, for that of the empires. The townsfolk in those two empires had vied with each other for supremacy in pomp and prodigality. They lavishly spent money on palatial buildings, baths, gardens, horses, handsome slaves, food, drink, and clothing. Consequently, their agriculturists, merchants and artisans were taxed most cruelly. Those who dared to rebel were crushed by the military. The same was true, the Shāh said, of the condition of those Mughal towns where not only the aristocracy, but also the ordinary people, had been so prostrated by extravagant and reckless spending on effeminate luxuries that they were unable to get out of the vicious circle. In contrast, Shāh Walī-Allāh drew attention to the conditions of nations which had not been seduced by easy living. Their people were not heavily taxed and were deeply devoted to the duties of the religion and faith.

The Shāh then went on to say that the Prophet Muhammad was sent into a country which had neither any connection with Persia or Byzantine, nor had adopted their licentious habits. God commissioned him to

65 *Tafhīmāt*, I, p. 287.

outlaw the luxurious way of life in which the Persians wallowed. He was to forbid the use of dyed or painted silken garments, gold and silver crockery, the painting of walls, etc. God made the Prophet an instrument for the destruction of the Caesar (Byzantine empire) and for the creation of conditions which would prevent its re-emergence.[66]

As well as urging all sections of society in general terms to return to abstemiousness, moderation and temperance, Shāh Wali-Allāh tried to persuade individual members of all sections of society to reform. Addressing Muslim soldiers the Shāh argued that they had been raised by Allāh for the purpose of *jihād* in order to root out polytheism at its core. They were failing, however, to pursue their sacred duty. Their horses and arms were used to enrich themselves and *jihād* remained far from their minds. They drank, consumed Indian hemp, were clean-shaven (except for moustaches) and oppressed the weak. In return for such bad behaviour they gave nothing to society. Fervently the Shāh reminded the military that they would soon have to account for their deeds before their Creator. God wished them to act and dress like pious *ghāzīs*. They should wear beards (without moustaches), perform compulsory prayers and protect the poor and defenceless. *Ghāzīs* in battle should be eager for victory. Prior to travelling and fighting they should pray. If all these customs were followed the Shāh believed it would be impossible for Muslim soldiers to lose in battle.[67]

Turning to the artisans, the Shāh asserted that they, like members of other classes in Muslim society, had adopted wicked ways. They had abandoned compulsory prayers and had begun to worship their own gods, making pilgrimages to the tombs of *sūfīs*, like Shāh Madār[68] and Sayyid Sālār.[69] They had invented innumerable devices for divining and followed a multitude of superstitious and magical practices. Some of them had adopted a special type of dress and superstitiously ate certain foods. Some drank alcohol and forced their women into prostitution to support their

66 *Hujjat*, I.

67 *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 285-86.

68 Shāh Madār was born at Aleppo in 715/1315, embraced Islām during his visit to Mecca and Medina. From there he migrated to India, was a fast friend of *jogīs* and even during his life he became a very famous *sūfī*. He died in 840/1436, his tomb at Makanpūr near Kānpūr, where he had ultimately settled, even now attracts huge crowds of devotees.

69 Sipah Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, a legendary *sūfī* buried at Bahrā'ich was believed to have conquered the eastern regions of India under Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna. Parties of Hindūs join Muslim parties even now to celebrate his *'urs* (death anniversary) displaying banners, and no one bothers about the legend telling the massacre of Hindūs by Mas'ūd. He is Ghāzī Miyān of the common Hindūs and Muslims and his tomb is a popular object of worship.

habit. These evils ensured they would experience unhappy lives in this world and none-too-pleasant ones in the next. Instead they should exist on small sums so as to ensure a happy life in this world as well as after death. The mornings and evenings of artisans should be occupied in prayer; their days in the pursuit of their legitimate and traditional professions; their nights set apart for their families. Their earnings should be greater than their spending and the remainder should be used for the comfort of travellers, the helpless and for any emergency.[70]

To the descendants of leading *sūfis*, Shāh Walī-Allāh posed the question: why had they splintered into various groups, each directed along a different path? He believed these *sūfis* had abandoned God's way and that of the Prophet Muhammad, and that they had assumed instead their own leadership, thereby challenging God's. Not only misguided in their own religious practices, such *sūfis* posed as teachers and influenced others. Moreover the Shāh asserted they accepted disciples for money to which he said he was strongly opposed. Once having acquired a certain type of superior knowledge which he described as 'noble', its secrets should not be squandered for worldly gains. The Shāh believed that in contemporary *sūfi*-disciple relationships the disciple was being led away from Allāh and the Prophet. To him many modern *sūfis* were bandits, thugs, impostors and enemies of the faith. Shāh Walī-Allāh continued with a general note of warning to all Muslims about teachers—they should beware of those who failed to attract people to the Qur'ān and the Prophet Muhammad's *Sunna*, but drew them to themselves. The subtle teachings of past *sūfis* could not be discussed with laymen for *sūfism* in general was designed to promote *ihsān* (noble conduct).

Addressing the *'ulamā'*, the Shāh called them fools, preoccupied with Greek learning and the mastery of grammar. To him these did not rate as forms of learning. Real knowledge was confined to Qur'ānic verses and the understanding of the *Sunna*. Therefore the *'ulamā'* should learn the Qur'ān and understand its complex terminology and controversial verses. Likewise it was the duty of all theologians to preserve the authentic *ahādith* of the Prophet. They should attain a correct understanding of the Prophet Muhammad's methods used in prayers, ablutions, *hajj* and *jihād*. Even his way of speaking and the control of his voice should be copied and the *'ulamā'* should also have some knowledge of his ethical practices. The *Sunna*, however, should not be elevated to the status of obligatory religious duties, like methods of performing ablutions and *salāt* and *nisāb* (a certain estate or number of cattle for which either legal alms or a tax was paid), of *zakāt* and the rules of inheritance. The history of the Prophet

70 *Tafhīmāt*, I, pp. 286-87.

Muhammad's companions and Arabic grammar should be studied with theology in mind.[71]

Challenging the way of life of preachers and ascetics who led a retired life in *khānqāhs* (*sūfi* hospices), Shāh Walī-Allāh asserted that the rules they imposed upon themselves were not religious. Preachers had been confusing people by quoting apocryphal *ahādith* in their sermons. Ecstatic utterances, said the Shāh, came from those who were not engrossed in the Divine; rather people should learn *ihsān* in order to receive divine inspiration. After His creation of the Prophet Muhammad's community, Allāh had been prepared to assist, rather than hinder, people in their religious duties.[72]

The Shāh's admonitions to common Muslims were equally severe. Being demoralized, he said, they had turned to cupidity and avarice. Women had begun to dominate men and they in turn had ignored the natural rights of women. People considered the unlawful palatable and the lawful bitter. Allāh had commanded nothing that could not be performed by the average person. The Shāh advised Muslims to satisfy their sexual urges in lawful marriages (even if men felt they had to have more than one wife).

Extravagance should be avoided by people in every social group. Only food that was permitted by the *Shari'a* should be eaten. People should support themselves without becoming parasitic on the community or state. God would help each person to achieve self-sufficiency.

Besides religious grounds, Shāh Walī-Allāh condemned usury on economic grounds. He pleaded that the lust to become rich through usury undermined interest in agriculture, crafts and other productive professions. People were tempted to enrich themselves by realizing high rates of compound interest. To Shāh Walī-Allāh this was an extremely unhealthy means of earning money. In pre-Islamic Arabia, he wrote, unending enmity and wars between different tribes and clans due to usury, prompted the Qur'ān to make it illegal. However, the Shāh did not totally forbid the taking or giving of loans on interest, but asserted that it was the duty of the authority enforcing the *Shari'a* to set a limit to the interest rate.[73]

Shāh Walī-Allāh had many criticisms to make of the sinful innovations which had crept into the practices of the Muslims. For example, he wrote that on the tenth day of the Muharram ('Āshūra) the people assembled in order to perform what he considered were unlawful Ā'deeds. shūra had been made the day of mourning by a particular community, he said, but asked Muslims if they did not know that every day was Allāh's and His

71 *Tafhīmāt.*, I, pp. 284, 271.
72 Ibid., I, p. 284.
73 *Hujjat*, II, pp. 317-18.

Will was responsible for all happenings. If it was true that Imām Husayn had been martyred on that day, it was also true that not a single day had passed without the death of some friend of God. Some people had also erred by reserving Ā'shūra for sports and games. On the *Shab-Barāt* Muslims, like heathens, organized frivolous games and demonstrations, wrote the Shāh. The majority thought that on that day a large quantity of food should be sent to the dead. He challenged the Muslims to demonstrate the logic behind such a practice. He also condemned them for wastefulness in marriages, and for prohibiting divorce and the re-marriage of widows. Again, when a death occurred in a family, the members of that family were made duty-bound to feed their relations during the mourning period. This he said was unlawful. Criticizing the neglect of prayers, he said that some men were so deeply involved in their professional affairs that they were unable to find time for their prayers; others were so busy with their own amusements and merriments that they had forgotten prayer-time. Many had neglected *zakāt*. Although a large section of rich men provided food and clothing for a number of people, it was not done with a view to giving *zakāt*. Disapproving the Muslim dependance on the *mansabs* and stipends, Shāh Walī-Allāh asserted that the rulers, being unable to bear the burden of their protégés' demands, had no alternative but to harass the *ryot*.[74]

For particularly severe condemnation, Shāh Walī-Allāh singled out Muslim practices of praying at the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī at Ajmer, or at that of Sālār Mas'ūd and other similar tombs. According to the Shāh, their sin was in no way inferior to that of a murderer, or an adulterer. There was no difference between tomb worship and idol worship, he said. The Shāh could not see any difference between the worshippers of Lāt and 'Uzza[75] and the worshippers of the tomb, except that the latter, for want of an open Qur'ānic injunction, were not condemned as infidels. In fact, the Shāh concluded, anyone who prayed to the dead for the fulfilment of his own needs, considering them to be alive, was a sinner.[76]

In summary, the crucial factors in an ideal existence, believed the Shāh, were *'adl* (equity and justice), and *tawāzun* (moderation), as applied to the social, political and economic spheres. This, of course, he visualized within an entirely Muslim context, and his call to return to the Arabic language, Arabic dress and Arab styles of living[77] can be seen as a reaction against Īrānī and Hindū influences on the Mughal government. The downfall of Īrānīs and Hindūs, the Shāh believed, was destined to restore the charisma of the Sunnī *firqa nājiya* (sect to attain salvation).

74 *Tafhīmāt*, I, p. 288
75 Pre-Islamic gods of Arabia.
76 *Tafhīmāt*, II, pp. 49-50.
77 *Wasīyat-nāma*, p. 7; *Tafhīmāt*, II, p. 296.

CHAPTER SEVEN

# *Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān*

The ancestors of Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān came from the Qāqshāl[1] tribe of Turkistān. The tribe joined Humāyūn in his attempt to regain his throne in India and among the prominent Qāqshāls accompanying him to the sub-continent was Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl.[2] After the conquest of Delhi in July 1555, as repayment for his assistance, Humāyūn gave to Majnūn Khān the *jāgir* of Nārnol. After the Emperor's death on 26-27 January 1556 Majnūn Khān was unable to withstand the siege of Nārnol by Hājji Khān Afghān and incarcerated himself in the fort. Rāja Bihāra Mal Kachwāha, a supporter of Hājji Khān interceded for Majnūn Khān and he was allowed to reach Akbar's court unharmed.[3]

Another important Qāqshāl was Bābā Khān Qāqshāl. Members of this tribe were brave and proud, but to them discipline was anathema and war a boon. Both Majnūn Khān and Bābā Khān distinguished themselves in several expeditions of Akbar's army in eastern provinces [U.P., Bihār and Bengal] where Afghān power was crushed; in return they were given extensive *jāgirs* in Bihār and Bengal.

After Majnūn Khān's death in 1581, his son Jabbārī Khān succeeded him. In 1580 the new administrative regulations issued by the central government, such as the reduction of subsistence allowances to the *'ulamā'* and *sūfis*, the resumption of *jāgirs* by the state and the enforcement of laws regarding the branding of horses, in conjunction with the dissatisfaction of orthodox Muslims at Akbar's policy of rapprochement between the different religious groups in India, all contributed to the sparking off of a rebellion in Bihār. The tactless handling of the disgruntled nobles by the newly appointed governor to Bengal, Muzaffar Khān, helped spread the rebellion to the Tūrānī élite in that state. The Qāqshāls played an important role in the rebellion and killed Muzaffar Khān. As a reward, Bābā

1 According to Khwushgo, in Turkistān lean horses were nicknamed qāqshāls. Although Mīrzā Mazhar was corpulent, he appeared very lean. *Safīna-i Khwushgo,* Patna 1959, p. 301.
2 Bāyazīd Biyāt, *Tadhkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar,* Calcutta 1941, p. 180.
3 *Akbar-nāma,* II, pp. 20, 44-45.

Khān received the governorship of Bengal, and Jabbārī Khān was given a prestigious *mansab* of 10,000 by the rebels.[4] The prompt military action taken by Akbar, however, crushed the rebellion.

Meanwhile, towards the middle of 1850 Bābā Khān died of cancer[5] and a large number of Qāqshāls and Jabbārī Khān fled to different places. In March 1582, Jabbāri organized another rebellion but was captured a year later.[6] After serving eleven years in prison he was released at the end of March 1594.[7]

Considered unreliable, the Qāqshāls were generally kept out of high offices in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāhjahān.[8] Nothing is known about the sons and grandsons of either Jabbārī Khān or Bābā Khān, but Jān-i Jānān's father, Mirzā Jān, a fourth generation Indian Qāqshāl, held a minor post under Awrangzīb. He accompanied the Emperor to the Deccan where he resigned, and after distributing his property among the poor left for Agra. En route his wife had a son who was born on 11 Ramadān 1110/13 March 1699.[9] According to legend, Awrangzib named the boy Jān-i Jān (soul of souls); however, it is more likely that the father gave such a name to his only son. As he grew older it was gradually changed to Jān-i Jānān and finally the Mirzā began using Jān-i Jānān himself as his name.

Mirzā Jān-i Jānān received the traditional military, religious, literary and secular education of a youth of the *mansabdār* class. His instructor was his father, until the latter's death in 1130/1717-18. Mirzā Jān-i Jānān then studied *hadith* under Hājji Muhammad Afdal Siālkoti, a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh ibn Sālim Makki. The Hājji's lessons imbued in his student a passionate and lasting love for the Prophet. His ability to recite the Qur'ān, and possibly his understanding of its complexities, were acquired from Qāri 'Abd al-Rasūl Dihlawi, a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Khāliq Shawqi.[10] In Farrukhsiyar's reign he was to be presented at court for the granting of a *mansab*, but on that day the Emperor, due to a cold, failed to come. The

4 *Akbar-nāma,* III, pp. 299-300, 304.
5 *Akbar-nāma,* III, p. 321.
6 *Akbar-nāma,* III, p. 384.
7 *Akbar-nāma,* III, p. 652.
8 The family tree is as follows: Jān-i Jānān, son of Mīrzā Jān, son of Mīrzā 'Abd al-Subhān, son of Mīrzā Muhammad Amān, son of Shāh Bāba Sultān, son of Bābā Khān. The family is connected with Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyya, one of 'Alī bin Abī Tālib's sons. According to family legend the family was directly connected with Akbar and Asad Khān by marital alliances and held high *mansabs* but it is not substantiated by historical facts. Shāh Ghulām 'Alī, *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī,* Delhi 1309/1891-92, p. 14, Na'īm-Allāh *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya,* Kānpūr, 1271/1854-5, pp. 11, 14.
9 According to the *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī,* but for only two variations, the horoscope of the Mīrzā was identical to that of the Prophet Muhammad, p. 15.
10 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī,* pp. 28-29; *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya,* p. 13.

same night a vision of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki in his dreams robbed the young Mīrzā of his interest in a worldly career.[11]

Although Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān's training in the secular arts qualified him to pursue a non-spiritual career, and he actually received several offers of employment from eminent nobles, the Mīrzā opted for the simple life of a mystic. Two years after his father's death, he became the disciple of Sayyid Nūr Muhammad Badā'ūni[12] In 1135/1723 the Sayyid died and thereafter the Mīrzā spent long hours meditating by his *pīr's* grave for about six years.[13]

Later the Mīrzā became the disciple of Hāfiz Sa'd-Allāh, an eminent *khalīfa* of Shaykh Muhammad Siddiq Sirhindi.[14] Once the Hāfiz requested the Mīrzā to accompany the army of a noble and also to pray for its success. The Mīrzā's prayers and the spiritual assistance of his *pīrs* awarded the army success.[15] A large crowd of men sought Hāfiz Sa'd-Allāh's prayers and his disciples included a large number of highly ranked nobles and wealthy people. Nawwāb Khān Fīrūz-Jang[16] was also initiated by the Hāfiz to whose *khānqāh* a continual stream of dervishes flowed, eighty people eating daily at his kitchen. He was also a frequent suppliant on behalf of the under-privileged at the houses of nobles. As he grew older the Mīrzā began to receive spiritual training from Shaykh Muhammad 'Ābid Sunnāmi, a *khalīfa* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad, known as Shāh Gul.[17] This greatly annoyed Hāfiz Sa'd-Allāh but later the two were reconciled. The Hāfiz died on 11 Shawwāl 1152/10 January 1740.[18]

Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān's spiritual training under Shaykh Muhammad 'Ābid took eight years to complete. The Shaykh's temperament was markedly different from that of his former spiritual guide, Hāfiz Sa'd-Allāh, and he hated to associate with rich men. After the death of the Hāfiz, Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān asked the Shaykh to become Nawwāb Khān

11 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, p. 18.

12 Sayyid Nūr Muhammad Badā'ūnī was the disciple of Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn, the son of Shaykh Muhammad Ma'sūm and the grandson of the Mujaddid.

13 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, p. 22; *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, pp. 15-16.

14 He was the *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Muhammad Siddīq, (1057/1647-1130/1718), the son of Shaykh Muhammad Ma'sūm and the grandson of the Mujaddid.

15 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, p. 25.

16 Amīr al-Umarā' Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrūz-Jang [Mīr Muhammad Panāh], son of Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh and the son-in-law of the *Wazīr* I'timād al-Dawla Qamar al-Dīn Khān. Ghāzī al-Dīn acted as his father's deputy at the imperial court. He died on 7 Dhu'l-hijja 1165/16 October 1752 at Awrangābād, marching against his brother to displace him from his throne of Haydarābād. His dead body was brought to Delhi, where he lived most of his life, and was buried there. *Khizāna-i 'āmīra*, pp. 49-50, *M. U.*, I. pp. 361-62.

17 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, pp. 11-14, 25, 26. See letters of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad in the *Gulshan-i Wahdat*, Karāchī 1966.

18 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, pp. 10-11.

Firūz-Jang's teacher. Shaykh Muhammad 'Ābid was annoyed at the suggestion and replied that he did not wish his *khānqāh* to lose divine blessings, as had happened at that of Hāfiz Sa'd-Allāh, adding that the visit of worldly men was most unfortunate, as it deprived the heart of grace.[19] Shaykh Muhammad 'Ābid initiated Mirzā Jān-i Jānān into the Qādiriyya, Chishtiyya and Suhrawardiyya orders. His initiation into the Chishtiyya made the Mirzā sympathetic to *samā'*.

On 18 Ramadān 1160/23 September 1747 Shaykh 'Ābid Sunnāmi died. By that time the Mirzā was training his own novices independently.[20] In fact in a letter dated 1185/1771-72, he mentioned that he had been concerned with spiritual instruction for thirty years.[21] Discriminating in his acceptance of disciples, the Mirzā first tried to discourage those who sought initiation by telling them that his *khānqāh* was an exceedingly poor one and by emphasizing that it was vital to observe the tenets of the *Shari'a* down to the smallest detail. If he found a would-be disciple undeterred he then gave him a week to mull over the decision and to seek a propitious omen in the Qur'ān. Despite discouragement a large number of Afghāns and Rohēllas were initiated by the Mirzā.[22] From Delhi to Shāhjahānpūr all the leading Muslim towns were crammed with his disciples and in the Deccan they were also numerous. For the Mirzā this meant little rest and he found it difficult to keep up his correspondence with them.[23] To some who were far away he suggested that in the early mornings they should imagine that he was there spiritually and by this means gain the benefits to be derived from his discipleship.

To Mirzā Jān-i Jānān the unique relationship between *pir* and disciple extended beyond *bay'a*—the gifts of the family tree and a cap from the *pir*. The disciple should also gain an understanding of divine love and learn to perform *dhikr* in great earnest. Although a strict disciplinarian in the implementation of the *Shari'a*, the Mirzā also respected the needs of his own disciples. In one letter to Qādi Thanā'-Allāh, a disciple from Pānipat, he pointed out that everyone from that town complained of his behaviour. If he was too brutally frank in his criticism and upheld the holy law in such a way as to offend people, wrote the Mirzā, then he was failing to follow either the mystic path or the teachings of his *pirs*.[24]

In his early career the Mirzā's wife also became a disciple and initiated women into the Mujaddidi order. Later when she became insane, the

19 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, p. 28.
20 *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, pp. 18-19.
21 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, letter of Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān giving a brief account of his ancestors and training, pp. 33-34.
22 *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, pp. 33-34.
23 *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt* (Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān's letters). Murādābād 1891, no. 25.
24 Ibid., no. 77.

Mirzā refused to take another wife, cared for her and advised his disciples to treat her with respect.[25]

The attitude of the Mirzā himself to the initiation of women *sūfis* was based on a letter of the Mujaddid to a pious woman[26] who wanted literally to be initiated. The Mujaddid's ideas were based on Qur'ānic injunctions and traditions of the Prophet Muhammad which applied to pagan women in pre-Islamic Arabia. With these the Mujaddid singled out for condemnation some Indian customs then being practised by Muslim women. Here is the Qur'ānic verse quoted by the Mujaddid in the opening lines of his letter:

> 'Oh Prophet ! If believing women come unto thee, taking oath of allegiance unto thee that they will ascribe nothing as partner unto Allāh, and will neither steal nor commit adultery nor kill their children, nor produce any lie that they have devised between their hands and feet, nor disobey thee in what is right,[27] then accept their allegiance and ask Allāh to forgive them. Lo ! Allāh is Forgiving, Merciful.'[28]

The Mujaddid related that the Prophet Muhammad converted women to Islām without touching their hands and, believing them to be more corrupt and perverse than men, exacted from them additional pledges to those made by men. Then the Mujaddid continued by outlining a number of promises which he believed they should also make:

1. Women should not associate anyone else with Allāh. Those who seek the intercession of powers other than Allāh are polytheists and not pure monotheists. Dissociation from *kufr* is the primary condition of being a Muslim and an aversion to any association with anything other than Allāh is imperative for a monotheist. Asking help from idols and demons to overcome calamities and disease—a custom prevalent among Indian Muslims—is polytheism, a deviation from the Truth and an act of denial of the Divine Being. Such practices are performed by large numbers of ignorant women. There are few women indeed who do not seek the intercession of Shitlā (Hindū goddess) for averting smallpox. Respecting the sacred days of the Hindūs and the Jews and parti-

25 *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, p. 145.
26 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, III, no. 41.
27 Note by the translator N. N. Pickthall. This is called the woman's oath of allegiance. It was the oath exacted from men also until the second part of Al-'Aqabah [the summit of Mina valley in Mecca where Muhammad was first publicly acknowledged by a number of persons as the Prophet] when the duty of defence was added to the men's oath.
28 Qur'ān, LXI, 12.

cipation in their ceremonies is also polytheism. For example on the occasion of the Hindū festival Divālī, uneducated Muslims, especially women, celebrate the day just as the Hindūs do. They send gifts to their daughters and sisters and take pots filled with red rice to give to their friends. Such action is *kufr* and polytheism. Moreover, Muslims make gifts of animals in the name of eminent *sūfis* and sacrifice them on their graves. According to the rules of *fiqh* this is also polytheism and such oblations in reality are performed in the name of demons (*Jinn*). There are many ways in which to make such offerings without needlessly slaughtering animals. Women observe fasts in commemoration of saints, some of whom are completely non-historical, and often break them on various pretexts. The days fixed for the fasts are also fictitious. These observances amount to a reliance on someone other than Allāh and are therefore a form of polytheism. Some women argue that they fast in the name of Allāh and then pass their rewards to their *pīrs*. Nevertheless in the circumstances mentioned the fixing of dates for fasts and the breaking of them in a systematic way is wrong.

2. Women disciples are strictly prohibited from stealing.[29] Some women spend their husband's money without his authority. This is theft and a grave sin.
3. Presuming that adultery takes place only with the consent of women, those who seek discipleship are strictly forbidden to commit it. To hold hands or to gaze at someone with whom marriage is permissible is adultery. Women are forbidden to decorate themselves in an attempt to seduce men.
4. As women previously killed their daughters to prevent poverty, so female disciples are warned against this particularly loathsome sin.
5. Being great slanderers of others, women are specifically asked to take vows to refrain from this habit.
6. Women will strictly follow these divine commands and prohibitions and dissociate themselves from sorcery, necromancy and the like.[30]

It is surprising that neither the Mujaddid nor the Mirzā, who endorsed the above conditions took care to scrutinize the relevance of pre-Islamic conditions in Arabia to those of their own periods. The murdering of

29 This custom was prevalent among the pagan Arabs; Muslim women who did not have independent pocket-money might also have been tempted to steal their husband's money.

30 *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, pp. 37-40.

female children in time of economic hardship has never existed in any tangible forms among the Indian Muslims. However, the popularity of superstitious beliefs about legendary and semi-legendary saints, the worship of non-genuine graves of *pirs* and the Hindū superstitions about Shitlā indicate how deeply rooted this Indian legacy was in Islām. The purifying reforms of rulers like Sultān Firūz, Sikandar Lodī and other religious reformers never really made a great impact on these customs.

As a strict follower of the Mujaddid, Mirzā Jān-i Jānān considered it his duty to defend his Master's theory of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* and other statements he made from time to time. Opposition to the Mujaddid's claims had already started in his own lifetime and the Mujaddid himself and his disciples had always tried to convince their opponents of their viewpoints, but the controversy continued. Towards the end of the Mujaddid's life, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi[31] wrote a long letter refuting the Mujaddid's statements which he considered contrary to the *Shari'a* and *sūfism*. In Awrangzīb's reign, despite the Emperor's friendship with the Mujaddidiyyas, the controversy attained threatening proportions and, on 27 Shawwāl 1090/1 December 1679, the Emperor had to issue the following orders to the *Qādī* of Awrangābād—

> "It has recently been reported to our august and exalted Majesty that some sections of the *Maktūbāt* by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi seem contrary to the beliefs of the Sunnis (*ahl al-sunna wa'l jamā'a*) and that the followers of the aforementioned Shaykh residing in Awrangābād actively propagate and teach (the contents of letters) and that their beliefs are founded in those false teachings. Therefore this servant of the *Shari'a* (Shaykh al-Islām) has been ordered by his imperial majesty to write to that refuge of the *Shari'a* (Qādī of Awrangābād) that he should stop them (the followers of Shaykh Ahmad) from teaching and propagating such ideas. Should the Qādī come to know of anybody holding the abovementioned false beliefs (i.e. against the *Shari'a*) originating in the *Maktūbāt*, the offender should be punished in accordance with the laws of the *Shari'a*.[32]

In c. 1093/1682 the enemies of the Mujaddidiyya teachings referred the controversy over the Mujaddid's claims to the *'ulamā'* of Mecca and

31 The letter is reproduced in K. A. Nizāmī's *Hayāt-i Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī*, Delhi 1953, pp. 312-344. Although grossly incorrect, the main points of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq's arguments cannot be missed. For a correct text see *Ma'ārij al-wilāya* by 'Abd-Allāh Khweshgī Qasūrī, Āzar Collections, Panjāb University, Lahore Ms., ff. 569b-586b.

32 *Ma'ārij al-wilāya*, ff. 603b-604a. See the *fatwās* of the *'ulamā'* against the Mujaddid in *Ma'ārij al-wilāya*, ff. 601b-603b.

Medina, where Shaykh Ādam Banūrī's publication of the Mujaddid's ideas had already made a large section of the *'ulamā'* of the Muslim holy land hostile to the Mujaddid. The leader of his enemies, Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Barzanji Shafi'i, wrote a treatise entitled the *Qadh al-zand wa-qadah al-rand fi radd jahālāt ahl al-Sirhind,*[33] completing it on 15 Rajab 1093/20 July 1682. Another *'ālim* of Mecca, Hasan bin 'Alī al-Hanafi wrote *Al-'asab al-Hindī li-istisāl kufrīyāt Ahmad al-Sirhindī.*[34] About the same time, Muhammad Beg al-Uzbakī, a supporter of the Mujaddid who had reached Mecca and Medina from India, completed a treatise on 2 Rabī' I 1094/1 March 1683, entitled *'Atīyat al-Wahhāb al-fāsila bayn al-khatā' wa-al-sawāb.* However, the Sherif of Mecca, who had sent the literature written against the Mujaddid in Mecca and Medina to the chief *Qādī* of India, concluded his letter saying that the *'ulamā'* of Hejāz thought Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi was a *kāfir* (infidel) and therefore other opinions did not merit any attention.[35]

The controversy, however, was not settled in India. In a letter, Jān-i Jānān wrote—

> "Your letter relating to the objections that ignorant people raise against the statements of the Mujaddid has been perused by me. These objections are based either on ignorance or on envy. The bigoted people have always rejected (noble thoughts). Treatises have been written condemning Shaykh-i Akbar (Ibn al-'Arabi) and other sages proving them infidels. The Mujaddid has answered all objections to remove any doubts. Among his noble descendants Shāh Yahya[36] has written a detailed treatise. Maulawi Shāh Farrukh Shāh has written a short treatise entitled *Kashf al-ghitā' 'an wajh al-khatā'.*[37] Among the Mujaddid's devotees Muhammad Beg Turki (resident in Mecca) wrote the *'Atīyat al-Wahhāb al-fāsila bayn al-khatā' wa-al-sawāb,* reply-

33 Āsafiya Library, Haydarābād, *kalām,* 224.

34 Āsafiya Library, Haydarābād, *kalām,* 224.

35 *Qadh al-Zand,* ff. 3b-4a; Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī,* McGill 1971, p. 97.

36 Shāh Muhammad Yahya (b. 1024/1615-16, d. 1096/1684-85) was the youngest son of the Mujaddid. In fact all the sons and grandsons of the Mujaddid wrote letters and treatises defending the Shaykh's theories.

37 According to the legendary *Rawdat al-Qayyūmiyya* a letter with forged signatures of Awrangzīb was sent to Qayyūm thālith (Khwāja Muhammad Naqshband), Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn and Mawlawī Farrukh Shāh, inviting them to report to the court and answer the unanimous demand of the *'ulamā'* to ban the study of the Mujaddid's teachings. Thereupon all the *khalīfas* of the Mujaddid and his descendants attended the court and defeated the opponent with their convincing replies. *Rawdat al-Qayyūmiyya rukn,* III, pp. 34-73. The account of the fifteenth year of the *qayyūmiyat* of the third Qayyūm (1094/1682-83) largely consists of a relation of the disputes concerning the demand to ban the study of the Mujaddid's letters.

ing to the objections and refuting the treatise written by Muhammad Barzanji, a disciple of Shaykh (Ibrāhim) al-Kurdi (settled in Medina). Muhammad Beg obtained the seals of approval of the *'ulamā'* of the four schools of *fiqh* on his treatise. When unfamiliar spiritual truths which were known in the first two *qarans* (generations) of Islām had disappeared and appeared again because of the Mujaddid, who was endowed with the remnant of the holy clay used in the creation of the Prophet Muhammad, people became envious of the Mujaddid. The right thing to do is first of all to examine the character and antecedents of the person who makes (unfamiliar statements). If he follows the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*, and his speech and actions when weighed on the scales of the *Shari'a* turn out to be correct, his allegorical statements should be interpreted in the light of his unambiguous statements, or left to God, considering the person who made them beyond help. Sometimes when the *sūfis* are overpowered by ecstasy words fail them, and often thoughts and ideas are so intermixed with the *sūfic* revelations that they seem palpably wrong. As a *mujtahid* is not accused for making errors of judgment, the *sūfī* who makes statements which seem wrong should also be excused for his utterances. Sometimes lack of adequate knowledge of *sūfic* terminology also raises (difficulties). In these circumstances it is imperative that no objections be raised against *sūfis*, especially against an outstanding sage such as the Mujaddid whose teachings are based on the *Sunna*. The main reason for the agitation against the Mujaddid is that since the days of Muhyi 'al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabi up to the time of the Mujaddid, the people's minds have been so pre-occupied with the ideas of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* [that they are not prepared to listen to any other theory]. In fact, the Mujaddid's basis for the refutation of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* differs radically from that of the *'ulamā'*, for the Mujaddid is in agreement with the basis of the Wujūdiyya theories. The only difference is that, according to the Mujaddid, the true spiritual goal is higher than imagined by the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. To the Mujaddid, it is impossible to identify the Divine Essence with the creation, as is done by the Wujūdiyyas."[38]

In his correspondence the Mirzā repeatedly advised his addressees to acquire a proper perception of the *sūfic* technical terms and to study all three volumes of the Mujaddid's letters in order to grasp the true meaning of his ideas. Summing up the controversy, Mirzā Jān-i Jānān wrote that the *sūfis* used the term *Wujūd* (Being) in three different senses. Firstly, it meant becoming or attaining. Secondly, it was used in the sense of an

38 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, letter no. 5.

extension or overflow, of Being—a factor which proved controversial in the general interpretation of *Wujūd* and had come to mean emanation. It is clear, said the Mīrzā, that neither becoming nor emanating are identical with Being. According to the third view, *Wujūd* is the 'first of all firsts', the 'origin of all origins' and the Pure Essence. The Mīrzā stated: 'Our Master (the Mujaddid) says that the Essence of God the Most High is the source of His creation. In so far as Being and Essence in reality are identical, the creation and existence may be ascribed to either Being or Essence. There is no essential difference between the two expressions but the theory of emanation is totally unacceptable.'[39]

Explaining the *sūfi* interpretation of *nisbat*, the Mīrzā gave this somewhat lucid account of the differences between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. The Arabic word *nisbat*, he wrote, meant the relation between two parties. The *sūfis* used it to represent the relationship between God and man. To theologians *nisbat* meant a relationship between the Creator and the created, akin to that of a potter to his pot. The followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* explained *nisbat* as the manifestation of Unity in multiplicity and used as examples the relationship of a wave or a bubble to water. They maintained that an apparent multiplicity was no hindrance to the concept of the real Unity. The main aim of the exponents of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was to prove through religious analogies and rational argument that the world was the *'ayn* (essence) of the Creator. Conversely, the followers of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* used the analogy of the relationship between the sun and its rays to explain that of Reality and shadow (*zill*). *Zill*, in this sense, meant nothing more than theophany. The multiple aspect of the shadow could never interfere with the true unity of the sun. They implied that followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* did not admit any reality of the shadow besides Reality itself and insisted that the truth about the relationship between the river and the wave was that the one was quite remote from the other.[40]

To the Mīrzā a discussion of the relative superiority of either Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī,[41] the founder of the Qādiriyya order, or Shaykh

39 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, letter no. 6.

40 Ibid., no. 3.

41 Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (b. 470/1077, d. 561/1166), the founder of the Qādiriyya order is well-known for his utterance, "My foot is on the neck of every saint of God". The legendary works on the Shaykh make him the final arbitrator in all that happened in the past and would take place in the future. The claims associated with the powers of the Qayyūm were no different. Naturally, devotees of both the Qādiriyya and the Mujaddidiyya orders were at logger-heads in the seventeenth century regarding the respective superiority of their patron saints, and even a scholar of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq's repute only criticized the Mujaddid. See *Maktūbāt-i Imam-i Rabbānī*, I, no. 293; III, nos. 34, 121, 126.

Ahmad Sirhindī, the Mujaddid of the second Islamic millennium, was futile. He believed only a real spiritualist could decide such a question; in the absence of such a personality, silence was the best course.[42]

One of the Mirzā's disciples brought the following two complaints against the Mujaddid's *khalifas*—

1. His *khalifas* claimed that they had attained a very high spiritual state but their achievements unlike those of the former *sūfis* were not particularly outstanding.
2. They made resounding prophecies and implied that they were at least equal, if not superior, to previous dervishes, although their spiritual achievement belied this.

In answer, the Mirzā wrote that even earlier *sūfis* than the Mujaddid's *khalifas*, despite achieving the stage of *fanā'*, had made extensive spiritual claims for themselves. Some did so while divinely inspired, others when in a state of mystical intoxication, and the claims of the Mujaddid's *khalifas* may have arisen from either condition. With the exception of the state of prophethood no other spiritual condition was perfect, and therefore, according to the Mirzā, there was nothing to object to in their claims.

As far as the second objection was concerned, it was not easy to assess the spiritual attainments of perfect *sūfis*, claimed the Mirzā. As the present era was aeons of time away from that of the Prophet and the day of Resurrection was near, the force of physical and spiritual matter was diminished. Prophecies made by the Mujaddid indicated only the future eminence of his disciples and did not mean that they had surpassed the earlier dervishes.[43]

The Mirzā also refused to involve himself in the continuing controversy over *samā'*. One group of *sūfis*, he said, forbade its practice on the basis that it produced impiety and discord. Others believed it lawful because of the positive aspects of ecstasy. But to the Mirzā, *samā'* only transgressed the laws of the *Shari'a* if it evoked impious or sensual feelings in its listeners. In this case, it could result in infidelity. Some perfect *sūfis* did not participate even in lawful *samā'*, because they did not consider it was essential to their spiritual development. Using the following analogy, the Mirzā said that on occasions a drunkard might abhor the taste of sweet food, and an opium eater hate savoury dishes; yet this was not to say that they considered the habit of eating unlawful. Again, the Mirzā likened the spiritual methods of the Chishtiyya to an intoxicated man who preferred noise and music to silence, while he saw the behaviour of the Naqshbandiyyas to be like that of opium eaters who enjoyed silence. The difference was purely due to diverse temperaments and had nothing

42 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, no. 7.
43 Ibid., no. 2.

to do with faith or adherence to the *Shari'a*. As for himself, the Mirzā thanked Allāh that he abhorred unlawful *samā'* and had finally given up its practice.[44]

Mirzā Jān-i Jānān advocated that all the four great *Imāms* who had founded the different schools of Sunni jurisprudence were equally great and there was no Qur'ānic verse or *hadith* which referred to the relative superiority of any of them. The conversion of a Hanafi to Shi'i or vice versa was permissible but it should be based on a complete understanding of the *Shari'a* and not merely of a few particular law cases. Conversion should come from religious conviction rather than worldly motives.[45]

As a strict Sunni, the Mirzā adopted the Ash'arī interpretation rather than Shāh Wali-Allāh's, of the Sunni-Shi'i controversy over the Prophet Muhammad's companions and his family members. However, he again stated firmly that such disputes had no relevance to fundamental Islamic issues. The salvation of a Muslim depended on his belief in the Unity of God, in the prophethood of Muhammad and in the Muslim confession of faith. As both the Prophet's companions and family members enjoyed his company, it was imperative for a Muslim to see them all in a favourable light, said the Mirzā, whereas Sunnis rated only the prophets' impeccable (belief in *'ismat*) excluding from this élite group the Prophet's companions and the saints, (including the Shi'i *Imāms*). Obviously there must have been occasional disputes between them, continued the Mirzā, but these were swiftly reconciled because of their individual purity. Those (meaning the Shi'is) judged the companions and family members of the Prophet Muhammad as sinners as they themselves were, and consequently they were guilty of denying the importance of the prophetic mission.[46]

Mirzā Jān-i Jānān admitted that 'Ali had spoken against the Prophet Muhammad's beloved wife, 'Ā'isha, about whom there had been considerable scandal in 5/627.[47] However, he added that 'Ali's motive was to

44 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, no. 12.

45 Ibid., no. 16.

46 Ibid., no. 18.

47 The incident is described by M. M. Watt in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* thus: "A serious crisis developed out of an incident on the return from the expedition against Banu'l-Mustaliq in 5/627, on which 'Ā'isha accompanied Muhammad. At the last halt before Medina 'Ā'isha, who had gone a little way from the camp to satisfy a natural need, dropped a necklace and spent some time searching for it. She was so light in weight that the men who loaded her litter on the camel had not noticed her absence from it, and the whole caravan had moved off before she returned to the camp. She sat down to wait, and was eventually found by a handsome young man, Safwān, b. al-Mu'attal al-Sulamī, who escorted her back to Medina. In the circumstances of the time, especially in view of the imposition of the *hijāb* on Muhammad's wives, this was highly improper. Gossip was magnified, however, not merely by personal enemies of 'Ā'isha and her family, but by 'Abd-Allāh b. Ubayy, the leader of the Munāfiqūn or hypocrites. Already during the expedition he had given expression to his dissatis-

soothe the Prophet who was in a distressed state at the time and that 'Ā'isha's dissatisfaction with 'Ali was natural. Neither was totally right, but both would be rewarded for their love of the Prophet Muhammad.[48]

The rejection of the claim of Fātima, the Prophet Muhammad's daughter, to her father's share of Fadak,[49] a property near Khaybar was another controversial issue between Shi'is and Sunnis. Abū Bakr argued that the Prophet Muhammad had stated he would have no heir and what he left would be *sadaqa* (public property to be used for philanthropic purposes). Although the Mirzā admitted that Fātima had been displeased with Abū Bakr, this was due mainly to her immaturity, while Abū Bakr's judgment was based on a well-considered interpretation of the laws of inheritance. Under such circumstances it was the duty of Muslims to respect both parties.[50]

Arguing along similar lines, the Mirzā wrote that after the martyrdom of the third Caliph 'Uthmān, the Prophet's companions were divided into three parties: one joined 'Ali the legitimate Caliph, another supported Mu'āwiyya, the governor of Syria and the third party remained neutral.

faction with the growing power and prestige of Muhammad. It became clear at length that there was no solid evidence against 'Ā'isha, and Muhammad received a revelation (Qur'ān, xxiv, 11 ff.) implying her innocence and rebuking those who had gossiped. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ubayy was publicly humiliated". *E. I.*[2] I, pp. 308-9. Ibn Hishām, one of the earliest biographers of the Prophet Muhammad, who describes the event in considerable detail, says that the companions of the Prophet Muhammad made various suggestions to him. 'Alī suggested that the Prophet need not be concerned and should divorce 'Ā'isha. [*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, pp. 733-34]. Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān also refers to the battle which 'Ā'isha fought against 'Alī in Jumāda II 35/December 656 to avenge the murder of the third Caliph, 'Uthmān. Since a fierce battle was fought around the camel on which 'Ā'isha's litter was placed it is known as the battle of the Camel (Jamal).

48 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, no. 20.

49 Fadak was an ancient small town in the northern Hijāz, near Khaybar. It produced cereals and also was known for woven handicrafts. In 628-29 A. D. a treaty was made by the Prophet Muhammad with the Jews of Fadak according to which the Jewish inhabitants were allowed to live in their homeland on the share-cropping system. They were required to surrender half of their land and half of the produce of their oases. Since the Fadak was acquired by treaty it was allocated to the Prophet Muhammad (*khālisa lahu*), who devoted the revenues from it to needy travellers and also to the maintenance of the poor members of his Hāshimite clan. After the death of the Prophet, Fātima claimed, that, as her father's heiress, the income from Fadak should come to her; conversely Abū Bakr argued that the Prophet had stated that he would have no heir (*lā wārathu*); what he left would be *sadaqa* (*mā taraknā, sadaqatun*). On the above ground Abū Bakr rejected Fātima's claim. A few months later the death of Fātima followed by 'Alī's recognition of Abū Bakr's election as a Caliph closed the case, but Abū Bakr's decision was and is regarded by Shī'īs as a gross injustice to his Prophet's daughter. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2], III, pp. 725-27, 841-49.

50 *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt*, no. 30.

The *hadith* scholars and the *mujtahids* quoted *hadith* from all three groups. The refutation of any of these three during the formative period of Islām would have led to the destruction of the newly founded faith. The Mirzā added he believed the Shi'is had departed from the path of moderation and also relied on unauthentic *ahādith*.[51]

By the eighteenth century the study of the Persian translation of the Sanskrit religious works had increased the awareness of Hinduism. The Mirzā's acceptance of the Indian prophets rested firmly within the framework of those Qur'ānic verses regarding ancient prophets and abrogated religions.[52] This meant that although his approach to Rāma and Krishna was an improvement on that of the Mujaddid, he was still unable to sympathize with those Hindūs who doggedly continued to follow their own religion after the advent of Islām.

As far as the Mujaddid was concerned, he wrote that prophets who invited people to believe in the True Creator had also been sent to India, and apparently in some parts of the sub-continent the light shed by these prophets had dispelled polytheism (*shirk*) like a candle in the dark. These places could be identified, but no one there ever bothered about such prophets or listened to their teachings. There were prophets in whom only some people had believed, and even some who could muster only one follower.

The Mujaddid maintained that the religious classics of the leading infidels (Hindūs), dealing with the existence of the Divine Being, His attributes, transcendence and sanctification, had been purloined from lamps [teachings] set in the niches of prophets. By this the Mujaddid implied that the Hindū sages had plagiarized from the works of these ancient prophets. Without such works the slothful intellect of all the stupid, blind leaders of the Hindūs would have remained sunk in the darkness of infidelity and sinfulness, as according to the Mujaddid, they would not otherwise have had any access to the idea of the Unity of Being. These wretches were unable to think of anything other than claiming

51 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, no. 17.

52 The Qur'ān states—

And for every nation there is a messenger. And when their messenger cometh (on the Day of Judgment) it will be judged between them fairly, and they will not be wronged. Qur'ān x, 48.

And we never sent a messenger save with the language of his folk, that he might make (the messenger) clear for them. Then Allāh sendeth whom He will astray and guideth whom He will. He is the Mighty, the Wise. Qur'ān, xiv, 4.

Whosoever goeth right, it is only for (the good of) his own soul that he goeth right, and whosoever erreth, erreth only to its hurt. No laden soul can bear another's load. We never punish until We have sent a messenger. Qur'ān, xvii, 15. Lo! We have sent thee with the Truth, a bearer of glad tidings and a warner; and there is not a nation but a warner hath passed among them. Qur'ān, xxxv, 24.

themselves to be God, just as the Pharaoh had asserted: 'I know not that ye (chiefs) have a God other than me'.[53] Again in another verse Pharaoh challenged Moses thus: 'If thou choosest a God other than me, I assuredly shall place thee among the prisoners'.[54] Some infidels (Hindūs), continued the Mujaddid, realizing that their claims to be God were untenable, admitted the existence of the Supreme Creator and then claimed that He was infused into them—a claim which was intended to make people worship them as gods.

The Mujaddid warned that the uncomprehending should refrain from asking him why God, if He had sent prophets to India, had not informed the Muslims of this fact. The answer to this question was that the prophets sent to India had not been commissioned to disseminate the Divine message universally: their mission had been confined to a single community, or the population of a particular village or town, who were invited to recognize the Supreme Creator and prohibited from praying to anyone other than God. With a few exceptions the Indian recipients of this message rejected it, even going to the extent of insulting and condemning its prophets. Accordingly God destroyed them, later sending another prophet to some other villages or communities. This process continued for a long time. In India there were many remains of ruined villages and towns. The Mujaddid believed that some followers of the prophets in these villages and communities had managed to preserve their teachings. Thus, concluded the Mujaddid, only those prophets who had gathered many followers around them during their lifetime were still well-known. Those, who were followed by only a few, never became widely known. Moreover, the terms for prophets and apostles (*Risālat, Nabūwat* and *Payghambari*) were used in Arabic and Persian in order to continue using the same language used by the Prophet Muhammad. But these terms had no counterparts in the languages of India, hence little was known about prophets and apostles in India. However, had prophets not been sent to India and preached the Divine message in the local languages, Indians, secure in their stubborn belief in their own divinity, would not now be consigned to a hell of incessant torture.[55]

The Mujaddid tried to prove the existence of prophets in India in the light of the Qur'ānic verses and the stories of Pharaoh and Moses, as well as of the analogy of the destruction of disobedient members of the tribe of 'Ād[56] (after Noah), and of another tribe, (the Thamūd) some two hundred years later.[57] It would seem that the Mujaddid knew at least

53 Qur'ān, xxviii, 38.
54 Qur'ān, xxvi, 29.
55 *Maktūbāt*, I, no. 260.
56 Qur'ān, vii, 65; ix, 70; xi, 50-60; xii, 9.
57 *Maktūbāt*, I, no. 259.

some of the translations of the Sanskrit classics made in the *Maktab Khāna*[58] under Akbar, and was certainly aware of the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, part of which had been made by his father-in-law Hājji Sultān Thāneswari. However he was not prepared to accept Rāma or Krishna, the most popular deities of the Hindū pantheon, as prophets.

The views of Mirzā Jān-i Jānān, who seems to have also read the translations made under the auspices of the hated Dārā-Shukōh, were better reconciled to the Islamic theory of the abrogation of religions, and were better informed. The Mirzā was asked to explain whether the infidels of India, like the pagans of Arabia, followed a religion without any true basis, or whether it was one which at some stage incorporated truths which were later abrogated. As regards ancient Indian leaders, the Mirzā wrote—

"The ancient books of the Indians show that in the beginning of the creation of the human species God sent a Book, named the *Bed* [*Veda*], in four volumes, through an angel, called Brahma, in order to guide [Indians] regarding their duties in this world and the next. The *Vedas* contained Divine orders and prohibitions, didactic stories about the past and prophecies about the future. On the basis of the *Vedas* Indian jurists [sages] formulated six systems containing the basic principles of their religious beliefs. This science is known as the *Dharma-Shāstra*, or the science of religious beliefs or *kalām*. Human beings were divided into four classes who took from the *Vedas* their individual rules of conduct and social ethics. The latter became known as the *Karma-Shāstra* or science of action, which can be identified with *fiqh*.

"According to our [Muslim] judgment it is essential there should be different laws for different times; however Hindūs did not believe in the abrogation of divine law. Accordingly, they divided time into four periods called *yugas* (*jug*) for each of which there was a code of conduct derived from the *Vedas*. Later interpolations by scholars are unreliable. All sections of Hindūs believe in God most High, consider the world to be created, believe in its ultimate destruction and in the Day of Resurrection; they also accept accountability for worldly deeds, the meting out of rewards and punishments (according to one's merits). They are expert in all the rational and traditional sciences, ascetic practices, the study of gnosis and intuitive knowledge.

"Their sages divided the human life-span into four parts: the first being devoted to the acquisition of knowledge, the second to attending to worldly duties and the begetting of children, the third spent to self-purification and spiritual improvement and the fourth involving the severance of all relations with the world and the living of a secluded life. The last,

58 *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, pp. 203-23.

the highest ideal in life, was necessary for complete emancipation. The rules and regulations of Hinduism are well established and this indicates that the religion was originally commendable but that it has now been abrogated. Although several religions have been obliterated and changed, the Islamic *Shari'a* mentions only the abrogation of the Jewish and Christian faiths. The following verses, as well as others in the Qur'ān, confirm the existence of the prophets and apostles in India.

> ....and there is not a nation but a warner hath passed among them[59]
> And for every nation there is a messenger.[60]

"The sacred books of the Hindūs give an account of their prophets, and their traditions indicate that the prophets were both perfect and great. Therefore the Universal Divine Mercy did not ignore the interests of the people of such a vast country. Before the advent of the last of the prophets [i.e., Muhammad], all nations were sent 'warners', each one being expected to obey only the teachings of his own respective prophet. After the advent of our prophet, who was sent to all mankind, his religion [i.e., Islām] superseded all previous ones, from the east to west. Until the Day of Resurrection no one had any alternative but to obey him. Therefore from the time of his mission until that day of 1180/1766-67 [on which these words were written] any who did not believe in this religion [Islām] were infidels (excluding of course those who preceded the Prophet Muhammad). The *Shari'a* was reticent about many of the prophets, for the Qur'ān says,

> Verily We sent messengers before thee, among them those of whom We have told thee, and some of whom We have not told thee.[61]

"Therefore, Mirzā Jān-i Jānān continued, in view of this verse it is preferable not to talk too loosely about the prophets of India. We should neither confidently accuse them and their followers of disbelief and relegate them to perdition, nor should we affirm a belief in their salvation. Had the question been dispassionately examined, our judgment about the Hindūs would have been proven to be right. Identical would be our attitude to the religion of the people of Persia and all other countries who were part of the pre-Muhammad age about which the *Shari'a* had nothing positive to say. Their (the old religions) code of conduct and traditions followed the path of moderation.

'Without convincing evidence no one should be called an infidel',

59 Qur'ān, xxxv, 24.
60 Qur'ān, x, 48.
61 Qur'ān, xi, 78.

said Mirzā Jān-i Jānān. The secret of idol worship is this: there were certain angels who by divine decree directed the affairs of the phenomenal world. Similarly there were certain perfect souls who even abandoned their bodies to continue to exercise power over the world. And also, according to the Hindūs, there were personalities who, like Khidr, were immortal. While carving human forms, Hindūs meditated on these and after some time developed a spiritual relationship with the person about whom they were meditating on. Owing to the special aspects of this relationship, they prayed [to these idols] for fulfilment of their needs in this world and the next. This practice resembled *sūfi* meditation with the form of the *pir* in mind (*rābita*), the only difference being that *sūfis* did not make a physical representation. This practice differed, however, from the pagan Arab belief that idols themselves were powerful, potent authorities and effective in their own right. The Arabs had considered their idols as the lords of heaven and earth, which was sheer polytheism. The Hindū custom of prostration was a form of greeting and was not intended as an act of idol-worship; it was identical to the traditional prostration made to parents, or teachers by Muslims in the place of a greeting. The Hindūs called their prostration *dandwat* (salutation). Moreover a belief in transmigration of the soul was not itself infidelity or polytheism."[62]

On an earlier occasion Mirzā Jān-i Jānān's response had been similar. A member of a discussion group led by the Mirzā's teacher, Hājji Muhammad Afdal, told the gathering that he had had a dream about a field blazing with fire. In the fire was Krishna and on the edge of it was Rāma. This was interpreted to mean that the punishment of hell-fire was meted out to the leading infidels, Krishna and Rāma. The Mirzā, however, suggested that ancient sages should not be accused of infidelity unless the condemnation was unequivocally supported by the *Shari'a*. As the Qur'ān specifically promised 'warners' for every place on earth, it was possible that Rāma and Krishna were saints, even prophets. The Mirzā claimed that Rāma flourished before the creation of genii in a period when people enjoyed incredible longevity and were physically powerful, and therefore Rāma was able to guide his people along the path of *sulūk* (ascetic exercises). In the days of Krishna, who was born long after Rāma, people were comparatively short in stature and physically feeble and Krishna therefore chose to guide his people in *jadhb* (ecstasy). The excessive indulgence in music and *samā'* attributed to him was a proof, according to the Mirzā, of Krishna's preference for ecstasy rather than ascetic exercises. In the dream, fire symbolized the heat of love, and the fact that Krishna was immersed in it indicated his involvement with ecstasy, while Rāma, who followed the path of ascetic exercises (*sulūk*), was naturally only at the

62 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, letter no. 14.

edge of the fire. Hājji Muhammad Afdal was extremely pleased with this interpretation and endorsed it.

Another anecdote was told by Abū Sālih Khān (a *khalifa* of Hājji Muhammad Afdal). Once when Abū Sālih went to Mathurā he was desperately in need of seven rupees. While performing midnight prayers (*tahajjud*) a man appeared before him who fitted the description of Krishna he had been given by Hindū friends. The visitor greeted Abū Sālih and gave him seven rupees, and then told him he was Krishna and that the gift had been given because he was a guest in his territory. Abū Sālih protested saying he was a Muhammadi (Muslim) and that he always begged the Prophet Muhammad to fulfil his needs, rejecting everything else from other sources. Krishna wept, saying he had heard of the qualities of the Prophet Muhammad and the sincerity of his followers but that Abū Sālih's behaviour was much nobler than any expectations he might have had.[63]

The Mirzā had many disciples amongst the Hindūs, a number of whom were interested in Persian and Urdū poetry. Two of his leading disciples, Basāwan Lāl 'Bedār' and Kishan Chandra 'Majrūh' were both famous poets. From a letter recommending for employment a disciple called Brij Lāl we can assess that he was as keen to help his Hindū friends as his Muslim ones.[64]

Being a religious purist, Mirzā Jān-i Jānān was strict with his disciples in his disapproval of either the participation or organization of such functions as the commemoration of *'urs*.[65] Another reason for this policy was that he believed it to be prudent both socially and economically. Against such practices he listed the following objections:

1. Obedience to traditional customs and manners was against the practices of the *tariqa* (*sūfism*).
2. Arrangements of carpets and furniture was a great burden to the organisers.
3. Unnecessary expenses were made in lighting arrangements.
4. Celebration of *'urs* unnecessarily wasted time and the value of time should never be forgotten.
5. The differing status of people was ignored because of overcrowding and this led to considerable dissatisfaction.
6. People were forced to borrow money on interest for such expenses, which itself was illegal.
7. Offerings (*niyāz*) were not permissible, according to the *Shari'a* as they were unacceptable to God[66].

In his will, Mirzā Jān-i Jānān urged that he be buried according to

63 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, pp. 23-24.
64 *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt*, letter no. 36.
65 Death anniversary of *sūfīs*.
66 *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt*, no. 89.

the strictest rules laid down by the *Shari'a*, continuing to scorn the customs he had fought against all his life. There should be no *'urs* he stated, to turn his grave into a shop.[67]

Even as a young *sūfi* the Mirzā refused to accept gifts from members of the nobility and forcefully rejected the offer of a house and some land from Muhammad Shāh. Once Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Firūz-Jang was deeply distressed to find the Mīrzā wearing an old cloak and remarked that it was his own greatest misfortune that such an accomplished saint refused gifts from him. Another time Nawwāb Nizām al-Mulk offered him 30,000 rupees with a request to distribute the money to the needy. Saucily the Mīrzā replied that he was not the Nawwāb's steward and if he wished to distribute money he should start doing so from outside his *khānqāh*, and he would see that by the time he reached home all of it would be gone. He also rejected a gift of 300 *ashras* (gold coins) from an Afghān. To his disciples the Mīrzā made this rather subtle distinction—the rejection of gifts was prohibited, but their acceptance was not obligatory.

Here is an anecdote told about the Mīrzā. On one occasion he was given a bundle of mangoes by a nobleman, of which he accepted two. Soon afterwards a gardener ran to the Mīrzā's house complaining that the mangoes he had accepted had been stolen by the nobleman's servants. The Mīrzā regretfully observed that rich men by their offerings acquired from dishonest sources tried to spoil his spiritual attainments. He, therefore, invariably rejected their invitations to a feast. On another occasion, the Mīrzā refused to take hospitality at the house of a poor man who had borrowed money on interest.[68]

Although the Mīrzā refused to become a house-owner, when he was quite elderly his wife by this time insane, bought a house without his permission. The Mīrzā was reportedly furious and refused to endorse her plans to have him buried in the house.[69]

Although a large number of the Mīrzā's disciples were Rohēlla Afghāns, his relations with the Tūrānī nobles were also cordial. One close relationship he had was with Intizām al-Dawla,[70] a writer of both Persian and

67 *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, p. 145.
68 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, pp. 34-35.
69 *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, pp. 144-45.
70 Intīzām al-Dawla Khān-i Khānān [Mīr Nizām al-Dīn Khān] was the eldest son of I'timād al-Dawla Qamar al-Dīn Khān. After his accession to the throne the Emperor Ahmad Shāh appointed him his second *bakhshī* but Intizām al-Dawla believing that he was the real successor to his father's post of *wazīr*, succeeded in driving Safdar-Jang out of Delhi with the help of his kinsmen and Rohēlla support. From March 1753 to May 1754 Intizām al-Dawla acted as *wazīr* but the ambitious 'Imād-al-Mulk (Shihāb al-Dīn Khān), who was appointed *bakhshī al-mamālik* ousted Intizām al-Dawla from office and became *wazīr* early in June 1754 with the help of the Marāthas. He then deposed, blinded and killed Ahmad Shāh and made 'Ālamgīr II emperor.

Hindi verses. In one of the Mirzā's letters to him, he stated that members of the nobility should be respectful to the rulers of the next world, that is, dervishes. Those with high status in this world should be meek and amicable and should befriend *faqirs*. A submission to the dervishes should be politely made.[71] In further correspondence, Mirzā Jān-i Jānān wrote to Intizām al-Dawla requesting that his nephew be given a *jāgir*, adding that the care of such close relations of a dervish amounted to solicitude for the *sūfi* himself.[72]

'Imād al-Mulk[73] who had ousted Intizām al-Dawla from the post of *wazir*, was the Mirzā's great devotee. We know that at least four letters were written directly to Nawwāb 'Imād al-Mulk and six to the latter's favourite, Sāhibzāda Ghulām 'Askarī Khān Muhammadi. The Mirzā even advised 'Imād al-Mulk that the goodwill of dervishes was essential to happiness in both worlds, and that it was dependent on the recipient's showing devotion and attachment to the people.[74] In a further letter the Mirzā warned 'Imād al-Mulk against listening to the advice of the selfish and of paying attention to intrigues, telling him that he should not neglect the path of equity and justice. He went on to say that he was aware that the Princes were involved in political plotting to overthrow the Caliph ('Ālamgir II), and that 'Imād did not seem to be making any attempt to put down such intrigues. Neither did the Mirzā approve of 'Imād's acquiescing so blindly to the orders of his master ('Ālamgir II) who, influenced by some mean person, had broken all his promises. The Mirzā added that only two types of people could surrender so abjectly to such a master. One was the type of person who had no self-respect and who was a slave to his own animal passions, having adopted servitude for worldly gains. In these circumstances, if 'Imād took some action and tried to suppress the intrigues,

71 *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt,* letter no. 61.

72 Ibid., no. 60.

73 'Imād al-Mulk, the son of Ghāzī al-Dīn Fīrūz-Jang and son-in-law of Qamar al-Dīn Khān, had obtained a high standard in his literary education and was enterprising, intriguing, greedy and cruel. Like his father he was interested in *sūfism*, and was devoted to all the *sūfīs* and dervishes. The Mirzā's letters show that he was very deeply devoted to him. However,'Imād al-Mulk's devotion to the Chishtiyyas was far reaching. After losing power at Delhi in 1760, he first took shelter in the court of Sūrajmal and then went to the court of Ahmad Khān Bangash [d. 1185/1771] at Farrukhābād. He also lived at the court of Shujā' al-Dawla, then served Tīmūr Shāh (1187-1207/1773-93) and Zamān Shāh (1207-15/1793-1800). With the army of Zamān Shāh, 'Imād al-Mulk invaded the Panjāb but dissatisfied even there he retired again to northern India and died at Kālpī in obscurity on 10 Rabī' II 1215/1 September 1800. He also seems to have been very devoted to the Chishtiyya Mawlāna Fakhr al-Dīn on whose miracles he wrote a *mathnawī*, *Fakhrīyat al-Nizām*. Fleeing from court to court he never forgot Mawlāna Fakhr al-Dīn whose biography, the *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya,* he wrote in 1201/1786-7.

74 *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt,* no. 64.

such faults would be overlooked. Secondly, such obsequiousness as 'Imād was showing could be exhibited only by a person who was neither wise nor honest. The Mirzā concluded this letter with the remark that he prayed God would give the people sufficient wisdom to understand his ('Imād's) importance, and to co-operate with him in helping to improve social and economic conditions, considering this a form of divine mission and a source of divine grace in its own right. The Mirzā also said that although he was disinterested in politics, he was aware of everyone in the government.[75]

In another letter, the Mirzā urged 'Imād al-Mulk to act diplomatically in making peace with his rivals in order to obtain success in his schemes. He should also strictly guard secret matters discussed in their correspondence with each other, or else his rivals would be angry and their enmity would increase. The Mirzā also advised 'Imād al-Mulk to write him a detailed account of his plans so that he might offer useful suggestions.[76] In all his letters the Mirzā persistently urged 'Imād al-Mulk to promote the interests of the persons he (the Mirzā) recommended, and to sincerely help his friends and supporters.

'Imād al-Mulk whom the Mirzā tried in vain to help and reform was a bloodthirsty tyrant, selfish, greedy and parsimonious. Only a little more competent than Intizām al-Dawla, he had attained the position of *wazir* and king-maker with the help of the Marāthas. With great difficulty he raised a minor portion of the total money promised to the Marāthas for making him the *wazir*. The Emperor on his recommendations reluctantly ceded the revenue from the Gangetic doāb, reserved for imperial household expenditure, in order to induce the Marāthas to leave Delhi. For some months, the Badakhshis were also paid from the *khālisa* revenue and then disbanded, to the utter detriment of Mughal military interests. 'Imād also alienated Sūrajmal by trying to wreak vengeance on him for helping Safdar-Jang in the civil war of 1753. He likewise made an enemy of Shujā' al-Dawla, who was not contented with Awadh and who considered the *wizārat* of Delhi his right. 'Imād al-Mulk's assertion of his authority over the Panjāb hastened Ahmad Shāh Durrāni's invasion. In January 1757 when Durrāni reached Delhi, 'Imād abjectly surrendered and was dismissed. His rival, Intizām al-Dawla, who lived in his mansion at Delhi even after his dismissal, was made *wazir*. However, his help to the Afghān army deputed under Durrāni's commander-in-chief, Sardār Jahān Khān, against the Jāts, made him the Emperor's favourite. He also led an unsuccessful expedition, accompanied by two incompetent Mughal princes, ostensibly to conquer the country from Awadh to Bengal, but in reality to bring back great hordes of booty. After Durrāni's departure, 'Imād al-Mulk, again

75 *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt*, no. 65.
76 Ibid., no. 62.

with Marātha help, expelled Durrāni's agent Najib al-Dawla from Delhi, murdered 'Ālamgir II and Intizām al-Dawla. Before the Durrāni's army could reach Delhi a second time, 'Imād al-Mulk in early January 1760 took shelter in Sūrajmal Jāt's fort at Kumhir.[77] It would seem that about the same time, Mirzā Jān-i Jānān was returning to Delhi from either Rohelkhand or Agra and intended to pass through Mathurā. In a reply to Ghulām 'Askari Khān Muhammadi's invitation to visit his master in Mathurā, the Mirzā wrote that he was prepared to do so, but that he was not prepared to enter the Jāt forts; neither would he accept any feasts offered by 'Imād al-Mulk even as far away as the banks of the Jamunā. The Mirzā wrote that 'Imād al-Mulk and his followers had been reduced to their present miserable condition mainly because of having forsaken their religion for worldly considerations, and urged him to be steadfast in his faith. The Mirzā also urged Ghulām 'Askari to advise 'Imād not to stop the stipends of his supporters.[78]

On being informed that the misunderstanding between Rāja Sūrajmal and 'Imād al-Mulk had been removed, the Mirzā wrote to Ghulām 'Askari yet again, asking him to tell 'Imād al-Mulk that this was a great gift of God. 'Imād should use that Hindū (Rāja Sūrajmal), for none better than he was available. He should not displease the Rāja and should not destroy his interests by paying heed to those liars, selfish and loquacious people who sought to estrange him from the Rāja. So long as 'Imād al-Mulk did not keep his agreements and stick to his word, and did not adequately reward his supporters, it was impossible for him to succeed. Honest and conscientious people should always be encouraged, he wrote.[79]

In another letter to Ghulām 'Askari the Mirzā is even more forceful in his disapproval of 'Imād al-Mulk's meanness and wretched behaviour. He concludes the letter with a note that 'Imād al-Mulk was wrong in seeking the spiritual help of both Hindū and Muslim saints. To the Mirzā this was most undesirable. He believed it was far better for the Nawwāb 'Imād al-Mulk to choose one or two dervishes to be responsible for praying for his welfare.[80] Again, in another letter, he criticized 'Imād al-Mulk's meanness and what he saw as treachery towards his own soldiers and claimed that that was the cause of his difficulties as a ruler. Distressed at the greed and selfishness of the Nawwāb's advisers, the Mirzā declared them to be low-born and hypocrites.

The Mirzā's attitude towards Ahmad Shāh Durrāni was markedly different from that of Shāh Wali-Allāh. He rightly considered Durrāni's invasion a calamity and prayed that his activities be confined to the re-estab-

77 Supra, pp. 166-71.
78 *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt*, no. 66.
79 Ibid., no. 67.
80 Ibid., no. 70.

lishment of order in the Panjāb. He advised Ghulām 'Askarī that the transfer of his (the Mirzā's) family to the friendly Jāts in Bharatpūr was a temporary solution only, as Durrānī's invasion was likely to affect that region too. The Mirzā's letters mention the panic in Delhi which, due to rumours of a second Durrānī invasion, even extended to evacuation. He believed that the people should put their trust in God.[81]

In December 1763, the Sikh massacre of the inhabitants of Sirhind and the devastation of the town itself proved a great blow to the Muslims in general and to the Mujaddidīs in particular. Cursing the Sikhs, the Mīrzā made pathetic appeals to his followers to help the descendants of the Mujaddid who were now reduced to beggary and homelessness.[82]

About 1183/1769-70, political upheavals in Delhi forced Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān to migrate to Rohelkhand, which was not only a comparatively peaceful town, but also a stronghold of his disciples. En route he visited Sambhal, Murādābād and Amroha and in each place was greeted by crowds of disciples. His family, however, refused to leave Delhi permanently, so the Mīrzā was forced to return.[83]

Life in the capital became extremely difficult for the Mīrzā, as it was for the other townsfolk. Patiently he tolerated the regency of Mīrzā Najaf Khān, spanning from November 1779, until his own death on 6 April 1782. In his correspondence the Mīrzā deplored the miserable conditions endured by the Delhi population,[84] including the Emperor, Shāh 'Ālam II. One of the main difficulties was caused by the fact that Najaf Khān was a Shī'ī who, while a good soldier, was an ineffectual administrator. Falling victim to the allurè of the wife of his Shī'ī eunuch, Latāfat 'Alī, the regent diverted his energies into a life of debauchery. Gradually illness, mortality and maladministration began to plague Delhi, aggravated by the mushrooming hatred between Shī'is and Sunnis over the new power of the Shī'ī regent.

Early in Muharram 1195 a Shī'ī procession of *ta'ziyas* passed by the Mīrzā's house. Criticizing the Shī'ī veneration of the *ta'ziyas* the Mīrzā, as some authorities say, remarked that perpetuation of the memory of an event which had taken place 1,200 years previously was a sinful innovation (*bid'at*) and respect shown to a piece of wood lunacy.[85] Delhi's Shī'ī community was scandalized. On the evening of 7 Muharram 1195/3 January 1781, an Īrānī Mughal, accompanied by two companions, went to the Mīrzā's house and shot him with a pistol. Early the next morning a European surgeon was sent by Najaf Khān, and he mentioned to the Mīrzā that the assassins would be executed when found. Though wounded, the

81 *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt*, no. 71.
82 Ibid., no. 50.
83 Ibid., no. 40, 46, 52, 53.
84 Ibid., no. 34.
85 Mīrzā Lutf 'Alī, *Gulshan-i Hind*, Delhi 1906, p. 217.

Mirzā refused to accept further medical aid, telling the surgeon to inform the Khān that the Mirzā himself had forgotten the assassins, and that he should do likewise. Three days later he died.[86]

Although the Mirzā's assassin was never arrested, he was certainly a Shi'i fanatic from Īrān. It is alleged that the assassination was politically motivated but the mere fact that Najaf Khān was a Shi'i is not necessarily proof of this. Delhi in those days was swarming with Īrānī Shi'i and Afghān Sunni fanatics and all political control had vanished. Attempts on the lives of religious leaders was the order of the day, and about the same time the Sunni Afghāns are known to have made several attempts to kill Mawlāna Fakhr al-Dīn for his participation in *samā'*, as we shall see.[87]

Unfortunately only a meagre literary legacy remains from the Mirzā, as his overriding concern with teaching and the growth of the Mujaddidi order gave him no time to write. He wrote letters occasionally to his disciples throughout India and the powerful with whom he was acquainted, as we have seen.

In 1150/1737-38 one of the Mirzā's devotees had compiled his *pir's* verses into a *diwān*, to which the Mirzā himself contributed a short preface.[88] Subsequently considerable interpolations were made to the *diwān* and the Mirzā was subjected to considerable literary criticism. Twenty years later, the Mirzā could find only 1,000 genuine verses for his *diwān* and rejected the rest. The main stimulant to his poetry, the Mirzā used to say, was the ferment of love he had experienced while a youth. His rhythmic cries came to be called poetry, he said, and thus he was included amongst the poets.

In reality the Mirzā's love for beauty was unconventional. Although his hagiologists give exaggerated accounts of this facet of his nature, the Mirzā himself is said to have remarked that even as a baby he wished only to be in the laps of beautiful women.[89] In his youth he was said to have loved young boys but his growing interest in mysticism enabled him to make the transition from *'ishq-i majāzi* (profane love) to *'ishq-i haqiqi* (divine love) naturally. There are a number of sensuous verses in the Mirzā's *ghazals* but his emotional reactions to situations experienced in life sprang generally from an internal spiritual source. He avoided harsh judgments on the morbid aspects of his society, hating to play the role of a stern moralist. His limpid literary style symbolized the peaks his excessive spiritualism had reached.

Mirzā Jān-i Jānān is believed to be one of the chief architects of Urdū poetry. Although the number of Urdū verses either written by or ascribed

86 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, p. 61.
87 Infra, p. 373.
88 Mīr Taqī Mīr, *Nikāt al-shu'arā'*, Delhi 1935, p. 5.
89 *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, p. 6.

to him is not large, those remaining are marked by an elegant use of Persian and by an effective departure from the current predominance of *ihām* (word play), borrowed from Hindi couplets or *dohras*. These the Mirzā replaced with a larger number of words and expressions from the Deccani dialect, and words from the Braj Bhāshā of the Mathurā region were deleted for Persian ones. But what really made the Mirzā's Urdū poetry memorable was its intense mysticism which prevails throughout.

CHAPTER EIGHT

# *The Tarīqa-i Muhammadiyya*

Shāh Wali-Allāh claimed that his aim to settle (*tatbiq*) the controversies over various Sunni schools of jurisprudence, as well as current religious, mystical and intellectual disputes, was a divinely inspired mission emerging from his role as a *mujaddid*. A similar effort at *tatbiq* was made by the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya (The Path after the Prophet Muhammad), a mystic movement whose followers claimed it revived the pure state of Islām which existed at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, his descendants and companions. The organization was founded in the eighteenth century by Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir of Delhi. The Khwāja had previously adopted the name 'Andalib (nightingale) as his pseudonym. Although his philosophical works in prose were later popularized by his son, Khwāja Mir Dard, it was his poems in both Urdū and Persian that made the greatest impact on his contemporary fellow Muslims and on succeeding generations.

Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir's lineage was impeccable, Khwāja Muhammad Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband[1] being his most notable forebear. According to Khwāja Dard, the latter was a descendant, through thirteen generations,[2] of Imām 'Askarī,[3] the Imām and Khwāja Dard being sepa-

1 Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 718/1318-791/1389) belonged to the *silsila-i Khwājagān* of Transoxiana, founded by Khwāja Abū Y'aqūb Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (d. 535/1140), but the fame of Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn relegated the rest of the descendants of the *silsila-i Khwājagān* to the background. The descendants of Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband preferred to call themselves Naqshbandiyyas rather than the descendants of Khwājagān in order to distinguish themselves with other *sūfīs* of the Khwājagān branch.

2 Khwāja Mīr Dard b. Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir 'Andalīb b. Nawwāb Roshan al-Dawla Zafar-Allāh Khān b. Nawwāb Sayyid Khwāja Fath-Allāh Khān. b. Khwāja Muhammad Tāhir Bukhārī b. Khwāja 'Iwad Bukhārī b. Khwāja Sultān Ahmad b. Khwāja Mīrak b. Sultān Ahmad II b. Khwāja Qāsim b. Khwāja Sha'bān b. Khwāja 'Abd-Allāh b. Khwāja Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Khwāja Sayyid Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband. Nāsir Nadhīr Firāq. *Maykhāna-i Dard*, p. 18.

3 Abū Muhammad Hasan bin 'Alī, the eleventh *Imām* of the Imāmiyya or the Ithna 'Asharī Shī'īs was born at Medina in Rabī' I 230/November 844 or Ramadān 232/April 847, was brought to Sāmarra in Irāq with his father in 233/847 and spent most of his life in prison. He died on 1 Rabī' I 260/25 December 873.

rated by some twenty-five generations. Dard believed '*Khwāja*'[4] (master, leader or lord) to be a title applicable only to the descendants of Imām Alī bin Abī Tālib, but that it should also be conferred automatically upon such eminent Sayyids as Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband.

It was in the reign of Awrangzīb that Khwāja Muhammad Tāhir Bukhārī, the great-grandfather of Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir, arrived in India from Transoxiana, accompanied by his sons and nephews. The Emperor accorded the family a warm welcome and married two of his nieces to two of the Khwāja's sons, Muhammad Sālih and Muhammad Ya'qūb.[5] Khwāja Fath-Allāh Khān, the third son of Khwāja Tāhir, married the sister of the Emperor's *Mīr Bakhshī*, Nawwāb Sarbuland Khān, a direct descendant of Khwāja Muhammad Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband. Previously he had rejected the Emperor's offer of matrimony within the imperial family in order to preserve the purity of his Sayyid ancestry.[6]

Nawwāb Zafar-Allāh Khān (not to be confused with Khwāja Muzaffar Zafar Khān Roshan al-Dawla Turrabāz Khān)[7] was the issue of this marriage.[8] Nawwāb Zafar-Allāh's son, Muhammad Nāsir was born on 25 Shā'bān 1105/21 April 1694. Unlike his father and grandfather, while still a youth Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir became strongly attracted to *sūfism*, taking as *pīr* Shaykh Muhammad Zubayr[9] of the Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyya order. Nāsir's early intimate friendship with Shāh Sa'd-Allāh Gulshan, a

4 Dard, *'Ilm al-kitāb*, Delhi 1310/1892-93, p. 84.

5 *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 120. 'Andalīb, *Risāla-i Hūsh-afzā*, Panjāb University Library Ms., f. 96b. On 2 Jumāda II 1083/25 September 1672 Muhammad Sālih son of Khwāja Muhammad Tāhir Naqshbandī was married to Āsā'ish Bānū Begam, the daughter of Prince Murād. Sālih's brother Muhammad Ya'qūb was also married to another daughter of Prince Murād. Ya'qūb was not the nephew of Muhammad Sālih as mentioned in the *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*. It would seem that the family arrived at Awrangzīb's court before 1672.

6 Khwāja Mīr Athar, *Mathnāwī Bayān-i Wāqi'a*

*ū ba dhāt-i khud na kard īn rā qubūl,*
*tā na gardad mukhtalit āl-i Rasūl.*

7 *cf.* supra, p. 200.

8 A. D. Nasīm had discussed this point at some length in 'Khwāja Mīr Dard ka khāndān' *Oriental College Magazine*, February, May 1958, pp. 136-59. Nasīm's conclusions are correct but Schimmel repeats the mistake committed by other authors and calls "Nawwāb Zafar-Allāh Khān, surnamed Ronshan al-Dawla Fath-Allāh's son." [A. Schimmel, *Pain and Grace*, Leiden 1976, p. 33].

9 Shaykh Muhammad Zubayr (b. 7 Dhu'lqa'da 1093/7 November 1682, d. 4 Dhu'lqa'da 1152/2 February 1740) the fourth *qayyūm* was the grandson of the Shaykh Muhammad Hujjat-Allāh, (b. 10 Ramadān 1034/16 June 1625, d. 26 Muharram 1114/22 June 1702), the third *qayyūm* of the Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyya order. The second *qayyūm* was his father Shaykh Muhammad Ma'sūm and the first *qayyūm* was Shaykh Ma'sūm's father, the Mujaddid himself.

poet, recluse and a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad,[10] whetted his appetite both for asceticism and poetry.

Khwãja Muhammad Nãsir's monumental mystical work was the *Nãla-i 'Andalib* (Lament of the Nightingale). In it he answered many questions asked him by such different groups of Muslims as *sūfis*, *'ulamã'* and philosophers, as well as others interested in sectarian disputes. They had been posed by a number of his friends after they had assembled in 1740 to offer him condolences on the death of his *pir*, Shaykh Muhammad Zubayr. For three nights the Khwãja talked to them incessantly about various religious *sūfic* controversies in Hindi (Urdū) making use of stories and anecdotes to enforce his ideas. His audience pressed their lecturer to commit his discussions to paper. Originally reluctant, the Khwãja later came to believe he had been divinely inspired to deliver such lectures and so they were duly dictated and translated by him from the original Hindi (Urdū), into Persian. The largest section was written down by his son, Mir Dard, the remainder by either the Khwãja himself or other disciples, and the result was the *Nãla-i 'Andalib,* which was swiftly completed in 1153/1741.[11] This marks the first written document of the Tarīqa-i Muhammadiyya.[12]

Before feeling divinely inspired to found the new *sūfi* movement, Khwãja Muhammad Nãsir remained meditating alone in his cell, allowing only a few disciples to join him in his obligatory prayers. Mir Dard remained at his father's cell door and during this period neither ate nor drank. After seven days Khwãja Muhammad Nãsir emerged, hugged his son and prophesied his religious eminence. The spirit of Imãm Hasan had visited him in his cell, said the Khwãja, inspiring him with details of a new, spiritual discipline and promising that such a movement would result in the appearance of

10 Shãh Sa'd Allãh Gulshan (garden) was the *sūfī* disciple of Shaykh 'Abd-al-Ahad Gul (rose). Gulshan chose his *nom-de-plume* in order to exhibit his indebtedness to Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad Gul. As a poet Shãh Gulshan was the disciple of Mīrzã 'Abd al-Qãdir Bidil. Shãh Gulshan had also been on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and had travelled through Gujarãt and the Deccan for about twenty years. For twenty years he lived in a mosque at the bank of Jamunã built by Zīnat al-Nisã' Begam, a daughter of Awrangzīb, subsisting on the food sent to the travellers in the mosque. On each Tuesday a *mushã'ira* was arranged near the mosque and both Hindū and Muslim poets recited their *ghazals*. Among his Hindū disciples Bindrãban Khwushgo wrote an anthology of the biographies of Persian poets entitled *Safīna-i Khwushgo* in which he paid tributes to Gulshan's achievements as a *sūfī* and poet. Gulshan also suggested for his friend Khwãja Muhammad Nãsir the *nom-de-plume* 'Andalīb (nightingale) which has a very deep association with rose (*gul*) and garden (*gulshan*) in Persian poetry. Dard, *Āh-i sard,* Bhopãl 1310/1892-93, p. 257. On 21 Jumãda I 1140/4 January 1728 Shãh Gulshan died in his friend Khwãja Muhammad Nãsir's house and was buried at Ahdīpura (Shãhganj, Delhi) on a plot of land belonging to Khwãja Muhammad Nãsir. *Safīna-i Khwushgo,* pp. 165-70.

11 *Nãla-i 'Andalīb,* I, Bhopãl 1308/1890-1, p. 3.

12 Ibid., I, p. 813.

the long-awaited *Mahdi*. Requesting that the new discipline be named after the *Imām*, the Khwāja received a negative reply, on the basis that as everything in reality was submerged in the Divine Essence and included in the Prophet Muhammad's and his mission, the new spiritual discipline should be named the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya.[13]

Khwāja Nāsir wrote a sequel to this work entitled the *Risāla-i Hūsh Afzā*. The book had been intended to divert the interest of the readers away from the current craze of chess of which he thoroughly disapproved, equating it with the consumption of alcohol, prohibited by Islām. A study of mystic allegories, Khwāja Nāsir believed, would enable chess players to wean themselves away from the game.

Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir died on 2 Sha'bān 1172/31 March 1759. His mantle as spiritual leader of the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya fell to his eldest son, Khwāja Mir Dard, who had added 'Dard' (pain, woe) as his '*nom de plume*'. Born on 19 Dhu'l-qa'da 1133/11 September 1721, Mir Dard was educated by his father, who later gave him traditional training in the rational sciences and *kalām* (scholastic theology). Nevertheless, like his father before him, at a tender age Mir Dard became inspired with mysticism.

At fifteen Dard wrote a treatise on mysticism, the result of many months of meditation (*i'tikāf*), called *Asrār al-salāt*. The work, dealing with the spiritual significance of rules relating to prayers, was enthusiastically received by his father.

Like other youths of his age, Dard trained in the military, apparently even attempting to obtain a *mansab*.[14] However, it was not only the recurring political crises of his time, but also his own deep inclinations which prompted him to return permanently to the life of a dervish. Leaving the army Dard continued under his father's tutelage. In 1166/1752-3 Mir Dard began to write a spiritual treatise entitled the *Risāla-i wāridāt*, which included a collection of mystical quatrains, and was finally completed in 1172/1758. Once again Dard's literary efforts were greatly admired by his father.

After succeeding to the leadership of the Tarīqa-i Muhammadiyya movement upon his father's death, Mir Dard completed a stupendous work in Persian, entitled the *'Ilm al-kitāb* in 1179/1765-66. A collection of 111 treatises, each called a *wārid* ('divine inspiration'), the work gave a detailed commentary of the quatrains in the *Risāla-i Dard*. Besides explaining the principal features and practices of the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya, the *'Ilm al-kitāb* also lucidly commented on the content of Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir's *Nāla-i 'Andalīb*.

The *Nāla-i Dard*, completed in 1190/1776-77, and the *Āh-i Dard* three years later, supplement those aspects of *sūfism* as previously discussed in the

13 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, p. 85.
14 Ibid., p. 473.

*'Ilm al-kitāb*. Between 1195/1780-81 and 1199/1784-85 Dard wrote the *Dard-i dil*, another work dealing with *sūfi* controversies, as well as the *Shama'-i mahfil* and the *Wāqi'āt-i Dard* which included useful comments on Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya. In the *Hurmati-i ghina* Dard offered a spirited defence of the practice of *samā'*. Although a follower of the Mujaddid's school of the Naqshbandiyya order, Dard organized *samā'* gatherings twice monthly in Delhi. The town's leading musicians attended and he himself became a fairly proficient musician.

Although Dard refused to call on any of the rich citizens of Delhi, the city's most influential people keenly sought invitations to his *samā'* sessions, as well as to the exclusive meetings at his house where he lectured on his father's famous *Nāla-i 'Andalib*. All those lucky enough to attend these gatherings had to adhere to the strict etiquette of dervishes concerning sitting posture. No-one was excepted either from ill health or high position.

Dard and Shāh Wali-Allāh were neighbours in Delhi and it would seem that the latter was aware of the contents of the sermons delivered by Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir and Dard. There is no reference to Shāh Wali-Allāh's writings in Dard's works, but it would not be unrealistic to assume that he had read some of them. What emerges from Dard's own works is that he did not consider Shāh Wali-Allāh's attempts at *irtifāq* or *tatbīq* (harmonization of Islamic religious and mystic controversies) superior to other works on the subject in his time. Nevertheless, he believed it imperative to assert the significance of the *irtifāq* principles and practices of the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya.

His followers were warned by Dard not to view the Muhammadiyya as a new Islamic sect. He marvelled at the boldness of the seventy-two Islamic sects of which each exclaimed it held the true and divinely-guided message, while stolidly neglecting to research the background to the schisms or arguments of the opposition.[15] To Khwāja Dard the adherents to these sects were sinners against the true faith of the Prophet Muhammad, which was sealed by Allāh and therefore eternal. Although the genuine servants of the Prophet were destined periodically to renew and revitalize Islām they formed but a small and rare group. Dard also believed that a *mujaddid* appeared at the end of every century, and after about 1100 A.D. the true teachings of the Prophet Muhammad were rejuvenated by Muhammad Nāsir and outlined in the *Nāla-i 'Andalib*. Nevertheless he asserted that its subtle meaning had been unveiled only through the interpretation of his sons and he was therefore of the opinion that the associated study of his own *'Ilm al-kitāb* was imperative for a clear understanding of the ideas of the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya.[16]

15 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, p. 87.
16 Ibid., p. 88.

The Muhammadiyyas threw down their challenge to both the bigoted Shi'is and Sunnis. They argued that a true Muslim or Muhammadiyya should never give precedence to the companions of the Prophet over his family members (*ahl al-bayt*) or vice versa. Dard noted that the love of the Muhammadiyyas for 'Ali and the *ahl al-bayt* never failed to inflame the anger of bigoted Sunnis, but Muhammadiyyas, he asserted, were duty-bound to express the truth. In these circumstances the only alternative left to them was to exhibit regret for the failure of the bigoted Sunnis and Shi'is to understand the truth. He urged the Muslims to try to realize the importance of the Prophet's description of 'Ali as 'the gate of knowledge'. However, Dard stated that the Shi'is' blind and ignorant love for the Prophet's family forced them into error and he claimed that he and his ancestors (being descendants of the Prophet Muhammad's daughter, Fātima) were the real lovers of the *ahl al-bayt*. He invited all Muslims to follow the path of the Muhammadiyyas and love the progeny of Fātima. Arguing that as the son was the manifestation of the father and the daughter of the mother, Dard stated that because God had deprived the Prophet Muhammad of sons, it was therefore imperative for Muslims to love his daughter and her progeny as his true descendants.[17]

Dard felt the Muhammadiyya concept of the *Imāma* resembled Shi'i beliefs rather than those of the orthodox Sunnis. He believed that people, who refused to accept that the *Imām* was someone very close to God, were ignorant of the true dignity of that position. Such people were like blind bats, unable to see the sun shining. However, some of his friends, argued Dard, (here meaning Shi'is) considered that, as with prophethood, the *Imāma* had ended with the twelve Imāms. To him, the Shi'is were ignorant of the favours eternally showered upon mankind by Allāh who, the need so arising, went on choosing His own favourites to help bring His slaves to Him. Amongst these, Dard implied, were the leaders of the Muhammadiyya. He claimed that the Shi'is' love for, and belief in, none but the twelve Imāms prevented them from understanding this fact. It was possible for the *kalima* and rules of prayers and fasting to be taught by any individual, but both worldly and spiritual wisdom were taught only by *hakims*,[18] that is, those especially favoured by God.

Dard summarized his discussion of the *Imāma* by grading the office somewhere between prophethood, the highest role, and sainthood, which was on a lower scale. Muhammad was both prophet and *Imām* but with his death his prophethood ended. He believed that the contemporaries of *Imāms* who were chosen by God from among the progeny of the prophets received instruction from Allāh. After the Prophet Muhammad's death

17 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, pp. 257-58.
18 Ibid., p. 259.

the twelve *Imāms* became the perfect custodians of both the *Imāma* and the role of sainthood. The blessings emanating from the *Imāma* and sainthood, as from prophethood, would last for ever. God awarded sainthood to a select few among the Prophet Muhammad's *umma* (community), while the *Imāma* was reserved for the Sayyids who were descended from Fātima. Dard concluded that the *Imāma* in its perfect form was originally confined to the twelve *Imāms* and then later transferred to their descendants (Sayyids).

Calling the Muslims to follow his father's Muhammadiyya doctrines, Dard stated that 'Sayyid' was one of the one thousand and one names of Allāh.[19] However, according to him, none but the descendants of Fātima were allowed to call themselves Sayyid. The progeny of 'Ali by his other wives were known as 'Alwis. During the lifetime of each *Imām* his offspring and brothers should remain obedient to him. Dard used as an example of this the life of Imām Hasan 3/624-49/669-70. His younger brother, Husayn, (4/626-61/680) despite his competence to fight, Mu'āwiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasties, remained obedient to Hasan when the latter decided to come to terms with him. Dard believed that the spiritual perfection which the Prophet Muhammad had bequeathed to 'Ali and his progeny, through Fātima, continued on a hereditary basis down to the time of the eleventh Imām (Hasan bin 'Ali) 'Askari, after which it remained dormant until revived by Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir.[20] This belief was a departure from the idea of the Ithna 'Ash'ari Shi'is who considered that the true Islām of Muhammad's time would be revived after the reappearance of their twelfth *Imām*—the promised Mahdi. The latter, the son of Imām 'Askari, was born in 255/868 or 256/869 and after his father's death in 260/873 mysteriously disappeared at the age of either four or five. The Muhammadiyya doctrine concerning the reappearance of the Mahdi thus accorded with that of the Sunnis, namely, that the Mahdi would be a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, not the son of Imām 'Askari who the Shi'is believed had gone into hiding and who was still believed to be alive. Although neither Khwāja Nāsir nor Khwāja Dard claimed to be Mahdis the Muhammadiyya movement tacitly acknowledged their founders as such.

The Muhammadiyyas saw in the methodology of the scholars of *kalām* and the *hakims* a projection of their own involvement in scholastic conjectures and suppositions. Comparing the logic pursued by the scholars of *kalām* with that of the *hakims,* Dard emphasized that the arguments of the former were dull and tedious. According to him the main reason for this lay in the tendency of *kalām* scholars to reach a conclusion irrespective

19 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, pp. 259-60.
20 Ibid., pp. 260-62.

of whether it was logical or not and then to embark on lengthy discussions to explain their inferences. To Dard they were like grammarians who formulated laws and rules for colloquial Arabic. The pronouncements of scholars of *kalām* were by no means divinely inspired, although they themselves imagined they were obeying the laws of the *Shari'a*. They fancied that the rational basis of Islām and *imān* (belief) were different from the traditional one and claimed themselves to be *'ulamā'*, having a knowledge of both *haqiqa* and the *Shari'a*. Dard claimed that the arguments they sought to resolve had in fact already been proved. Contrary to the intellectual methodology used by the *'ulamā'*, *hakims* did not start with a preconceived premise but with logic.

To Dard, however, universal truth did not need verification and he warned Muhammadiyyas that ignoring prophetic teaching and relying on their own rationalization forced them from the right path to the road of infidelity and vice. He urged Muhammadiyyas to disregard both the scholars of *kalām* and the *hakims*, the former being captives of their own fantasies, and the latter victims of their own false reasoning. He suggested that the Muhammadiyyas follow the form of mysticism prescribed by their own leaders whose intuition had given them personal access to Divine knowledge expressed by the Prophet Muhammad.[21]

The *sūfism* of the Muhammadiyyas was a fusion of Naqshbandiyya and Qādiriyya teachings. Khwāja Mīr Dard blamed both the *'ulamā'* and the extremists among the *Wujūdiyya* for misunderstanding the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. *'Ulamā'* were ignorant of the way *sūfis* viewed Reality and falsely accused them of associating other created beings with God.[22] Dard also believed that perfect *sūfis* made no distinction between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. He defined *Wujūd*, which could be translated as 'Being' or 'Existence', as Unity and also as *mawjūd* (existent) because of God's independent existence. This theory did not mean that 'quiddity' and 'existence' were identical and that the Creator and created were not different. The *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* signified that every manifestation emerged through One Being. Those who fully understood the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, according to Dard, admitted that ephemeral contingent existence was not the *'ayn* (essence) of the Necessary Being. Its followers in fact implied that '*Hama as Ūst*' (All is from Him) rather than '*Hama Ūst*' (All is He). Reality could best be explained by the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*, provided that *sūfis*, like externalists, did not become entangled with ideas of duality. Dard admitted that the call of '*Hama Ūst*' had misled a large number of non-educated Muslims, prompting them to ignore God and his Prophet and devote their energies to the satisfaction of their own sensuality. Only a few highly

21 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, pp. 7-87, 446-448.
22 Ibid., p. 106.

developed spiritualists who followed the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, believed Dard, had the ability to remain moderate.[23]

Dard continued that the solution offered by the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* to the problems of the One and the many (that is, the Divine Unity and the multiplicity of the universe) was only one of the many answers to the problem. Hindūs and particularly *yogis* were also able to contribute something to the discussion. Had the problem been as simple as common Muslims and some non-believers imagined, God would not have sent so many people with prophetic missions to disseminate His teachings, even to the extent of waging war against the recalcitrant.[24]

Dard acknowledged the deep debt of the followers of the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya to the Mujaddid and his spiritual ancestors in the Naqshbandiyya order. To him the Mujaddidiyya order was the most superior *sūfi* order and the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya was a branch of the Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyyas. However he noted that the Mujaddid had added some new *sūfic* technical terms to the Naqshbandiyya order but believed that his followers, the eighteenth century disseminators of the Master's teachings, had failed to penetrate the hidden depths of the Mujaddid's contribution. In fact their message did not reflect the spirit of the Mujaddid's teachings, as seen in his letters. To Dard they were the despair of all genuine students of those teachings. The most assiduous seeker of the Truth would find a realization of God through meditation and become free of all worldly thoughts. He would also come to believe that the quickest, simplest path towards Allāh and the Prophet Muhammad was that of the Mujaddidiyya discipline.

To Dard the Mujaddid's letter No. 234, in Volume I of the *Maktūbāt*, addressed to his own son Shaykh Muhammad Sādiq, was the crystallization of the Mujaddid's teachings on the *Wujūd*, and letters written at the start of his career should not be regarded as representing his later, more mature spiritual achievements.[25] To avoid the controversy of the rival *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*, Dard stated that true Muhammadiyyas chose to substitute the term *Nūr* (light) for *Wujūd* as the word *Wujūd* was not to be found in the Qur'ān or in various *hadith* works and was not one of the ninety-nine names of Allāh.[26]

Dard explained that *Nūr*, according to the Muhammadiyyas should be understood both as *masdar* (related to the noun of an active Arabic verb) and as *hāsil-i masdar* (an abstract noun). *Nūr* was one of the names and attributes of God and was mentioned in the Qur'ān. The opposite of

23 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, pp. 187-88.
24 Ibid., p. 465.
25 Ibid., p. 185.
26 Ibid., p. 107.

*Wujūd* was *'adam* (non-being) whereas the opposite of *nūr* was *zulmāt* (darkness). Dard's coining of these new terms enabled the rank and file of Muhammadiyyas to propagate what they called the Islamicized *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, without arousing the hostility of their leaders.[27] The new terminology not only attempted to reconcile these two important schools of *sūfism* but sought to put an end to ideological conflicts between the *ishrāqi* thinkers and *sūfis*.

The early Naqshbandiyyas had invented various *sūfic* terms, Dard went on to say, defining different stages in the development of the mystic achievements of members of their order. While recounting the various interpretations which some of these eminent *sūfis* had given for these terms, Dard gave his own. He stated that *safar dar watan* (journeying in one's homeland) was a stage in a mystic's spiritual development which all *sūfis* experienced. During this stage some Naqshbandiyyas believed a mystic should abandon sin, performing only praiseworthy acts. To others *safar dar watan* meant only inner spiritual discipline. Under such definitions said Dard, the term should refer exclusively to the process of personal purification of reprehensible qualities and the adoption of praiseworthy manners towards others, for the *sine qua non* of *sūfism* was the refinement of morals and all actions should be subordinate to that. Some *sūfis* interpreted *safar dar watan* differently. They maintained that the refinement of morals was closely related to external actions, but that the essence of *safar dar watan* was the attainment of *fanā'* and *baqā'*, which related only to inner *sūfic* discipline. Other mystics believed the term was concerned only with such aspects of the mystic's journey as abandoning all involvement with contingent existence and a perambulation of the various stages of Self-Existence. Some Naqshbandiyyas even saw the *safar dar watan* as the attainment of the different stages of *Wahdat*, the real home of the *sūfi*. Therefore the mystic was required to break all bonds of multiplicity, relating only to the pure Oneness (*Ahadiyya*).

Dard accepted all the above definitions of *safar dar watan* offered by early and later Naqshbandiyya scholars, arguing it was improper to confine an interpretation to only one sense. However the term essentially to him meant the act of cutting distance between man and God, thus coming to know Him. *Watan* (homeland) was the realization of the *sūfi* that, despite his having to exist in the physical world, not for a single second should his soul forget God's presence.

Likening the *sūfi's* spiritual journey to that of worldly journeys, Dard explained that unless the destination was reached quickly, the traveller was believed to pass through different phases. The first in the *sūfi's* journey was the abandonment of all sin and a concentration on acts of devotion,

27 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, pp. 107-8.

followed by the perfecting of morals; the third stage was the attainment of *fanā'* and *baqā'* and the fourth—a sojourn in the realm of Allāh. This signalled the end of the mystical journey, plunging the *sūfi* into a state known as *khalwat dar anjuman* (solitude in a crowd).

This unique term, which had been coined by the Naqshbandiyya, Dard used in a different sense. He stated that like *safar dar watan, khalwat dar anjuman* was a comprehensive term covering a wide range of interpretations. He explained its meaning in a dual way. It was a mystical situation involving obedience to Divine commands in which the mystic remained associated with the world, but at the same time, alone. In this state of perfect tranquillity the mystic communed with people, while his heart was at all times with God.[28]

Dard also gave a new interpretation to the first nine technical terms used in the Naqshbandiyya system of discipline. Although he admitted these terms had been explained definitively in the *Rashhāt-i 'ayn al-hayāt* of Fakhr al-Din 'Ali bin Husayn al-Wā'iz Kāshifi (d. *c.* 939/1532-33), Dard gave slightly different meanings. For instance he explained *yād kard* (remembrance) as the mystical state experienced by different *sūfis* in the stages of their development during their quest for Reality. At this stage, the mystic became increasingly restless in the performance of his duties. This was due to the intense search for God and his constant attempts to find the surest, quickest path to Him. When this state was firmly established, the *sūfi* had entered *yād kard*, which was a Divine gift in which God remembered His chosen slave, thereby prompting the slave to seek Him.

*Bāz-gasht* (restraint) led to a complete abandonment of the acts forbidden by the *Shari'a*, after which the *sūfi* became externally impeccable. Its internal aspect related to entering into *bay'a* with a *murshid* and following his spiritual discipline. In reality the *sūfi* at this stage of mystic development in his utter dedication completely severed his relationships with everything other than God.

*Nigahdāsht* (watchfulness) was the process of protecting the discipline obtained from the *murshid* in its most pristine form, while being constantly aware of preserving this spiritual state. *Yād-dāsht* (recollection) was the state in which the mystic was aware of the perpetual presence of God, so that even if he chose to forget God his heart was incapable of doing so.

*Wuqūf-i zamāni* (temporal pause) involved the constant examination by a mystic of his actions and speech. *Wuqūf-i 'adadi* (counted pause) related to the counting, in the heart, of the numerical value of the letters in the phrase *Lā ilāha illa'llāh* (There is no God but Allāh). Each breath used in forming this phrase was separated and therefore the segments gave an appearance of multiplicity which was false, as everything in reality was One.

28 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, pp. 468-69.

*Wuqūf-i qalbi* (heart pause) was a ceaseless attention to the heart, arousing it to a state of longing for and attraction to Allāh. This state was one of total effacement and absorption into the Essence and was a special spiritual achievement of the Naqshbandiyyas. Originally, it had related to the spiritual heights gained by the prophets. Dard records,"Watching one's step (*nazar bar qadam*) called on mystics to take great care in their lives in such places as the bazaar, without distracting themselves from their real purpose which was the concentration on Allāh."

*Hosh dar dam* (consciousness while breathing) was another name for *dhikr*, during which one practised *pās-i anfās* (control of the breath). It involved a full awareness of each breath, as well as a process of self-effacement with the Divine breath. The result of this achievement was overwhelming—permanent presence with Allāh and the right to be termed 'Divine Spirit'.[29]

Although the Naqshbandiyyas of Khwāja Khwurd's school indulged in *samā'*, Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahim and Shāh Wali-Allāh had refrained from this most controversial custom. Despite claims of adherence to the Naqshbandiyya branch of the Mujaddid, both Dard and his father were deeply interested in music. Dard seems to have obtained proficiency in the Sanskrit *rāgas* and *râginis*[30] from the treatises on the subject translated into Persian. Following Ghazāli, Dard wrote another treatise, the *Hurmāt-i ghanā'* (legality of music) and defended it spiritedly. He admitted that the *samā'* gatherings organized at his house were probably not particularly noble or virtuous from the religious point of view. However, the large number of musicians who flocked to his house uninvited convinced him of some sort of Divine intervention, and he therefore did not think it proper to desist.[31]

Strongly opposed to the profligacy, licentiousness and worldly attachments of contemporary mystic impostors and charlatans, both Khwāja Nāsir and Dard followed a strict ethical code of conduct. Dard believed that the obligations of leading *sūfis* were exceedingly arduous and difficult, and that therefore a *sūfi* leader should be endowed with the noble virtues of able leadership, perfect wisdom, endurance and should have a lofty soul. Such qualities were granted by God to but a chosen few. Dard did not share what he believed to be the distorted view of the asceticism of *sūfis*. To him many common Muslims followed charlatans and libertines because of their ostensible rejection of materialism, whereas to Dard, whether one was concerned with one's daily bread or not was irrelevant, the only true gauge of a *sūfi's* spirituality being his rejection of all carnal desires. He

29 *'Ilm al-kitab*, pp. 469-70.
30 Nāsir Nadhīr Firāq, *Maykhāna-i Dard*, Delhi 1344/1925-26, p. 147.
31 *Āh-i Sard*, Bhopal 1310/1892-93, p. 77.

argued that a person engaged in the spiritual care of others deserved attention, whether he was an ascetic or not.

Dard discussed at length the ways he believed *sūfis* should earn their livelihoods, what they should wear and so on. Some *sūfis* were poorly clad, while others were notable for their finery. Some ate excellent food, while others mixed water with theirs to make it unpalatable. Dard believed that those who neglected food were ungrateful to the bounty of God. Nevertheless, dervishes of Dard's school were expected to be unconcerned with such mundane pursuits as eking out a living while concentrating on severing all material worldly connections. Their material needs should be left in God's care. Whatever they could obtain without effort or desire should be accepted unhesitatingly. Although Dard believed *sūfis* should not deliberately associate with the rich uninvited callers should be welcomed.

In relation to the dress of mystics Dard laid down these rules for dervishes who were the recipients of unsolicited attractive garments which could be worn only on the following conditions:

1. The dress should comply with the rules of the *Sharī'a*.
2. The customary dress of the dervish's family should not be abandoned and it should be compatible with the wearer's own age and social environment. A dress made for a dervish should not be so different as to arouse envy in others and should not be too modish.
3. The material used should not be of too fine a quality, of brocade or of bright colours.
4. Unlike vagabonds and the ill-bred, *sūfis* should refrain from extravagant designs of embroidered flowers or elephants.
5. Colours which have been adopted by infidels should not be chosen intentionally. However this was excusable on occasions if there was a legitimate reason for the infringement.

Dard continued to advise Muhammadiyyas they should honour the garb of dervishes which symbolized the ascetic way of life. He reminded Muhammadiyyas that *sūfī* dress inspired people to call its wearer '*Shāh*' (king), therefore the external and internal lives of *sūfis* should be worthy of such a title. They should not attempt to accumulate wealth, for high positions in the army or a vast number of followers, for, all these were incompatible with the dervish's real goal. *Sūfis* could accept state gifts such as the *madad-i ma'āsh* and cash offerings, provided they were offered unconditionally.[32]

Dard also placed restraints on the complaints of *sūfis*. If any were made at all they were to be of a private nature, as between friends, a doctor and his patient, or between a magistrate and his client.

Dard defined broadly his concept of justice as meted out by the sultān,

32 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, pp. 521-524.

covering the ruler's subjects and also including financial assistance to religious grandees, *faqirs* (dervishes) and intellectuals. Dard believed that altruistic behaviour on the part of prominent grandees, as well as a healthy state of the imperial coffers, influenced the religious calibre of a sultān. To him, justice depended on the presence of pious *amirs* while a state of peace stimulated the practice of Islām. There was no objection to dervishes visiting rulers or the powerful, for they helped to propagate religion and the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya. Thus a dervish was acting as a warrior of Allāh (*mujāhid fī sabīl-Allāh*) and was a part of the *lashkar-i du'ā* or 'army of those who prayed for the welfare of Muslims'.

Dard did not fail to note the weakness of rulers, the negligence of army officers, and the incompetence of imperial grandees, all of which had contributed to a substantial lowering of the standard of morals. Also to blame were the hypocrisy of the *'ulamā'*, the greediness of the *qādīs*, the unrestrained inclinations of dervishes and the riotous tendencies of the people. Even the rich had fallen on hard times and been reduced to poverty, according to Dard. He urged the economically deprived to face their problems with patience and fortitude and to place all their trust in the Almighty, while improving their moral behaviour.[33]

By putting into practice his own message to the people of Delhi, Dard was able to withstand the political and social upheavals and catastrophes of the eighteenth century with equanimity and patience. This contrasted with Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and Mirzā Jān-i Jānān Mazhar who were forced to flee Delhi and take refuge with their Rohēlla supporters. Dard continued urging the Muhammadiyyas to remember that complaints and laments were calamities; only patience and firmness were blessings.[34] To him, the Qur'ānic verse "The eye turned not aside"[35] called attention to the Muhammadiyyas that they were not to be concerned with the afflictions and gains of this world.[36] While regularly performing their obligatory prayers, they should plunge themselves wholeheartedly into night vigils and further prayers.[37] This, according to Dard, enabled them to preserve their *'ubūdiyya* (servantship) while totally immersing themselves in contemplation and meditation.[38] In his poetry, both Persian and Urdū, adhering to the imagery of his *sūfi* poet predecessors Dard, with considerable artistry and aesthetic sensibility, summed up the Muhammadiyya teachings in touching verses which lay scattered in thousands of prose pages written by his father and himself.

33 *'Ilm al-kitab*, pp. 241-45.
34 Ibid., p. 552.
35 Qur'ān, LIII, 17.
36 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, p. 346.
37 *Āh-i Sard*, p. 186; *Dard-i dil*, p. 232.
38 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, p. 609.

On 24 Safar 1199/6 January 1785, Khwāja Mīr Dard died, thanking God for the strength He gave him to remain steadfast to his retirement.[39] He was succeeded by his younger brother Mīr Athar. Among his disciples the most prominent were naturally poets, both Muslims and Hindūs. Like many other *sūfis* before them Nāsir 'Andalīb and Dard also believed that prophets were born in India, but that the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad had made the teaching of other religions redundant. However, both 'Andalīb and Dard had a deep respect for their Hindū disciples and friends who in turn regarded them as saints worthy of worship.

39 *'Ilm al-kitāb*, p. 311.

CHAPTER NINE

# *Eighteenth Century Chishtiyya Leadership in Delhi*

The Chishtiyya was one of the earliest *sūfī silsilas* to be implanted on Indian soil whose popularity as the years passed went on gaining momentum. Despite the introduction of new *silsilas* the Chishtiyya influence on the extremely large number of its devotees belonging to all sections of society never waned. The fervent devotion of the Mughal emperors from Akbar to Shāhjahān, and even of Awrangzīb, to the tomb of the founder of the Chishtiyyas, Khwāja Mu'in al-Din Chishti (d. 6 Rajab 633/16 March 1236), made a deep impact upon the minds and emotions of even the Central Asian immigrants who were imbued with the puritanically orthodox traditions of the Naqshbandiyyas. The Chishtiyyas took pride in tracing their *sūfic* affiliation from 'Ali ibn Abi Tālib through Hasan Basri and, considering all the successors of the Prophet Muhammad equally important, were full of admiration for 'Ali and his descendants in their poetry and *samā'*. From the early thirteenth century many Chishtiyyas, such as Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar 569/1173-74 or 571/1175-76 664/1265) had opened their doors to Nāth *yogi* visitors and the Hindi poetry recited in their *samā'* was not only imbued with the Nāth yogic concepts but was impregnated with the Vaishnavite allegories and symbols about Rāma and Krishna. It would have been an uphill task for Shāh Wali-Allāh and other Naqshbandiyyas to make the Chishtiyyas forsake their deep-rooted traditions of co-existence with Hindūs even if there had been no important Chishtiyya leader in Delhi; however, long before Shāh Wali-Allāh started his puritanical Sunni reforms, the religious and mystical life of Delhi and the Deccan was taken by storm by Shāh Kalim-Allāh Jahānābādi and his disciple, Shaykh Nizām al-Din Awrangābādi.

Shāh Kalim-Allāh Jahānābādi was born on 24 Jumāda II 1060[1]/23 June 1650 in Delhi, then known as Shāhjahānābād or Jahānābād. He

1 In a letter Shāh Kalīm-Allāh gave the word 'Ghanī' as the chronogram of the year of his birth. *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, Delhi 1315/1897-98, p. 93.

was the grandson of the celebrated engineer and mathematician, Shaykh Ahmad bin Shaykh Hāmid Siddiqi of Khujand.[2] Shāh Kalīm-Allāh's father, Hājji Nūr-Allāh, was also an engineer.[3] However, the Shāh himself was destined for prominence in the world of *sūfism* rather than that of mathematics or engineering. Although he reached a high level in the secular side of his education, the influence of such *sūfi* teachers as Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn, popularly known as Shaykh Bahlūl, who was also a descendant of Shaykh Muhammad Ghawth of Gwālior,[4] and Shaykh Abū al-Ridā,[5] the elder brother of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahīm, aroused in Shāh Kalīm-Allāh a lasting fascination for *sūfism*.

The story of how the Shāh adopted *sūfism* is a typical one, often found in *sūfi* literature. In his youth the Shāh was said to have fallen in love with a Khattri boy who proved indifferent to his smitten lover. Restless, the Shāh approached a *majdhūb* who was known to accept gifts from those whose wishes were later fulfilled. In this case the offering was a bundle of sweets and the following day the khattri boy is said to have fallen in love with the Shāh. But Shāh Kalīm-Allāh soon tired of his new lover and instead became involved in a relationship with the *majdhūb*. The latter, however, told the Shāh that he himself could offer him only the fire of ecstasy but that Shaykh Yahya Madanī[6] could provide him with the water of mysticism. So enthusiastic was the Shāh to go straight to Medina that

2 Nādir al-'asr Ustād Ahmad-i Mi'mār Lāhorī (d. 1059-1649) was a very outstanding mathematician and engineer. He was the designer and architect of the Tāj Mahal and the Red Fort.

3 Nūr-Allāh was the youngest son of Ustād Ahmad-i Mi'mār. Nūr-Allāh's elder brothers were 'Atā'-Allāh Rushdī and Lutf-Allāh Muhandis. 'Atā'-Allāh was the author of the *Khulāsa-i rāz* on arithmetic, algebra and mensuration in poetry. He also translated the *Vija-ganita* (algebra) by Bhāskara Āchārya, of Bīdar in Deccan (b. 1114 A.D.). Both works were completed in Shāhjahān's reign; the latter work entitled *Tarjama-i Bīj Ganit* was written in 1044/1634-5 and dedicated to Shāhjahān. British Museum manuscript of the *Tarjama* is dated 1141/1728. His younger brother Lutf-Allāh Muhandis wrote a mathematical work, the *Khawāss-i a'dād* (British Museum Ms. dated 1130/1718), and wrote a work on mathematics in Arabic *Khulāsat al-hisāb* (Manuscript in Razā Library, Rāmpūr). Author of other mathematical tracts in 1070/1659 he wrote an ethical work, the *Sihr-i halāl* (Bombay University Library). Lutf-Allāh's two sons Imām al-Dīn Riyādī and Khayr-Allāh Muhandis were also the authors and translators of mathematical tracts. The latter collaborated with Rāja Jai Singh in building observatories and also wrote works on astronomy. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature,* II, p. 95.

4 The celebrated founder of the Shattāriyya order (d. 970/1562-63).

5 Supra, pp. 205-7.

6 Shaykh Muhyi'al-Dīn Abū Yūsuf Yahya Chishtī b. Shaykh Mahmūd, popularly known as Miyān Shaykh Yahya Madanī, was born on 20 Ramadān 1010/14 March 1602 in Ahmadābād. After completing his education at the age of twenty he entered the army. After the death of his grandfather (Shaykh Muhammad Chishtī 956/1549-1040/1630) he succeeded him in his spiritual position and renounced the world. In

he left India without saying goodbye to anyone, not even his aged mother.[7]

On his arrival in Medina, Shaykh Yahya Madanī promptly summoned Shāh Kalīm-Allāh to his side and initiated him as his disciple into three orders—the Chishtiyya, Suhrawardiyya and the Qādiriyya.

From Medina the Shāh went to Mecca. It seems unlikely, however, that he became the disciple of any other great saints or savants resident in either of the two holy cities. After his return to India he settled in Delhi and was initiated into a fourth order, the Naqshbandiyya by Shaykh Mīr Muhtaram.[8] In Mecca and Medina the Shāh seems to have obtained first-hand information about the controversy raging in those towns about the infidelity of the Mujaddid and returned to India, determined to destroy whatever Naqshbandiyya influence remained there. In the thirteenth century initiation into more than one order was not favoured, but by the fourteenth century this had become a common practice. The *sūfi pīrs* obtained initiation into several orders for several reasons. Firstly, the practice enabled them to get first-hand experience of the meditational practices of other orders, offering them opportunities to modify, reform and sharpen their own mystic sensitivity. Secondly, it helped them to initiate disciples into orders other than those of their ancestors, for which many of them due to family tradition and pride showed a distinct preference. Gradually those disciples were able to develop an interest in their own *pīrs'* particular orders and thus became propagators of the latter's *silsilas*, instead of their ancestral ones. Shāh Kalīm-Allāh's readiness to initiate disciples into the Naqshbandiyya order succeeded in attracting a considerable number of Central Asians to whom the Chishtiyya order was anathema.

The dates of Shāh Kalīm-Allāh's departure to Medina and his return to Delhi are not known, but it would seem that both events took place between 1087/1676 and 1101/1689. In Delhi he settled in a rented house of the Bāzār Khānam between the Red Fort and the Jāmi' mosque. At the same time his own ancestral house was let out for two rupees and eight annas, the rent from it being used by the Shāh to pay for his own monthly board and upkeep.[9] Before leaving for Mecca he married into a family of Sayyids or Shaykhs. Later he also married a former slave girl by whom he had four

Awrangzīb's reign the Shaykh's indulgence in *samā'* brought him into conflict with local officials but Awrangzīb who knew him from the time he was viceroy of Gujarāt (1645-1647), apologized, and the dispute ended in triumph for the Shaykh. In *c.* 1087/1676-77 he left permanently for Arabia and settled in Medina where he died on 28 Safar 1101/11 December 1689. *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī*, Baroda 1930 supplement, pp. 76-83. *Ma'ārij al-wilāyat*, f. 476a.

7 Gul Muhammad Ma'rūfī Karkhī, *Dhikr al-asfiyā' fī takmilat Siyar al-awliyā' dar manqabat-i Shams al-Huda*, Delhi 1312/1894, pp. 85-86.

8 Ibid., p. 86.

9 Ibid., p. 85.

sons and five daughters.[10] From this experience the Shāh concluded that slave girls made more satisfactory wives than women from prominent and socially respectable families. In opposition to the prevailing prejudices against permanent relationships with slave women,[11] the Shāh strongly advised his disciples to follow his example.

At the beginning of his career as a *sūfi* the Shāh's meagre income was adequately supplemented by the *futūh* he received. Gradually, however, his growing family began to place great financial strains on him, becoming particularly intense during droughts or other natural calamities. Like his family, the number of the Shāh's disciples and visitors continued to grow, forcing him to move back to his old house and to add a second storey. Even this proved insufficient and the Shāh even toyed with the idea of founding his own *takiya* (*khānqāh* or hospice) outside Delhi. His financial condition did not help matters. Even towards the end of his life, Shāh Kalīm-Allāh found even the expense of one of his daughters' weddings a severe financial strain. One such occasion cost 300 rupees and another 1,000. Two of his other daughters' weddings were postponed owing to lack of funds.[12]

Such difficulties, however, failed to tempt the Shāh to flaunt Chishtiyya convention and accept *futūh* from either rulers, officials or the wealthy. According to one story, the Shāh rejected a suggestion by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar that he accept money from the state treasury or one of the

10 Najm al-Dīn Nāgawrī, *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn*, Rāmpūr 1289/1872, p. 47. In a letter the Shāh tells of the birth of a baby boy fathered by him. He was then seventy-five. In another letter dated Jumāda II 1128/May-June 1716, he gives this list of his children:
*Sons*:
1. Hāmid engaged in the study of *sūfī* works.
2. Muhammad Fadl-Allāh, aged ten [who later memorized the Qur'ān and became a hāfiz).
3. Muhammad Ihsān-Allāh, aged five, referred to in an earlier letter. If this age is correct, he was born in 1123/1711-12. The Shāh by then was sixty-three years old and not seventy-five as he estimated in his earlier letter.

*Daughters*:
1. Bībī Rābi'a married to Muhammad Hāshim (whom the Shāh appointed his *khalīfa*).
2. Bībī Fakhr al-Nisā', married to the Shāh's nephew [Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahīm].
3. Zaynab Bībī, alias Bībī Misrī, aged fourteen and unmarried. [Later she married Shāh Mīr.] Nizāmī argues that the Shāh may have written this letter, when he was aged eighty. (K. A. Nizāmī, *Mashā'ikh-i Chisht*, Delhi 1953, p. 423, no. 4). However, the letter is clearly dated Jumāda 1128. *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, pp. 92-94.

The fourth son, Khwāja Muhammad, whom the Shāh did not mention, died in infancy. Two other daughters seem to have been born after 1711. After the death of Bībī Rābi'a the Shāh himself wished to marry one of them to his aged *khalīfa*, Muhammad Hāshim (*Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 96). It would seem that the age of the bridegroom was no hindrance to the match. Bībī Misrī became a widow in the Shāh's lifetime.

11 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 84.

12 Ibid., p. 21.

houses belonging to the government. The Shāh also staunchly refused to allow the Emperor to call on him at his own request saying :

> 'You are the shadow of God; I am always engaged in praying for this shadow's welfare. Your Majesty's visit is of great inconvenience to me so there is no need for you to make it.'

Nevertheless both the Shāh and the Emperor came into contact with each other on Fridays during congregational prayers in the Jāmi' mosque. The Emperor, however, never dared to speak to the leading *sūfi* of his capital.[13] Later Shāh Kalīm-Allāh relented under pressure from his disciples and accepted a house from the Emperor in the Bāzār Khānam which contained an *aywān*,[14] two rooms, and a well. A hall was added by the Shāh at a cost of 700 rupees which was undoubtedly intended as a meeting place for his disciples and visitors.[15] According to the *Fakhr al-tālibin*, as an old man the Shāh was the recipient of an extensive *futūh* and left an estate worth about 100,000 rupees.[16] There is no reason to doubt such a statement, for before his death the Shāh was so badly afflicted with rheumatism and chronic swelling of the hands and feet that he could barely move his limbs.[17] To pay for medical care his family and disciples seem to have accepted gifts on his behalf without disclosing their source. The Shāh's many relations had built their houses around his and the area remained a family complex until the rebellion of 1857, known as the Indian Mutiny. After the British regained control of Delhi the buildings between the Red Fort and the Jāmi' mosque in Delhi were razed to the ground and their inhabitants fled.[18] Remarkably, only the Shāh's tomb remained unscathed.

On 24 Rabi' I 1142/17 October 1729, Shāh Kalīm-Allāh died aged 82/79.[19] He was buried in a room in the house in which he had spent the later days of his life. He had been a distinguished scholar as well as an eminent *sūfi*. He is said to have written about thirty-two books, nine of which only have survived. Before leaving for Medina he seems to have written a Risāla *Tashrīh al-aflāk Āmilī*[20] and the *Sharh al-Qānūn*[21] in order to

13 *Takmila,* p. 85.
14 A portico or a balcony on the top of the house.
15 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 64.
16 Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Husaynī Fakhrī, *Fakhr al-tālibīn,* Delhi 1315/1897-98, p. 77.
17 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 64.
18 *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn,* p. 45.
19 Introduction to the *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 2.
20 *Tashrīh al-aflāk,* an Arabic manual of astronomy was written by the famous Īrānian mathematician and astronomer Bahā' al-Dīn Muhammad bin Husayn al-Āmilī who died at Isfahān in 1031/1622.
21 *Qānūm fi'l-tibb* (Canon of Medicine) by Ibn Sīna or Avicenna (370/980-428/1037) is a very famous work on medicine.

equip himself for entry into the civil service. To the same end he appears to have been the author of a treatise on logic.

While an enthusiastic new convert to *sūfism*, after his return from Medina, the Shāh wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān entitled the *Qur'ān al-Qur'ān*. According to Najm al-Din, this Hanafi exegesis of the Qur'ān equalled the *Jalalayn*[22] which presented the Shafi'i point of view.[23]

One of the known *sūfic* works of Shāh Kalim-Allāh is *Mā lā bud minhu* which he completed on 17 Rabi' I 1073/30 October 1662.[24] It is a short Arabic summary of the *Minhāj al-'ābidin* ascribed to Ghazāli. This literary exercise owed its genesis to Shāh Kalim-Allāh's promise to a friend to write a book on *sūfism* for him. It was completed while the Shāh was staying in a village and did not have any other book with him except the *Minhāj*. This short treatise reflects Shāh Kalim-Allāh's early interest in *sūfism*.

In the last ten days of Ramadān 1092/4 October to 13 October 1681 the Shāh wrote *Tilka'ashra kāmila,*[25] an elementary work on *sūfism* containing ten chapters, each being written in a day. The third chapter dealing with the Names and Attributes of Allāh answers the objections to the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and firmly asserts that the criticisms made by the scholars of *kalām* of the Wujūdiyya *sūfis* amounted to *kufr* (infidelity) and *jihl* (ignorance).[26] The ninth chapter deals with *samā'* and ecstasy. It asserts that the desire to listen to sweet and melodious voices was innate and natural; only its misuse made it unlawful.[27] For that matter, the Shāh pleaded, even the misuse of love, which was so strongly connected with the spirit, could make it sinful. However, he did not favour the loss of discretion or prudence in a state of ecstasy and urged the audience to strictly follow the traditional rules of *samā'* laid down by the ancient *sūfis*.[28]

On 1 Dhu'lqa'da 1101/6 August 1690 the Shāh finished a book containing his instructions on meditation and reflection, entitled the *Kashkūl*.[29] Together with its appendix, the *Muraqqa'*, the work seeks to reaffirm the Chishtiyya practices in a lucid style. The Shāh says that the Chishtiyyas, Kubrawiyyas, Shattāriyyas and Qādiriyyas considered *habs-i nafas* (breath suspension or control) indispensable, but that the Naqshbandiyyas neither

22 Infra, p. 390.
23 *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn,* p. 46.
24 *Mā lā būd Kalīmī* with Urdū translation, Delhi, n. d., p. 7.
25 *Tilka'ashra kāmila,* Delhi, n. d., p. 6.
26 Ibid., pp. 42-44.
27 Ibid., pp. 272-78.
28 Ibid., pp. 279-85.
29 *Kashkūl-i Kalīmī*, Delhi 1308/1890, p. 2. Literally 'kashkūl' means a beggar's bowl or pouch. Medieval authors called the collection of their miscellaneous notes and writings the *Kashkūl*. The sections in the *Kashkūl-i Kalīmī* are entitled *luqma* (morsels) implying that the *Kashkūl* was a collection of spiritual tit-bits.

saw it as significant nor rejected it out of hand. The Suhrawardiyya *dhikr*, however, did not incorporate *habs-i nafas*.

According to Shāh Kalīm-Allāh, breath control was of two types; *habs-i nafas* (breath suspension) and *hasr-i nafas* (breathing below the normal rate). In *habs-i nafas* the breath was drawn from the stomach and the navel to the chest, or according to some to the brain, the stomach and the navel moving closer to the spine during the movement. Closing the nostrils, ears and eyes with the fingers was not essential in this position, although it was generally done as a precautionary measure against unsteady movements. This technique, the Shāh claimed, was most effective and generated intense heat. He described another form of *habs-i nafas* which was done by controlling the breath in the chest through puffing or expanding a section of the stomach most remote from the spine, a movement which proved a great boon to the digestive system. *Hasr-i nafas*, or respiration below the normal rate of breathing, generated less heat in the body than *habs-i nafas*.[30] Shāh Kalīm-Allāh acknowledged that *sūfis* had borrowed *habs-i nafas* and other similar practices from *yogis*, who were expert in the art.[31] However, in order to give it an Islamic touch he stated that in fact it had been imparted by Khidr to Khwāja 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghujduwānī (d. 617/1220).[32]

According to Shāh Kalīm-Allāh, out of the eighty-four *yoga* postures, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Qādirī recommended the following as the best one to his disciples. In this posture the devotee should sit firmly cross-legged on the ground, placing the left calf of the leg below the testicles and the right calf close to it. The breath should be drawn upwards by pulling in the navel towards the back, while the mouth was closed with the tongue held firmly inside. Meditating on the syllables *U*, *Hī* and *Hiya*,[33] his eyes should not be closed in sleep. If the practice continued unabated for three days without nourishment or sleep, a trance-like state emerged in which Divine secrets were revealed to the devotee.[34]

The principal aim of *dhikr*, the Shāh continued, was to remind *sūfis* of the evanescence of the self into Allāh. He believed that the mere repetition of the *kalima Lā Ilāha illa'llāh* (There is no God but Allāh) was itself hardly effective. On the other hand, the marvel of *dhikr* (remembering) was contained in the fact that the seeker, engaged in the *dhikr* of Allāh, heard the word Allāh coming from everything which existed—jungles, walls, cells, stones, even his own hands and feet. This mystical state emerged due to the dominance of *dhikr* in the seeker and did not imply that he

30 *Kashkūl-i Kalīmī*, pp. 9-10.
31 Ibid., p. 11.
32 Ibid., p. 10.
33 The Hindi form of *Huwa* (He).
34 *Kashkūl*, p. 30.

was literally listening to these phenomenal objects repeating *dhikr*. Thus all things according to their different states were engaged in various forms of *dhikr*. In the initial stages of *dhikr* vibrations in the heart were initiated from repeating such names as Allāh, Haqq or Huwa, a particular sound being associated with each name. Constant occupation with *dhikr*, however, led to a realization on the part of the devotee of God in His Absolute state, undetermined and unconditioned. At this stage names and attributes were insignificant to the seeker who became overwhelmed by *sawt-i sarmadi* (perpetual sound) or *sawt-i lāyazali* (eternal sound), which an earlier teacher of the Shāh and Shaykh Yahya-Madani had identified with the *anāhat* of *yogīs*.[35]

The *Sawā' al-sabil*, completed by Shāh Kalim-Allāh in 1134/1721-22[36] contains a detailed analysis of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, refuting the objections of philosophers, scholars of *kalām* and the followers of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. The work is a very useful summary of Ibn al-'Arabi's teachings, whose author seems to have carefully mastered the *Fusūs al-hikam* and its important commentaries.

The collection of the Shāh's letters called the *Maktūbāt-i Kalimi* also reflects all important aspects of the Shāh's teachings. Of the 132 letters more than 100 are addressed to his *khalifa*, Shaykh Nizām al-Din Awrangābādi.

The Shāh's initiation into the Suhrawardiyya, Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya orders gave him new avenues through which to propagate the beliefs of the Chishtiyya order, to which he claimed first allegiance. He was opposed chiefly to the Naqshbandiyyas who enjoyed imperial patronage and more specifically to the followers of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (the Mujaddid). After Awrangzib's departure to the Deccan, the centre of the Naqshbandiyya movement moved from the north to the south. As the Shāh remained in Delhi the leading figure in the confrontation between his own ideas and those of the Naqshbandiyyas was his disciple, Shaykh Nizām al-Din, who also moved to the Deccan. However, the Shāh still remained the real driving force behind the campaign.

The Deccan, chosen by Shāh Kalim-Allāh for his talented disciple, was not an entirely new field of *sūfi* activity. Even Shaykh Nizām al-Din Awliyā' had sent one of his disciples to Devagiri (Dawlatābād). Although most Delhi *sūfis* resisted Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq's orders to migrate to Devagiri after he made the town his second capital in 727/1327, many did leave Delhi and later a number of *sūfis* willingly settled permanently in the Deccan, especially in Burhānpūr. A late migrant was the great Chishtiyya leader Sayyid Muhammad Gisū Darāz (721/1321-825/1422) who settled in Gulbarga, north of Mysore. Shāh Kalim-Allāh showed

35 *Kashkūl*, pp. 39-40.
36 *Sawā' al-sabīl*, p. 282.

great foresight in selecting Burhānpūr as the centre for Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn's activity. He wrote :

> 'Burhānpūr has many advantages as a real home. It is situated at a cross-roads used by the people of India and the Deccan and pilgrims to Mecca. Many dervishes have settled in this town. Establish your *takiya* (hospice) at the riverbank and name it Nizāmpura. There is nothing wrong in granting interviews to nobles and rulers and I permit it. Meet anyone you like and associate with them if you so desire. Whatever you do your intentions should be good.'[37]

Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn's friendly associations with members of the Mughal army seem to have prevented him from settling down in Burhānpūr. He chose to make Awrangābād his home and became known to later generations as Awrangābādī (of Awrangābād). As a protection against the government, however, Shāh Kalīm-Allāh advised the Shaykh to accept interviews from rulers only when they themselves first called on a dervish. In another letter he supported Shaykh Nizām's refusal to visit the Emperor, although the ruler in question was as powerful as Awrangzīb. He went on to add that the Sultān's summons for Nizām al-Dīn to attend his court proved that he was arrogant and a tyrant. If truly humble and genuinely devoted to the dervishes in his kingdom, said the Shāh, the Emperor would have come quietly to visit him. The Shāh advised Nizām al-Dīn to leave the military camp until the Emperor's demands for him to visit abated. He added:

> 'Apparently this Sultān [Emperor Awrangzīb] boasts a great deal about knowing the *Shari'a* but as the *Tariqa* depends upon a guide who controls the affairs of his disciple, the latter is saved from many difficulties. The power enjoyed by Sultāns inculcates in them presumption and pride. The present Sultān considers that he himself is a repository of all the powers of a ruler and treats *faqirs* with contempt.'[38]

As mentioned earlier, on 27 Shawwāl 1090/1 December 1679 Awrangzīb placed a ban on the study of the letters of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī at Awrangābād,[39] causing a serious crisis among the Naqshbandiyyas which in turn had repercussions on others. Shāh Kalīm-Allāh advised his disciple to proceed cautiously in his mission of propagating Chishtī ideas. When the *sūfis* from Sirhind returned after a pilgrimage to the Mughal

37 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 53.
38 Ibid., p. 45.
39 Supra, p. 322; *A history of sūfism in India*, (in press) appendix.

camp, Shāh Kalīm-Allāh advised Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, in a letter, to refrain from indulging in *samā'* in order to avoid a clash with various opponents.[40] The Shāh warned his disciple that the Mughal Emperor was a descendant of Tīmūr who had also been a great devotee of the Naqshbandiyya order. The Tūrānis in general followed the Naqshbandiyya,[41] considering the other orders insignificant. In such circumstances Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn was authorized to initiate disciples in all orders. This way he could enrol Tūrānis as disciples, offering them initiation into the Naqshbandiyya order. Instead of the controversial *samā'*, the Naqshbandiyya practice of the *murāqaba* (meditation) could be adopted. *Murāqaba*, Shāh Kalīm-Allāh added, had been a favourite pursuit of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki and produced perfect spiritual enlightenment and ecstasy (*hāl*).[42]

Shāh Kalīm-Allāh laid great stress on adherence to the *Shari'a* and urged that all beginners on the Path be required to enhance their external behaviour by following the *Shari'a* and to decorate their 'interiors' with Divine love.[43] Again, he emphasized that a dervish should be a repository for *Shari'a*, *Tariqa* and *Haqiqa*. One who was not firm in the *Shari'a* was imperfect and therefore his *Tariqa* and *Haqiqa* were meaningless. He added that the dervish's path to perfection was the *Shari'a* and on Judgment Day one who had firmly followed the Holy Law would be given high status. Dervishes who were motivated by their lower instincts tended to have undesirable habits and were therefore worthless.[44] Advising his disciples to avoid the company of dervishes who had abandoned the *Shari'a* the Shāh wrote:

> 'These *mulhids* (heretics), who give up the *Shari'a*, indulge in senseless and heretical chatter, and accuse those who follow the *Shari'a* of ignorance of *Haqiqa* in order to get good food, deserve to be repudiated. Their conversations about *Tawhid* (*Wahdat al-Wujūd*) are meaningless.'[45]

In a lengthy letter to Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, Shāh Kalīm-Allāh outlined a number of points to guide his disciple and warned him never to ignore them. Here is a synopsis of the Shāh's advice :

1. The essence of *sūfic* teaching is nobility (*khayr*) which amounts to dying to all external needs, and seeking immortality through God

40 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 45.
41 Ibid., p. 11.
42 Ibid., p. 78.
43 Ibid., p. 95.
44 Ibid., p. 72.
45 Ibid., p. 85.

the most High. The voyager along this path (*sālik*) seeks eternal divine love.

2. While giving instructions in the path of nobility, dervishes should exclude anything which is not rooted in the divine. There is no significance in adopting a special type of dress. When a higher stage (of mysticism) is reached a *sūfi* does not find the smallest pleasure in what he eats or drinks and is even ashamed of the *sūfi* garment.
3. The crowds which gather around dervishes should prompt them to give thanks to God and the greater the number the more thanks are due. The attraction of the people to a particular dervish emanates from divine mercy and bounty. Don't be annoyed—such a form of felicity is not enjoyed by everyone.
4. As soon as a dervish is initiated he should not automatically be allowed to start teaching. What happens in one particular case cannot necessarily be applied to all.
5. If the novice is greatly engrossed in *dhikr*, *murāqaba* and contemplation, he may become a *khalifa*, provided he is endowed with enough theological knowledge; or else he may be asked to continue his secular task.
6. The novice should have the capacity to be both a recluse and to live communally. He should be kind to strangers and distribute whatever *futūh* he received among fellow *faqirs*. Any day he does not receive *futūh* should be considered fortunate, for starvation has great spiritual advantages.
7. The problems of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* should not be discussed publicly. Its meaning should be revealed only to novices through the use of symbolic language. If they appeared to comprehend, further details should be given to them. Otherwise, the subject should be dropped.
8. Dervishes should meet either all rich men or none at all. It is improper to grant interviews to some and not to others.
9. Be at peace with Hindūs and Muslims. Anyone from such communities who is devoted to you can be trained in *dhikr*, meditation and reflection and the influence of *dhikr* can itself attract them to Islām. But if a person shows no real interest in a particular dervish, he should not be trained, even if he be the son of a Sayyid. The relationship between a *pir* and his disciple depends on devotion, and sainthood demands total obedience.[46]

In a further letter to his chief disciple, Shāh Kalim-Allāh went to the extent of emphasizing that the *sine qua non* of Chishti discipline was *pir*

46 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, pp. 73-4.

*parasti* (*Pir* worship) and it was superior to all other forms of worship (except obligatory prayers, fasting etc.). The disciple reaped spiritual benefits only through the power of his *pīr*, said the Shāh, and if this was by-passed nothing else could be gained spiritually.[47]

The main requirement for the enrolling of a disciple, believed Shāh Kalīm-Allāh, was abject devotion. So significant was this virtue that it did not matter if an initiate was a drunkard or drug addict.[48] as long as he showed sincere and full obedience and affection for his *pir*. Using such standard the Shāh allowed women to become *sūfis*. However, he laid down certain restrictions on the behaviour of *pirs* and their female disciples. Long private interviews were taboo because these, believed the Shāh, would compromise the reputation of the Shaykhs.[49] In keeping with traditional Muslim restrictions on the touching of non-related women, *pirs* were also requested, before the initiation ceremony during which the hand of the disciple was held for some time by the *pir*,[50] to wrap their hands in cloth.

Also through correspondence the Shāh expressed dissatisfaction with Shaykh Nizām al-Din's inhibitions in enrolling women disciples and he urged him to transmit divine truth to women irrespective of whether they were young, old, pretty or ugly.[51]

Thus Hindūs, who exhibited devotion to a *pir*, were also eligible to become disciples. One leading disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn was the Hindū Dayā Rām[52] who wrote letters direct to Shāh Kalīm-Allāh. Because Dayā Rām and some other Hindūs had become Muslims but refused to disclose the fact publicly, they were bound to be cremated by their relations after their deaths. So disturbed was the Shāh that he told Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn that the Islamicization of these prominent Hindūs should be revealed at some opportune moment.[53]

Tolerant of Hindūs, women and those on the fringes of society, Shāh Kalīm-Allāh was unremitting in his opposition to Shī'īs. Earlier in his youth he had written a treatise refuting the Shī'i beliefs.[54] He forbade their initiation as *sūfis*, because they believed that *wilāya* (saintship) was confined only to their twelve *Imāms*. Therefore an interest in *sūfism* by Shī'īs was not strictly spiritual and discipleship for them was out of the question. Although amicable relations could be maintained with them,

47 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 19.
48 Ibid., p. 56.
49 Ibid., pp. 43, 56.
50 Ibid., p. 25.
51 Ibid., p. 37.
52 The Shāh addressed him as *bhayyā* (Hindī equivalent of brother).
53 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, pp. 25-26.
54 The work entitled the *Radd-i Rawāfid* toes the Mujaddid's treatise on the subject.

religious discussions should be avoided and in the event of a confrontation, controversial issues should be side-stepped. If friendly contact with Shi'is was of no great benefit to the Sunni population, then this could be avoided.[55]

In another letter the Shāh expressed his deep concern over the extent of Shi'i beliefs found in the military camp in the Deccan where his disciple Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn was stationed. Reaffirming the fact that Shi'is regarded *wilāya* as including only the twelve *Imāms*, Shāh Kalim-Allāh stated that Sunnis to them were worse than unbelievers. According to their writings and *fatwas* the Sunnis were to be despised like heretics and dogs. Devotion from such people was therefore meaningless.[56]

With the exception of the Shi'is, Shāh Kalim-Allāh laid no restrictions on the initiation of disciples. However, he divided *khalifas* into two categories. The higher category was to contain disciples who were well-educated and had command of Arabic. The inferior category covered those who possessed spiritual accomplishments or those whose generosity contributed to the welfare of the people.[57]

Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awrangābādi, the most outstanding *khalifa* of Shāh Kalim-Allāh, originally came from either Kākori or Nagrām in the Lucknow region. The *Manāqib al-mahbūbin* mentions both places as his native home.[58] However, Kākori and Nagrām were, and still are, important Muslim centres (in Lucknow) and so it is possible that either of these two could have been his birth place.

After completing his education in his native town, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awrangābādi moved to Delhi where he became Shāh Kalim-Allāh's student. The spiritual atmosphere of the *khānqāh* soon diverted his attention away from formal theological studies to *sūfism* and he concentrated his efforts on obtaining *sūfic* training.[59] His progress was rapid and the interest of his *pīr* daily increased. Appointing Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn his *khalifa* in the Deccan and thus conferring on him the spiritual control of the region, Shāh Kalim-Allāh advised him to work firstly in the Mughal army, but later he was allowed to choose his own sphere of influence as a missionary.[60] Before settling down at Awrangābād Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn did in fact seek to extend his spiritual influence in the army.

The Shaykh's life in Awrangābād was very simple in style. He hated expensive clothes and also despised eating alone. Whenever he was forced

55 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 76
56 Ibid., p. 13.
57 Ibid., p. 56. See also pp. 25, 43, 58.
58 *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn*, p. 47.
59 *Maktūbāt-i Kalimī*, p. 31.
60 Ibid., pp. 26, 33.

to do so he would send some of his food to his disciples so that in a sense they would be eating with him. Originally adverse to the idea of accepting *futūh*, the Shaykh changed his mind at his *pīr's* advice that it was wrong to break the heart of those who sincerely offered gifts which, after all, could also be used to help others. Shaykh Nizām then began keeping the *futūh* he was offered on Fridays, giving some of it to *qawwāls* and the rest to other deserving groups.[61] One of his interests was the financial plight of many nobles' families who because of some tragedy befalling them had lost their sources of income. They were assisted by him wherever possible for, to Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, the common people could ask for alms, but members of the nobility were forced to starve because they were ashamed to beg.[62] Children, the young and old men were also treated with great respect and he always stood up to receive them.[63]

Following Chishtiyya traditions, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn rejected Emperor Awrangzīb's invitation to visit him and adopted the same attitude towards Prince A'zam Shāh, refusing to accept even gifts which he could have distributed amongst other mystics.[64] Similarly he refused the repeated invitations of Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān the father of Nizām al-Mulk to visit him.[65] Each time Shāh Kalīm-Allāh heard of the rejection of Ghazī al-Dīn's invitation by his disciple, he approved enthusiastically. In a letter he wrote:

> 'Were he (Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān) not overcome by pride and the devil, he would have called on you. Kings have visited *faqirs*, considering it a joyful undertaking. Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān is only the Emperor's servant.'[66]

As the Shaykh had refused to call on him, it appears that Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān came personally to see him. The Khān's son, Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh, became the Shaykh's disciple[67] and wrote a biographical account of his *pīr* called the *Rashk-i Gulistān-i Iram*. This naturally enhanced the Shaykh's popularity among the Tūrānis. The Shaykh himself was the author of a book entitled the *Nizām al-Qulūb* which was actually based on the *Kashkūl* of Shāh Kalīm-Allāh. However, it also gives a detailed description

61 Khwāja Kāmgār Khān, *Ahsan al-shamā'il*, Nawāb Shayfta Collection, 'Alīgarh University, Ms.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, pp. 10-11.
65 Ibid., p. 36.
66 Ibid., p. 67.
67 Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī, *Rawdat al-Awliyā'*, India Office Ms.

of *Hatha-yogic* exercises[68] and, unlike many purists, refers to the *panjtan* as *pāk*.[69]

To Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, *pās-i anfās* and *dhikr-i jahr* (loud *dhikr*) together formed the base on which spiritual discipline should be built. After evening prayers he would perform *dhikr-i jahr* in the Jāmi' mosque, accompanied by between 200 and 300 disciples. He continued to do this even though Prince A'zam had forbidden him to do so.[70] Shāh Kalīm-Allāh also tried to stop Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn from performing *dhikr-i jahr* in the mosque for the following reason:

> The *'ulamā'* stress that the performance of supererogatory *namāz* is superior to that of *dhikr-i jahr* and if a crowd indulges in the latter in a mosque, the supererogatory prayers of other people are disturbed. One of Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān's Mughal soldiers once flogged a *sūfi* for performing *dhikr-i jahr* in the mosque. It was therefore desirable that the *dhikr-i jahr* be performed only in jungles and lonely places.[71]

It was not so much this, however, that motivated the Shāh's advice as the fear of a clash with the *'ulamā'* and the Naqshbandiyyas.

So fond of *dhikr-i jahr* was Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn that he even trained small children to perform it. Shāh Kalīm-Allāh also strongly disapproved of this practice and wrote to his disciple discouraging it, stating that it involved a risk to their lives.[72] However, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn was steadfast in the observance of the *Shari'a*[73] and was careful to adhere to the traditional orthodox rules of *samā'*.[74]

Following the advice of his *pīr*[75], Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn tried to lead a celibate life, but his chronic gonorrhoea[76] left him, according to the medical advice of those days, with no choice but to marry. It was believed that the sufferer would be relieved of his illness if he married. Shāh Kalīm-Allāh suggested some suitable matches among members of his own family.[77] Finally the Shaykh took two wives who were unrelated to his *pīr*, both of whom seem to have come from the Deccan. One was a descendant of Sayyid Muhammad Gisū Darāz who gave birth to two sons and a daughter.

68 *Nizām al-qulūb*, Delhi 1309/1891-92, chapters 15, 3, 4.
69 Supra, p. 192. *Nizām al-qulūb*, chapter 11.
70 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, p. 10; *Nizām al-qulūb*, chapters 1, 4, 8.
71 Ibid., p. 78.
72 Ibid., p. 25.
73 *Ahsan al-shamā'il*, ff. 16a-17a.
74 Ibid., ff. 42a-46a.
75 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, pp. 30, 33.
76 Ibid., pp. 31-2.
77 Ibid., pp. 15, 32.

Three male children were born to the second wife. The Shāh died on 12 Dhu'lqa'da 1142/29 May 1730 at Awrangābād leaving behind a large number of disciples and *khalifas*.

The most talented of all the Shaykh's children and of his disciples was Fakhr al-Din, popularly known as the Mawlānā, his second son by his first wife. Fakhr al-Din worked mainly in the Delhi area and further strengthened the traditions of Shāh Kalim-Allāh.

Fakhr al-Dīn was born at Awrangābād in 1126/1714.[78] His father ensured that he received an adequate secular and religious education. Miyān Muhammad Jān, a distinguished scholar of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* exposed him to such philosophical works as the *Sadra* and the *Shams Bāzigha*, as well as Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fusūs al-hikam*, at the same time explaining to him the subtleties contained therein. The Mawlānā also obtained a good grounding in both *hadith* and *fiqh* and in the art of warfare and archery.[79]

Fakhr al-Dīn was only sixteen when his father died. He continued his studies for three more years and then joined the army, at that time led by Tūrāni generals such as Nawwāb Nizām al-Dawla Nāsir-Jang and Himmat Yār Khān.[80] To Fakhr al-Dīn military service was no hindrance to fasting, prayer or the keeping of vigils. Eventually, however, people began to criticize him for being a soldier and, following the advice of his father's devoted *khalifa*, Khwāja Kāmgār Khān (the author of *Ahsan al-shamā'il*), he resigned his commission after only three years in the army. He returned to Awrangābād and assumed the leadership of his father's *khānqāh*.[81]

For some fifteen years he acted as a spiritual director in the Deccan, attracting a large number of disciples. He then decided to migrate to Delhi.[82] Apparently he did so in an attempt to fill the void in the Chishti leadership in Delhi left by the death of Shāh Kalim-Allāh. After considerable hesitation,[83] he finally left Awrangābād, arriving at his destination in 1165/1751-52.[84]

En route to Delhi, Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn visited the shrine of Khwāja Mu'in al-Din Chishti. When he first arrived in Delhi he was warmly greeted by the sons of Shāh Kalim-Allāh. Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn rented a house in Katra Phulel where he founded a seminary. Except for a brief

78 Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrūz-Jang 'Imād al-Mulk; *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya,* India Office, Delhi Persian Ms., f. 5a.
79 *Takmila,* p. 106; *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya,* f. 6b; *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn,* p. 49.
80 *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya,* f. 7a.
81 *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn,* p. 50.
82 *Takmila,* p. 109.
83 *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya,* f. 11a, *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn,* p. 50.
84 *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn,* p. 50. The *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya* gives 1161/1748-49 (f. 13a) but a *mathnawī* by Nawwāb Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān describing Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn's arrival in Delhi, which the *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn* quotes, has 1165.

visit to Pāk Pattan for a pilgrimage to the shrine of Bābā Farīd, he remained in Delhi until his death. From Katra Phulel Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn moved to a seminary near the Ajmīrī gate, built by Nawwāb Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrūz-Jang (Mīr Muhammad Panāh, d.1165/1752).

Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn combined *khānqāh* life with that of a *madrasa,* and began to direct an integrated teaching programme. The Mawlānā himself lectured on the works of *hadīth* such as the *Sahīh* of Bukhārī and Muslim and the *Sufar al-Sa'āda.*[85] His senior disciples lectured on other disciplines, including philosophy. Every existing discipline was subordinated to *sūfism* however, and to the spiritual and moral regeneration of his students and followers.[86] Like other Chishtīs, the Mawlānā was a staunch believer in the *Wahdat al-Wujūd.* He stated in a letter that if a *faqir* did not believe in the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* he did not deserve to be known as either *pīr* or *faqīr.* Nevertheless to him adherence to the *Shari'a* was imperative for all seekers of the *Tariqa.* Disputes about *hama ūst*[87] and *hama az ūst*[88] were meaningless in his opinion, as nothing besides God existed. According to the Mawlānā God is without beginning or end, He has no separate external or internal aspects and is all-pervading.[89]

Despite the puritanism of the Afghāns, who at that time dominated the scene in Delhi, the Mawlānā courageously continued to indulge in *samā'.* Ten Afghān fanatics vowed to assassinate him but the Mawlānā refused to take any precautions against an attack. The *'urs* of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki provided the would-be assassins with an opportunity. When the music and dancing were at their height, they began to cause a disturbance by shouting and jeering, crying 'See how the disciples of this sinful innovator (*bidati*) dance'. One of the Mawlānā's followers attempted to quieten them, but his *pīr* stopped him doing this. According to the *manāqib-i Fakhriyya*[90] at the miraculous glance of the Mawlānā they swooned; however, it is more likely that the Mawlānā's courage prompted them to relent. On another occasion another Afghān assassin entered the Mawlānā's *khānqāh* in order to kill him. Although the assassin was captured, the Mawlānā lay on the ground and asked the assassin to do whatever he wished. The Afghān left the *khānqāh* and returned with two companions. They were so warmly received by the Mawlānā that all contritely apologized.[91]

85 *Sufar al-sa'āda* by Majd al-Dīn Muhammad bin Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1414) deals with traditions relating to the religious practices of the Prophet Muhammad such as *wudū'* (ablution), *namāz* (prayer), *siyām* (fasting), pilgrimage and the like.

86 Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Husayn Fakhrī, *Fakhr al-tālibīn,* Delhi, 1312/1894-95, p.

87 'All is He' (*Hama ūst*) is the basic philosophy of the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd.*

88 'All is from Him' (*Hama az ūst*) is the main philosophy of the followers of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd.*

89 *Manāqib al-mahbūbīn,* p. 52, *Fakhr al-tālibīn,* p. 39.

90 *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya,* f. 18a.

91 Ibid., f. 29a.

A kind host to any visitor, Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din was also thoughtful to all his acquaintances. Once his sweeper, Pir Muhammad, was absent from his work for two days owing to sickness. The Mawlānā called on him, apologizing for not having come earlier and appointed a physician for his treatment.[92]

Preferring to remain inconspicuous, Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din always travelled without his disciples. In conversations and sermons he remained deferential and gentle. The Emperor Shāh 'Ālam and many of the women[93] of his harem and members of his nobility helped to swell the number of the Mawlānā's disciples, but, true to Chishti tradition, he would not accept a village offered by the Emperor for himself and his *khānqāh*. He even went to the extent of saying that if they all wished him to remain in Delhi no such offer should ever be made again.[94] The Emperor was a frequent visitor to the *khānqāh*. On one occasion when the Mawlānā felt compelled to return his calls and eat at the palace, he immediately compensated for the lapse by calling on a group of dervishes and taking food with them.[95] None of his wealthy devotees were permitted to send the Mawlānā food regularly.[96]

The reaction of Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din to the depredations and pillaging of the Marāthas and Jāts, and to the Durrāni's invasions is unknown. However, his routine of prayer, meditation and visits to *sūfi* tombs remained uninterrupted. An anecdote in the *Fakhr al-tālibin* tends to show that he did not spare himself in helping the people. In the course of the Durrāni's pillage and devastation of Delhi, a Sayyid woman was imprisoned by one of his Afghāns. The Mawlānā urged him to liberate the woman on the grounds that all Muslims were duty-bound to respect the Sayyids. Finding the Afghān adamant, the Mawlānā finally brought his own wife and, handing her over to him, said that he was not worried if his own wife was destroyed, if it meant saving a Sayyid woman. This moved the Afghān so deeply that he released his prisoner immediately.[97]

Although 'Imād al-Mulk (Ghāzi al-Din Khān) was a regular visitor to the Mawlānā's *khānqāh*, the Mawlānā did not take any interest in his political activities. However, the Sikh depredations of the regions around Delhi concerned him deeply. He proffered the following advice to help solve the current political crisis:

92 *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya*, f. 29b.
93 *Fakhr al-tālibīn*, p. 78.
94 (Sir) Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *Tadhkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, Karāchī 1955, p. 24; *Fakhr al-tālibīn*, p. 79.
95 *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya*, f. 16a.
96 Ibid., f. 19b.
97 *Fakhr al-tālibīn*, p. 9.

'Unless the Sultān (Emperor) personally pays attention to military affairs (conquests) and the administration and himself takes to hard labour, there is no hope of improvement. If the Sultān appoints an *amir* (deputy) his sole administrator, the other *amirs* get angry and do not support him. The Sultān himself becomes involved in intrigues and his prestige is reduced. The imperial army remains loyal to the *amir* under whom it serves and its relation with the Sultān is therefore severed. The *amir* also becomes vain in his newly found power and becomes obsessed with his own importance. Sometimes he even initiates a rebellion, a time-honoured political occurrence. The most important thing, therefore, is that the Emperor should himself work prodigiously and personally lead military campaigns.

Secondly, Muslim *amirs* of the Emperor should neither sin nor intrigue against each other. Any attack on a Muslim undermines Islām as a whole. Wretched *kāfirs* have occupied large tracts of India, especially some Sikh tribes who are not even submissive to Islām [Muslim rule] and have most successfully corroded Islāmic power. They have given up issuing coins and reciting the *khutba* in the Emperor's name. It is imperative that the Emperor conciliate all the *amirs* and personally lead his army which would be beneficial both to Islām and to the current Indian situation'.[98]

The fanaticism of the Sunni Afghāns and the Shi'is did not unduly concern the Mawlānā. He enrolled Shi'is as disciples and attended many of their functions which the orthodox often attempted to suppress. The Mawlānā visited the Shi'i *Imāmbāras* and, bestowing gifts on them, also arranged for the distribution of sweetened water along the road where such processions as *ta'ziyyas* passed by. He argued that by initiating Shi'is as disciples he prevented them from reviling the first three Caliphs of the Prophet Muhammad.[99] It has been said that through the influence of the Mawlānā a number of Shi'is were converted to Sunnism.

This was a marked departure from Shāh Kalim-Allāh's approach to Shi'is. Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din also differed from him in that he advised his disciples to obtain initiation into only one *tariqa* and not to become involved in several disciplines.[100] He strongly discouraged his disciples from using their mystical power for worldly gain[101] and reminded them constantly that *sūfis* had no right to interfere with the Divine will and that *sūfism* did not endow them with supernatural powers.

98 *Takmila-i siyar al-awliyā'*, pp. 116-17.
99 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, p. 97.
100 *Fakhr al-tālibīn*, pp. 13-14.
101 Ibid., p. 56.

The Mawlānā was deeply concerned with the average Muslim's lack of education in Islamic doctrines. He thought that the recitation of *khutba* in Arabic served no purpose, as Indian Muslims could not understand the language and that, therefore, it should be recited in Hindi.[102]

The Mawlānā's attitude towards Hindūs was similar to that of Shāh Kalim-Allāh. They should be taught *dhikr*, he believed, and their conversion to Islām should not be a violent one. It is said that the Mawlānā's teachings prompted some Hindūs to embrace Islām.[103] If this is so, however, their conversions remained secret. According to a *sūfi* source the conversion of a Hindū woman to Islām provoked a riot in Delhi, although the furore was short-lived.[104]

What the Mawlānā termed the extreme puritanism, of those visitors returning from Arabia, was already very much in evidence before his death. One such visitor was Maulawi Muhammad Fākhir who, upon his return from Arabia, showed strong opposition to the lighting of lamps at tombs. The Mawlānā asserted, however, that tombs in both Mecca and Medina were profusely illuminated. Wherever the Maulawi found a tomb constructed above the ground belonging to someone whose descendants were no longer alive, he had it levelled to the ground.[105]

The relations between Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din, Shāh Wali-Allāh and Shah 'Abd al-'Azīz were warm. Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din would visit Shāh Wali-Allāh's seminary, where the latter would allow him to hold *samā'* in the *madrasa* and the attached mosque. However, musical instruments were not permitted and when Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din wished to hold *samā'* accompanied by music, Shāh Wali-Allāh made arrangements for this to be done in the nearby house of a relative.[106]

As mentioned earlier, Shāh Wali-Allāh claimed in both the *Qawl al-jamil* and the *Intibāh fi salāsil Awliyā' Allāh* that the initiation of Hasan al-Basri by 'Ali ibn Abi Tālib, as asserted by the Chishtis, was historically untenable.[107] Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din took strong exception to the statement. Basing his counter-argument on evidence gleaned from some fifteen works of *hadith* he argued that the Chishti belief in the *bay'a* (initiation) of Hasan al-Basri through 'Ali was quite legitimate, and that Shāh Wali-Allāh's own teacher of *hadith*, Shaykh Ibrāhim Korāni Kurdi, had also affirmed associations between Hasan Basri and 'Ali.[108] The Chishtiyyas were naturally greatly impressed with the work and at the suggestion of

102 *Fakhr al-tālibīn*, p. 33.
103 Ibid., p. 34.
104 *Shajrat al-anwār*, quoted in the *Tārīkh-i Mashā'ikh-i Chisht*, p. 512. For some earlier notes on conversion see supra, p. 285.
105 *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya*, f. 32a.
106 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 55-56.
107 Supra, p. 272.
108 *Tarjama-i Fakhr al-Hasan*, India office, Delhi Persian Ms., ff. 2b, 6b, 21b-22a.

the author of the *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya,* the Mawlānā gave it the title *Fakhr al-Hasan.*[109] Kalīm al-Dīn Sibghat-Allāh, a disciple of the Mawlānā, translated the work from Arabic into Persian.

Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn also wrote two other treatises. One, the *Nizām al-'aqā'id,* was written at the request of some friends at Pāk Pattan. It gives a brief account of the Hanafī beliefs. Another treatise, the *Risāla-i Murjiyya* seeks to defend Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī's statement that the Hanafiyya belonged to the Murjiyya,[110] who believed that the judgment of every true believer who had been guilty of a grievous sin would be deferred until the Resurrection. A large number of Hanafīs believed that the sentence referring to this in the *Ghunyat al-tālibin* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir was an interpolation, but Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn managed to prove that the statement was indeed made by the Shaykh. The Mawlānā's main argument was that the Murjiyya held an exaggerated notion of Divine mercy which led them to believe that even disobedience would be forgiven. As the Hanafiyyas also laid great emphasis on Divine mercy, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir was led to include them along the Murjiyya sect.

It was not, however, the writings of the Mawlānā that made him the most beloved and respected *sūfi* in Delhi at that time, but the charisma of his personality, and his affectionate nature. He himself said that his image varied according to different people. Some considered him an *'ālim*, others thought him to be a *sūfī*, while still others considered him an expert in alchemy that enabled people to turn copper into sterling gold. He thought that some were influenced by his humble behaviour and some reckoned him a soothsayer. The Mawlānā never disappointed anyone and tried to satisfy all.[111]

Although he had married while in the Deccan and fathered a son called Ghulām Qutb al-Dīn, when the Mawlānā migrated to Delhi[112] the child was left in the care of his sister. Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn then adopted a life of celibacy, caring for his friends as if they were his family. The Mawlānā died on 27 Jumāda II 1199/7 May 1785 and was buried near the tomb of the great Chishti, Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki. Although he was succeeded by his son, a galaxy of other disciples, *sūfis*, scholars and poets all helped to spread the Chishtiyya branch of the *sūfi* movement throughout different parts of northern India.

109 *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya,* f. 57b.

110 The Murjiyyas were the extreme opponents of the Khārijites [the early supporters of 'Alī but who in 37/657 broke away from their leader and became the arch enemies of 'Alī and his descendants; the sect, however, did not receive much popularity]. The Khārijites believed that Muslims by committing a grievous sin became *kāfirs.* The Murjites, however, did not believe this.

111 *Fakhr al-tālibīn,* p. 7.

112 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz,* p. 118.

## Chapter Ten

# *Eighteenth Century Teaching Methods And Syllabus*

The Muslim educational system evolved under the auspices of the great Saljūq *wazīr* Nizām al-Mulk Tūsi (c. 1018-1092) was designed to train Sunni *'ulamā'* to fill judicial and other civil posts in the administration of the sultāns, and to fight against the Ismā'ili challenges to Sunni orthodoxy. The *sūfis* found that the *'ulamā'* were generally incapable of inspiring piety and spiritual discipline. The *'ulamā'* in their turn disdained *sūfism*, whilst metaphysics was positively taboo to them. The Indian *'ulamā'* following the Saljūq traditions remained hostile to the Shi'is and despised the Hindū accountants, clerks and *diwāns*, but themselves failed to develop any competence in such professions. As pointed out by a thirteenth century *sūfi*, the *'ulamā'* could only work as teachers, *qādis* or *sadrs*.[1]

Akbar, who himself never learnt to read or write, nevertheless evinced considerable interest in memorizing *sūfi* poetry and learning the art of painting. His disappointment with the time-consuming process of learning vowels and consonants is also reflected in the introductory remarks in the *Ā'in-i Akbari* on regulations regarding education. The *Ā'in-i Akbari* suggests a simpler way of teaching the alphabet and urges teachers to concentrate only on the knowledge of letters, the meaning of words, couplets, verses and on the repetition of former lessons. The proposed syllabus was also to cover ethics, arithmetic, accountancy, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household economics, politics, medicine, logic, natural and exact sciences, theology and history. All these subjects were to be learnt gradually.[2] The curriculum was not designed to ignore theology but was broadly based to widen the mental horizons and outlook of the students. Possibly the syllabus was suggested by Mir Fath-Allāh Shirāzi (d. 997/1589) who himself was expert in all sciences dependent upon the reasoning faculty (*ma'qūl*) such as philosophy, astronomy, geo-

1 Amīr Hasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād,* Bulandshahr 1272/1855-56, pp. 249-50.

2 *Ā'īn-i Akbarī,* I, p. 139.

metry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic, the preparation of talismans, and mechanics. He also had a thorough knowledge of Arabic, *hadīth* and *tafsīr*[3] (Qur'ānic exegesis). Not content with theorizing, Mīr Fath-Allāh himself practically taught the seven or eight-year old children of the nobility, or even younger children, beginning with elementary lessons in the alphabet. To Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī this was an insult to one's intelligence,[4] but to Mīr Fath-Allāh it was a necessary part of the pedagogical method. Among his senior disciples the most famous was 'Abd al-Salām Lāhorī.[5] However, Mīr Fath-Allāh's death stopped experiments in the new methods of teaching and curricula, and different branches of scientific, metaphysical and theological sciences remained specialized subjects taught only to the élite.

It is possible that the following comments, attributed to Awrangzīb condemning both his education and his teacher, may not be true, and may have been the reaction of Bernier himself and that of his Āgah to the Muslim educational system. However, what Bernier has said cannot be regarded as an incorrect assessment of the current system of education. He says, "He (Awrangzīb) then spoke in nearly the following words. I say nearly, because it is impossible to transcribe so long a discourse precisely in the terms in which it was delivered. Had I been present myself, instead of my Agah, from whom I received a report of the speech, I could not hope to be verbally correct. There can be no doubt, however, that what *Aureng-zebe* said was substantially as follows :— 'Pray what is your pleasure with me, *Mullah-gy*-(Mullā-jī)—Monsieur the Doctor ?—Do you pretend that I ought to exalt you to the first honours of the State ? Let us then examine your title to any mark of distinction. I do not deny you would possess such a title if you had filled my young mind with suitable instruction. Show me a well-educated youth, and I will say that it is doubtful who has the stronger claim to his gratitude, his father or his tutor. But what was the knowledge I derived under your tuition ? You taught me that the whole of *Franguistan* (Europe) was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful Monarch was formerly the King of *Portugal*, then he of *Holland*, and afterward the King of *England*. In regard to the other sovereigns of *Franguistan*, such as the King of *France* and him of *Andalusia*, you told me they resembled our petty Rajas, and that the potentates of *Hindoustan* eclipsed the glory of all other kings; that they alone were *Humayons*, *Ekbars*, *Jehan-Guyres*, or *Chah-Jehans*; the Happy, the Great, the Conquerors of the World, and the Kings of the World; and that

3 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawarīkh*, III, Calcutta 1869, pp. 154-55.
4 Ibid., II, Calcutta 1865, p. 316.
5 Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī, *Ma'āthir al-kirām*, Lāhore 1971, p. 226. He was known as a great exponent of rational and traditional sciences and was engaged in teaching for sixty years, dying in 1037/1627-28. He wrote comments on the *Tafsīr al-Baydāwī*.

*Persia, Usbec, Kachguer, Tartary,* and *Catay, Pegu, Siam, China* and *Matchine,* trembled at the name of the Kings of the *Indies*. Admirable geographer ! deeply read historian ! Was it not incumbent upon my preceptor to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth; its resources and strength; its mode of warfare, its manners, religion, form of government, and wherein its interests principally consist; and by a regular course of historical reading, to render me familiar with the origin of States, their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions, have been effected ? Far from having imparted to me a profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind, scarcely did I learn from you the names of my ancestors, the renowned founders of this empire. You kept me in total ignorance of their lives, of the events which preceded, and the extraordinary talents that enabled them to achieve their extensive conquests. A familiarity with the languages of surrounding nations may be indispensable in a King; but you would teach me to read and write *Arabic*; doubtless conceiving that you placed me under an everlasting obligation for sacrificing so large a portion of time to the study of a language wherein no one can hope to become proficient without ten or twelve years of close application. Forgetting how many important subjects ought to be embraced in the education of a Prince, you acted as if it were chiefly necessary that he should possess great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a Doctor of law; and thus did you waste the precious hours of my youth in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words ! ... Were you not aware that it is during the period of infancy, when the memory is commonly so retentive, that the mind may receive a thousand wise precepts, and be easily furnished with such valuable instruction as will elevate it with lofty conceptions, and render the individual capable of glorious deeds? Can we repeat our prayers, or acquire a knowledge of law and of the sciences, only through the medium of *Arabic*? May not our devotions be offered up as acceptably, and solid information communicated as easily, in our mother tongue? You gave my father, *Chah-Jehan*, to understand that you instructed me in philosophy; and, indeed, I have a perfect remembrance of your having, during several years, harassed my brain with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which yield no satisfaction to the mind—propositions that seldom enter into the business of life; wild and extravagant reveries conceived with great labour, and forgotten as soon as conceived; whose only effect is to fatigue and ruin the intellect, and to render a man headstrong and insufferable (*their Philosophy abounds with even more absurd and obscure notions than our own.*—Bernier). O yes, you caused me to devote the most valuable years of my life to your favourite hypotheses, or systems, and when I left you, I could boast of no greater attainment in the sciences than the use of

many obscure and uncouth terms, calculated to discourage, confound, and appal a youth of the most masculine understanding (*their Philosophers employ even more gibberish than ours do.*—Bernier): terms invented to cover the vanity and ignorance of pretenders to philosophy; of men who, like yourself, would impose the belief that they transcend others of their species in wisdom, and that their dark and ambiguous jargon conceals many profound mysteries known only to themselves. If you had taught me that philosophy which adapts the mind to reason, and will not suffer it to rest satisfied with anything short of the most solid arguments; if you had inculcated lessons which elevate the soul and fortify it against the assaults of fortune, tending to produce that enviable equanimity which is neither insolently elated by prosperity, nor basely depressed by adversity; if you had made me acquainted with the nature of man; accustomed me always to refer to first principles, and given me a sublime and adequate conception of the universe, and of the order and regular motion of its parts;—if such, I say, had been the nature of the philosophy imbibed under your tuition, I should be more indebted to you than *Alexander* was to *Aristotle*, and should consider it my duty to bestow a very different reward on you than *Aristotle* received from that Prince. Answer me, sycophant, ought you not to have instructed me on one point at least, so essential to be known by a King; namely, on the reciprocal duties between the sovereign and his subjects? Ought you not also to have foreseen that I might, at some future period, be compelled to contend with my brothers, sword in hand, for the crown, and for my very existence? Such, as you must well know, has been the fate of the children of almost every King of *Hindoustan.* Did you ever instruct me in the art of war, how to besiege a town, or draw up an army in battle array? Happy for me that I consulted wiser heads than thine on these subjects ! Go ! withdraw to thy village. Henceforth let no person know either who thou art, or what is become of thee."[6]

Shāh Walī-Allāh had trained experts in different aspects of theological knowledge who in turn were expected to teach other students of his seminary. He has also left us detailed rules for the teaching methods of *kalām* which he calls *dānishmandi* (the acquiring of wisdom or scholarship). To him the *dānishmandi* was the sort of scholarship which he had acquired from his own father, who in turn had acquired the same from Mirzā Muhammad Zāhid al-Harawi bin Qādi Muhammad Aslam Harawi[7] at the school of Jalāl al-Dīn Dawāni.[8] It included *kalām* and its branches and curiously enough excluded the *hikma* tradition of Mullā Sadra. A *dānishmand* was expected to achieve the following aims of education:

6 *Travels in the Mogul empire,* pp. 155-61.
7 Supra, p. 66, 207-8
8 *Risāla-i dānishmandī,* Lucknow, 1873, p. 2.

1. He should thoroughly research books which he studies.
2. He should teach those books and explain the truths contained therein to his students.
3. He should write commentaries or glosses on them.

The study of a book on *dānishmandī* (*kalām*), wrote the Shāh, was a complex affair and involved considerable efforts. After acquiring adequate knowledge of the etymological parts of grammar (*sarf*), syntax (*nahw*) and vocabulary (*lughāt*), the books on *dānishmandi* should be studied with their commentaries. It was the duty of the teacher, said the Shāh, to explain to his pupil the preliminary rules and then give deep explanations of all the subtle points raised in the commentaries. The books should not be taught cursorily. When general rules of grammar were learnt, its subsidiary and minor rules and the art of composition writing could easily be acquired.

Shāh Walī-Allāh urged that it was wrong to mix up the teaching of Arabic with the rules of *dānishmandi*, as his contemporary scholars did. This, according to him, was unscientific. The best and most scientific method was to acquire a deep perception of each branch of knowledge with its rules separately. To this end he laid down fifteen rules for the guidance of teachers—

1. All the ambiguities regarding nouns and verbs in phrases should be cleared first. Similarly, the words with diacritical or non-diacritical points should also be properly understood in order to avoid errors.
2. The literal and technical meanings of all uncommon words should be explained to the pupils.
3. Obscure and abstruse verbal inflections and constructions in sentences should be explained according to the rules of *sarf* and *nahw*.
4. All complex ideas which are not easily intelligible should be explained in a simple language with examples.
5. Should there be several arguments on different theories in a book, the teacher should give introductory lectures explaining the background of the theories. All conclusions should be explained with the help of self-evident axioms in order to remove doubts and confusion from the mind of the pupils.
6. All the (examples of) exceptions in the general rules of definitions should be carefully explained.
7. Then comprehensive rules regarding exceptions with suitable examples should be explained.
8. The limitations of the exceptions to the rules should also be explained. The reasons of precedence (of certain ideas) in the definitions should also be discussed.

9. Should there be any obscurity or contradiction in two statements, the obscurity should be removed and the nature of the contradiction should be explained.
10. Should there be contradictions in the statements of an author, the circumstances of the contradictions should be discussed, irrespective of the fact that the contradiction was congruous, or one contradiction was included in the other, or expedient.
11. Removal of apparent obscurities should also be made. For example, the inclusion of the particular in the major proposition of a syllogism, which is prohibited, should be pointed out. It should be emphasized that such particularizations were contrary to the rules of debate.
12. All quotations should be clearly marked and all perplexities arising out of the quotations should also be explained.
13. All translations should be made according to the comprehension of the students.
14. Should the teacher differ with the opinion of the commentators of a book, he should state the reasons for his differences, remove the obscurities and offer a reasonable solution.
15. The teacher should explain each proposition in a clear language and should refer to the statements of the authors he was explaining in such a manner that the pupils would not confuse the one with the other. The teachers were required to be exceedingly careful in explaining the commentaries.
    (a) They should clearly warn the pupils regarding the intentions of the commentators.
    (b) The pupils should be told in advance the points to which they were required to pay special attention, so that they might build the framework of their thought on that basis.
    (c) The teacher should direct the studies of the pupil on the basis of his own studies, pointing out the errors of the author in order to save the mind of the pupil from going astray.
    (d) The pupils should be asked to write their own notes and comments on the books taught, and these writings should be examined in order to test the comprehension and competence of the pupils.[9]

Shāh Walī-Allāh further affirmed that the above rules were applicable to all types of teachings, namely, *ma'qūl* (knowledge based on reasoning), *manqūl* (knowledge based on traditions), *burhān* (knowledge based on demonstrative proofs) and *khitābat* (discourses). The Shāh did not claim any originality of his own in spelling out the above rules, but asserted that he

9 *Risāla-i dānishmandī*, pp. 3-8.

had acquired them from his own teachers.[10] This would appear to indicate that this was a current system of teaching in all the advanced seminaries and explains the reasons for the spate of notes, commentaries and glosses on the prescribed texts of advanced learning written by the seventeenth century teachers.

In his *Wasiyat-nāma* Shāh Wali-Allāh also outlined a syllabus for the seminaries of advanced learning. He wrote that all pupils should be taught three or four tracts on the *sarf* and *nahw* according to their respective intelligence. Then they should be taught a text book on history or practical politics (*hikmat-i 'amli*) in Arabic. This was intended to train the pupils to consult dictionaries and to resolve independently the difficult portions in the text. As soon as a pupil had acquired proficiency in Arabic he should be taught the *Muwatta* and its commentary by Yahya bin Yahya Masmūdi. This should in no case be interrupted for it contained the essence of *hadith* and its study was full of blessings.[11] Shāh Wali-Allāh added that he himself had uninterruptedly devoted himself to the listening of its recitation.

Later on, the translation of the Qur'ān should be taught and not the commentary. The difficulties of grammar and syntax or the circumstances that occasioned the revelation of different verses should not be discussed during the course of the lesson on translation but should be taken up later. After completely learning the translation, lessons on the *Tafsir Jalālayn* should be started, for that method was also endowed with blessings. Then the following time-table should be adhered to. Different periods should be allotted to the study of the *Sahih* of Bukhāri, the *Sahih* of Muslim and other books of *hadith*, to the books of *fiqh*, beliefs and *sūfism*. A period should be assigned for the study of the books of *dānishmandi* such as *Sharh Mullā* (*al-Fawā'id al-diyā'yya* by Nūr al-Din 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmi), the *Qutbi* (*Tahir al-Qawā'id al-mantiqiyya fi sharh al-risāla al-shamsiyya*) by Qutb al-Din Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Rāzi (d. 766/1364), and other similar works. If possible the pupils should study a portion of the *Mishkāt al-masābih* and its commentary by Tayyibi on alternate days. This was also very beneficial, said the Shāh.[12]

Shāh Wali-Allāh considered fortunate only those people who studied Arabic *sarf wa nahw*, Arabic literary works, the *hadith* and the Qur'ān. To him the study of Persian and Hindi works of poetry, speculative rationalism (*ma'qūl*), histories of kings and countries and the works containing an account of the disputes of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad were nothing but perversion and aberration. Should their study be unavoidable due to worldly reasons, only the absolute minimum that was indispensable

10 *Risāla-i dānishmandī*, p. 8.
11 Supra, pp. 242-43
12 *Wasiyat-nāma*, Lucknow 1873, pp. 6-7.

should be learnt, the reader continuously expressing regrets and seeking pardon from God for indulging in an unholy activity.[13]

However, the 'worldly needs' were not as narrow as Shāh Wali-Allāh would have wished, and naturally the students sought to follow the most comprehensive syllabus available, which was to be found at Firangi Mahal, Lucknow. The syllabus is known as the *dars-i Nizāmi* after the name of its founder, Mullā Nizām al-Dīn Muhammad Sihālwī, but it seems to have already been followed by Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's father, Mullā Qutb al-Dīn Sihālwī, whose cold-blooded murder in 1103/1692 has already been mentioned.[14]

Mullā Qutb al-Dīn, an Ansāri Shaykhzāda, had received his education from his father, Mullā 'Abd al-Halīm, and from Mullā Dāniyāl Chawrāsi. Both had themselves studied under Mullā 'Abd al-Salām of Dewā, (Bārābankī). Mullā 'Abd al-Salām was a student of Mullā 'Abd al-Salām Lāhorī, who in turn was a student of Mir Fath-Allāh Shirāzī.[15] Thus Mullā Qutb al-Dīn Sihālwi was imbued with the philosophical and *kalām* traditions of Mir Fath-Allāh Shirāzī, Mullā Muhammad Jān, Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī, Mir Sayyid Sharīf Jūrjānī and Qutb al-Dīn Rāzī. Among the disciples of Mullā Qutb al-Dīn, most prominent was Maulawi Sayyid Qutb al-Dīn who originally belonged to Amethi but later settled at Shamsābād near Qannauj and came to be known as Shamsābādi. A large number of scholars studied under the Sayyid who died at the age of seventy in 1121/1709-10.[16] Another leading scholar of the seventeenth century, Hāfiz Amān-Allāh bin Nūr-Allāh of Banāras (d. 1133/1720-21) was also Mullā Qutb al-Dīn's disciple. The Hāfiz was an expert on *fiqh* and wrote a famous book on the subject entitled the *Muhkam al-Usūl*. He also wrote explanatory notes on the famous Qur'ānic exegesis by Baydāwī and on the works of Sayyid Sharīf Jūrjānī and Dawānī. He was also the author of the treatises on the views of Mullā Mahmūd and Mir Bāqir Dāmād relating to *hudūth dahrī* (eternity). Awrangzib appointed him the *sadr* of Lucknow[17] and Qādi Muhib-Allāh Bihāri (d. 1119/1707-8), another leading student of Mullā Qutb al-Dīn, as the *Qādi* of Lucknow. *Qādi* Muhib-Allāh who was also a student of Maulawi Sayyid Qutb al-Dīn Shamsābādi wrote a book on logic entitled *Sallam al-'ulūm*, another on the principle of *fiqh* entitled *Musallam al-thubūt* and a philosophical treatise entitled the *Risāla al-Jawhar*.[18] Other disciples of Mullā Qutb al-Dīn's were also authors of

13 *Wasīyat-nāma*, p. 7.
14 Supra, pp. 56-57
15 'Ināyat-Allāh Firangī Mahalī, *Tadhkira-i 'ulamā' i-Firangī Mahal*, Lucknow 1349/1930, p. 11.
16 *Ma'āthir al-kirām*, p. 200.
17 Ibid., pp. 202-3.
18 Ibid., pp. 200-201.

exegeses, commentaries and explanatory notes on the higher textbooks relating to the principles of *fiqh*, and metaphysical treatises. Mullā Qutb al-Dīn himself wrote commentaries and explanatory notes on works such as the *Hāshiyā'-i Talwih, Sharh 'Aqā'id Nasafiyya, Tafri'āt Baydāwi* and *Hāshiyā'-i mutawwal*. He is also said to have written a treatise on the *Dār al-harb*[19] but all of his works were plundered when the *zamīndārs* invaded his home.

Mullā Qutb al-Dīn had four sons, the eldest being Mullā As'ad, who had joined Awrangzīb's army and was serving in the Deccan at the time of his father's murder. Mullā As'ad's wife and son, Ghulām Muhammad Mustafā, lived at Lucknow with Mullā Qutb al-Dīn. The latter's second son, Mullā Muhammad Sa'id, took the *mahdar* stating the circumstances of his father's death with signatures and seals of seventy-five *maulawis* and dignitaries of Sihālī and the neighbourhood to Awrangzīb, who had already been informed of the high-handedness of the *zamindārs*. At Mullā Muhammad Sa'id's request, Awrangzīb ordered the *Karori* of Lucknow to allot a suitable house as the residence of Mullā Qutb al-Dīn's family. Mullā Muhammad Sa'id chose a big house of the Dutch factors in Lucknow which had been vacated by its previous owners and had come into the government's ownership. The earlier Dutch ownership had led to the house being known as 'Firangi Mahal' (the house of the Franks). Mullā Muhammad Sa'id transferred his two younger brothers, Mullā Nizām al-Dīn and Mullā Muhammad Ridā and the rest of the family to Firangi Mahal and revisited Awrangzīb to obtain a *farmān* from him.[20] The imperial *farmān* dated 1 Dhu'lqa'da (4 July 1693), 37th regnal year (1104-5) transferred the ownership of Firangi Mahal from the government to the two elder sons of Mullā Qutb al-Dīn.[21] Shortly after his return to Lucknow, Mullā Muhammad Sa'id again left for the Deccan and both he and his elder brother Mullā As'ad died there. The responsibility for the maintenance of the family now fell to Mullā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad who at the time of his father's death was only fourteen years old.

Mullā Nizām al-Dīn had completed his early education under his father but in order to obtain perfection he studied under the *'ulamā'* at Dewā (Bārābanki), Ja'is (Rāebareli), Banāras and lastly at Lucknow under Shaykh Ghulām Naqshband (d. 30 Rajab 1126/11 August 1714),[22] the

19 *Mahdar* presented to Awrangzīb in *Bānī-i Dars-i Nizāmī*, pp. 30, 46-48.

20 Ibid., pp. 49-50.

21 Ibid., p. 67.

22 The ancestors of Shaykh Ghulām Naqshband belonged to Ghosī in A'zamgarh district of eastern U.P. When he was twenty years old he migrated to Lucknow and became the disciple of Shaykh Pīr Muhammad (d. 1085/1674-75) who lies buried on a mound at the bank of the river Gomtī. After Shaykh Pīr Muhammad's death his senior-most disciple, Mīr Muhammad Shafī' Shāhjahānābādī made Shaykh Ghulām Naqshband his teacher's successor. Shaykh Ghulām Naqshband led the life of a recluse and refused the invitation of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh to visit him. *Ma'āthir al-kirām*, pp. 203-206.

author of exegeses on several chapters of the Qur'ān and a treatise on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. Mullā Qutb al-Dīn had also obtained initiation into the Chishtiyya order from Qādī Sadr al-Dīn (Qādī Ghāsī) of Allahabad, a disciple of the famous Shāh Muhib-Allāh (d. 1058/1648) of Allahabad.[23] However, Mullā Nizām al-Dīn chose to obtain initiation into the Qādiriyya order under Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq Bānsawī (d. 1136/1724), a *sūfī* of a deeply humanitarian outlook.

Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's devotion to higher studies seems to have reduced the family to penury and on 29 Muharram (7 August 1698), 42nd regnal year (1109-1110), Awrangzīb granted a daily stipend of one rupee to the family. However, shortly afterwards the Mullā seems to have started teaching and Awrangzib was moved to grant 112 *bīghas* of cultivable land from the *pargana* Dewā (*sarkār* Lucknow) as *madad-i ma'āsh* to Nizām al-Dīn and the other members of the family. By 1709 the expenses of the Firangī Mahal seem to have greatly increased because of the large number of students attending the seminary there. Visitors were also numerous. To meet the situation, Bahādur Shāh increased the grant to rupees two per day for the seminary; in Farrukhsiyar's reign the amount continued to be paid. Burhān al-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān and Safdar-Jang do not seem to have stopped Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's stipends. The documents in possession of his descendants show that all disputes of property in Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's lifetime were decided in his favour and his *madad-i ma'āsh* grant had considerably increased, and was protected from the unauthorized encroachments of the *zamindārs*.[24]

Along with teaching Mullā Nizām al-Dīn used to write replies (*fatwa*) to different questions of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Mullā Mufti Muhammad Ya'qūb, a grandson of Mullā Nizām al-Dīn, was the *mufti* at the court of Nawal Rāy. The writing of replies to the *fatwas* brought Firangī Mahal increasingly into contact with a wide cross-section of Muslim society. On 9 Jumāda I 1161/7 May 1748, Mullā Nizām al-Dīn died and was buried about a mile away from his Firangī Mahal residence and seminary in Lucknow.[25]

The factors that made the syllabus taught by Mullā Nizām al-Dīn the final word in the educational method were several. Firstly, the Mullā was able to teach the syllabus himself continuously for over forty years, training his own relations as well as other students. Consecutive generations of those who studied under this syllabus went to serve as teachers all over India for at least two centuries. Secondly, the syllabus included such outstanding works on different branches of theology, logic and metaphysics

23 *Muslim revivalist movements in Northern India*, pp. 334-38.
24 *Bānī-i Dars-i Nizāmī*, pp. 170-98.
25 Ibid., pp. 203-7.

as the *'ulamā'* found indispensable in their career as teachers and civil servants of the Muslim government. Thirdly, the syllabus represented the scholarly traditions of Mullā Qutb al-Dīn Rāzī, Jūrjānī, Dāwānī and Fath-Allāh Shirāzī, who were undisputed authorities in learning and sciences from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries onwards. Next, even the non-Sunnis found many branches of the curriculum useful for sharpening their intellectual activity. The syllabus also considerably shortened the duration of studies. An intelligent student could master it by the age of twenty and thus embark upon a useful career instead of indefinitely remaining dependent upon his teacher's stipends and *madad-i ma'āsh*. The syllabus was buttressed by Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's own commentaries on some very difficult texts. Before discussing the syllabus and the criticisms of it we give below a list of the works written by the Mullā himself.

**Principles of fiqh**

1. A commentary on the *Musallam al-thubūt* by Mullā Muhib-Allāh Bihārī.
2. *Subh al-Sādiq* a commentary on the *Kitāb al-manār fi usūl al-fiqh* by Hāfiz al-Dīn Abu'l Barakāt 'Abd-Allāh bin Ahmad Nasafī, (d. 710/1310). Nasafi had himself written a commentary on the *Kitāb al-manār* entitled the *Kashf al-asrār*. A more modern commentary on the work was written by Shaykh Ahmad, known as Mullā Jiwan of Amethi (d. 1130/1718).

**Kalām** (dialectics and scholastics)

Annotation on Jalāl al-Dīn Dāwānī's commentary *'Aqā'id-i Jalāli*. The author of the original *'Aqā'id* was 'Adud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Īji (d. 756/1355).

A commentary on the *Risāla Mubāriziyya fi'l 'aqā'id Islāmiyya*.

**Metaphysics**

(1) A commentary on Mullā Sadra's *Hidāyat al-hikma* which itself is a commentary on the *Hidāyat al-hikma* of Athīr al-Dīn Mufaddal bin 'Umar's work of the same title, divided into (1) logic, (2) physics and (3) theology.

2) A commentary on the *Shams al-bāzigha* by Mullā Mahmūd Jawnpūri.

Mullā Nizām al-Dīn also wrote an account of the teaching methods and the anecdote of his spiritual guide, Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq of Bānsa, entitled the *Manāqib al-Razzāqiya*.

The early syllabus known as the *Dars-i Nizāmi* comprises the above works; other subjects and works included in it are as follows :

**Mantiq** (logic)

*Sughra* and *Kubra* by Sayyid al-Sharīf Jūrjānī.

*al-Īsāghūji*, an adaption of *Isagoge* of Furfūriyūs (Porphyry 234-305) by Imām Athir al-Dīn Mufaddal bin 'Umar al-Abharī (d. 663/1264).

*Tahdhīb* and *Sharh Tahdhīb*. The commentary on Mas'ūd ibn 'Umar (Sa'd al-Dīn) Taftāzānī's *Tahdhīb* (born 722/1322, died 791/1389) written by Najm al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh bin Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qutbī Yazdī, a Shī'ī author (d. 1015/1606), or *Tahrīr al-Qawā'id al-mantiqiya* by Qutb al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad bin al-Rāzī (d. 766/1364).

*Sullam al-'ulūm* by Muhib-Allāh bin 'Abd al-Shakūr of Bihār.

**Hikmat** (metaphysics)

*Maybudhī*. Husayn bin Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Maybudhī's commentary on *Sharh hidāyat al-hikmat*. Maybudhī died in 908/1502.

*Sadra*. Sadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī's *Sharh hidāyat al-hikma*.

*Shams al-bāzigha* by Mullā Mahmūd Jawnpūrī.

**Riyādī** (mathematics)

*Khulāsat al-hisāb* by Bahā' al-Dīn Muhammad b. Husayn al-'Āmilī (d. 1031/1622).

*Tahrīr Uqlidis*, Arabic recension of *Elements of Euclid* by Nasīr al-Dīn Muhammad al-Tūsī, completed in 646/1248.

*Tashrih al-aflāk*, by 'Āmilī, on astronomy.

*Risāla-i Qūshjī*. A Persian treatise on arithmetic by 'Alī al-Dīn 'Alī bin Muhammad al-Qūshjī (d. 879/1474).

*Sharh-i Chaghmini*. A Persian translation of an Arabic work on astronomy, completed by Mahmūd bin Muhammad bin 'Umar Chaghmini in 618/1221. The translation was made by Husayn Khwārazmi and dedicated to Sultān Ulugh Beg (850-853/1447-1449).

**Balāghat** (rhetoric)

*Mukhtasar Ma'āni*, by Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzāni. This is a commentary on *Talkhis al-miftāh*, an abridgment of *Miftāh al-'ulūm* by al-Khatib Jalāl al-Dīn Abu'l Ma'āli Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Rahmān bin 'Umar al-Qazwini (666/1267-739/1338 . The original *Miftāh al-'ulūm* dealing with grammar, rhetoric and prosody was written by Sirāj al-Dīn Yūsuf bin Abi Bakr bin Muhammad al-Khwārazmi (555/1160-626/1228).

*Mutawwal* by Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzāni. It is a gloss on *al-Mutawwal* by Sayyid Sharif Jūrjāni.

*Sharh-i wiqāya* by 'Allāma Zayn al-Dīn Junayd bin al-Shaykh al-Sandal al-Hanafī (first two parts). A commentary on *Wiqāyat al-riwāyat fi masā'il'il-hidāyat*, by Burhān al-Shari'at Mahmūd bin Sadr al-Shari'at 'Ubayd-Allāh (c. 680/1281).

*Al-Hidāya fi sharh al-bidāya* by Burhān al-Dīn 'Ali bin Abi Bakr al-Marghināni (d. 593/1197) of Farghāna.

**Principles of Fiqh**

*Nūr al-anwār*, a commentary on the *Minār al-anwār* by Awrangzīb's teacher, Ahmad bin Abi Sa'id bin 'Abd al-Razzāq Lakhnawi, popularly known as Mullā Jiwan (d. 1130/1718).

**Kalām** (dialectics)

*Sharh al-'aqā'id al-Nasafiyya*, by Sa'd al-Din Mas'ūd bin 'Umar al-Taftāzāni. Najm al-Din Abū Hafs 'Umar bin Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Nasafi (d. 537/1142), the author of the *'Aqā'id* was a famous Sunni scholar.

*Sharh-i 'aqā'id-i Jalāli.*

*Sharh al-mawāqif* by 'Ali bin Muhammad, known as al-Sharif al-Jurjāni. The original *Mawāqif* was written by Qādi Adud.

*Al-hāshiya 'alā' al-umūr al-'āmma*, a commentary on the *Mawāqif* by Mirzā Zāhid Harawi.

*Tafsir* ('commentary')

*Anwār al-Tanzil wa asrār al-ta'wil* by Qādi Nasir al-Din Abū Sa'id 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Umar al-Baydāwi al-Shāfi'i.

*Tafsir al-Jalālayn.* A commentary on the Qur'ān written by Jalāl al-Din Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Ansāri al-Mahalli al-Shāfi'i (791/1389-864/1459) and his discipie, Jalāl al-Din 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Abi Bakr al-Suyūti (d. 911/1505).

**Hadīth**

*Mishkāt al-masābih.*

The works from the syllabus taught in the *Dars-i Nizāmi* tend to show that it was designed to train the *'ulamā'* to discharge their duties competently in the judiciary and in other branches of civil administration. It offered them opportunities to develop their skill in mathematics and to qualify themselves for the post of *diwān*, although Muslims did not generally specialize in *siyāq* (accountancy). However, their study of advanced works in logic, metaphysics and *kalām* sharpened their rational faculty and prevented them from being taken in by obscurantism and dogmatism.

For more than a hundred years no change was made in the *Dars-i Nizāmi*, and late nineteenth century Deoband reforms were, after Shāh Wali-Allāh, aimed at increasing the emphasis on *hadith* at the cost of metaphysics and mathematics. Some other reformers of the twentieth century were, and are, interested in incorporating modern mathematics, history and geography, but little success has been met with and the original syllabus of the *Dars-i Nizāmi* is still followed in the traditional Arabic seminaries.

A very interesting evaluation of the *Dars-i Nizāmi* has been made by Shāh

Sulaymān, a *sūfi* dignitary of Phulwārī Sharif. He did not consider Mullā Nizām al-Dīn as the founder of the syllabus and asserted that the Mullā did not teach the books included in it. Furthermore, he claimed that a majority of those books still had not been written in the Mullā's time. The growth of the *Dars-i Nizāmī* was spontaneous, he said, because of the interest of both teachers and students in the above works. However, it was not incorrect, the Shāh asserted, to call Mīr Fath-Allāh Shīrāzī its originator. Had Mullā Nizām al-Dīn designed the above syllabus, the Shāh said, he would certainly have included some works on *sūfism* or ethics in the syllabus. Instead, he said, scholars trained under the *Dars-i Nizāmī* system were ignorant of these two subjects. In the past, associations with *sūfis* or dervishes tended to inculcate in the '*ulamā*' some taste for *sūfism* and ethics. However, deeply lamenting the dearth of *sūfis* in his own days, the Shāh maintained that it had increased the number of Wahhābīs and *ghayr muqallidīn* (those not following any Sunnī *mujtahid* or scholar) among the *maulawis*. Were the latter to study some *sūfi* works, the Shāh believed, their minds would have been saved from the virus of malicious ideas.[26]

Shāh Sulaymān's criticisms about the dates of compilation of the works included in the *Dars-i Nizāmī*, and his remarks about Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's disinterestedness in these works are palpably wrong, for all of them had already been written before the end of the seventeenth century and Mullā Nizām al-Dīn, as stated above, had himself written commentaries on some of them. However, it is surprising that the Mullā, who was himself a *sūfi* and had compiled a book containing the discourses and anecdotes of his *pīr*, Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq of Bānsa, completely ignored *sūfism* in his own syllabus. Possibly he intended to keep the *madrasa* (seminary) separate from the *khānqāh* (*sūfi* monastery). Both required different aptitudes and a special disposition and propensity on the part of their inmates. Their combination in one personality was a very rare phenomenon. Both Ghazālī and Mullā Nizām al-Dīn were exceptional people who combined the different requirements. The Mullā accordingly prepared the syllabus for the '*ulamā*' and left them free to choose a worldly career and to obtain training in a *khānqāh* later if they so desired. However, Hakīm Fath-Allāh Shīrāzī's share in the *Dars-i Nizāmī* cannot be ignored, and the fact can only be marvelled at that the intellectual traditions introduced by that great Shi'i and Ishrāqi savant came to be treasured for more than three centuries both by the Sunnis and the Shi'is.

26. Shaykh Muhammad Ikrām, *Rud-ī kawthar*, 6th edition, Lahore, 1975, pp. 606-7.

# *Conclusion*

Five hundred years of Muslim rule in India had drastically changed the political, social, economic and religious values of the country. This is particularly true of the last 150 years of Mughal rule, as demonstrated in previous pages. This fact is very deeply reflected in the following speech, said to have been made by Sawā'i Rāja Jai Singh, in order to persuade the Emperor Muhammad Shāh to give up the imposition of *jizya*. He said :

> "In India there are two religious groups, Hindūs and Muslims. India was largely inhabited by the Hindūs before the introduction of Islām by the *jihād* of Muslim warriors. His Imperial Majesty is the Emperor of India; both Hindūs and Muslims pray for his prosperity. Hindūs, insofar as they owe their prosperous living to the shadow of His Majesty's protection, excel the Emperor's co-religionist Muslims in praying for his success. Before the wars against Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh Khān this devoted servant (Jai Singh) had proclaimed in his *zamindāri* ('state') that all religious-minded Hindūs should be summoned from villages, towns and *parganas* and each one of them should be asked to engage himself individually in prayers for the victory of His Majesty and the stability of his government. Further, this humble slave had given them his word that immediately after the victory he would have *jizya* remitted by the Emperor and would obtain the *a'ima wa ma'āsh* (stipends and rent-free land grants) for them. With full faith in this servant's word a large number of Hindūs devoted themselves day and night to praying for the victory and prosperity of the Emperor. Since their prayers have been granted by the Almighty God, this servant urges the Emperor to remit *jizya* and grant them *yawmiyya madad-i ma'āsh* (daily subsistence allowance) so that they may continue praying for his prosperity and the words of this devoted servant of the court may gain credit."[1]

It would seem self-evident from what has been discussed in the foregoing pages that the administrative, cultural and social institutions of the

1 Shiva Dās Lakhnawī, *Shāh-nāma-i munawwar kalām*, B. M., Or. 26, f. 64a.

Mughals led to the crystallization of two different attitudes and propensities among the governing classes of northern India. The leaders of one group drew their inspiration from Akbar's policies and believed that the multi-religious and multi-racial society of India could not be governed by the sheer brute force of the *mujāhids*. We may call them the conciliatory group. They pleaded for the abolition of discriminatory laws and urged that no interference should be made with the religious traditions and forms of worship of other religious communities. They were fully conscious of the complexity of Indian social structures and believed that force did not destroy indigenous loyalties and local power concentrations. To them the Mughal emperors created emotional ties and ideological and symbolical attachments with which both the governing and governed identified their interests. They were not necessarily eclectic or syncretic in outlook but thought that the opening of opportunities for political participation of the élite of all religious groups and communities was indispensable for the efficient functioning of the centralized Mughal empire. They appreciated the complex legal system of the Mughals which was largely based on earlier experiments in Pre-Islamic Īrān and India, and tended to promote understanding between urban and rural societies.

The second group consisting of the orthodox Sunnis took too simple an attitude towards the problem of obedience in the multi-religious and multi-racial society of India. This group believed that military force was sufficient in itself to crush conflicts of the different racial and religious groups, and to destroy indigenous loyalties. Among the Sunnis themselves, according to this group, a return to the ideals of the orthodox caliphs, or as with Shāh Walī-Allāh a return to the ideals of the first two successors of the Prophet Muhammad, was felt to be the answer to all conflicts. We may call them the militant group. They urged that the Muslims strictly adhere to the orthodox religious principles of Sunnism and should seek no co-operation from perdition-damned Shī'is or Hindūs. The militant group persisted in an unrealistic, narrow attitude towards the Hindūs, Shī'is and other racial groups. They thought that Akbar's policy of the abolition of *jizya*, and the introduction of strong and pervasive political structures, evolved and implemented by the Hindū and Īrānī statesmen, were misguided steps. They did not oppose the employment of Rājpūts in the army, were ready to offer protection to the Hindū revenue-paying classes, but were deeply upset at the Hindū domination of finances and of revenue administration. To them, the Hindūs' duty was to remain subservient to Islām (*Hindū muti'-i Islām*), which imparted supernatural blessings to all its adherents, and whose rulers, particularly Awrangzīb, were charismatic personalities. The main concern of the orthodox Muslims was to strengthen a sense of common identity with Sunnis, such as existed in the Central Asian khānates, and to build a power structure in which the non-Sunnis

were to be relegated to unremitting toil and humiliation.

There were other groups who advocated a middle-of-the-road policy, but the deepening political and economic crises of the eighteenth century drove them either to the side of the conciliatory or the militant groups. The most pressing issue was the threat of the Marāthas who before the accession of Awrangzib were only a local power of the Deccan. By the end of his reign, however, the elusive Marātha guerrillas had not only become a formidable power in the Deccan but had also enhanced their bargaining position by establishing their base in Gujarāt and Mālwa. Before his death even Awrangzib had started exploring the possibilities of entering into a settlement with the Marātha leaders, but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had become an absolute necessity. However, the militant Muslim leaders' hopes of crushing the Marāthas by force frustrated the efforts of those who wished to contain the Marāthas within the Deccan by more peaceful means; namely by paying them, very reluctantly it is true, the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the Mughal revenue of the Deccan. The militant Muslim groups would not even co-operate with the Rājpūts who were equally threatened both by the expansionist Marāthas from the Deccan and the newly rising Jāt power of the North. The third battle of Pānipat decisively crushed the Marāthas who by that time were filled with vainglorious dreams of ruling the whole of India by sheer brute force. However, the Durrāni after plundering Delhi left Najib al-Dawla to stew in his own juice.

Awrangzīb introduced *jizya* in order to offer an orthodox, legal source of stipends to the *'ulamā'* and *sūfis*. It did not relieve the imperial treasury of its growing military and civil expenditure. However, in the eighteenth century the rapid decline of revenue from the villages, due to the dominance of *zamindārān-i zor talab*, made *jizya* from the urban Hindū merchants and bankers the only easy source of government income. No wonder then not only the *'ulamā'* but all militant orthodox Muslims fought stubbornly against its remission.

Even from the thirteenth century the widespread dissipation, profligacy and extravagance had made the Muslims dependent upon the Hindū bankers who paid them loans for performing their military duties. Awrangzib tried to introduce the system of the *qarz-i hasana* (literally a good loan, interest-free loan), and in 1702 asked the bankers of the imperial camp (*sahūkārs*) to pay him half a million rupees as *qarz-i hasana,* in order to pay the arrears of salary. His request was refused on the grounds that were the imperial court to obtain *qarz-i hasana* the extortion of loans by the governors on the same terms would annihilate the *sahūkārs* altogether.[2] In the

2 *Akhbārāt-i darbār-i mu'alla*, Royal Asiatic Society, Library, London, 16 Shawwāl, 46th regnal year.

early eighteenth century revenue-farming and the network of new grain markets gave bankers unprecedented power over the rest of society. It is true that Nādir Shāh, Durrānī and the Marāthas fleeced and plundered them, but their resilience was remarkable and they quickly regained their former strength by lending money to the same extravagant Muslim aristocracy.

The number of impostors and charlatans among the *sūfīs* and *yogīs*, astrologers and fortune-tellers—which was never insignificant—became astoundingly large in the eighteenth century. They swindled all classes of Muslims and Hindūs but the easiest victims were the Muslims. However, there was no lack of Muslim intellectuals and reformers to arouse society from its state of inertia, indifference and lethargy. Among them were poets, authors and historians, but the most important were the *sūfī* leaders of Delhi. Of these the most outstanding were the Naqshbandiyya and Chishtiyya leaders, whose main concern was to strengthen the Sunnī society by removing differences which splintered them into minor groups and made them very dogmatic and arrogant. All of them were sure of the correctness of their judgment and believed their ideas to be divinely inspired. They made minor changes to their rituals but none departed substantially from the framework of their traditions. Thus Shāh Kalīm-Allāh introduced a new system of proselytization but did not deviate from the *yogic* borrowings of the early Chishtiyyas. His war against the Mujaddidiyya influence was steady and firm, but he did not favour open estrangement. Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn and his successor in Delhi, organized *samā'* in the teeth of the opposition, and wrote a rejoinder to Shāh Walī-Allāh's objections concerning the Chishtiyya belief of Hasan Basrī's associations with 'Alī, although the Shāh had in fact broken no new ground.

Despite the Mujaddidiyya affiliations, the enthusiasm of the Tarīqa-i Muhammadiyya in *samā'* did not wane, and Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān forsook the practice only at the end of his life. However, Shāh Walī-Allāh, who belonged to the Naqshbandiyya branch of Khwāja Khwurd—who also indulged in *samā'*—remained strongly opposed to such practices.

While Shāh Kalīm-Allāh, Khwāja Nāsir 'Andalīb, Khwāja Dard, Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān and Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn enjoyed larger followings than Shāh Walī-Allāh, the latter's scholarly impact was much deeper than that of other more popular leaders. His translation of the Qur'ān was not a revolutionary step, but it was nevertheless a contribution of far-reaching literary and religious importance, as it laid down the form and rules on the basis of which his two sons and later translators translated the Qur'ān into Urdū. Shāh Walī-Allāh urged the Sunnīs to depend largely on the early judgments of *fiqh* arrived at by the scholars of Medina, embodied in the *Muwatta* of Imām Malik, placing it second after the Qur'ān. Following some earlier authorities he included the *Muwatta* in the six cano-

nical works of *hadith*. Like all Sunnī intellectuals he emphasized that Islamic truth was limited within the bounds of four schools of law, and learned scholars qualified to make individual judgments (*ijtihād*) could draw upon the ideas of other schools to overcome legal crises in their own schools. He had no use for the legal rulings of the Prophet Muhammad's descendants, recognized by the Shī'is as *Imāms*, which had culminated in the Ja'fariyya law of Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq. According to Shāh Wali-Allāh, Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān and other orthodox Sunnī scholars, the Shi'i doctrine of the impeccability of *Imāms* amounted to the denial of the doctrine of the finality of the Prophet Muhammad and therefore made their faith false (*bātil*). It is therefore unrealistic to say that the Shāh "succeeded through his writings in laying the foundations of understanding and tolerance among the various sects of Islām in the subcontinent, which in spite of occasional setbacks has since maintained traditions of sectarian tolerance".[3] It is only in modern times, however, that recognition of the Ja'fariyya law as the fifth school of Islamic *fiqh* has been urged, in order to remove sectarian differences.

Shāh Wali-Allāh's *sūfic* theory that the differences between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* were merely verbal was not acceptable to the later Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya leaders such as Ghulām 'Ali Naqshband. Furthermore, Shāh Wali-Allāh's warnings, that *sūfism* was not merely the *piri-muridi* (*pir*-disciple relationship), and the *khānqāh* life aroused little attention in his own days; finally the weakening of the *sūfi khānqāhs* combined with the twentieth century impact of Western ideas gave the death blow to the *piri-muridi*. However, his identification of *sūfism* with *ihsān*, or purification of the heart through virtuous deeds was as greatly respected in his own days as it is now. Shāh Wali-Allāh's major contribution to Islām lay in extending the spirit of *ihsān* to all aspects of life from which not only Shī'is and Sunnis but the whole of humanity can benefit. This he does in his *magnum opus*, the *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha*. In it the Shāh states that ethical laws and moral principles were imperative for social organizations which could maintain their balance only by eradicating economic, social and political injustices. Although the Shāh believed that only Islām could inject a sense of *'adl* (justice) and *tawāzun* (equilibrium) into social organizations, these high principles had always been the life-blood of all societies.

The basis of Shāh Wali-Allāh's political thought was the Perso-Islamic theory of kingship discussed in the Arabic and Persian "*Mirrors for Princes*", particularly in the works of Ghazāli and Tūsi. Among the Muslim rulers his heroes were Mahmūd of Ghazna and Awrangzib. He wrote a

3 I. H. Qureshī, *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pākistān subcontinent*, The Hague 1962, p. 186.

letter to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, who would have invaded Delhi for the second time in any case, but it is unjust to call the Shāh the prime mover of the invasion, as some of his Indian and foreign commentators have done. For example, W. C. Smith says—

> "His (Shāh Walī-Allāh's) work was essentially purificationist and revivalist: aiming ideally at a restoration of a refurbished, more disciplined Sufism and a refurbished state power. In this last realm his immediate move was what most of us would call at least disastrous, to use no more pejorative a term : for he invited Ahmad Shāh Abdālī [Durrānī] to invade India, which proved hardly a contribution to the glory of Islām. This is *'ālim* (participation) in politics with a vengeance !"[4]

In contrast to the above theories we have shown in Chapter Two that until 1759 all north-Indian powers, including the Hindū Jāts, the Rājpūts and the Shī'ī Shujā' al-Dawla, considered the Marāthas a very strong threat to their own principalities. Even some Rājpūt princes wrote letters to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, considering the foreign invasion the lesser of two evils. Shāh Walī-Allāh in fact persuaded Ahmad Shāh Durrānī to become a second Bābur in India; he did not wish the invader to become a second Nādir Shāh. That the Durrānī's resources and administrative competence failed him was no fault of Shāh Walī-Allāh. His letters to Ahmad Shāh, or for that matter to any Mughal ruler, nobleman or Najīb al-Dawla, were in the *sūfic* traditions initiated by Hasan al-Basrī who fearlessly urged the political powers to do their duty conscientiously and in the best interest of the Muslims. Like all the north-Indian powers Shāh Walī-Allāh was also aware of the important role played by the Europeans in the Deccan scramble for power, but no one, including the Shāh, seems to have taken the British victory of Plassey in May 1757 seriously.

Finally, Shāh Walī-Allāh's efforts to destroy the influence of the *ma'qūliyān* (philosophers and rationalists) originally made no impact on the Muslims of his times, due to the dominance of the *Dars-i Nizāmi*. In fact, those efforts only succeeded much later—from the middle of the nineteenth century, when modernist Muslims, in an attempt to defend Islām against the onslaught of Western criticisms, began to evolve a new literature in English and Urdū. It was perhaps inevitable that, to do so, they should then turn to Shāh Walī-Allāh's reforms for their inspiration and guidance. The first to do so was the great modernist reformer, Sir Syed Ahmad Khān (1817-1898), who had obtained his early training in the scholarly

4 W. C. Smith, The *'ulamā'* in Indian politics in C. H. Philips ed, *Politics and Society in India,* London 1963, p. 48.

traditions of Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. The legacy of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and Sir Syed and his colleagues will be dealt with in the second and third volumes of this series. Here we shall conclude with the statement that Shāh Walī-Allāh's contributions to the history of Islām mark him more as the successor of the great Sunni revivalist Ibn-Taymiy-ya, rather than that of Ibn-Khaldūn.

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# Index


'Abbās, 256.
'Abbāsī *Zamīndārs*, 44, 56.
'Abbāsids, 195, 243, 253, 256, 290.
'Abd al-'Azīz, 30.
'Abd al-Ghafūr Shāh, 12, 179.
'Abd al-Hakīm, 204.
'Abd al-Hamīd Lāhawrī, 31.
'Abd al-Haqq Haqqānī, 229.
'Abd al-Jalīl, 185.
'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, 276
'Abd-al-Malik bin Marwān, 290.
'Abd al-Nabī Kashmīrī, 198.
'Abd al-Nabī Khān, 81.
'Abd al-Qādir, 23.
'Abd al-Qādir Khān, 13.
'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, 113.
'Abd al-Rahīm, Khān-i Khānān 30, 72, 110, 137.
'Abd al-Rahmān Mahdī, 243.
'Abd al-Rahmān Murādī, 191.
'Abd al-Razzāq, 243.
'Abd al-Razzāq Lārī, 4.
'Abd al-Ridā, Muhammad, 204.
'Abd al-Salām, 380.
'Abd al-Samad, 10, 12, 14, 53, 121, 124, 125, 134, 135, 151, 164, 174.
'Abd al-Wahhāb, 91.
Abdālī, 142, 307.
'Abd-Allāh, 124, 128, 129.
'Abd-Allāh bin Iskandar Ūzbeg, 23.
'Abd-Allāh bin 'Ubayy, 329.
'Abd-Allāh bin 'Umar, 203.
'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Abbās, 238, 241, 245.
'Abd-Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, 246.
'Abd-Allāh Khweshgī Qasūrī, 323.
'Abd-Allāh Qutb Shāh, 11.
Abī Tālib, 318.
'Ābid Khān, 99.
Abi'l-Khayr, 263.
Abraham, 236, 237, 240, 241, 250, 267 280.
Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nasā'ī, 242.
Abū 'Alī Qalandar, 137.
Abū Bakr, 75, 78, 113, 217, 235, 249, 250, 252, 269, 271, 273, 301, 329.
Abū Bakr Ahmad, 262.
Abū Dāwūd, 207, 244.
Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, 242.
Abū Hāmid Muhammad, 262.
Abū Hanīfa, 62, 246, 249, 295.
Abū 'Imrān, 231.
Abū Muhammad Hasan bin 'Alī, 342.
Abū Muhammad Rahīm Bakhsh, 221.
Abū Sālih Khān, 335.
Abū Tālib Muhammad al-Makkī, 246.
Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī, 206.
Abu'l A'la' Mawdūdī, 220.
Abu'l-Fadl, 23, 25, 77, 79.
Abu'l-Fadl Ma'ānī, 15, 18, 19, 26, 29, 30, 45, 50.
Abu'l-Fadl Ma'mūrī, 4.
Abu'l-Hasan bin Mūsa bin Ja'far, 269.
Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'arī, 58, 226, 262.
Abu'l-Qāsim Namkīn, 25.
Abyssinia, 254.
Abyssinians, 51, 201.
Ād, 240, 331.
*Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, 80, 86, 93.
Ādam, 68, 97, 352, 257.
*'Ādat*, 59.
Ādīna Beg Khān, 14, 165, 167, 168.
*'Adl*, 316, 396.
Āfandī, Isma'īl bin 'Abd-Allāh Rūmī, 267.
Afdal Khān, 28, 94.
Affifī, A.E., 68.
Afghān-i Miyāna, 44.
Afghānistān, 22, 150, 172, 187.
Afghāns, 24, 25, 31, 43, 44, 47, 51, 54, 62, 74, 80, 83, 84, 95, 106, 107, 114, 117, 123, 127, 131, 134, 138, 142, 143, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 163, 167, 171, 172, 174, 186, 201, 209, 220, 286, 298, 303, 306, 307, 318, 320, 374.
Āfrīdīs, 83, 186.

Afshār Clan, 142.
Agra, 23, 24, 32, 44, 45, 49, 53, 54, 62, 70, 71, 74, 80, 81, 88, 103, 104, 117, 122, 123, 127, 129, 130, 136, 141, 157, 159, 161, 163, 167, 183, 196, 204, 206, 208. 209, 211, 339.
*Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 33, 36, 42, 45.
*Āh-i Dard*, 346.
*Āh-i Sard*, 345, 354, 356.
*Ahadī*, 29, 87, 99.
*Ahadiyya*, 264, 352.
Ahdīpura, 177, 345.
*Ahl al-Bayt*, 273, 348.
Ahmad Beg, 124.
Ahmad bin 'Alī Sa'īd bin 'Abd al-Razzāq Lakhnawī, 390.
Ahmad bin Hanbal, 246.
Ahmad Khān, 82, 146, 155, 156, 167, 337.
Ahmad Mi'mār Lāhorī, 359.
Ahmad Nasafī, 388.
Ahmad Shāh, Emperor, 152, 153, 158, 159, 179, 294, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 336.
Ahmad Shāh Abdālī (Durrānī), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 146, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 162, 164-172, 180, 186, 196, 202, 218, 227, 294, 301, 302, 304, 306, 307, 308, 338, 339, 394, 396, 397.
Ahmadābād, 4, 15, 32, 46, 50, 102, 113, 136, 138, 359.
Ahmadnagar, 24, 32, 107, 115.
*Ahsan al-Shamā'il*, 371, 372.
*Ahwāl al-Khawāqīn*, 10, 112, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 132, 139, 141.
*A'ima wa ma'āsh*, 393.
*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, 18, 26, 29, 30, 32, 34, 40, 43, 44, 48, 49, 50, 55, 379.
'Ā'isha, 328, 329.
*'Ajā'ib al-āfāq*, 19.
Ajīt Singh, 19, 29, 84, 86, 107, 116, 121, 126. 129, 147.
Ajmīr, 20, 22, 32, 54, 84, 86, 157, 163, 218, 316.
Ajmīrī Gate, 374.
Ajodhan, 274.
Akbar, 8, 17, 23, 24-27, 29-34, 41-43, 49, 50, 52, 53, 61, 62, 72, 73, 76, 77, 79, 85-87, 96, 110, 128, 181, 291, 300, 318, 332, 358, 379, 392.
Akbarābād, 71, 298, 303.
*Akbar-nāma*, 23, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 45, 317.
*Akhbārāt*, 19, 91, 101, 105.
*Akhbār-i waqā'i Nādir Shāh*, 142.
*Akhī*, 58.
*Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, 287.
*Akhlāq-i Nāsirī*, 35, 59, 287.
Āl-i 'Abā, 193.
'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī, 61.
'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī, 43.
'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad Chishtī Barnāwī, 43.
'Ālamgīr II, 13, 14, 16, 73, 111, 120, 162, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 179, 294, 301, 336, 337, 339.
*'Ālamgīr-nāma*, 87.
*'Ālam-i Saghīr*, 65.
Alexander, 382.
Alexandrian Hermeticism, 59.
*Al-Aqabah*, 321.
*Al-Asfār al-Arba'a*, 66.
'Alī Āmilī, 64.
'Alī bin Abī Tālib, 64, 190, 195, 205, 269, 344, 358, 377.
'Alī bin Muhammad, 390.
'Alīgarh, 33, 44, 50, 111, 116, 141, 148, 156, 160, 162, 171, 227, 296.
'Alīgarh University, 25, 84, 88, 133, 134, 371.
'Alī Hidāyat, 5.
'Alī Mardān Khān, 83.
'Alī Muhammad, 5, 10, 12, 40, 150, 151, 152, 155, 184, 187.
'Ali Murād Kokaltāsh Khān, 121.
'Alīwardī Khān, 5, 164, 168, 169.
Allāh Khān, Fayd, 14.
Allāh Yār bin Allāh Yār 'Uthmānī Bilgarāmī, 16.
Allahabad, 24, 32, 45, 118, 119, 122-125, 129, 140, 147, 148, 154, 155, 163, 168, 183, 184, 387.
Aleppo, 313.
Alwar, 44, 56.
'Alwīs 193, 273, 349.
Amānat Khān, 199.
Amānat Shāh, 182.
Amar Singh, 84.
Amber, 41, 116, 121, 127, 161.
Amethī, 56, 386, 388.
*'Āmil*, 32, 33, 42, 51, 133, 134, 293.
Āmilī, Bahā' al-Dīn, 64, 99, 362, 389.
*Amīn*, 4, 15, 29, 32, 33, 34, 40, 92, 93, 100.
Amīr Hasan Sijzī, 379.

Amīr Khān, 83, 146, 147, 148, 195, 199.
Amīr Khusraw, 186, 189.
Amīr Walī, 191.
Amritsar, 81, 82, 167, 170.
Amroha, 340.
Ānandpūr, 106.
Ānand Rām Mukhlis, 12, 18, 142, 151, 152, 187.
'Andalīb, Nāsir, 342, 344, 357.
Andalusia, 244, 380.
*Anecdotes of Awrangzīb*, 79, 80, 97, 98, 103, 109, 192.
*Anfās al-'ārifīn*, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 221, 223.
*Annals of the Delhi Bādshāhat*, 47, 82.
Ansārī, Muhammad Ridā, 57.
Ansārī, Shaikh 'Abd-Allāh, 271, 272.
Ansārī *Zamindārs*, 44.
*Ānth*, 48.
*Anthologia des Philosophes Iraniens*, 65.
Anthony, 71.
Antrī, 105.
Anurudh Singh Hādā, 105.
Anūshīrvān, 71.
Anwar al-Dīn, 164.
*Anwār al-tanzīl*, 207.
Āonla, 150, 184.
Apola, 100.
*'Aqā'id-i Fārābī*, 388.
*'Aqd al-jid*, 248, 249.
'Āqibat Khān, 194.
'Āqibat Mahmūd, 159, 160, 226.
'Āqil Khān Rāzī, 111.
'Arab Sarā'i, 177.
'Arabia, 47, 230, 315, 316, 321, 322, 332, 377.
'Arabs, 50, 69, 201, 218, 232, 233, 249, 241, 242, 246, 294, 334.
'Arafāt, 218.
Arākān, 47.
Arcot (Arkot), 164, 187.
Ardabīl, 73.
Aristotle, 58, 382.
Armenia, 49.
Arnaldez, R., 64.
*Ārzū*, Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī, 20, 187-189.
Asad Beg, 53.
Asad Khān, 96, 97, 98, 103, 108, 109, 110, 113, 115, 116, 121, 124, 132, 318.
Āsaf al-Dawla, Nawwāb, 147.
Āsaf-Jāh, 139, 146, 164, 185, 227, 371.
Āsaf-Jāhī, 171, 139.
Āsaf Khān, 28, 53, 54, 70, 83, 96, 98, 140.
Āsafīya Library, 187, 324.
'Askarī, 58, 60, 61, 229, 250, 328.
Āshob, 179.
Ashrāfia, 336.
'Āshūr Khāna, 191, 192.
Asia, 49.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 13.
Asīrgarh, 24.
'Askarī, 349.
*Asrār al-salāt*, 346.
*Asrār-i Samadī*, 14, 119, 134.
Assam, 47, 51, 81, 82, 104, 189.
'Atā'-Allāh Rushdī, 359.
Attock, 170, 302.
Avicenna, 58-60, 64, 66, 72, 287, 362.
Awadh, 15, 16, 32, 44, 45, 55, 56, 118, 136, 141, 144, 147, 148, 149, 154, 155, 158-163, 167, 168, 170, 172, 173, 182, 183, 184, 186, 192, 304, 338.
Awrangābād, 4, 96, 108, 136, 139, 155, 184, 185, 303, 323, 366, 370, 373.
Awrangzīb, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 27, 33, 42, 46, 47, 54, 55, 67, 72, 79, 80, 83-86, 88-91, 93, 98, 99, 101-111, 113, 114, 116, 117, 122, 123, 124, 127, 128, 132, 134, 135, 137, 138, 141, 148, 152, 156, 157, 175, 183, 184, 186, 189, 193, 195, 204, 206, 211, 294, 300, 303, 311, 318, 319, 323, 324, 344, 345, 358, 360, 365, 366, 371, 380, 386, 390, 392, 394.
*Awrangzīb and his times*, 90.
*Awsāf al-Āsaf*, 15.
*A'yamādārs*, 91.
'Ayn Khān, 141.
Ayodhyā, 154, 183.
Āzād, 186.
Āzād bin Sayyid Muhammad Nūh Husaynī, 185.
Āzād, Mīr Ghulam 'Alī Bilgarāmī, 15, 17.
A'zam, 108, 115.
*A'zam al-harb*, 8, 112.
A'zam Khān, the elder, 181.
A'zam Shāh, Prince, 8-10, 20, 88, 102, 105, 107, 108, 115, 116, 137, 192, 211, 371, 372.
A'zampūr, 206.
'Azīm al-Shān, Prince, 113, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 127, 135.
'Azīmābād, 5, 124, 135, 184, 187, 192.
'Azīz Ahmad, 57.

*'Azīz al qulūb,* 19.
'Azīz Kokā, 110.

Bābā Farīd, 189, 374, 358.
Bābā Fighānī, 62.
Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, 317, 318.
Bābā 'Uthmān Kashmīrī, 225.
Bābur, 4, 22, 45, 397.
*Bābur-nāma,* 45.
Babylonia, 5, 278.
Bachgotī, 81.
Bachrāwān, 206.
Bactria, 254.
*Badā'i- waqā'i,* 12, 142, 143, 145, 146, 152.
Badakhshān, 24, 123, 338.
Bādalza'i Clan, 149.
Badan Singh, 161, 162.
Badā'ūn, 148, 150, 155.
Badā'ūnī, 'Abd al-Qādir, 25, 26, 55, 56, 61, 73, 380.
Badiya, 310.
Baghdād, 246, 263, 270.
Baghwī, 207, 246.
Bagley, F.R.C., 81.
Bahādur, Girdhar, 19, 161.
Bahādur, Jamīl Khān, Nawwāb, 17.
Bahādur Khān, 98, 159.
Bahādur Shāh, 4, 9, 10, 11, 17, 111, 113, 115, 116, 119, 129, 132, 138, 192, 195, 387.
*Bahādur Shāh nāma,* 9, 102, 103, 104, 111, 112, 115, 117.
Bahliyān, 56.
*Bahr al-asrār,* 191.
*Bahr al-mawwāj,* 13.
Bahrā'ich, 313.
Bahū Begam, 147, 179.
Bais, 44, 45, 81.
Bājī Rā'o, 141, 148, 162, 163, 220.
Bajwāra, 62.
*Bakhshī,* 10, 16, 30, 34, 98, 109, 115, 126, 129, 154, 178, 199, 200.
*Bakhshī al-mamālik,* 33, 34, 119, 120, 121, 124, 158.
Bakht Buland, 105.
Baksar, 164.
Bākū, 142.
Balājī, 128.
Bālak Nāth Tapeshwarī, 72.
Balban, Sultān, 43, 149.
Balkh, 24, 28, 65, 69, 138, 146.
Ball, V., 48.
Ballabhgarh, 162, 166.
Ballū Jāt, 159.
*Bālmukund-nāma,* 19.
Balūch, 44, 153, 159, 161, 168, 169, 227, 286.
Balūchistān, 24.
Banāras, 5, 13, 50, 89, 90, 183, 188, 207, 386, 387.
Bāndā, 57, 117, 118, 119.
Bandā Bahādur, 117, 125, 134, 174.
Bandar 'Abbās, 184, 188.
Bandhū, 51.
Banerjī, S. K., 49.
Bangalore, 97, 187.
Bangash, 12, 14, 141, 149, 151, 155, 156, 169, 184, 201, 202.
Bangash, Muhammad Khān, 19.
Bangla, 183.
*Banjārās,* 11, 46.
*Bānī-i dars-i Nizāmī,* 57.
Bankīpūr, 8, 127, 166.
Bānsā, 192, 389, 391.
Bānth, 42.
Banu'l-Mustaliq, 328.
Banūr, 209.
Bārā Bankī, 192, 385, 387.
Barakza'ī, 107.
Baranī, Dīyā' al-Dīn, 42, 43, 294, 300.
Barārī Ghāt, 170.
Bareilly, 5, 127, 149, 150, 151, 183.
Bārgī, 163.
Bārhā, 122, 150, 169, 211, 225.
Barlow, 92.
Barnāwā, 45.
Barodā, 40, 162, 360.
Basant, 176, 177.
Basāwan Lāl, 335.
Bashīr al-Dīn Ahmad Dihlawī, 17, 220.
Bāsit, Khwāja, 8.
Basrā, 242, 269, 271.
Batālā, 18
*Bawāriq al wilāyat,* 221.
*Bay'a,* 221, 271, 319, 352, 377.
*Bayān-i-Wāqi'*, 142, 145, 146.
Bayānā, 130, 303.
Bayāzīd Bīyāt, 317.
Baydāwī, 207, 386, 390.
Bayhāqī, 262.
Bayram Khān, 23, 24, 26.
Bāzār Khānam, 180, 360, 362.
Beirut, 60, 290.
Belgāon, 95, 97.

Bellary, 95.
Bengāl, 5, 6, 15, 16, 18, 22, 23, 27, 28, 32, 42, 47, 51, 81, 92, 119, 120, 123, 126, 133-136, 140, 147, 153, 154, 163, 164, 168, 184, 189, 196, 304, 317, 318, 378.
Berār, 24, 32, 135.
Berasia *Pargana*, 187.
Berber, 230.
Berke, 295.
Bernier, 48, 49, 52, 66, 67, 178, 380, 381.
Beveridge, A.S., 45.
Beveridge, H., 27.
Beyrouth, 256.
Bhadaon, 56.
Bhagwān Dās, 19.
Bhagwant Singh, 105.
*Bhaktī*, 207.
Bhanganī, 106.
Bharatpūr, 103, 161.
Bhāskara Āchārya, 359.
Bhāskar Bhosle, 162.
Bhatnāgar, V.S., 116.
Bhatt, 86.
Bhīl, 81, 98.
Bhilsā, 81.
Bhīmbhar, 54.
Bhīm Chand, Rāja, 106.
Bhīm Sen, 83, 99, 107.
Bhīm Singh Hādā, Rāja, 186.
Bhojpūr, 123, 141, 163.
Bhopāl, 141, 186, 187, 345, 354.
Bhūmiya, 94.
Bhūpat Rāy, 21, 184.
Bhūpat Rāy Bayrāgī, 21.
Bhuyān, S. K., 47, 82.
Bībī Fakhr al-Nisā', 361.
Bībī Misrī, 361.
Bībī Rābī'ā, 361.
Bībī Sāhiba, 155.
Bible, 71, 238.
Bibliotheque Nationale, 19.
Bīdar, 24, 99, 171, 359.
Bīdār Bakht, Prince, 9.
Bīgūk, 195.
Bihār, 5, 17, 18, 26, 32, 45, 81, 119, 120, 122, 126, 147. 154, 163, 164, 168, 184, 205, 317, 389.
Bihārā Mal Kachwāhā, Rāja, 41, 317.
Bihlarī, 56.
Bijai Singh, 116.
Bījāpūr, 6, 24, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99, 171, 189, 303.
Bījāpūrī Karnātak, 95.
Bijnor, 150, 206, 229.
Bīkānīr, 86.
Bikramājīt, Rāja, 23.
Bilāspūr, 106.
Bilgarām, 183, 185, 186.
Bilgarāmī, Allāh Yār bin Allāh Yār 'Uthmānī, 16.
Bilgarāmī, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, 17, 63, 166, 183, 185, 371.
*Bīma*, 48.
Bīr Singh Deo, 53.
*Bisāt al-ghanā'im*, 16.
Bishan Singh, Rāja, 104.
Bishan Singh Kachwāhā, 104.
Bisrām Khān, 89.
Bist Jalandhar Do'āb, 9.
Bistāmī, 64.
Bodlein, 111, 120, 124.
Bombay, 4, 30, 33, 34, 49, 55, 71, 90, 140, 146, 148, 192, 359.
Boran, 289.
Brahman, Chandra Bhān, 19, 51.
Braj Bhāshā, 342.
Brij Lāl, 335.
Brindāban, 166.
Brindāban Dās Khwushgū, 20, 207, 345.
Britain, 7.
British, 13, 15, 18, 136, 153, 163, 164, 172, 173, 174.
Buckland, 11.
*Budūr al-bāzigha*, 223, 229, 257, 278 281, 288.
Bukhārā, 99, 146, 191, 205, 242.
Bukhārī, 44, 207, 223, 243, 244, 259, 281, 384, 385.
Bulandshahr, 379.
*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 69.
Bundēlas, 45, 53, 55, 81, 99, 118, 141.
Bundelkhand, 104, 140, 143, 162.
Burhān al-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān, 15, 183, 387.
Burhānpūr, 50, 70, 79, 88, 91, 96, 99, 116, 126, 128, 154, 204, 296, 303, 365, 366.
Bussy, 171.
Byzantine, 253, 312, 313.

Cairo, 60, 269.
Calcutta, 4, 23, 25, 29, 31, 43, 45, 47, 67, 80, 83, 86, 87, 88, 93, 95, 97, 149, 154, 158, 294, 317.

Caliphs, 74, 75, 76, 79, 114, 205, 222, 223, 243, 245, 246, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 256, 291, 337.
Cambay, 19.
Central Asia, 22, 50, 145, 154, 161, 187.
Chabīlā Rām Nāgar, 19, 129.
Chaghmīnī, Mahmūd, 389.
Chaghta'ī *tora*, 53.
Chaghtā'īs, 87.
*Chahār gulshan*, 117.
Chak Hazāra, 149.
Chakesar, 56.
Chambal, 141.
Champānīr, 4.
Champat Rāy, 81.
*Chandā'in*, 189.
Chandan-Wandan, 101.
Chandīgarh, 171.
Chāndnī Chawk, 137, 145 176, 180.
*Chār chaman*, 51.
Charbīlī, 199.
Chatrasāl Bundēla, 81, 104, 105.
Chatrūpa, 72, 73.
*Chauth*, 95, 102, 116, 117, 126, 128, 138, 140, 149, 157, 163, 169, 187, 302, 394.
Chawdharīs, 41, 42, 174.
Chawk Sa'd-Allāh Khān, 176, 180.
Chicherov, A.J., 48.
*Chilla-i ma'kūs*, 273.
Chīn Bahādur, Muhammad Amīn Khān, 12, 99, 131.
Chingīz Khān, 22, 295.
Chīn Qulīch Khān, 99, 108, 110, 115, 121, 127.
Chirūlī, 105.
Chishtī, 11, 44, 377.
Chishtiyya, 177, 182, 205, 206, 209 211, 212, 221, 271, 273, 274, 320, 327, 337, 358, 360, 363, 365, 371, 377, 378, 387, 395.
*Chishtiyya-i Bihishtiyya*, 43, 45.
Chitor, 22, 23, 85.
Chittagong, 81.
Chunār, 56.
Chūrāman, 104, 118, 121, 127, 161, 303.
Circassians, 51.
Clive, R., 163.
*Commentary of Father Monserrate*, 50, 191.
*Comparative study of the key philosophical concepts in sūfism and Tāoism*, 61.
*Comparative studies in society and history*, 30.
Conjiveram, 97.
Corbin, H, 60, 65.
Cunningham, J.D., 107.

*Dabīrs*, 51.
*Dabistān-i madhāhib*, 68-73, 76, 81, 83.
Dacca, 50, 82, 124, 135.
*Dādnī*, 48
Dādū, 82.
*Daftar-i Dīwānī*, 17.
*Dāgh*, 28.
Dāghistānī, 'Alī Qulī, 16.
Dahamūnī, 105.
*Dahbāshī*, 29.
Dalzāk (Afghāns), 44.
Damdama, 106.
Dānishmand Khān, 67, 68, 113.
*Dānishmandī*, 380, 383, 385.
Dāniyāl, 53, 54, 154, 278.
*Dār al-harb*, 74, 76, 386.
*Dār al-Islām*, 76, 238.
*Dār al-sulh*, 76.
Dārā-Shukōh, 20, 54, 55, 67, 83, 89, 90, 111, 123, 147, 332.
*Dard-i dil*, 347, 356.
Dargāh Qulī, Sālār-Jang, 17.
*Dāroghas*, 298.
*Dars-i Nizāmī*, 385, 385, 390, 391, 397.
Dās, H., 88.
*Dastūr*, 69, 70.
*Dastūr al-'amal*, 18, 36, 80, 87, 92, 134.
Datta, K.K., 17.
Daurī Sarāy, 296.
David Shea, 71.
Dawānī, 63, 65, 66, 386-388, 396.
Dāwar Bakhsh, 54.
Dawlat Khān, 73.
Dāwūd Khān Pannī, 98, 126, 127, 149, 150.
Dāwūd Tā'ī, 269.
Dayā Rām, Munshī, 19, 369.
Deccan, 3, 8, 9, 15, 16, 18, 24, 31, 47, 51, 53, 54, 55, 86, 87, 90, 93, 97, 99-103, 105, 107, 115, 116, 117, 119, 126, 127, 128, 135, 138, 139, 140, 146, 148, 154, 158, 162, 164, 171-175, 185, 190, 192, 204, 296, 302, 303, 318, 345, 358, 359, 365, 366, 370, 372, 373, 378, 386, 387, 394, 397.
Dehra Dūn, 82.
Delhi, 3, 5, 12, 13, 14, 17, 23, 30, 31, 44, 45, 47, 49, 52, 54, 57, 62, 67, 73, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 103,

104, 108, 111, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 122-129, 131, 134, 137-147, 151-154, 156, 158-162, 165-177, 179-181, 183-189, 192-194, 195, 199, 201, 202, 204-207, 209, 211, 212, 213, 220, 221, 224, 228, 231, 244, 246, 248, 249, 267, 273, 274, 286, 295-299, 302, 303, 305-308, 317-320, 323, 336, 342, 345, 347, 354, 356, 358, 360-363, 365, 370, 372-375, 377, 378, 394, 395.
Deogarh, 105.
Desā'īs, 42, 46.
Descartes, 67, 68.
*Deshmukhs*, 42, 96, 100, 101, 121.
*Deshpandes*, 42.
Devagirī, 365.
Dewā, 386, 387.
*Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, 56, 75, 91.
Dharam Shāstra, 332.
*Dhāt*, 29, 61, 130, 141.
*Dhikr*, 259, 263, 270, 273, 320, 354, 360, 365, 368, 377.
*Dhikr-i Jahr*, 372.
*Dhikr-i Mīr*, 17.
*Dhimmīs*, 91, 92, 198, 306.
*Dhubdat al-maqāmāt*, 211.
Dhūdhiyān, 56.
Dhu'lfaqār Ardistānī, 72.
Dhu'lfaqār Beg, 198.
Dhu'lfaqār Khān, 8, 9, 10, 20, 71, 73, 96, 98, 99, 100, 107, 108, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126.
Dhu'l-Nūn, 64.
Dhūsar caste, 23.
*Diary of William Hudges*, 92.
*Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 11, 13, 16.
Didāmārī, Khwāja Muhammād A'zamī, 14.
Dilkushā, 83, 94, 98, 100, 101.
*Dīn-Ilāhī*, 73, 80.
Dīndār, 105.
Dīndār Khān, 199.
*Dīwān*, 4, 6, 16, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 91, 98, 105, 114, 121, 126, 135, 139, 147, 149, 160, 174, 178, 186, 188, 189, 196, 199, 341, 379, 390.
*Dīwān-i a'lā'*, 28, 29, 31.
*Dīwān-i 'ard*, 28.
*Dīwān-i buyūtāt*, 26.
*Dīwān-i Sūba*, 32.
*Dīwān-i tan*, 28, 29, 127.
*Dīwān-i khālisa*, 28, 147.
*Dīwānī*, 28, 63 65, 66, 90.
Diyā' al-Dīn Qazwīnī. 53.
Diyānat Khān, 7.
*Do'āb*, 43, 134.
*Duaspā*, 29, 84.
Durgā Dās 85, 86, 206.
*Durrat al-thamīna*, 66, 223.
Dutch, 50.

*Early Travels in India*, 50.
East India Company, 11, 14, 17, 136, 159, 164, 187.
*Economic development in the 16th-18th Centuries*, 48.
Edgerton, 51.
Egypt, 51, 214, 254.
Elliot, 112.
Empedocles, 64.
*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 58, 63, 109, 328, 329.
England, 11, 13, 320.
English, 50, 135.
*English Factories in India*, 31, 47.
Erskine, 71.
Etāwah, 105, 148.
Ethé, 8, 114, 142, 149, 191.
*Ethico-religious concepts in the Qur'ān*, 241.
Europe, 49, 380.

Fadak, 329.
Fadl-Allāh bin Rūzbīhān, 75.
Fakhr al-Dīn, 273, 337, 341, 374-378, 395.
*Fakhr al-Hasan*, 378.
Fakhr al-Rahmān, 222, 230, 231.
*Fakhr al-tālibīn*, 362, 374, 375, 376.
Fakhrī, Nūr al-Dīn, 14, 159, 362, 374.
*Fakhrīyat al-Nizām*, 337.
*Fall of the Mughal empire*, 3, 149, 158, 160, 163, 166, 167, 169, 171.
*Falsafā*, 77, 280.
*Faqīh*, 92, 214, 236, 247, 262, 279.
Faqīr, 230, 231, 296, 297, 337, 356, 366, 368, 374.
Fārābī, 58, 66, 287.
Farghānā, 390.
Farīd, *Bakhshī*, 53.
Farīdābād, 160.
Farīdūn, 64.
*Farmāns*, 10, 15, 17, 18, 34, 40, 42, 46, 90, 107, 136, 139, 158, 301, 387.
Farmulī (Afghāns), 44.
*Farr-i Īzadī*, 80, 81.

Farrukhābād, 13, 14, 16, 102, 141, 155, 156, 183, 194, 201, 303, 337.
Farrukhsiyar, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 19, 20, 122-127, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135-138, 147, 154, 176, 195, 196, 212, 318, 361, 387.
Fārūqī, Nūr al-Dīn, 10.
Fārukī, Z. H., 89.
Fārūqī, *Zamīndārs*, 56.
Fāryāb, 24.
*Fatāwa*, 80, 91 246, 247, 253, 323, 370, 387.
*Fatāwa al-'Ālamgīriyya*, 79, 80, 209.
*Fatāwa al-Naqshbandiyya*, 79.
Fath-Allāh Shīrāzī, 27, 388.
Fathdaras, 117.
Fathgarh, 156.
Fath Khān, 176.
Fathpūr Sīkrī, 49, 129.
Fātima, 190, 193, 249, 329, 348, 349.
*Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, 379.
*Fawd al-Kabīr*, 224.
*Fawjdār*, 49, 33, 34, 82, 83, 99, 100, 102, 104-12, 117, 118, 123, 130, 151, 184, 225.
*Fawjdār-i Sūba*, 32, 34.
*Fawjdārī*, 7, 33, 98, 115, 157.
Faydābād, 13, 183, 184.
Fayd-Allāh Khān, 14.
Fayd Haqq Siddīqi Chishtī, 16.
Faydī, 510.
*Faysala Wahdat al-Wujūd wa'l Shuhūd*, 227.
*Fī bayān al ma'shūqāt wa'l 'ushshāq*, 186.
Findiriskī, 64, 65, 69, 70.
*Fiqh*, 22, 63, 78, 80, 213, 215, 221, 229, 242, 243, 245, 246, 253, 262, 274, 284, 287, 289, 309, 322, 325, 332, 373, 385, 387, 390, 395, 396.
Firangī Mahal, 386, 387.
Firishta, 4.
Fīrūzābād, 79, 303.
Fīrūz-Jang, Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, 5, 225.
Fīrūz Shāh, 43, 209.
Fīrūz Tughluq, 43, 176, 323.
Fīrūzābādī, Majd al-Dīn, 78, 374.
*Fitra*, 237, 250, 310.
*Fitrat*, 281.
Flynn, V. J. A., 49.
Foster, W., 31, 47, 50.
France, 380.
Franklin, W., 165.
Fraser, 19, 111, 112, 115, 123, 124, 126, 128, 131, 139.
Friedmann, 324.
Frykenberg, R. E., 42.
*Fusūs al-hikam*, 59-61, 273, 365, 373.
*Futūh*, 210, 361, 362, 368, 371.
*Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, 84, 86, 93, 102, 103, 104, 105.
*Futūhāt al-Makkiyya*, 276.
*Futūhāt-nāma-i Samadī*, 14, 119, 125, 134.
*Futūwwa*, 58, 65, 205, 208.
*Fuyūd al-Haramayn*, 216, 218, 219, 221, 246, 249, 277.

Gabriel, 239, 276.
Gagrāon, 114.
Gaikwārs, 162.
Gaj Singh, 186.
Gakkhars, 56.
Gandā Singh, 146, 155, 171.
Ganesh, 72.
Ganges, 159, 294.
Ganges Jamunā Do'āb, 159, 161, 169, 170.
Gardīzī Sayyid, 122.
Gatha Katangā, 23.
Gassendi, 67, 68.
Gauhātī, 47, 81, 83.
Gawhar 'Alī, 5.
*Gawhar-i Murād*, 221.
Gayā, 160.
Germany, 254.
Ghalzay Afghāns, 142.
*Ghanīma*, 254.
Gharīb Dās, 104.
Gharjistān, 24, 51.
Ghatkarī, 81.
Ghawthī Shattārī, 62.
Ghazālī, 35, 58, 59, 63, 66, 77, 81, 91, 246, 262, 271, 278, 279, 254, 287, 363, 391.
Ghāzān Khān, 295.
Ghāzī al-Dīn the younger, 301.
Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrūz-Jang 'Imād al-Mulk, 5, 99, 113-115, 127, 138, 146, 154, 158, 226, 301, 319, 336, 337, 371-374.
Ghāzīpūr, 50, 183.
*Ghāzīs*, 262, 303, 307, 313.
Ghazna, 129, 142, 146, 293, 313, 396.
*Ghazw*, 241.
*Ghizālān al-Hind*, 186.
Ghubārī, 56.
Ghulām 'Alī Naqshbandī, 396.
Ghulām 'Askarī Khān Muhammadī, 337, 339, 340.

Ghulām Husayn, 5-7.
Ghulām Husayn Khān Jawhar, 16.
Ghulām Muhyī'al-Dīn, 14, 119.
Ghulām Muhammad Mustafa', 386.
Ghulām Mustafa' Qāsimī, 257.
Ghulām Qādir Khān Jā'isī, 13.
Ghulām Qādir Rohēlla, 172.
Ghulām Qutb al-Dīn, 378.
*Ghunyat al-tālibīn*, 214.
Ghūrīds, 113.
Gīlān, 51.
Girdhar Bahādur, 19, 136.
Godāvarī, 117.
Goindwāl, 83.
Gokul, 166.
Gokulā, 82.
Golkondā, 4, 6, 11, 24, 46, 47, 93, 96, 97, 99, 189, 191.
Gond, 45, 105, 141, 186.
Gondwāna, 23.
Gopāl Singh, 105.
Gorakh Nāth, 61.
Gorakhpūr, 115.
Gosā'in troops, 169, 170.
*Granth*, 106.
Greek, 63, 69, 70, 76, 277.
Gūjars, 45, 56, 159.
Gujarāt, 4, 10, 11, 15, 18, 23, 45, 46, 54, 73, 90, 102, 107, 112, 115, 116, 121, 126, 138, 140, 143, 148, 155, 157, 161, 189, 345, 360, 394.
Gujarātī Kolīs, 102.
Gul, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad, 319, 345.
Gulāb Singh, 119.
Gulbargā, 365.
*Gulistān-i Rahmat*, 14, 149, 150, 151.
Gulshan, Shāh Sa'd-Allāh, 21, 344, 345.
*Gulshan-i Hind*, 340.
*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, 4.
*Gulshan-i Wahdat*, 207, 319.
*Gulzār-i abrār*, 62.
*Gulzār-i Āsafiya*, 16, 192.
Gurdāspūr, 23.
Gurū Arjan, 82.
Gurū Govind Singh, 89, 106, 107.
Gurū Hargovind, 83.
Gurū Har Rāy, 83.
Gurū Nānak, 106.
Gurū Tegh Bahādur, 83, 106.
Gwalior, 23, 62, 67, 81, 105, 141, 162, 182, 183, 187, 212, 359.
Gyānvāpī, 89.

*Habs-i dam*, 273, 274.
*Habs-i nafas*, 363, 364.
Hadrat-Begam, 160, 167.
Hādī 'Alī Khān, 195.
*Hadīqat al-'ālam*, 16.
*Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, 16.
Hāfiz Amān-Allāh bin Nūr-Allāh, 386.
Hāfiz-Allāh Panjābī, 225.
Hāfiz Muhammad Husayn, 124.
Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, 14, 150, 159, 169, 170.
Hāfiz Sa'd-Allāh, 319, 320.
Hāfiz Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh, 208.
Hague, 30.
Hājjī 'Abd-Allāh, 135.
Hājjī 'Abd-Allāh Sultānpūrī, 226.
Hājjī Hāfiz, 200, 201.
Hājjī Khān Afghān, 317.
Hājjī Khidr Khān Afghān, 209.
Hājjī Muhammad Afdal Siālkotī, 318, 334, 335.
Hājjī Nūr-Allāh, 359.
Hājjī Sharī'at Isfahānī, 135.
Hājjī Sultān, 332.
Hājjī Yār Muhammad, 113, 114, 212.
*Hakīm*, 69, 70, 76, 257, 259, 348, 349.
Hakīm Kāmrān Shīrāī, 70, 71.
Hakīm Munīr, 69.
Hakīm Nīshāpūrī, 243, 262.
Halīm, 292.
Hallāj, Abū Mansūr, 64, 206.
*Ham'āt*, 216, 222, 262, 263, 269.
Hamīd Khān Bahādur, 99.
Hamīdā Bānū Begam, 84.
Hanway, Jones, 144.
Hāpur, 159.
*Haqīqat al-Wujūdiyya*, 266.
*Haqīqat hā-i Hindūstān*, 16.
Har Rāy, 83.
Hardoi, 123.
Hargovind, 82, 83.
Haridwār, 149, 282, 283.
Harī Krishna, 83.
Harī Rām Guptā, 171.
Hārūn al-Rashīd, 243.
Hasan Abdāl, 83, 84, 211.
Hasan al-Basrī, 269-272, 358, 377, 395, 397.
Hasan bīn 'Alī, 349.
Hasan bīn 'Alī al-Hanafī, 324.
Hasanābād, 199.
Hāshimite, 288, 329.

*Hāshīya-i mutawwal*, 386.
*Hāshiya-i talwīh*, 386.
*Hasr-i nafas*, 274, 364.
*Hatha-Yoga*, 372.
Hathiāpul, 89.
*Hāyat-i Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī*, 333.
*Hayāt-i Walī*, 221, 224, 230.
Haybat-Jang, 5.
Haydar, 56.
Haydarābād, 16, 17, 85, 98, 99, 112, 121, 138, 164, 171, 173, 176, 187, 214, 244, 257, 303, 319, 324.
Haydar 'Alī, 164, 173.
Haydar Beg Dughlāt, 130.
Haydar Qulī Khān, 19, 130, 131, 136.
*Hayūla Thāniyyah*, 259.
*Hazīn*, 189.
Hejāz, 87, 324, 329.
Hēmū, 23.
Henry Vansittart, 15.
Herāt, 142, 156, 247.
Hermes Trismegistus, 64, 69.
Hidāyat 'Alī, 5, 151.
Hidāyat-Allāh Bihārī, 18, 88, 133.
*Hidāyat al-hikma*, 388.
*Hidāyat al-Qawā'id*, 18, 88, 133.
*Hikāyat-i fath-i Nādir Shāh*, 144.
*Hikmat*, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 76, 256-285.
Hillī, 251.
Himālayas, 106.
Himmat Yār Khān, 373.
Hindaun, 130.
*Hindū Pad Pādshāhī*, 169.
Hindūstān, 45, 46, 97, 109, 115, 131, 204, 380, 382.
Hirbed, 69.
Hirday Rām Khattrī Lāhorī, Rāja, 12, 187.
Hisār, 298.
Hisār Fīrūza, 26.
*An historical account of the British trade over Caspian Sea*, 144.
*History of Awrangzib*, 86, 87, 96, 101, 105.
*History of Freedom Movement*, 230.
*History of Muslim Philosophy*, 64.
*History of the Sikhs*, 82, 107, 113, 117, 151, 308.
*History of sūfism in India*, 177, 189, 207, 264.
*History of the reign of Shāh Allum*, 165.
Hoey, W., 15.
Holkar, 169.
Holland, 380.
Hoshang, 54.
Hoshiārpūr, 167.
Hossein Nasr, 64.
*House of Shivā Ji*, 93.
Hoyland, J.S., 50.
Huglī, 47, 184.
*Hujjat-Allāh al-Bāligha*, 221, 223, 229, 245-249, 256, 258, 261, 277-295, 309-315.
Humāyūn, 22, 177, 317, 380.
Hun, 95.
Hundī, 48.
Husayn 'Alī Khān, 124, 126, 128, 129, 148.
Husayn Khān Afghān, Khwēshgī, 134.
Husayn Khwārazmī, 389.
Husayn Murtadā, 16.
Hyderābād, see Haydarābād.

'Ibādat Khāna, 73.
Ibn 'Abbās, 245, 247.
Ibn al-'Arabī, 21, 60, 61, 63, 64, 210, 235, 264, 266, 267, 269, 275, 276, 309, 324, 325, 365, 373.
Ibn Hajar al-Haytamī, 251.
Ibn Hishām, 329.
Ibn Jawzī, 269.
Ibn Khaldūn, 397.
Ibn Māja, 242, 243.
Ibn Maqna', 69.
Ibn Muljam, 191.
Ibn Qāsim, 243.
Ibn al-Rāwandī, 279.
Ibn Taymiyya, 251, 286, 397.
Ibn Tumarth, 230.
Ibn Wahb, 243.
*Indian Muslims*, 230, 285.
Ibrāhīm, Prince, 131.
Ibrāhīm Khalīl-Allāh, 267.
Ibrāhīm Khān Gārdī, 171.
Ibrāhīm Lodī, 22.
Ibrāhīmābād, 56.
*'Ibrat-i arbāb-i basar*, 15.
*'Ibrat-nāma* 7, 8, 9, 107, 112, 117. 118, 119, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 134, 135.
Idar, 81.
Ifrīqiya, 254.
*Ihqāq al-haqq*, 75.
*Ihyā' 'ulūm al-Dīn*, 35, 59, 246, 278.
Ijād, 10, 123.
*Ijāra*, 133, 138, 298, 299.
*Ijārādārs*, 42, 133.
*Ikhlās-i Chārgāna*, 80.

*Ilāhī* era, 87.
*Ilāhīs*, 72.
*Ilāhiyāt*, 256.
Ilkhānīd, 295.
*'Ilm al-kitāb*, 344, 346, 347, 355, 356.
Iltutmish, 43.
'Imād al-Mulk, 14, 138, 158-162, 167-172, 301, 336-339.
'Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, 13, 14, 165, 166, 375.
*'Imād al-Sa'ādat*, 15, 130, 147, 149-151, 155, 156, 159, 162, 170, 171.
Imām al-Dīn Riyādī, 359.
Imām 'Askarī, 342, 349.
Imām Athīr al-Din Abharī, 389.
Imām-bāra, 192, 376.
Imām Hasan, 289, 345, 349.
Imām Husayn, 175, 190, 191, 193, 316.
Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq, 272, 396.
Imām Muhammad, 243.
Imām Muhammad Bāqir, 272.
Imām Ridā', 74, 195, 269.
*Imāmat*, 195, 256, 299, 328, 342, 346, 348, 349, 350, 369, 370, 396.
*Imām-i ma'sūm*, 229.
Imāmiyya, 249, 250, 253, 272, 342.
'Imrān, 231.
'Imran b. Husayn, 259.
Imtiyāz Mahal, 121.
In'ām 'Alī, Munshī, 15.
*In'āmdārs*, 95.
'Ināyat-Allāh Khān Kashmīrī, 127, 128, 138.
'Ināyat-Jang, 18.
'Ināyat Khān, 86.
India, 3, 4, 6, 11-13, 16, 17, 22, 30, 45, 47, 48, 51, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 77, 81, 83, 86, 88, 97, 98, 99, 103, 112, 113, 124, 131, 135, 138, 141, 142, 145, 146, 153, 157, 165, 167, 169, 173, 175, 176, 177, 183, 185-190, 192, 218, 219, 220, 246, 254, 269, 276, 290, 293, 295, 296, 301, 302, 303, 305, 308, 313, 317, 324, 331, 332, 333, 337, 341, 344, 359, 360, 366, 376, 378, 388, 392, 393, 394, 397.
*India and Contemporary Islām*, 249.
India Office, 18, 87, 92, 98, 120, 371, 373, 377.
*Indian Muslims*, 230, 285.
Indore, 162.
Indra Singh, 84.
Indrākhī, 105.
Indus, 145, 155, 170, 380.
*Insāf fi bayān-i sabab-i ikhtilāf*, 246.
*Inshā-ī Roshan Kalām*, 184.
*Intibāh fi salāsil*, 207.
Intizām al-Dawla, 13, 154, 158, 162, 166, 170, 336, 337, 338.
*'Iqd al-jid*, 223, 247.
*Iqtā'*, 42, 43.
*Iqtā'dārs*, 41, 42.
Irādat Khān, 9, 112.
Īrān, 11, 24, 47, 51, 58, 63, 64, 67, 69, 72, 74, 80, 84, 96, 113, 135, 138, 139, 142, 143, 183, 184, 187, 188, 190, 269, 278, 341, 392.
Īrānī, 8, 24, 74, 109, 110, 119, 120, 130, 136, 144-147, 152, 159, 172, 175, 183, 184, 201, 216, 249, 340, 341.
'Irāq, 51, 185, 190, 342.
'Irfān Habīb, 30, 33.
Irij, 105.
*Irtifāq*, 288, 309, 347.
Irvine, William, 3.
'Isā' Khān, 134.
'Isā'khel (Afghāns), 44.
Īsardās Nāgar, 85, 91.
Isfahān, 69, 142, 188, 362.
Isfandārmuz, 40.
Ishāq Khān, 147.
Ishrāqī, 60, 64, 65, 66, 78, 112, 257, 352, 391.
Ishwarī Singh, Rāja, 152.
Islām Khān, 28.
Islām Shāh, 23.
Isma'īl (Ishmail), 237, 250.
Isma'īl Khān, 98.
Ismā'īlī, 59, 279, 379.
Isma'iliyya, 249, 272.
Israelites, 238, 240.
Istanbūl, 201.
*Ithbāt al-Nabuwwa*, 77.
Ithnā'-'Asharī Shī'ī, 75, 253, 273, 342, 349.
I'tiqād Khān, 96, 98.
I'timād al-Dawla, 27, 28.
I'timād al-Dawla Qamar al-Dīn Khān, Nawwāb, 12, 13, 319, 336.
I'tmād 'Ali, Khān, 18.
I'tmād Khān, 18, 25.
*Itqān*, 235, 241, 244.
*Izālat al-Khafā*, 222, 246, 249, 250, 252, 253, 255, 262, 290.
Izutsu, T., 61, 241.

Jabal 'Āmila, 64.
Jabbārī Khān, 317, 318.
Jadūnāth Sarkār, 3, 80, 86, 93, 95, 96, 97, 105, 149, 158, 160.
Ja'far 'Alī Khān, 196.
Ja'far Beg Qazwīnī, 27.
Ja'far Khān, 178.
Ja'far Khān Nāsirī, 135.
Ja'far Zatallī, 20.
*Jagat Gosā'īn*, 80.
Jagdīsh Narāin Sarkār, 47.
*Jāgīr*, 10, 11, 26, 29, 31, 33, 42, 52, 53, 54, 88, 93, 97, 98, 116, 127, 132, 133, 134, 140, 141, 151, 187, 298, 304, 317, 318.
*Jāgīrdār*, 33, 41, 42, 50, 87, 88, 97, 100, 121, 133, 162, 184, 300.
*Jāgīr Mahāls*, 135.
Jahān Khān, 166-168, 305.
Jahān Shāh, 119.
Jahānābād, 180, 358.
Jahānārā Begam, 92.
Jahāndār Shāh, 9, 10, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 127, 129, 134, 135, 138 160.
*Jahāndār-nāma*, 10, 120, 123.
Jahāngīr, 20, 24, 27, 28, 42, 50, 54, 62, 63, 73, 75, 82, 99, 114, 123, 133, 141.
Jahāngīrnagar, 124.
Jahānzīb Bānū Begam, 20, 87.
Jaipūr, 85, 103, 116, 121, 148, 151, 159.
Jai Singh, 86, 103, 116, 121, 148.
Jai Singh, Mīrzā Rāja, 54, 55, 94, 100, 104, 110, 119, 121, 127, 136, 148, 152, 161, 359, 393.
Jai Singhpurā, 146.
Jā'is, 387.
Jaja'ū, 112, 117, 122.
Jalāl Khān, 118.
Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī, 59, 382, 386, 388.
Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī, 294, 300.
Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, 6, 309.
Jalālābād, 118, 142.
Jalālī, 45.
*Jalalyn*, 363.
Jālandhar Do'āb, 82, 118, 167.
Jalbānī, 223, 224, 261.
Jalesar, 183.
Jālor, 22.
*Jama'*, 33, 265.
*Jama' al-Barakāt*, 78.
Jamal, battle, 329.
Jāmī, 62, 242, 244, 385.
*Jami'-i 'Abbās-ī*, 269.
Jammū, 85.
Jamunā, 106, 118, 134, 170, 192, 339, 345.
*Jangnāma*, 9.
Jassā Singh Ahluwālia, 164.
*Jātrās*, 88.
*Jāts*, 45, 80, 82, 83, 90, 103, 104, 117, 118, 120, 127, 131, 159-162, 166, 167, 170, 171, 173, 180, 298, 303, 304, 305, 307, 308, 338, 375, 394, 397.
Jāunpūr, 23, 56, 63, 66, 183, 205.
Jāvid Khān, 17, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 179, 196.
*Jawahar-i Samsām*, 12, 128, 143, 144, 145.
Jawāhir Mal Bekas, 134.
Jawāhir Sīngh Jāt, 308.
Jawharī Bāzār, 200.
Jayājī Sindhiā, 157.
Jayappa Sindhiā, 156.
Jazā'ir, 152.
Jean Pecquet, 68.
Jedda, 46.
Jesus Christ, 71, 238, 239, 280.
Jews, 50, 72, 236, 237, 238, 253, 254, 279, 281, 282, 329, 333.
Jhajhjhar, 161, 168.
Jhakharwāliān, 56.
Jhānsī, 104.
Jharokha Darshan, 89.
Jhuna, 104.
*Jihād*, 101, 159, 160, 251, 252, 253, 273, 285, 286, 290, 296, 302, 304, 308, 313, 314, 393.
Jīlī, 276.
Jinjī, 95, 97.
Jinjūha, 44, 56.
*Jins-i kāmil*, 36.
*Jizya*, 91, 92, 97, 100, 121, 127, 129, 134, 139, 200, 254, 286, 291, 292, 393, 394.
Jodhpūr, 22, 107, 116, 121.
Johnson, Richard, 13.
Jonathan Scott, 13, 16.
Junayd, 263, 270.
Jurjānī, Sharīf, 60, 66, 390.
*Juz' al-latīf*, 214, 229.

Ka'ba, 69, 236, 283, 284.
Kabīr, 73, 82, 207.
Kābul, 23, 24, 32, 66, 68, 83, 105, 107, 108, 114, 117, 137, 138, 142, 145, 146, 151, 152, 156, 184, 195.
Kachwāhās, 86, 120.

Kaghaza'i Karta'i clan, 141.
Kākorī, 32, 183, 370, 386.
Kalānpūr, 23.
*Kalīla wa Dimna*, 287.
Kalīm al-Dīn, 378.
*Kalimāt al-Shu'arā'*, 20.
*Kalimāt-i tayyibāt*, 101, 103, 224, 320, 329, 335, 337, 339.
Kālinjar, 23, 104.
Kaliyān, 100.
Kālpī, 141, 182, 337.
Kām Bakhsh, 108, 111, 112, 119, 170.
Kamāl al-Dīn, 203.
Kamāyishdār, 102.
Kampil, 45.
Kāmrāj, 8, 112, 119, 124, 126.
Kāndhalwī, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 257.
Kannauj, 155.
Kānpūr, 28, 52, 148, 166, 211, 313, 318.
Kān Singh, 105.
Karā, 45.
Karāchī, 30, 56, 63, 75, 91, 207, 229, 230, 231, 232, 246, 249, 257, 319, 375.
Karā Mānikpūr, 123, 183.
Karbalā, 131, 175, 180, 190, 194, 285.
*Kārkhānas*, 49, 135, 154, 159, 179.
*Karma Shāstra*, 332.
Karna, 101.
Karnāl, 12, 143, 144, 165.
Karnātik, 51, 98, 139.
*Karori*, 32.
Kārtalab Khān, 135.
Kartārpūr, 83, 167.
Kāsganj, 141, 169.
*Kashf al-asrār*, 388.
*Kashf al-ghayn*, 224.
Kāshghar, 69.
Kāshī, 156.
Kāshifī, Fakhr al-Dīn, 373-375, 377, 378.
Kashmīr, 14, 22, 24, 68, 72, 79, 82, 113, 133, 134, 145, 147, 152, 157, 174, 198, 199, 301.
Katihar, 45, 149, 150.
Katrā Phulel, 373, 374.
Kavirāj Shyāmaldās, 51.
Kay-Khusraw, 63.
Kāzim Khān, 191.
Keshav Rāy, 191.
Khadūr, 83.
Khāfī Khān, 3, 4, 5, 7, 85, 88, 113, 125, 133, 194, 199.
Khair al-Dīn Ilāhābādī, 9
Khalīfa, 62, 205, 209, 212, 250, 252, 255, 256, 288, 289, 319, 324, 327, 335, 361, 365, 368, 370, 373.
Khalīfa Abu'l-Qāsim Akbarābādī, 211, 343, 344.
Khalīfa Sultān I'timād al-Dawla, 66.
Khalīl-Allāh Khān Yazdī, 84.
*Khālisa*, 7, 25, 26, 31, 33, 42, 50, 52, 84, 87, 88, 97, 116, 133, 135, 146, 154, 160, 161, 164, 298, 299, 338.
Khaljī, 44.
Khān Fīrūz-Jang, Nawwāb, 319.
Khān-i-Dawrān Bahādūr, 12, 115, 123, 140.
Khān-i Jahān, 62, 74, 75, 250.
Khān-i Khānān, 24, 115, 127, 132.
Khān-i Sāmān, 49, 201.
Khān-i Zamān Khān, 16, 225.
Khāndesh, 4, 24, 32, 103.
*Khānqāh*, 137, 184, 370, 373, 374, 375, 391, 396, 205, 213, 271, 315, 319, 320, 336, 361.
Khānzāda, 44, 51.
*Kharāj*, 254, 291, 292.
Kharal, 44.
Kharapdeo, 134.
Khārī Bā'olī, 180.
Khārijī, 191, 194, 378.
Khatak, 84.
Khattrīs, 106, 121, 174.
*Khayr al-Kathīr*, 257, 258, 278.
Khayr-Allāh Muhandis, 283, 359.
Khayr Andesh Khān, 104, 105.
*Khazāna-i Jizya*, 91.
Khelnā, 101.
Khidr, 334.
Khidr Khān Pannī, 98, 113, 182.
Khokhars, 44.
Khudāganj, 141.
Khujand, 359.
Khujista Akhtar, 129.
*Khulāsa-i rāz*, 359.
*Khulāsat al-hisāb*, 359.
*Khulāsat al-tawārīkh*, 6.
Khuldābād, 108, 186.
Khurāsān, 25, 51, 71, 134, 142, 145, 146, 156, 165, 254.
Khurja, 201.
Khurram, Prince, 28, 53, 54, 146.
Khurshīdul Islām, 180.
Khushāl Chand, 119.
Khushāl Khan, 89, 122.
Khushwant Singh, 83, 117, 308.

Khusraw, 53, 82, 289.
*Khuts*, 41.
Kh. 'Abd-Allāh, 199, 343.
Kh. 'Abd al-Hakīm, 16.
Kh. 'Abd al-Karīm, 142, 226.
Kh. 'Abd al-Khaliq Ghujduwānī, 364.
Kh. 'Abd al-Rahīm Kāshmīrī, 226.
Kh. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Hamādānī, 343.
Kh. 'Āsim, 123.
Kh. Bahā al-Dīn Naqshbandī, 2, 11, 343, 344.
Kh. Bāqī Billāh, 63, 205, 206, 207, 209, 214, 224.
Kh. Bāsit, 8.
Kh. Dard, 347, 349, 395.
Kh. Fath-Allāh Khān, 344.
Kh. Ghulām Husayn Khān, 16, 192.
Kh. 'Imād Bukhārī, 343.
Kh. Ja'far, 8.
Kh. Kalān, 207, 213, 221.
Kh. Kāmgār Khān, 371, 373.
Kh. Khāwand Mahmūd, 79.
Kh. Khidmatgār Khān, 137.
Kh. Khurd, 63, 207, 208, 209, 214, 354, 395.
Kh. Mīr Athar, 344.
Kh. Mīr Dard, 189, 343, 344, 346, 350, 357.
Kh. Mīrak, 343.
Kh. Muhammad, 138, 361.
Kh. Muhammad Amīn 225, 231.
Kh. Muhammad Fārūq Kāshmīrī, 225.
Kh. Muhammad Ja'far, 193, 194.
Kh. Muhammad Khalīl, 10.
Kh. Muhammad Ma'sūm, 267.
Kh. Muhammad Murād Kāshmīrī, 226.
Kh. Muhammad Naqshband, 324.
Kh. Muhammad Nasīr, 343-347, 349, 354.
Kh. Muhammad Pārsā, 271.
Kh. Muhammad Tāhir Bukhārī, 343, 344.
Kh. Muhammad Zubayr, 225.
Kh. Mu'īn al-Dīn, 79, 211, 316, 358, 373.
Kh. Muzaffar, 137.
Kh. Nāsir 'Andalīb, 395.
Kh. Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, 29.
Kh. Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', 194.
Kh. Nūr Kashmīrī, 225.
Kh. Qāsim, 123, 343.
Kh. Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, 213, 319, 367, 374, 378.
Kh. Sha'bān, 343.
Kh. Shāh Mansūr Shīrāzī, 26, 139.
Kh. Sultān Ahmad, 343.
Kh. Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 343.
Khwārazm, 51, 146, 207.
Khwārazmī, Sirāj al-Dīn, 398.
Kindī, 158, 258.
Kīratpūr, 83.
Kīrat Singh, 119.
Kirmānī, S. M. Mubārak, 274.
Kishan Singh, 105.
*Kitāb al-manār*, 388.
*Kitāb al-Muwatta*, 222.
*Kitāb al-Shifā'*, 59.
Kol, 44.
Kolerūn river, 95.
Kolhāpūr, 94, 121, 140.
Kolīs, 45.
Konkan, 93, 94.
Kora Jahānābād, 183.
Kotā Bābā, 149, 150.
Kotā Būndī, 127.
Kotlā Fīrūz Shāh, 213.
*Kotwālī Chabūtrā*, 82.
*Kotwāls*, 34, 38, 39, 40, 48, 83, 87, 154, 197.
Krishna, 69, 71, 330, 332, 335, 358.
Krishna Chandra Majrūh, 335.
Kūch Bihār, 90.
Kūfā, 246, 272.
Kūkī, 13.
Kumā'ūn, 51.
Kumbher, 162.
Kurdistān, 51, 209.
Kurukshetra, 160.

Lachman Dās, 117.
Lachmī Narāyan Shafīq Awrangābādī, 15, 16.
Ladākh, 24, 81.
Lādlī Begam, 54.
Lāhijī, Mullā, 221.
Lahore, 8, 9, 14, 24, 30, 32, 49, 54, 57, 63, 68, 69, 72, 79, 83, 84, 88, 91, 106, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117-120, 122, 123, 125, 134, 137, 142, 143, 141, 151, 152, 155, 156, 165, 167, 168, 169, 174, 180-183, 188, 190, 195, 216, 220, 224, 231, 261, 262, 301.
Lāhorī, Rāja Hirday Rām, 12.
Lāhorī, Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim 'Ibrat, 10.
Lakhī Jangal, 134.
Lakshmana, 188.

La'l Kunwar, 121, 122, 123.
*Lama'āt al-tanqīh*, 78.
*Lamahāt*, 213, 257.
*Land control and social structure in Indian history*, 42.
*Land revenue administration under the Mughals*, 34, 42.
Lārī, 'Abd al-Razzāq, 4, 44.
Lārs, 51.
*Lashkar-i du'ā*, 32, 74, 356.
Latāfat 'Alī, 340.
*Latā'if-i Fayyādī*, 51.
*Later Mughals*, 3, 111, 144.
*Lawā'ih*, 213.
Leiden, 308, 344.
*Life and times of Sawā'i Jai Singh*, 116.
*Life of Mīr-Jumla*, 47.
*Līlāwatī*, 60.
Lodīs, 4, 43, 44.
Lohānīs (Afghāns), 44.
Lohgarh, 125.
Lokhandwāla, S. T., 249.
London, 4, 19, 47, 48, 49, 50, 64, 68, 81, 90, 91, 92, 96, 144, 165, 180, 188, 230, 258.
Lord Clive, 163.
Luard, C.E., 48.
Lucknow, 5, 13, 26, 44, 56, 57, 66, 69, 78, 119, 123, 130, 155, 183, 184, 187, 192, 211, 212, 229, 370, 386, 387, 388.
Lūnī, 306.
Luristān, 51.
Lutf-Allāh Muhandis, 359.

*Ma'ārij al-wilāya*, 322, 323.
*Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104 105, 108, 344.
*Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, 63, 183, 186.
*Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, 17, 67, 71, 83, 98, 185.
*Ma'āthir-i Āsafī*, 16.
Macauliffe, M.A., 107.
*Madad-i ma'āsh*, 31, 33, 43, 73, 91, 95, 133, 183, 185, 209, 212, 355, 387, 388, 393.
*Madārij al-nubuwwā*, 77.
Madār Shāh, 150.
Mādho Singh, Rāja, 159.
Madhusūdan Dās, 34.
Madkar, 150.
Madras, 97, 164.
Mahābat-Jang 'Alī Wardī Khān, 5, 15, 185.
Mahābat Khān, 55, 71, 91, 98.
*Mahābhārat*, 59, 332.
*Mahāl*, 4, 32, 33, 43, 44, 87, 88, 157, 299.
Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, 84, 85, 88.
Mahārāja of Jodhpūr, 84, 116.
Mahārānā of Udaipūr, 9, 84, 85, 101.
Mahārānā Amar Singh, 116.
Mahārānā Pratāp, 41, 55.
Mahārānā Sāngā, 55, 85.
Mahārāshtra, 184, 189.
Mahbūb Khān, 198, 199.
*Mahdar*, 56, 386.
Mahdī, 253, 346, 349.
Mahilpūr, 167.
Mahmūd, 191, 203.
Mahmūd al-Husaynī, 152.
Mahmūd bin Amīr Walī, 191.
Mahmūd Shīrānī, 201.
*Majālis al-mu'minīn*, 74.
Majd al-Dawla, Nawwāb, 225.
Majlis Rāy, 198, 199.
*Majmu'a-i Inshā'*, 19.
Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, 317.
Major Hector, 164.
Makanpūr, 313.
Makhdūm Jahāniyān, 176.
Makhdūm Muhammad Mu'īn, 225, 226.
Makhsūsābād, 135.
Makrān, 24.
*Maktab-Khāna*, 332.
*Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, 62, 76, 77, 113, 210, 211, 231, 250.
*Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, 108, 358, 361, 365, 366, 370, 371, 372.
*Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Muhammad Ma'sūm*, 211.
*Maktūbāt-i Mansūriya*, 184.
*Maktūbāt-i Shāh Walī-Allāh*, 220, 229, 294, 296, 301, 303.
Mālda, 92.
Maldive, 47.
*Malfūz-i Razzāqī*, 193.
*Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, 179, 286, 306, 376, 377, 378.
Malhār Rāo Holkar, 141, 156, 157, 158, 162.
Malik 'Ayn Khān, 141.
Mālik ibn Anas, 222, 243, 244, 395.
Malika-i Zamānī, 167.
Malka Bānū, 83.
Mālwā, 22, 23, 24, 32, 45, 53, 103, 104, 105, 108, 116, 121, 127, 130, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 148, 154, 161, 162, 186, 187, 220, 296, 302, 394.
*Mālwā in transition*, 141.

*Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, 318, 319, 321, 322, 336, 341.
Ma'mūn, Caliph, 243, 269.
Ma'mūrī Abu'l-Fadl, 4, 25, 89.
*Manāqib-i Fakhriyya*, 337, 373, 374, 375, 377, 378.
*Manāqib-i Mahbūbīn*, 361, 362, 363, 370, 373, 374.
*Manāqib-i Razzāqiyya*, 389.
*Manāzil al-futūh*, 171.
Manāzir Ahsān Gīlānī, 249.
Manba'ī, 4.
Manchester, 62.
*Mandīs*, 46.
Māndū, 130, 140.
Mānikpūr, 44.
*Mansabdārs*, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 73, 87, 94, 98, 100, 107, 117, 132, 134, 157, 174, 175, 189, 200, 201, 298, 318.
*Mansabdārī*, 50, 97, 138, 300.
*Mansabdārī system and the Mughal army*, 30.
*Mansabs*, 9, 29, 41, 96, 105, 115, 116, 119, 121, 127, 129, 131, 132, 137, 138, 139, 141, 147, 148, 157, 175, 204, 298, 316, 318, 346, 56, 66, 83, 85, 87, 97, 99, 136.
Mān Singh Rāja, 53, 55, 56, 110.
Mansūr, 203.
Manucci, 47, 102.
*Maqālāt-i Hāfiz Mahmūd Shīrānī*, 201.
*Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, 318-321, 325-327, 329, 330, 334, 336, 341.
*Ma'qūl*, 379, 384, 385.
*Ma'qūliyān*, 229, 397.
*Marāthanchya Itihāschin Sādhanen*, 58, 171.
Marāthas, 13, 16, 19, 54, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 107, 109, 110, 116, 117, 120, 121, 127, 128, 129, 131, 138, 140, 141, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 153, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 179, 186, 187, 220, 295, 296, 300, 302, 303, 305, 307, 308, 336, 338, 375, 394, 397.
Marghīnānī, 390.
Marhamat Khān, 130.
*Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-hadīth*, 242.
Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, 269, 360.
Mārwār, 17, 84, 85, 169.
*Masand*, 82.
Mashhad, 71, 73, 142, 195, 269.
*Mashā'ikh-i Chisht*, 361.
*Mashar al-barakāt*, 186
Mas'ūd bin 'Umar, 381.
Mathurā, 80, 81, 90, 104, 140, 157, 161, 162, 166, 167, 302, 335, 339, 342.
Māturīdī, 62.
Ma'u, 155.
Ma'u Shamsābād, 201.
Maulawī Ahmad 'Attārpūrī, 226.
Maulawī Imām Bakhsh Sahbā'ī, 188.
Maulawī 'Ināyat-Allāh, 226.
Maulawī Miyān Dād, 225.
Maulawī Nadhar Muhammad, 159.
Maulawī Nasīm Ahmad Farīdī, 224.
Maulawī S. Qutb al-Dīn, 386.
Maulawī Shāh Farrukh Shāh, 324.
Māwardī, 290.
*Mawās*, 45.
Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Khān, 184.
Maybudhī, Husayn, 389.
*Maykhāna-i Dard*, 342, 354.
Māzandarān, 51.
McGill, 241, 324.
Mecca, 13, 26, 64, 65, 68, 87, 113, 185, 205, 209, 215, 216, 218, 220, 221, 222, 225, 231, 242, 246, 255, 264, 269, 271, 282, 283, 295, 310, 313, 321, 323, 345, 360, 366, 377.
*Medieval India Quarterly*, 33, 142.
Medina, 87, 205, 209, 215, 216, 220, 221, 222, 231, 242, 243, 245, 246, 255, 264, 267, 268, 269, 271, 295, 309, 310, 313, 324, 325, 328, 342, 345, 354, 360, 362, 363, 377, 395.
Meerut, 161, 179.
Meos, 44.
Mewār, 17, 51, 54, 84, 85, 116.
Mewāt, 41, 81, 104, 303, 304.
Mewātīs, 45, 131.
Michael, G., 276.
*Miftāh al-iqbāl-i Muhammad Shāhī*, 119.
*Milal wa'l-nihal*, 254.
Mina, 321.
*Minhāj al-'ābidīn*, 363.
*Minhāj al-karāma*, 251.
*Minhāj al-sunna al nabawiyya*, 251.
Minhāj Sirāj Jūzjānī, 45, 56, 57.
Mīr, 181, 189.
Mīr 'Abd al-Hakīm, 226.
Mīr 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgarāmī, 185.
Mīr 'Abd-Allāh Qārī, 225.
*Mīr 'Adl*, 31.
Mīr Ahmad Khān, 198, 199.

Mīr 'Ālam, 16.
*Mīr Ātash*, 150, 151.
*Mīr Bakhshī*, 12, 28, 66, 98, 99, 121, 140, 143, 146, 159, 172, 185, 344.
Mīr Dard, 345, 351, 352.
Mīr Faiz 'Alī, 181.
Mīr Fath-Allāh Shīrāzī, 59, 139, 378, 380, 385, 386, 391.
Mīr Hasan, 189.
Mīr Hāshim Mūsawī Khān, 187.
Mīr Husām al-Dīn Gwāliorī, 14.
Mīr 'Izzat Allāh, 226.
Mīr Ja'far Khān, 5, 15, 164.
Mīr Jumla, 8, 46, 54, 81, 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 192, 193, 200.
Mīr Muhammad, 185.
Mīr Muhammad Ahsan Ī'jād, 122.
Mīr Muhammad Amīn, 108, 130, 131, 195.
Mīr Muhammad Bāqir Dāmād, 64, 65, 70, 386.
Mīr Muhammad Husayn Ī'jād, 10, 195.
Mīr Muhammad Ja'far Khān, 15.
Mīr Muhammad Nasīr Nīshāpūrī, 130.
Mīr Muhammad Panāh, 319, 374.
Mīr Muhammad Sa'īd Ardistānī, 46.
Mīr Muhammad Wafā, 124.
Mīr Munnū, 152, 155-158, 165.
Mīr Munshī, 13.
Mīr Muqīm Kānth, 157.
Mīr Mushrif, 123.
Mīr Nizām al-Dīn Khān, 336.
Mīr Nizām 'Alī Khān Āsaf-Jāh, 18.
Mīr Qamar al-Dīn, 127, 177.
Mīr Qāsim, 5, 164.
Mīr Rahmat-Allāh, 225.
*Mīr Sāmān*, 49.
Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jūrjānī, 386.
Mīr Shahwar Khān Bakhshī, 198, 199.
Mīr Shams al-Dīn, 91.
Mīr Shihāb-al-Dīn, 99.
Mīr Taqī Mīr, 17, 180, 189, 190, 306, 341.
Mīr Zāhid Harawī, 66, 208, 209, 213, 382, 390.
*Mīr-i ard*, 30.
*Mīr-i mohalla*, 39, 40.
Mīrān, 196.
Mīrān Sadr-i Jahān, 123.
Mīran Sāhib, 177, 178.
*Mir'āt al-istilāh*, 18.
*Mir'āt -i Ahmadī*, 15, 40, 42, 46, 47, 48, 87, 88-90, 92, 93, 101, 360.
*Mir'āt-i wāridāt*, 11, 12, 120, 130, 131, 138, 139, 201.
Mīrzā 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil, 21, 26, 187, 345.
Mīrzā 'Abd al Rahīm, 27.
Mīrzā 'Abd al-Subhān, 318.
Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokā, 53.
Mīrzā Jalāl al-Dīn Haydar, 147.
Mīrzā Jān, 63, 69, 318, 386.
Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān, 188, 319, 201, 320, 323, 324, 325, 327, 328, 329, 330, 332-341, 356, 395, 396.
Mīrzā Lutf 'Alī, 340.
Mīrzā Muhammad (Rustam), 7, 8, 13, 112, 128.
Mīrzā M. Afdal Sarkhwush, 20.
Mīrzā M. Amān, 318.
Mīrzā M. Bakhsh Āshob, 13, 131.
Mīrzā M. Hakīm, 24.
Mīrzā M. Harisī, 127.
Mīrzā M. Hasan bin M. 'Alī, 15.
Mīrzā Muqīm, 147.
*Mīrzā-nāma*, 57.
Mīrzā Nasr-Allāh, 142.
Mīrzā Nūr al-Dīn M. 'Alī, 9, 112.
Mīrzā Tafākhur, 103.
*Misals*, 164, 165.
*Mishkāt al-masābīh*, 77, 207, 385.
Miskawaih, 287.
Mitr Sen, 34.
Miyān Muhammad Jān, 373.
Miyān Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 226.
Mobed Hoshiār, 71.
Mobed Shāh, 71.
Mongīr, 5.
Monserrate, Father, 49, 190.
Moscow, 48.
Moses, 21, 70, 280, 331.
Mu'āwiya, 69, 194, 289, 290, 329, 349.
Mu'azzam, Prince, 83, 94, 96, 106, 107, 108, 112, 114, 115, 117.
Mubāriz al-Mulk Sarbuland Khān, 16.
Mubāriz Khān, 138, 139.
*Mughal nobility under Awrangzīb*, 30, 47, 54.
Mughlānī Begam, 165, 166, 301.
Muhammad 'Alī, 5.
M. 'Alī Khān Ansārī, 13, 119.
M. Amīn Khān, 11, 12, 99, 125, 129, 130, 136, 137, 140, 141, 192, 193, 195, 196.
M. Āsaf Chaudharī, 56.
M. Athar 'Alī, 30, 54.
M. 'Azīz al-Dīn, 160.

M. Barzanjī, 324, 325.
M. Beg Turkī, 324.
M. Beg al-Uzbakī, 324, 325.
M. Bin 'Abd-Allāh, 242.
M. bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 215.
M. bin Hasan, 243.
M. bin Muhammad, 274.
M. Fadl-Allāh, 361.
M. Fākhir, 377.
M. Fayd Bakhsh, 15.
M. Hādī, 135.
M. Hasan, 216.
M. Hāshim, 361.
M. Hāshim Kishmī, 211.
M. Hayāt Sindī Madanī, 185.
M. Ihsān-Allāh, 361.
M. Ishāq Khān, 146, 147.
M. Isma'īl I'tiqād Khān, 109.
M. Karīm, 122.
M. Kāzim, 87.
M. Khān Bangash, Nawwāb, 19, 123, 141, 148, 182, 186.
M. Khān Razzāqī, 192.
M. Khānī, 14.
M. Mīrzā Sirhindī, 226.
M. Mujīb, 230.
M. Muhsin, 119.
M. Murād, 11.
M. Mustajāb Khān, Nawwāb, 14.
M. Qāsim 9, 10, 16, 112, 119, 124.
M. Sa'ādat Yār Khān, 14.
M. Sādiq. 89.
M. Sa'īd, 56.
M. Sālih, 344.
M. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 83, 92.
M. Sarwar, 216.
M. Shafī, 11, 12, 139.
M. Shāh, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 83, 132, 136, 139, 142, 144, 150, 152, 153, 154, 160, 163, 167, 175, 178, 179, 188, 195, 196, 200, 202, 220, 261, 296, 297, 303, 304, 336, 393.
M. Sharīf, 63.
M. Yā'qūb, 344.
M. Wafā 'Azīmābādī, 15.
Muhammadiyyas, 349, 350, 351, 356, 357.
Muhaqqiq-i Karkhī, 64.
Muhsin ibn al-Hanīf, 12, 128, 142.
*Muhtasib*, 34, 66, 87, 299.
Mu'īn al-Dīn Khān, 152.
Mu'īn-al-Mulk, 13, 14.
Mujaddid, 118, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 212, 216, 219, 221, 226, 231, 250, 262-269, 287, 289, 319, 321-327, 330, 331, 340, 342, 344, 347, 351, 354, 360, 365.
Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni, 62, 114, 264.
Mujaddidiyya, 210, 320, 323, 326, 341, 344, 345, 351, 396.
Mukhlisgarh, 119.
Mukhtār Khān, 104.
*Mulk-gīrī*, 69.
Mullā 'Abd al-Hakim, 66.
Mullā 'Abd al-Halīm, 386.
Mullā 'Abd al-Salām Lāhorī, 385.
Mullā Amān-Allāh, 302.
Mullā Chālak, 83.
Mullā Dāniyāl Chaurāsī, 385.
Mullā Dāwūd, 189.
Mullā Fīrūz, 71.
Mullā Hāmid, 209.
Mullā Jīwan, 388, 390.
Mullā Mahmūd, 336.
Mullā Muftī M. Ya'qūb, 387.
Mullā M. Fārūqī Jaunpūrī, 65, 389.
Mullā M. Ridā, 386.
Mullā M. Sa'īd, 386, 387.
Mullā Muhib-Allāh Bihārī, 388.
Mullā Nizām al-Dīn, 385, 386, 388, 389, 391.
Mullā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, 387.
Mullā Qutb al-Dīn Rāzī, 388.
Mullā Qutb al-Dīn Sihālwī, 56, 385, 387.
Mullā Sadrā, 64, 65, 221, 229, 257, 352, 388.
Mullā Shādmān, 124.
Mullā Shafī, 66.
Mullā Sher Muhammad, 225, 302.
Multān, 9, 10, 22, 32, 49, 90, 122, 134, 151, 155, 156, 182, 193, 194, 205.
Mu'min Khān Najm Thānī, 199.
Mumtāz Mahal, 28, 146.
Munajjim Shinās, 89.
Mungi Shivagāon, 140.
Mungīr, 55.
Mun'īm Khān, 15, 112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 119, 122.
Mun'īm Khān, Khān-i Khānān, 9, 25.
Munīr, 69.
*Munqidh min al-dalāl*, 77.
Munrique, F.S., 48.
*Munshāt-i Mūsawī Khān*, 19, 139, 187.
*Munshāt-i Namkīn*, 25.
Munshī Dayā Rām, 19.

Munshī In'ām 'Alī, 15.
Munshī Khān Mīr Hāshim, 19, 139.
Munshī Muhammad Amīn, 19.
Munshī Salīm-Allāh, 15.
Munshī Shiva Prasād, 14.
*Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, 3, 4, 6, 85, 113.
*Muntakhab at-tawārīkh*, 23, 25, 26, 32, 41, 56.
*Muqaddama*, 213.
*Muqaddama-i Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, 112, 117, 124, 126, 128, 136, 144, 148, 155, 165, 174.
*Muqaddama dar fan-i tarjama-i Qur'ān*, 222, 232.
*Muqaddams*, 41, 42, 102.
Murād, Prince, 24, 25, 281, 53, 55, 344.
Murādābād, 115, 139, 149, 320, 340.
*Murāqaba*, 366, 368.
*Muraqqa*, 363.
*Muraqqa-i Dihlī*, 17, 176, 177, 188, 192.
*Muraqqa-i Hasan*, 90.
*Murāsalāt-i Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*, 170.
Murshid Qulī Ja'far Khān, Nawwāb, 135.
Murshid Qulī Khān, 134, 136, 147, 154, 184, 187.
Murshidābād, 5, 155, 184, 185.
Murtadā Husayn, 16, 119, 175, 179, 184.
*Musā'adat*, 30, 31.
*Musaffa*, 223.
*Muwatta*, 222, 243, 244.
Mūsawī, Abu'l-Qāsim, 16.
*Mushrif*, 26-28.
Muslim, the author of *Sahīh*, 374, 385.
*Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent*, 240.
Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj, 242, 374, 385.
*Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, 53, 63, 75, 123, 207, 211, 214.
Mustafā Khān, 163.
Mustafābād, 4.
*Mustawfī*, 28, 31.
*Mutālaba*, 31.
*Mutsaddīs*, 46, 50, 174.
*Muwatta*, 223, 246, 249, 385, 395.
Muzaffar Khān, 140, 317.
Muzaffar Khān Turbatī, 25, 26, 27.
Muzaffarnagar, 169, 212.
Mysore, 95, 97, 164, 173, 187, 365.

Nabīganj, 141.
Nādir Khān, 145.
Nādir Qulī, 142.
Nādir Shāh, 3, 6, 11, 12, 13, 119, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, 157, 158, 175, 179, 181, 183, 188, 196, 202, 296, 297, 305, 394, 397.
Nāgar, Chabīlā Rām, 123.
Nāgar, Girdhar Lāl, 123.
Nāgarmal, Rāja, 160, 306.
Nāgor, 84.
Nāgpūr, 163.
Nagrām, 370.
*Nahj al-balāghah*, 64.
*Na'īm-Allāh*, 318.
Nainsukh, 8.
Najaf Khān, 340, 341.
*Najāt al-Rashīd*, 62.
Najd, 215.
Najīb al-Dawla, 14, 158, 159, 161, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 179, 180, 187, 227, 294, 301, 302, 305, 306, 307, 308, 339, 394, 397.
Najībābād, 170.
Najm al-Dawla, 147, 187.
Najm al-Dīn Nāgaurī, 361, 363.
*Nāla-i 'Andalīb*, 345, 346, 347.
Nānak, 73,118.
Nanded, 117.
Nānkār, 42.
*Nān-u halwa*, 64.
*Naqd al-nusūs*, 213.
Naqshbandiyya, 8, 14, 22, 63, 75, 123, 182, 207, 209, 211, 214, 273, 274, 327, 342, 347, 350, 352, 353, 354, 358, 365, 367, 372, 395, 396.
Naqawī, Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Khān, 15.
Narbadā, 107, 116, 127, 141, 204.
Nārnawl, 44, 81, 82, 157, 272, 317.
Narwar, 190.
Nasafī, 388.
Nasā'ī, 244.
*Nasīhat al-mulūk*, 81.
Nāsikh, 222, 235.
Nāsir-Jang, 146, 154, 164, 185, 373.
Nasīr Khān, 142.
Nāsir Nadhīr Firāq, 342, 354.
Nath-Yogīs, 72, 358.
Nathūpūr, 56.
National Archives, New Delhi, 18.
National Museum Karāchī, 34, 119, 142, 152.
Nawal Kishore Press, 227.
Nawal Rāy, 14, 155, 387.

Nawwāb Bā'ī Begam, 113.
Neoplatonism, 58, 59.
Nepal, 16.
*Nikāt al-Shu'arā*, 341.
Nīknām, 105.
Nīmājī Sindhiā, 103.
Ni'mat-Allāh Khān, 192, 193.
Ni'mat Khān, 9, 12.
Nīshāpūr, 26, 242.
Niyāzī, 22, 44, 81.
*Nizām al-'aqā'id*, 378.
Nizām 'Alī, 164.
Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, 29, 65.
Nizām al-Mulk, 4, 5, 11, 12, 15-17, 19, 21, 108, 115, 127, 129, 132, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 154, 158, 162, 164, 171, 175, 176, 185, 186, 192, 220, 226, 294, 295, 298, 302, 319, 336, 371, 379.
Nizām al-Mulk Ahmad Shāhī, 225.
Nizām al-Mulk, Burhān Shāh, 186.
*Nizām al-Qulūb*, 371, 372.
Nizāmgarh, 161.
Nizāmī, K.A. 224, 249, 296, 323, 361.
Nizāmpura, 366.
Nomān Ahmad Siddīqī, 33, 34.
Nārnol, 45.
*Numūd wa Numūd*, 195, 199.
*Nūr al-anwār*, 60.
Nūr al-Dīn Fārūqī, 10, 120, 165.
*Nūr al-'Uyūn*, 224.
Nūr-Allāh, Hājjī, 359.
Nūr Bā'ī, 145.
Nūr Jahān, 27, 53, 54.
Nūru'l-Hasan, 41, 42.
*Nuzūl*, 61.

*Opera metaphysica et mystica*, 60.
*Oriental College Magazine*, 45, 152, 344.
Orissa, 45, 120, 123, 147, 154, 163, 168.
Ottoman Turks, 142.
Ovington, J, 48.
Oxford, 11, 31, 47, 50, 107, 308.
Oxus, 24.

*Pādshāh-nāma*, 31.
Pahār Singh Gaur, 105.
*Pain and grace*, 308, 344.
Pā'indā Khān Rohēlla, 225.
Pāk Pattan, 274, 374, 378.
Pākistān, 149, 219.
Pākistān Philosophical Congress, 64.
Pālāmaū, 81, 90.
Palwal, 162.
*Panchāyats*, 58.
*Pāndārī*, 88.
Panhāla, 96, 101.
Pānīpat, 3, 15, 23, 119, 137, 138, 153, 161, 170, 171, 307, 308, 320, 394.
Panjāb, 10, 12, 14, 18, 23, 24, 43, 45, 72, 82, 83, 106, 107, 114, 118, 119, 120, 125, 134, 137, 143, 146, 151, 157, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 172, 174, 188, 189, 201, 301, 302, 305, 307, 308, 323, 337, 338, 340, 344.
Panjāb State Archives Lahore, 220.
Panjtan, 193, 372.
Paontā, 106.
*Pargana*, 26, 32, 33, 42, 44, 45, 46, 49, 53, 57, 87, 102, 104, 141, 174, 201, 387, 393.
Paris, 69, 71.
Parlī, 101.
Pārsīs, 71.
Parsūr, 155.
*Parties and politics at the Mughal court*, 116, 121, 122, 128, 131, 143.
*Parwānas*, 17.
Parwīz, Prince, 54.
*Pās-i anfās*, 274, 354, 372.
Pathāns, 106.
Patiāla, 172.
Patiyālī, 45, 156.
Patna, 5, 20, 48, 50, 72, 122-125, 127, 147, 187, 207, 317.
*Patta*, 33.
*Pawār*, 162.
*Pax*-Mughaliyya, 25.
Pecquet, Jean, 68.
Pēgū, 47, 380.
Persia, 51, 68-80, 138, 311, 380.
Persian Gulf, 50.
*Persian Literature*, 46, 64, 188, 359.
Pēshāwar, 83, 84, 141, 142, 143, 146, 150, 159, 165, 195.
*Pēshkash*, 100, 137.
Pēshwā, 95, 128, 154, 157, 158, 172, 179, 307.
Pēshwā Bājī Rā'o, 139, 140, 169.
Pēshwā Bālāji Rā'o, 163, 167, 171.
*Pēshwā-Daftar*, 19.
Phalit, 212, 213, 286, 301.
Pharaoh, 21, 331.
Philo, 257.

Phulwārī Sharīf, 391.
Picthall, N.N., 321.
Pierre Gassendi, 68.
Pihānī, 123.
Pīlībhīt, 225.
Pīr Muhammad, 375
Plassey, 5, 163, 397.
Plato, 64, 162, 257, 258.
Poona, 94.
Portugal, 96, 380.
*Prānāyāma*, 274.
Prayāg, 156.
Princeton, 83.
Prophet Muhammad, 69, 74, 75, 77, 78, 91, 112, 150, 176, 177, 190, 193, 195, 199, 207, 210, 211, 215, 216, 217, 223, 224, 227, 229, 232-237, 239, 242, 244, 245, 246, 249, 250, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257, 259, 260, 263, 267-274, 278-285, 288-290, 294, 297, 312, 314, 315, 318, 321, 325, 328, 329, 331, 333, 335, 342, 346-351, 357, 358, 374, 378, 385, 392, 396.
Purandar, 94, 95.
Pythagoras, 64.

*Qabūliyat*, 33.
Qadamgāh Hadrat 'Alī, 192.
Qadam-i Sharīf, 138, 176.
Qādī 'Abd-Allāh, 57.
Qādī 'Abdal-Wahhāb, 89.
Qādī Budh, 203.
Qādī Kabīr, 203.
Qādī Muhib-Allāh Bihārī 386.
Qādi Murād, 226.
Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī, 8, 75.
Qādī Qādin, 203, 265.
Qādī Sadr al-Dīn (Qādī Ghāsī), 387.
Qādī Thanā'-Allāh, 320.
Qādiriyya, 182, 192, 205, 211, 214, 320, 326, 350, 360, 363, 365, 387.
*Qā'im al-Zamān*, 218.
Qā'imganj, 141, 182.
*Qala'dār*, 4, 9.
Qalandars, 20.
Qalmāq guards, 145.
Qamar al-Dīn Khān, 11, 99, 136, 140, 143, 147, 150, 154, 166, 179, 196, 337.
Qandahār, 24, 30, 54, 142, 146, 151, 152, 165, 170, 172.
Qannauj, 386.
*Qānūn fi'l tibb*, 59, 65, 362.
*Qanūngo*, 21, 33, 91, 98, 174.
Qāqshāl, 317, 318.
Qarāmita, 269.
*Qard-i hasana*, 394.
Qārī 'Abd al-Rasūl Dihlawī, 318.
Qāsim, 9.
Qāsim Khān Bangash, 155.
Qasūr, 134.
*Qawl al-Jamīl*, 221, 273, 274, 284, 285, 377.
Qipchāq Steppes, 51.
Qiwām al-Dīn, 203,
Qiyām Khānī (Afghāns), 44.
Qudrat-Allāh, 125.
Qudsiya Begam, 129.
Qulīch Khān, 4, 99.
Qum, 65.
*Qūr*, 52.
Qur'ān, 6, 55, 64 71, 76, 77, 79, 81, 188, 194, 205, 214, 220, 221, 222, 229-236, 238-248, 251, 253, 256, 257, 262, 268, 272, 274, 276, 278, 280, 281, 282, 284, 289, 290, 291, 310, 314, 315, 318, 320, 321, 325, 330, 333, 334, 351, 356, 361, 363, 385, 387, 390, 395.
Qurayshī, 44, 203, 288.
Qurayshī *Zamīndārs*, 56.
Qureshī, I. H., 30, 44, 56, 249.
*Qurrat al-'aynayn fi tafdīl al-shaykhayn*, 222, 249, 269, 272.
Qushayrī, Abu'l-Qāsim, 271.
*Qūt al-qulūb*, 246.
Qutb al-Dīn, 213.
Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī, 168, 177, 180.
Qutb al-Mulk, 6, 19, 21, 126, 303.
Qutb Shāhī 16 46, 191, 192.
*Qutbī*, 385.

*Rābita*, 334.
*Radd-i Rawāfid*, 74, 221, 369.
Rāe Barelī, 225, 387.
Rafī' al-darajāt, 129, 131.
Rafī' al-dawla, 129, 131, 297.
Rafī' al-qadar, 129.
Rafī' al-Shān, 120, 128, 129.
Rāfidīs, 306.
Raghoba, 100.
Raghubīr Singh, 94, 141.
Raghūjī Bhonsle, 162, 163.
Raghūnāth Rā'o, 167, 168.
*Rāhdārs*, 102.

Rahīm al-Dīn Khān, 99.
Rahīm al-Nisā', 137.
Rahīm Bakhsh Dihlawī, 221, 230.
Rahīm Bānū, 113.
Rahirī, 4.
Rahmat-Allāh, 44.
Rahmat Khān, Hāfiz, 14, 150.
Rā'īchūr, 97.
Rā'igarh, 4, 95, 96, 97.
*Ra'iyat*, 36, 43.
*Rāj Mahal Diary*, 92.
Rāj Singh Kachwāhā, 101.
Rāj Singh, Mahārānā, 51, 52, 54, 85, 86.
*Rāj Taranginī*, 60.
Rāja Ajīt Singh, 19.
Rāja of Ajmer, 103.
Rāja Bikramājīt, 23.
Rāja of Būndī, 105.
Rāja Chhabilārām Nāgar, 19.
Rāja of Chānda, 105.
Rāja Hirday Rām Khattrī Lāhorī, 17.
Rāja of Jaipūr, 169.
Rājā of Jammū, 152.
Rāja of Kumā'on, 150.
Rāja Rām, 96, 97, 100, 101, 103, 104, 162.
Rāja Rām Narāyan, 5.
Rāja Sāhū, 19.
Rāja Tārā Chand, 82.
Rāja Todar Mal, 26, 27.
Rājendra Girī Gosā'īn, 159.
Rājī Muhammad Khān, 122.
Rājpūtāna, 19, 140, 303, 304.
Rājpūts, 19, 24, 45, 51, 52, 55, 80, 85, 86, 87, 98, 103, 105, 107, 110, 115, 116, 118-120, 123, 126, 131, 132, 134, 141, 148, 160, 169, 171, 174, 302, 392, 394, 397.
Rājwāde, 158.
Ralph Russell, 180.
*Rāmāyana*, 60.
Rām Chand, 128, 129.
Rām Chandra Bundēla, 105.
Rām Chatawinī, 155.
Rām Chehra, 103.
Rām Dās Kachwāhā, 53.
Rām Narāyan, 5.
Rāmpūr, 14, 66, 67, 81, 151, 220, 226, 227, 229, 254, 269, 294, 296, 298, 299, 301, 302, 359, 361.
Rām Rāy, 83.
Ramsej, 4.
Rām Singh, 104.
Rāna Sāngā, 22.
Ranghar, 44, 134.
Rānojī Sindhiā, 162.
Ranthambhor, 23.
Rā'o Dalpat Bundēla, 99, 101, 105.
Rāo Rām Singh Hāda, 99, 101.
Rāo Subh Karan Bundéla, 99.
*Raqā'im Karā'im*, 98, 104.
*Rashhāt-i 'aynal-hayāt*, 353.
*Rashk-i Gulistān-i Iram*, 371.
Ratan Chand, 6, 132, 126, 129, 133, 198.
Raverty, H. G., 57.
Rāwalpindī, 83.
Rawlinson, H. G., 48.
Rawshanā'īs, 73.
*Rawdat al-awliyā'*, 186, 371.
*Rawdat al-Qayyūmiyya*, 324.
Rāy Bhān Bhonsle, 107.
Rāy Chaturman, 117.
Rāy Lakhmī Dās, 91.
Rāy Mulūk Chand, 105.
Rāy Nawal, 14.
Raysīn, 140.
Rāzī, Qutb al-Din, 262, 385, 388, 389.
Red Fort, 128, 359, 360, 362.
*Religious policy of Moghal emperors*, 90, 92.
*Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims*, 80.
Rewārī, 161.
Ri'āyat Khān, 17.
Richard J. McCorthy, 256.
Richard Johnson, 13.
Rifāh-i 'Āmm Library, 184.
*Risāla-i Dānishmandī*, 224.
*Risāla i Hūsh-afzā*, 344, 346.
*Risāla-al-Jawhar*, 386.
*Risāla Mubāriziyya fi'l 'aqā'id Islāmiyya*, 388.
*Risāla Muhammad Shāh Khān-i Dawrān*, 13.
*Risāla-i Murjiyya*, 378.
*Risāla-i Qudsiyya*, 271.
*Risāla-i Sanā'iyya*, 65.
*Risāla-i Wālidiyya*, 22.
*Risāla-i Wāridāt*, 346.
*Rise of the Peshwās*, 148.
Roh, 149, 150.
Rohēlkhand, 5, 150, 151, 155, 156, 168, 170, 339, 340.
Rohēlla, 5, 14, 53, 54, 140, 148, 149, 151, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173, 182, 184, 201, 202, 249, 306, 308, 320, 336, 356.
Rohtak, 206.

Rohtās Fort, 137.
Rome, 253.
Roshan Akhtar, 129, 137, 297.
Roshan al-Dawla, 115, 137, 201, 342, 344.
Royal Asiatic Society London, 19, 91.
Rūh-Allāh Khān, 101, 192.
Rūmī, 20, 21, 35, 62, 64, 282.
Rūp Singh Râthor, 119.
*Ruqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, 27, 28, 51.
*Ruqā'āt-i Mitr Sen*, 34.
Russia, 51, 142, 254.
Rustam, 7, 117, 125, 135.

Sa'ādat Khān, 12, 15, 16, 131, 136, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 187, 295, 304.
Sa'ādat Yār Khān, 14.
Sabhā Chand, 20, 121, 124.
Sabhāsad, 95.
Sa'd-Allāh Khān, 19, 28, 60, 155, 156, 175, 200.
Sadā Shiva Rā'o, 171, 172.
Sadānand, 20.
Sādhūra, 125.
Sādiq Khān and Ma'mūrī, 91, 92, 98, 101.
Sadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, 64, 389.
Sadr-i Jahān, 123.
Safawīd, 63, 74, 142.
Safdar-Jang, 14, 16, 147, 148, 149-157, 164, 169, 183, 192, 296, 298, 303, 304, 336, 338, 387.
Safdar Khān, 105.
*Safīna-i Khwushgo*, 20, 21, 207, 317, 345.
Safīpūr, 183.
Safwān, 328.
Sāgar, 96.
Saghor, 162.
Sahāranpūr, 44, 118, 149, 161, 168, 170, 225, 308.
Sāhiba Mahal, 167.
Sāhibjī, 83, 195.
Sāhib Rāy, 19.
*Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, 79, 185, 186, 215.
*Sahihs*, 207, 242, 243, 244, 374, 385.
Sāhū, Rāja, 19, 96, 101, 107, 116, 117, 127, 128, 140, 162, 163.
Sa'īd Ahmad Khān Sawla-Jang, 5.
Sa'īd Khān Chaghatāy, 53.
Sa'īd ud-Dīn Khān, 181.
*Sā'is*, 293.
Salama, 271.
Sālār Mas'ūd, 316.
Salīm, Prince, 24, 53.
Salīm-Allāh, Munshī, 15.
Salīmgarh, 237.
*Sallam al-'ulūm*, 386.
Samarqand, 99, 124.
Sambhal, 44, 45, 80, 115, 149, 340.
Sāmūgarh, 112, 123.
Sandīlā, 56.
Sangānēr, 172.
Sansanī, 162.
*Saranjām*, 102.
Sarbuland Khān, 344.
Sardār Jahān Khān, 338.
Sardesā'ī, G.S., 19.
*Sardeshmukhī*, 95, 96, 116, 117, 127, 128, 140, 394.
*Sardeshpandya*, 140.
*Sarf-i Mīr*, 223.
Sarfarāz Khān, 15, 154.
*Sarit Sāgar*, 59.
*Sarkārs*, 32, 33, 43, 44, 55, 87, 88, 133, 169.
Sarkhwūsh, 20.
*Sarrāf*, 47, 50.
*Saru-i Āzād*, 186.
*Sat'āt*, 223.
Satārā, 79, 101.
Satīsh Chandra, 116, 121.
Satlaj, 118, 307.
Satnāmī Bairāgīs, 81, 206.
*Sawā' al-sabīl*, 365.
*Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*, 25.
*Sawānih-i Dakan*, 15.
*Sawār*, 29, 33, 134.
Sawdā, 20, 180, 182, 189, 190.
Sayf al-Dīn 'Alī Khān, 150.
Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh Khān, 122, 123, 127, 131, 178, 393.
S. 'Abd al-Ghaffār Gardīzī, 123.
S. Abu Sa'īd, 182.
S. Ahmad, 61.
S. Ahmad Rohēlla, 225.
S. 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, 138.
S. 'Alī Akbar, 226.
S. 'Alī Shāh, 184.
S. Brothers, 4, 9, 10, 12, 122, 124, 127, 129, 131, 132, 136, 141, 198.
S. Fadl Imām, 182.
S. Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naqvī, 15, 130.
S. Hāmid Rājī Shāh, 205.
S. Husayn 'Alī Khān, 122, 150.
S. Husayn Nasr, 63.
S. 'Ilm-Allāh, 225.
S. Jalāl al-Dīn Ashtiyānī, 65.

S. Khwāja Fath-Allāh Khān, 342.
S. Miyān, 122.
S. Muhammad 'Alī, 184.
S. M. Ghawth Pēshāwarī, 225.
S. M. Gīsū Darāz, 365, 372.
S. M. Jeo, 226.
S. M. Qāsim Husaynī, 8, 112, 128.
S. M. Walī-Allāh, 14.
S. Najābat 'Alī, 225.
S. Nasīr, 183.
S. Nūr M. Badā'ūnī, 319.
S. Salābat Khān Dhu'lfaqar-Jang, 154.
S. Sālār, 313.
S. Shāh Asad 'Alī, 182.
S. Shāh Mīr, 113.
S. Shāh Muhammad Zāhid, 182.
S. Zāhid 'Alī, 182.
Schimmel, A, 308, 344.
Sehwān, 185.
Semitic Languages, 238.
Shādhiliyya, 271.
Shafī, 223, 246, 247, 233, 234.
Shafī Warīd Tihrānī, 120.
Shāfi'ī, 243, 262, 390.
Shā'ista Khān, 47, 65, 94, 98, 178.
Shakar-bār, 205.
Shākir Khān, 13, 115, 128.
Shāh 'Abbās Safawī, 64.
Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, 179, 248, 261, 286, 306, 309, 356, 377.
Shāh 'Abd al-Ghafūr, 12, 137.
Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm, 202, 204, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 215, 221, 354, 359, 361.
Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, 5, 9, 11, 84, 111, 114, 133, 149, 150, 163, 168-172, 340, 375.
Shāh Bābā Sultān, 318.
Shāh Bhīkh, 137.
Shahdād Khān Afghān, 134.
Shahdil Khān. 156.
Shāh Dawlat, 55.
Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn Chishtī, 273, 341.
Shāh Fughār, 196.
Shāh Ghulām 'Alī, 318.
Shāh Ja'far, 184.
Shāhābād, 105, 123, 149.
Shāhganj, 345.
Shāhjāhān, 10, 17, 19, 20, 27, 28, 30, 33, 42, 46, 49, 51, 54, 55, 63, 65. 66, 68, 80, 90, 97, 99, 107, 113, 129, 140, 145, 146, 147, 170, 171, 175, 183, 298, 300, 303, 307, 318, 358, 359.
Shāhjahānābād, 220, 298, 307, 358.
*Shāhjahān-nāma*, 89.
Shāhjahānpūr, 123, 127, 149, 201, 320.
Shāhjī, 104.
Shāh Kalīm-Allāh Jahānābādī, 108, 358-361, 363, 365-373, 376, 395.
Shāh Madār, 313.
Shāh Mansūr, 27.
Shāh Muhammad Yahyā', 324.
Shāh Muhammad Zamān, 182.
Shāh Muhīb-Allāh, 387.
Shāh Muzaffar Rohatakī, 226.
*Shāh-nāma-i Munawwar Kalām*, 10, 126, 128, 129, 131.
Shāh Nawāz Awrangābādī, 17, 67, 151, 152. 185, 358, 365.
Shāh Qudrat-Allāh, 124.
Shahrastānī, 254.
Shahryār, 54.
Shāh Shujā', 65, 204.
Shāh Sulaymān, 391.
Shāh Sultān Husayn, 142.
Shāh Tahmāsp, 142.
Shāh Turkmān, 177.
Shāh Walī-Allāh 3, 82, 141, 202, 203, 205, 208, 210, 211, 212, 214-225, 227, 231-247, 249-258, 262-267, 270-275, 276-277-299, 300-316, 385, 392, 395, 396, 397.
*Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī Ke Siyāsī maktūbāt*, 296, 299, 301, 305, 307.
Shāh Yahyā', 324.
Shakar Khera, 139.
*Shamāmat al-'ambar*, 185.
Shambhā Jī, 86, 96, 140.
*Shams al-bāzigha*, 65, 313, 389.
Shams-i Sirāj, 'Afīf, 43.
Shams Khān. 118.
Shamsābād, 141, 386.
Sharaf al-Dīn, 134.
Sharh al-Qānūn, 362.
Sharī'at Khān, 194.
Sharīf Jūrjānī, 59, 66, 389, 390.
Sharīf Khān, 53, 100.
Sharma, R.S., 33.
Shattāriyyas, 359, 363.
Shawkat-Jang, 5.
Shāyasta Khān, 100.
Shaybānīs, 24.
Shayfta, Nawwāb, 371.
Shaykh al-Ishrāq, 59, 60.

Shaykh al-Islām, 323.
Sh. 'Abd al-Ahad, 207, 226, 319, 345.
Sh. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 205, 222, 397.
Sh. 'Abd al-Ghafūr 206.
Sh. 'Abd al-Hafīz Thāneswarī, 226.
Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddis, 77-78, 323.
Shaykh 'Abd al-Jalīl, 134.
Shaykh 'Abd al-Khāliq, 318.
Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh, 193, 194, 225.
Sh. 'Abd-Allāh ibn Salīm Makkī, 318.
Sh. 'Abd al-Nabī, 31.
Sh. 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, 182, 211, 214, 326, 378.
Sh. 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangohī, 206.
Sh. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 224.
Sh. 'Abd al-Razzāq, 387, 389, 391.
Sh. Abu al-Ridā Muhammad, 206, 207, 208, 213, 214, 221, 359.
Sh. Abu'l-Fadl, 59.
Sh. Abu'l-Fath, 212.
Sh. Abu'l-Hasan Kharāqānī, 263.
Sh. Abu'l-Karam, 212, 213.
Sh. Abū Sa'īd, 263, 274.
Sh. Abū Tāhir Madanī, 225.
Sh. Abū Tālib Makkī, 271.
Sh. Abū Yūsuf Yahyā' Chishtī, 359.
Sh. Ādam Banūrī, 264.
Sh. Ahmad, 75, 388.
Sh. Ahmad bin Shaykh Hāmid Siddīqī, 359.
Sh. Ahmad Sirhindī, 62, 63, 74, 76, 206, 263, 323, 324, 327, 365, 366.
Sh. Ahmad Yūsuf, 212.
Sh. 'Alā' al-Dīn. 12.
Sh. Bahā' al-Dīn Muhammad, 69.
Sh. Bahā' al-Dīn Qādirī, 364.
Sh. Bahlūl, 359.
Sh. Bāyazīd, 227.
Sh. Burhān al-Dīn, 359.
Sh Farīd al-Dīn bin Shaykh Bāyazīd, 5.
Sh. Farīd Bukhārī, 31, 55, 75, 91.
Sh. Fayd-Allāh, 226.
Sh. Ghulām Muhammad, 56.
Sh. Ghulām Naqshband, 387.
Sh. Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī, 189.
Sh. Hasan, 205.
Sh. Husām al-Dīn Mānikpūrī, 205.
Sh. Husām al-Dīn Sahāranpūrī, 226.
Sh. Ibrāhim al-Kurdī, 325, 377.
Sh. 'Izzat-Allāh, 56.
Sh. Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūtī, 235.
Sh. Mahmūd, 226.
Sh. Mīr Muhtaram, 360.
Sh. Mu'azzam, 203.
Sh. Muhammad, 212, 213, 227, 359.
Sh. M. 'Ābid, 225, 320.
Sh. M. 'Ābid Sunnāmī, 319, 320.
Sh. M. Afdal Siālkotī, 214.
Sh. M. 'Alī, Wā'iz, 193.
Sh. Muhammad 'Alī Hāzin, 188.
Sh. M. 'Āqil, 213.
Sh. M. 'Ārif, 206.
Sh. M. 'Āshiq, 213, 220, 221, 224, 226, 227, 297, 301.
Sh. M. Chishtī, 360.
Sh. M. Ghawth, 359.
Sh. M. Hujjat-Allāh, 344.
Sh. M. Ikrām, 229, 230.
Sh. M. Khayālī, 205.
Sh. M. Ma'sūm, 207, 226. 264, 319, 344.
Sh. M. Murād, 11, 111.
Sh. M. Naqshband, 226.
Sh. M. Panāh Phaltī, 222, 225.
Sh. M. Qutb, 225.
Sh. M. Sādiq, 351.
Sh. M. Sa'īd, 207, 226.
Sh. M. Siddīq Sirhindī, 319.
Sh. M. Zubayr, 344, 345.
Sh. Muhib-Allāh Ilāhābādī, 89.
Sh. Nasīr al-Dīn Chirāgh-i Dihlī, 177.
Sh. Nizām of Burhānpūr, 79.
Sh. Nizām Nārnolī, 212.
Sh. Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', 180, 274.
Sh. Nizām al-Dīn Awrangābādī, 365, 366, 367, 369, 370, 371, 372.
Sh. Nūr-Allāh, 224.
Sh. Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī, 300.
Sh. Qutb al-'Ālam, 205.
Sh. Rafī' al-Dīn M., 205, 206.
Sh. Rukn al-Dīn, 53.
Sh. Sa'dī, 112.
Sh. Safī al-Dīn Ishāq, 73.
Sh. Sayf al-Dīn, 318, 324.
Sh. Shams al-Dīn, 203.
Sh. Shihāb al-Dīn, 99.
Sh. Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl, 59, 60, 68, 72.
Sh. Tāhir, 205.
Sh. Tāj al-Dīn Qal'ī Hanafī, 215, 216.
Sh. 'Ubayd-Allāh, 221.
Sh. Wajīh al-Dīn, 203-206.
Sh. Yahyā' Madanī, 359, 360, 365.
Sh. Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 226.

Sh. Zayn al-Dīn, 108, 177.
Shekhāwats, 103, 104.
Sher Afgan Khān, 53, 104.
Sher Afgan Khān Pānīpatī, 201.
Sher Shāh Sūrī, 22, 23, 148.
Shihāb al-Dīn Khān, 4, 26, 149, 336.
Shihāb al-Dīn Qulī, 226.
Shikārpūr, 183.
Shikohābād, 304.
Shīrānī Collection, 323.
Shīrāz, 62, 65, 68, 69, 70, 180.
Shītlā, 321, 323.
Shiva Dās Lakhnawī, 10, 126.
Shivājī, 4, 91, 93, 94, 95. 100, 101, 102, 117.
Shorābak, 149.
Shujā' al-Dawla, Nawwāb, 6, 14, 55, 147, 161 164, 170-172, 183, 187, 307, 337, 338, 397.
Shujā' al-Dīn, 119.
Shujā' al-Dīn M. Khān, 154.
Shukrtāl, 170.
Shustar, 147.
Siālkot, 63, 155, 157.
Sībī, 24.
Siddīs, 96.
Siffīn, 194, 269.
*Sihāh Sitta*, 220
Sihālī, 56, 386.
Sikākul, 72.
Sikandar, 323.
Sikandar Lodī, 148, 205, 212.
Sikandara, 103, 201.
Sikh, 10, 81, 82, 106, 107, 114, 118-120, 125, 146, 151, 153, 164, 165, 168, 169, 173.
Simla, 249.
Simnānī, 'Alā' al-Dawla, 264.
Sind, 24, 145, 157, 185, 214, 225, 257.
Sindāgh, 161.
Sindhiā, 158, 169, 170.
Sinhā, 148.
Sinsanī, 103, 104.
Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, 375, 397.
Sirāj al-Dawla, 5, 15.
Sirhind, 5, 10, 13, 61, 76, 106, 107, 114, 117, 118, 134, 151, 152, 153, 165, 168, 183, 201, 209, 298, 303, 330, 366.
Sironj, 104, 105, 296.
Sīstān, 51.
Sītāmaū Library, Rājasthān, 19.
Siwālik hills, 82.
Siwistān, 186.
Siyām, 78, 374.
*Siyāq*, 390.
*Siyāq-nāma*, 18.
*Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 274.
*Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, 3, 5-7, 105, 147, 151, 152, 157-159, 162, 170, 171, 184, 193.
Soghar, 103, 104.
Sohan Lāl Sūrī, 151.
Somnāth, 90.
Sonpat, 117.
Soviet, 48.
Srī Rām Sharmā, 86, 90.
Srīnagar, 51, 199.
State Archives Andhra Pradesh, 17.
State Library Hyderābād, 139.
Storey, C.A., 4, 6, 64, 188, 359.
*Storia Do Mogor*, 47, 86, 88, 92, 102.
*Sūbadār*, 16, 32, 91, 102, 103, 104, 107, 135, 136, 148, 157, 192.
*Sūbādārī*, 7, 141.
*Sūbas*, 15, 16, 102, 127, 140, 157.
Subh Karan, 200, 201.
*Subhat al-marjān*, 185.
Sudhisht Narāyan, 123.
*Sufar al-sa'āda*, 78.
Sujān Rāy, 6.
Sulaymān Khān, 98.
Sultān Beg Barlās Badakhshī, 114.
Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq, 43, 323.
Sultān Muhammad, 293, 313.
Sultānpūr, 118.
Sultānpūrī, Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh, 226.
Sūrajmal Jāt, 156, 158, 162, 167, 170, 171, 172, 181, 304, 306, 307, 308, 337, 338, 339.
Sūrajma'ū Fort, 104.
Sūrat, 4, 11, 19, 26, 46, 48, 49, 66, 94, 95.
Sūrs, 43.
*Surūr al-mahzūn*, 224.
Suyūtī, Sh. Jalāl al-Dīn, 235, 241, 390.
*Suyūrghāls* 31, 33, 183, 188.
Syria, 51, 64, 254, 271, 329.

*Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, 29, 49.
*Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, 45, 57.
Tabātabā'ī, Ghulām Husain, 3-5, 151, 184.
*Tadhkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, 375.
*Tadhkīra-i Ānand Rām Mukhlis*, 152.
*Tadhkira-i Hadrat Shāh Walī-Allāh*, 249.

*Tadhkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, 317.
*Tadhkirat al-ahwāl*, 188.
*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 114, 121.
*Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, 215, 216, 219, 229, 247, 249, 258, 261, 262, 276-278, 282, 288, 294, 295, 300, 310, 312, 313, 316.
*Tafsīr Jalālayn*, 385.
Taftāzānī, Sa'd al-Dīn, 66, 389, 390.
*Tahāfūt al-falāsifa*, 59.
Tahmās Khān, 165.
*Tāhmās-nāma*, 165, 167, 168.
Tahmūrs, 54.
*Taisīr al-qārī*, 79.
Tāj Mahal, 359.
Tāj Muhammad Khān, 227.
*Takmila-i Siyar al-awliyā'*, 362, 363, 376.
*Takmīl al-īmān*, 79.
Talwandī Sābo, 106.
Tāmil Nādū, 95.
*Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, 188, 214.
*Tankhwāh*, 88, 100.
*Tankhwāh-jāgīr*, 87.
*Tanqīh Sharh Bukhārī*, 220.
*Taqāwī*, 32, 36.
*Tārā Bā'ī*, 101, 116, 121, 127.
Tārā Chand, Rāja, 83.
*Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāh*, 152-155, 157-160, 166, 167, 171, 179.
*Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr-i Thānī*, 13, 160, 166, 167, 168, 170.
*Tārīkh-i A'zamī*, 14.
*Tārīkh-i Bahādur Shāhī*, 112.
*Tārīkh-i Bangāla-i Mahābat-Jang*, 15, 154, 156, 163.
*Tārīkh-i Chaghatāy*, 11.
*Tārīkh-i dil-afrūz*, 16.
*Tārīkh-i Farrukhābād*, 14.
*Tārīkh-i Fathiya*, 139.
*Tārīkh-i Fayd Bakhsh*, 4.
*Tārīkh-i Firishta*, 13.
*Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 43, 294.
*Tārīkh-i 'Imad al-Mulk*, 13, 166, 170.
*Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān*, 9, 112, 116, 119-122.
*Tārīkh-i Mashā'ikh-i Chisht*, 377.
*Tārīkh-i Muhammadī*, 8.
*Tārīkh-i Najīb al-Dawla*, 159.
*Tārīkh-i Shahādat-i Farrukhsiyar u-julūs-i, Muhammad Shāh*, 13, 131, 142, 143, 146, 148, 151, 169, 201.
*Tārīkh-i Shāhinshāhī*, 10.
*Tārīkh-i Shākir Khānī*, 13, 115, 117, 119, 120, 122, 124, 126, 127, 131, 134, 137, 143, 145, 151, 166, 170.
Tarīn (Afghāns), 44.
*Tarīqa-i Muhammadiyya*, 342, 345, 346, 347, 351, 356, 395.
*Tarjama-i Bīj Ganit*, 359.
*Tarjama-i Fakhr al-Hasan*, 377.
*Tasawwuf kī haqīqat*, 262.
Tāshkent, 77, 78.
*Tashrīh al-aflāk*, 262.
*Taslīyat al-Fu'ād*, 185.
Tātārs, 51.
Tātya Gangā Dhar, 160.
Tavernier, J.B., 48.
*Tawārīkh-i Ahmad Khānī*, 14.
*Tawārīkh-i Bangālā*, 15.
Tehrān, 60, 75.
Thābit Khān, 226.
Thamūd, 240.
*Thānadār*, 33, 170.
*Thānās*, 33, 86.
Thāneswar, 137, 205, 332.
Thatta, 90, 126, 137, 152, 225.
Thun, 127, 161.
Tibet, 51.
Tikārī, 163.
Tilpat, 82.
Timūr, 22, 142.
Timūrīds, 8, 11, 15, 20, 113, 132, 301, 302.
Timūr Shāh, 167, 168, 337.
Tīpū, 16, 172.
Tirmidhī, 207, 344.
Tobiyān, 56.
Todar Mal, Rāja, 26, 27, 139.
Tokyo, 60.
Transoxiana, 24, 51, 63, 74, 75, 241, 264, 271, 342, 344.
Troyer, Anthony, 72.
Tungabhadra, 95.
Tūrān, 87, 129, 254.
Tūrānī, 22, 24, 25, 74, 108-110, 114, 120, 121, 123, 124, 127, 130, 131, 146-148, 153, 155, 156, 158, 172, 174, 201, 336, 366, 371.
Tūrānī Begs, 23.
Turkey, 40, 51, 74, 264.
Turkistān, 51, 254, 317.
Turkmān, 44, 142.
Turkmān Gate, 177.
Tūsī, Nasīr al-Dīn, 35, 56, 60, 64, 242, 287, 389.
Tustarī, 64.
*Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, 50, 62, 74.

'Ubayd-Allāh Ahrār, 22, 207, 213, 390.
'Ubayd-Allāh Sindhī, 14, 230.
Uch, 56.
Udaipūr, 51, 86.
Udgīr, 171.
Udham Bā'ī, 153, 155, 158, 160, 179.
Ujjainiyya Clan, 45, 123.
Ulugh Beg, 389.
'Umar, 76, 113, 217, 235, 245, 246, 249, 250, 251, 256, 269, 271, 272, 278, 301, 329.
'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz, 262.
'Umar Peshāwarī, 225.
'Umarpūr, 149.
Umayyad Caliph, 192, 195, 253, 256, 290, 349.
Umayyads, 253, 256.
'Umda Begam, 165, 166.
'Umdat al-Mulk, 146, 188.
Upper Sind, 22.
'Urfī, 181.
Usūliyīn, 233.
*Usury in Medieval India*, 30.
'Uthmān, 76, 113, 194, 236, 250, 252, 289.
'Uthmān bin 'Umār, 214.
Uzbek, 74, 218.
'Uzza, 316.

Vellore, 95.
Vikramāditya, 23.
*Vīr Vinod*, 51, 54, 86, 92.
Vishwanāth, 90, 128.
Vishwās Rāo, 171, 172.

*Wāqi'a Nawīs*, 34, 66
*Wāqi'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, 111.
*Wāqi'āt-i Dard*, 347.
*Wāqi'āt-i darul-hukūmat-i Dihlī*, 220.
*Wāqi'āt-i Īrān wa Hind*, 142, 143.
Warren Hastings, 5, 6, 13.
*Watan*, 41.
*Watandārs*, 95.
*Watan-Jāgīrs*, 41, 84, 85, 116.
Watt, M. M., 329.
Wazīr Khān, 9, 106, 117.
West-Asia, 57.
Western Karnātak, 95.
William Finch, 50.
William Harvey, 68.
William Kirkpatrick, 16.
Wisconsin, 42.
Wādih, Mubārak-Allāh, 9, 112.
Wahdat Sirhindī, 267.
Wahhābīs, 215, 391.
Wakīl, 19, 23, 25, 28, 88, 139, 140, 143, 146, 174, 293.
*Wakīl-i Mutlaq*, 115, 124, 139, 141.
Walī al-Dīn, 207.
Wāndiwāsh, 97.
*Waqā'i'-Ajmīr wa Ranthambhor*, 17, 85, 88.
*Wāqa'i Dakan*, 16.
*Waqa'i'-i Mahabbat-Jang*, 15.
*Wāqa'i-nigār*, 15, 185.
*Wāqi'āt-i Kashmīr*, 14.
Wolfson, H.A., 258.

Yahyā' bin Yahya, 244.
Yahyā' bin Yahya Masmūdī, 385.
Yahyā' Ibn Sa'īd, 243.
Yahyā' Khān, 114, 151.
Yār Muhammad Afdal, 66.
Yār Muhammad Khān, 187.
Yazīd, 193.
Yūsuf, 212.
Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, 15, 154.
Yūsuf Husain, 140.
Yūsufza'ī Āfrīdī, 83, 84, 159.

Zābulistān, 254.
Zafar-Allāh Khān, Nawwāb, 344.
Zafar, Bahādur Shāh, 17.
Zakariyya Khān, 134, 151, 154, 188.
Zakāriyya Rāzī, 58.
*Zakāt*, 80, 89, 92, 97, 289, 314.
Zamakhsharī, 207.
Zamān Beg Kābulī, 54.
Zamān Shāh, 337.
*Zamīndarān-i ra'iyatī*, 133.
*Zamīndār-ī Zor-talab*, 106, 133, 394.
*Zamīndār-Rājas*, 41, 42.
Zaydī Shī'as, 271, 272.
Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 271.
Zayn al-Dīn Dāwūdza'ī, 123.
Zaynab Bībī, 361.
Zīnat-Afrūz, 160.
Zīnat al-Nisā', 108.
Zīnat al-Nisā' Begam, 345.
Zarathūstra, 69.
Zoroastrian, 72.
Zoroastrianism, 73.
Zuhrā Begam, 166.
Zuhrā Kanjrī, 121.

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