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M. Athar Ali

03 Ağustos 2017

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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احمد الجوارنة، قسم التاريخ، جامعة اليرموك.

ملخص

الدور الذي لعبته إمبراطورية المغول المسلمين في الهند، سياسياً واقتصادياً، كان له أثره الكبير وراء توسع الدولة في علاقاتها الخارجية مع بقية الدول الأخرى، لاسيما تطور علاقات الدولة الخارجية في عهد الإمبراطور اورانجزيب، الذي بسط سيطرته على كافة أراضي شبه القارة الهندية.

والهدف الذي ترمي الى تحقيقه هذه الورقة البحثية :

اولاً: الكشف عن طبيعة العلاقات الخارجية المغولية مع العديد من الدول الاسلامية وبعض الدول غير الاسلامية، وذلك من خلال تبادل البعثات الدبلوماسية معها، كأشراف مكة، والدولة الصفوية في ايران، والدولة العثمانية، ودولة الأسترخان في آسيا الوسطى، ودولة اليمن، وكاشغر، وحيدرآباد، وهولندا، والحبشة (اثيوبيا).

ثانياً: انعكاس تبادل البعثات الدبلوماسية على تطور العلاقات الخارجية بين المغول من جهة وبقية الدول التي تربطها بعلاقات دبلوماسية معها من جهة ثانية.

مقدمة

حينما نعالج تطور العلاقات الدبلوماسية ما بين المغول والدول المعاصرة لها، باختلاف مناطقها ومناهجها، فإننا مضطرون للإشارة إلى أهمية المرحلة التاريخية التي مثلها أحد أباطرة المغول الكبار في منطقة الهند، ألا وهو " الإمبراطور محيي الدين اورانجزيب "، تلك المرحلة من عمر إمبراطورية المغول في الهند امتدت ما بين عام 1068هـ/1658م وحتى عام 1118هـ/1707م، والتي تعتبر من المراحل البارزة، لا في تاريخ المغول المسلمين في الهند وحسب، بل تبرز أهميتها في تاريخ الحضارة الإسلامية عموماً، ولسنا هنا بصدد الخوض في الحديث عما يمثله عصر ذلك الإمبراطور من تطورات حضارية، وهي كثيرة ومتنوعة بالطبع،

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SOME ASPECTS OF MUGHAL CULTURE DURING THE
FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

ZAHIRUDDIN MALIK

The middle of the 18th century is one of the most important epochs in Indian history. It forms a watershed between the glorious past and the spell of gloom that was to overcast the country in the future. In this span of fifty years several political developments took place which accelerated the process of decay and disintegration of the Mughal Empire. But, despite the loss of political power and material prosperity, cultural traditions of the past continued to grow and influence the modes of life. New literary movements also developed which shaped the cultural pattern of the age. While currents of political events flowed in predestined direction, the literati and the artists were busy in enriching poetry, compiling dictionaries, writing histories and contributing to the advancement of music and dancing. In the midst of awful convulsions, Āṣaf Jāh composed his *Dīwān*, Raja Jai Singh erected observatories, Anand Ram *Mukhlis* wrote *Mir'āt al-Iṣtilāhāt*, Adrang and Sadrang sung melodies in the *Khayal* style, and Nūrbāi and Āqila impressed their mark in singing and dancing. The later Mughals followed a policy of tolerance in religious matters, and adopted an attitude of reconciliation with elements that had caused strife in the past.

This brilliant aspect of Mughal culture developed in the post-Aurangzeb period has been overlooked by the modern historians. The present study, based on contemporary works, is an attempt at examining the growth of art and literature, status of knowledge and modes of social behaviour in the first half of the 18th century. The attitude of later Mughals towards Rajput chieftains, their religious policy, and the Hindu-Muslim relations have also been analysed. A description of conditions of *zamīndārs*, *jāgīrdārs* and soldiers has been incorporated.

I

One of the most important factors which determined the complexion and character of the Mughal culture was the constant influx

SOME ASPECTS OF MUGHAL CULTURE

Consequently, in the efflorescence of Mughal culture, Hindus and Muslims mutually contributed their splendid share. But, in the course of interaction between two currents of thought, none proved so strong as to submerge the other, and not so relentless as to resist the impact of the other. The two systems exerted a powerful shaping effect upon each other. Out of their contact there arose a new and balanced form of culture which looked neither an extension of original heritage of the Mughals, nor the domination of Hindu way of life in its pure sense. On the other hand, the new culture incorporated contents in its texture from both systems presenting a certain unity and inner harmony. Secularism was the mainspring of this culture, sophisticated urbanity was its hallmark. In its results and implications, the Indo-Mughal culture proved to be the most effective force in strengthening the bases of the Mughal Empire. By the middle of the 18th century this cultural movement, started in the days of Akbar, reached the height of its success; nearly all institutions and agencies associated with it attained maturity and strength.

II

During the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign, a number of events occurred which weakened central administration and changed general complexion of the existing order. Aurangzeb added new territories to his already vast empire. Such far-flung dominions could scarcely be governed without efficient and vigorous administration. Centrifugal forces rose in a bid to subvert the influence of constituted authority by means of violence and terror. Aurangzeb met the challenge in a straight fight and resisted stubbornly in surrendering his sovereign power. But his long struggle against forces of turbulence imposed serious burdens on royal exchequer and caused confusion in political affairs. His successors, however, lacked qualities necessary for kingship. None of them possessed Aurangzeb's vision, audacity and resourcefulness. Unable to continue the struggle, the later Mughals made compromise with elements of disruption. They sought to reconcile Rajput princes and Hindu chieftains, and bring them into the fold of Imperial politics. As this policy of reconciliation resulted from weakness, disruptive forces grew more aggressive and militant. When they got their share in material gains that Empire could offer, the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Jats and the Afghans endeavoured to usurp further the powers of the centre.

Babur's
position

THE SHADOW SULTAN: SUCCESSION AND IMPOSTURE IN
THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1628-1640

BY

JORGE FLORES AND SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM*

Abstract

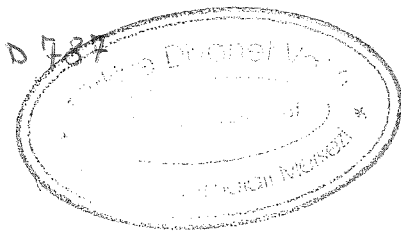
This essay explores the problem of imposture in the Mughal empire, through the case of Sultan Dawar Bakhsh, or Bulaqi, who ruled briefly in the late 1620s. Though official Mughal histories had it that he was executed in January 1628 along with several other princes, various persons claiming his identity surfaced, first in India and then in Iran. We examine the views of Mughal, Portuguese, Iranian and other sources on these claimants, and also explore what forms of proof were sought by different early modern agents in order to satisfy themselves of the identity of a returning prince.

Cette contribution examine le problème de l'imposture dans l'Empire moghol en étudiant le cas du Sultan Dawar Bakhsh ou Bulaqi, qui a régné pendant quelques mois en 1627-28. Selon les chroniques mogholes de l'époque, Bulaqi aurait été exécuté en janvier 1628 avec plusieurs autres princes. Mais l'on sait que pendant la décennie suivante, plusieurs personnages se sont manifestés, tout d'abord en Inde et ensuite en Iran, prétendant être le sultan disparu. En croisant les informations fournies par les textes et des documents d'archives assez variés, en provenance de l'Etat portugais des Indes, de l'Empire moghol et de l'Etat safavide, l'analyse suit pas à pas le parcours de ce Martin Guerre moghol pour apprécier les preuves apportées sur son identité.

Keywords: Mughal empire, imposture, succession, Portuguese, Safavids

One of these men is Genius to the other;
And so of these: which is the natural man,
And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?

—Shakespeare, *The Comedy of Errors*, Act V, Scene 1.



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Early modern historiography has in the past decades devoted considerable attention to emerging notions of personal identity, which in turn are linked to theories of the historical trajectory of the idea of the 'individual' in various cultures. To be sure, some elements of this problem can be traced back to medieval (or even older) reflections on self-knowledge, and it has even been argued from this perspective that "the discovery of the individual was one of the most important cultural developments in the years between 1050 and 1200" in western Europe.¹ The issue has also been posed from a rather different angle, namely that of the specificity of the individual, which in turn takes us to the very widespread theme of the 'impostor' or 'double,' of which an outstanding example may be found in Akira Kurosawa's 1980 film *Kagemusha* (The Shadow Warrior) (cf. Desser 1983). The film is situated in Japan's sixteenth-century warring states period, and narrates how a condemned thief is saved from execution by agreeing to serve as a double for the powerful warlord Takeda Shingen (1521-73) of Kai. In this case, the key elements are somewhat particular: the 'double' is in a sense authorised by the original to substitute for him, and the tensions revolve largely around the difference in the social status of the two. But a series of other questions also emerge from such materials. Can one person somehow 'become' another? Can one think of historical cultures in which personal identity was effectively subordinated to social identity, and, by an extension of the same logic, to social function? Can a person simply be produced as a social actor, in the sense that some have argued that authors are produced?² What notions of proof of identity do different historical cultures demand, and can we assume that we are moving historically from more credulous cultures to others where ever more rigorous ideas of proof are being set down by an intrusive state apparatus?

India has had its fair share of Tichborne Claimants and Martin Guerres who lend themselves to this type of reflection, of which one of the most celebrated modern cases is that of the so-called Kumar of Bhawal in Bengal, that has recently been studied in considerable detail by Partha Chatterjee (2002). Though the Bhawal case, which was brought to trial in the 1920s and 1930s, is unusual for the fact that a considerable amount of forensic material was brought to bear on the matter, Chatterjee and others have noted that it also followed on a longer Indian trend, of which a notable earlier figure is that of the so-called 'False Pratapchand,' an instance referring to a claimant to one of the *zamindârî* estates in Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century (McLane 1993: 316-22; cf.

¹ Morris 1972: 158; also, more recently, the related reflection in Gurevich 1995.

² Foucault 1987: 124-42; and the further discussion in Grafton 1990, and Chartier 1994: 25-60.

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دائرة المعارف بزرگ اسلامی، جلد پنجم، تهران، ۱۳۷۹.

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اعتقاد

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ایران که در دارالفنون جای داشت، انتشار یافت (صدر، ۲۳۷/۴-۲۳۸). این روزنامه به خط نستعلیق ممتاز و چاپ سنگی در قطع رحلی منتشر می شد و جنبه ادبی داشت. در هر شماره شرح احوال شعرای قدیم و معاصر چون فردوسی، خاقانی، قآنی و سروش درج می شد (گلچین، ۶۳۲/۲). از این روزنامه جمعاً ۳۴ شماره انتشار یافت.

روزنامه دیگر او به نام روزنامه علمی دولت علیه ایران از اول شعبان ۱۲۸۰ ق/ ۱۱ ژانویه ۱۸۶۴ م به ۳ زبان فارسی، عربی و فرانسه منتشر می شد (صدر، ۴۵/۴؛ بامداد، ۴۴۷/۲). این روزنامه نخستین نشریه ایرانی مشتمل بر بعضی مقالات به زبان فرانسه بود (اعتماد السلطنه، همان، ۱۶۱/۱؛ یغمایی، ۱۴). نام این نشریه در دو شماره نخست، روزنامه ملت علیه ایران بود و ۵۳ شماره بعد با عنوان روزنامه علمی دولت علیه ایران منتشر شد (بامداد، همانجا).

مآخذ: آخوندزاده، فتحعلی، الفبا جدید و مکتوبات، تبریز، ۱۳۵۷ ش؛ آدمیت، فریدون، اندیشه ترقی و حکومت قانون، عصر سپهسالار، تهران، ۱۳۵۶ ش؛ آرن پور، یحیی، از صبا تا نیما، تهران، ۱۳۵۵ ش؛ احتشام السلطنه، خاطرات، به کوشش محمد مهدی موسوی، تهران، زوار؛ اعتماد السلطنه، محمد حسن، تاریخ منتظم ناصری، به کوشش محمد اسماعیل رضوانی، تهران، ۱۳۶۷ ش؛ همو، صدر التواریخ، به کوشش محمد مشیری، تهران، ۱۳۵۷ ش؛ همو، المآثر والآثار، به کوشش ایرج افشار، تهران، ۱۳۶۳ ش؛ افشار، ایرج، «جنگ اعتضاد السلطنه»، راهنمای کتاب، تهران، ۱۳۵۴ ش، س ۱۸، ش ۹-۷؛ همو، سواد و بیاض، تهران، ۱۳۴۴ ش؛ اقبال آشتیانی، عباس، «اعتضاد السلطنه و ظهور بایه»، یادگار، تهران، ۱۳۲۴ ش، س ۲، ش ۱؛ بامداد، مهدی، شرح حال رجال ایران، تهران، ۱۳۵۷ ش؛ خورموجی، محمدجعفر، حقایق الاخبار ناصری، به کوشش حسین خدیو جوم، تهران، ۱۳۴۴ ش؛ دانش پزوه، محمد تقی و بهاء الدین انواری، فهرست کتابهای خطی کتابخانه مجلس سنا، تهران، ۱۳۵۹ ش؛ دیوان یگی شیرازی، احمد، حدیقه الشعراء، به کوشش عبدالحسین نوایی، تهران، ۱۳۶۵ ش؛ روزنامه دولت علیه ایران، تهران، ۱۳۷۰ ش؛ سپهر، محمد تقی، تاریخ التواریخ، به کوشش جهانگیر قائم مقامی، تهران، ۱۳۵۱ ش؛ سیاح، محمد علی، «خاطرات»، مجموعه خاطرات و سفرنامه های ایران، به کوشش ایرج افشار، تهران، ۱۳۵۶ ش، ش ۵؛ سیفی قمی تفرشی، مرتضی، تهران در آئینه زمان، تهران، ۱۳۶۹ ش؛ صدر هاشمی، محمد، تاریخ جراید و مجلات ایران، اصفهان، ۱۳۲۲ ش؛ صفایی، ابراهیم، اسناد نویافته، تهران، ۱۳۴۹ ش؛ طاهری شهاب، «فهرست نسخه های خطی مجموعه طاهری شهاب»، نسخه های خطی، نشریه کتابخانه مرکزی دانشگاه تهران، تهران، ۱۳۴۸ ش؛ ظل السلطان، مسعود میرزا، خاطرات، به کوشش حسین خدیو جوم، تهران، ۱۳۶۸ ش؛ فرهاد میرزا قاجار، منشآت، تهران، ۱۳۲۱ ق؛ کریمان، حسین، تهران در گذشته و حال، تهران، ۱۳۵۵ ش؛ کیان فر، جمشید، مقدمه و حواشی بر اکسیر التواریخ اعتضاد السلطنه، تهران، ۱۳۷۰ ش؛ گلچین معانی، احمد، تاریخ تذکره های فارسی، تهران، ۱۳۶۳ ش؛ مجد الملک سینکی، محمد، رساله مجدیه، به کوشش سعید نفیسی، تهران، ۱۳۲۱ ش؛ مرکزی، خطی؛ مستوفی، عبدالله، شرح زندگانی من، تهران، ۱۳۴۱ ش؛ ملک، خطی؛ ملی، خطی؛ منزوی، خطی؛ نوایی، عبدالحسین، مقدمه و حواشی بر حدیقه الشعراء (نک: هم، دیوان یگی)؛ هدایت، رضا قلی، ملحقات روضه الصفا ناصری، تهران، ۱۳۳۹ ش؛ هدایت، مهدیقلی، گزارش ایران، به کوشش محمد علی صوبتی، تهران، ۱۳۶۳ ش؛ یغمایی، اقبال، وزیران علوم و معارف و فرهنگ ایران، تهران، ۱۳۷۵ ش.

اعتقاد، نک: ایمان.

Babirtole

اعتقاد خان، محمد مراد کشمیری (۱۰۶۷-۱۱۳۹ ق/ ۱۶۵۷-۱۶۵۷-۱۶۵۷)

نسخه های متعددی در دست است (نک: ملی، ۵۳/۶؛ ملک، ۱۹۹/۹، ۲۰۱).

۱۲. رساله سؤال و جواب با حاجی محمد کریم خان شیخی (ملی، همانجا).

۱۳. رساله در اوقاف و وقفهای لازم در قرآن (همانجا).

۱۴. رساله گفت و گو با امیر نظام گروسی در قریه حصار بوعلی (همانجا).

۱۵. منظومه ای کوتاه در ۲۰۰ بیت در احوال بوذاسف و بلوهر، که در دیوانش مندرج است.

۱۶. جنگ خطی مفصل موجود در کتابخانه شماره ۱ مجلس شورای اسلامی، که مشتمل بر رسالات و کتابها و یادداشتهای متعدد است (افشار، «جنگ...»، ۷۱۸). بخشهای کوتاهی از این جنگ در مجلات مختلف، از جمله در جهان نو (س ۳، ش ۱) به چاپ رسیده است.

۱۷. جنگ خطی مفصل دیگر که اکنون در کتابخانه شماره ۲ مجلس شورای اسلامی نگهداری می شود (دانش پزوه، ۲۵۹/۲ به بعد).

۱۸. از کارهای دیگر اعتضاد السلطنه اهتمام در تهیه نقشه ای برای تهران بود. او به یاری مسیو کریسیس معلم دارالفنون و به دستگیری شاگردانش در آن مدرسه این نقشه را تدارک دید و آن را به چاپ رساند (سیفی، ۶۶؛ کریمان، ۲۱۸). در ۱۳۰۵ ق/ ۱۸۸۸ م این نقشه به صورت کامل تری تجدید طبع شد (همو، ۲۲۴).

از خدمات ارزنده دیگر اعتضاد السلطنه ایجاد دایره ای به منظور تألیف و تدوین دایره المعارفی مفصل بود. این اثر که ناتمام مانده — و آنچه از آن نگاشته شده است، به نامۀ دانشوران موسوم گردیده — با عضویت ۴ تن از معروف ترین عالمان آن روزگار، یعنی شمس العلماء شیخ محمد مهدی عبد رب آبادی، میرزا ابوالفضل ساوجی، ملا عبدالوهاب قزوینی و میرزا حسن طالقانی (آرن پور، ۱۹۶/۱-۱۹۸) تألیف شده است. این اثر مشتمل بر شرح احوال دانشمندان در شاخه های مختلف علمی است.

انجمن دارالتألیف از سال تأسیس، یعنی ۱۲۹۴ ق/ ۱۸۷۷ م تا ۱۲۹۸ ق/ ۱۸۸۱ م که اعتضاد السلطنه حیات داشت، زیر نظر او بود و پس از مرگش تحت نظارت محمد حسن خان اعتماد السلطنه و وزیر انطباعات بعدی درآمد (همو، ۲۰۰/۱؛ اعتماد السلطنه، المآثر، ۱۷۴/۱).

گفته می شود که اعتضاد السلطنه در انتشار نخستین ترجمه رساله مهم دکارت به نام گفتار در روش به کار بردن عقل به تاسی از گوینو نیز کوشش بسیار کرده بود (آدمیت، ۱۷-۱۸).

روزنامه ها: اعتضاد السلطنه در دوران تصدی وزارت علوم چند نشریه تأسیس کرد. ابتدا روزنامه ملت سنیه ایران را که نخستین شماره آن در ۱۵ محرم ۱۲۸۳ ق/ ۳۰ مه ۱۸۶۶ م منتشر شد، بنیاد نهاد (صدر، ۲۳۷/۴؛ یغمایی، ۱۷). این نشریه پس از دو شماره به مدت دو ماه تعطیل شد و پس از آن از شماره سوم با عنوان روزنامه ملتی در چاپخانه دولتی

spiritualité shi'ite, *ibid.*, xxix (1960); *idem*, *Le Combat spirituel du shi'isme*, *ibid.*, xxx (1961); *idem*, *Au "pays" de l'Imām caché*, *ibid.*, xxxii (1963); *idem* (in collaboration with S. H. Nasr and O. Yahya), *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, i, Paris 1964; *idem*, *En Islam iranien*, 4 vols., Paris 1971-2; D. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933; L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk et les prémisses spirituelles de l'islam iranien*, Paris 1934; J. N. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, London 1953; F. Schuon, *Understanding Islam*, London 1963; S. H. Nasr, *Ideals and realities of Islam*, London 1966; M. M. Sharif (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-6; T. Fahd (ed.), *Le shi'isme imāmīte*, Paris 1970. (S. H. NASR)

I'TIBĀR KHĀN, a *Khwādjā-sarā'ī* (eunuch) who ultimately rose to the high office of a provincial governor under the emperor *Djahāngīr* [q.v.]. Originally in the service of a grandee of Akbar's court, on his death he joined the service of the Great Mogul who appointed him *nāzīr* (comptroller) of the household of Prince Salīm (later *Djahāngīr*) on his birth in 977/1569. He served the prince well and soon after his accession to the throne Salīm rewarded him by assigning to him the district of *Gwāliyār* as his *djāgīr* in 1025/1607. Thereafter he received one promotion after another both in rank and status rising to that of 6000 men and 5000 horse. In 1031/1622 he was appointed governor of *Āgra*, the capital of the empire, was honoured with the title of *Mumtāz Khān* in recognition of his distinguished services, and the fort and the imperial treasury were placed in his charge. Having faithfully served *Djahāngīr*, who pays him a generous tribute (cf. *Tūruk*, Eng. tr. ii, 285), for a long period of 56 years he died, over 80 years of age, in 1033/1623-24.

Bibliography: *Tūruk-i Djahāngīri*, Eng. tr. by Rogers and Beveridge, London 1914, i, 113, 282, 319, 372, ii, 94, 231, 257-8; *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āthīr al-Umarā'*, Bib. Ind. i, 133-4; *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. by Blochmann, 433; *Shaykh Farīd Bhakkārī, Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, still in Ms. ii. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

I'TIKĀD, the act of adhering firmly to something, hence a firmly established act of faith. In its technical sense, the term denotes firm adherence to the Word of God. It may be translated in European languages by the words "croyance", "belief", "Glauben", with the proviso that this "belief" is not a simple "opinion" or "thinking" (*pensée*), but is the result of a deep conviction. As the root *'-k-d* indicates, the idea of a "knot", a bond established by contract, persists. The VIIIth verbal form combines with this a greater measure of firmness and coherence.

I'tikād recurs many times in chapters or works which treat of faith [see *IMĀN*, § I]. It may be compared with and distinguished from two other technical words, *taṣdīk* and *'aḥīda*.

At first glance, as D. B. Macdonald has pointed out (*ET*, s.v. *I'tikād*), *i'tikād* seems to be synonymous with *taṣdīk*: both terms denote inner adherence to the fundamentals of faith. It must however be said that *taṣdīk* is the act of judging and *i'tikād* the act of adhering. *Taṣdīk* is then seen as an inner judgment of veridicity which affirms the reality and authenticity of the divine Word, a judgment which cannot fail to resolve itself in adherence. Let us say there could be no authentic *taṣdīk* without *i'tikād*. It will then be understood that these two terms, each with the connotations belonging to itself, are sometimes interchangeable in definitions of *imān*, in particular those of the *Ash'ari* school, which make inner

adherence the "pillar" of faith. The majority of authors however prefer to explain faith by means of *taṣdīk*. Al-*Djurdjānī* states specifically (*Ta'rifāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 41) that faith, *taṣdīk* of the heart from the lexicographical point of view, becomes from the point of view of the Religious Law (*shar'*) *i'tikād* of the heart.

In the *Ihyā'*, to define *faith*, al-*Ghazālī* makes use of the term *'aḥīda* in the sense of adherence, and in his *Iḥtisād* he uses the term *taṣdīk*. But in the actual title of the latter work, *i'tikād* becomes religious belief in *globo*, and therefore signifies not only the inner act which adheres but also the content of the faith. This meaning is common, both in *Shi'ī* literature and also in Sunnism.

In this connection, *i'tikād* is associated with another word from the same root, *'aḥīda* [q.v.], pl. *'aḥā'id*, articles of faith. Credo's will be called *'aḥīda* or *'aḥā'id*. But the *ḥur'ānīc* prescriptions which directly involve faith will alone be defined, in the ordinary way, as pertaining to *i'tikād* (cf. al-Nasafi, *'Aḥā'id*, ed. Cairo 1321, 7). According to the comments of D. B. Macdonald (*art. cit.*), they will be called "fundamental" (*'aṣliyya*) or again *i'tikādiyya*; and distinguished from "derived" prescriptions concerning the action (*'amaliyya*), for example in the later manuals of al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen, al-Badjūrī, etc. Hence it will follow that the singular noun *i'tikāda* and the plural *i'tikādāt* will be used in the sense of *'aḥīda* and *'aḥā'id*. Finally, in some cases, *i'tikādāt* may have the meaning of "convictions rationally acquired". It is used in this way in the work of the Jewish theologian Sa'adyā Gaon, *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa'l-i'tikādāt*.

It remains to state that the inner act denoted by *i'tikād* connotes above all the idea of firmness in adherence. If some doubt should be felt, this would not be on account of the actual weakness of the act of adherence. It is, rather, that the motives upon which it relies are insufficiently elaborated, or are compounded with lack of knowledge not recognized as such. When on the other hand they are based on science or certain knowledge (*'ilm*), they lead to an *i'tikād* which can assume the quality of unassailable certainty (*yaḥīn*). Here, on the question of inner adherence, we once more find an equivalent to the problem of the degrees of faith—faith of pure tradition, faith based upon science, faith of certainty (see *IMĀN*, IV, 2).

Bibliography: In the article. (L. GARDET)

I'TIKĀD KHĀN, a *Kashmīrī* of obscure origin, whose name was Muḥammad Murād, was originally in the service of Bahādur Shāh I (reg. 1119/1707-1124/1712), enjoying a rank of 1,000 and the title of *Wakālat Khān*. On the accession to the throne of the ill-starred *Farrukhsiyar* [q.v.] in 1125/1713 his name was included among those listed for execution but on the intercession of the (Bārha) Sayyid brothers, 'Abd Allāh Khān and Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, known as king-makers (*Bādshāh-gar*), he was spared, promoted to a high office, appointed as *basāwal* (harbinger) of the army, and given the title of *Murād Khān*. Acting as a spy on the leading nobles, he soon won the confidence of the emperor who conferred on him the rank of 7,000 men and 10,000 horse and the grandiloquent title of *Rukn al-Dawla Khān Bahādur Farrukhsiyārī*. Later he became closely involved in the political machinations and intrigues which were going on to depose *Farrukhsiyar*. He was responsible for the clash between the emperor and the Sayyid brothers which resulted first in the emperor's being blinded and later in his cold-blooded

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Mughals

been superseded by concrete as a cheap and versatile building material and is still used in many areas.

The traditional form of a mud brick is a large flat square slab produced by filling a wooden mould with mud or clay of the preferred type. In some areas the shape of the bricks is varied; thus in Djenné, West Africa, conical bricks were used until quite recently. Often some additional material (temper) such as straw is added to the brick to give it increased strength. The brick is then left to bake in the sun for several days until it is very hard and can be used for building. The bricks are laid in the normal manner, with layers of mud mortar used to bind the bricks together. When a mud-brick wall is completed it is usually coated with a layer of water-resistant mud plaster. In order to avoid the problems of water erosion mud-brick buildings are often built on stone footings or have overhanging roofs with water run-off directed into special channels. Mud brick also requires a certain amount of maintenance usually in the form of annual replastering.

Mud brick has several advantages over more modern materials: it has better thermal insulation (warmer in winter and cooler in summer), it is cheaper, it can be produced locally and it is environmentally less harmful. Recently there have been attempts to revive the use of mud brick through special projects such as those instigated by Hassan Fathy in Egypt.

See also: Djenné; Fathy, Hassan

Mughals

The Mughals were an Indian Islamic dynasty which ruled most of northern India (including the area of present-day Pakistan) from the beginning of the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. As patrons of architecture the Mughals commissioned some of the finest buildings known to the world including the Red Fort at Delhi and the Taj Mahal.

History

The earliest Muslim presence in India dates from 712 with the Arab conquest of Sind which was a part of the original eastward expansion of Islam. However, it was not until the eleventh century that Muslim warriors first penetrated to the Indian heartland under the leadership of Mahmud of

Ghazni. For the next 150 years the Punjab and Lahore were part of the Ghaznavid Empire although the Rajput princes of Rajasthan prevented further penetration into the subcontinent. In 1192 an Afghan sultan, Mahmud of Ghur, defeated an alliance of Rajput princes and captured Delhi, one of their principal cities. Although Mahmud soon left India he made his Mamluk (slave) general Qutb al-Din Aibak governor of Delhi. For the next 300 years this part of India was ruled by various competing Islamic dynasties including the Timurids.

The first Mughal ruler was Babur who traced his descent on his mother's side from Chengiz Khan and on his father's side from Timur (Tamarlane). Babur was a Central Asian prince who ruled the area of Fargahna but had some claim to Samarkand which he repeatedly tried to capture. In addition to his dream of taking Samarkand Babur also believed he had some claim to the Delhi sultanate through his Timurid ancestors. At the battle of Paniput in 1526 Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi, the Muslim sultan of Delhi, with a small force which had, however, the additional advantage of artillery and gunpowder. A year later this victory was consolidated by Babur's defeat of the combined forces of the Rajput princes at Khanua. Three years later, in 1530, Babur died at Agra leaving the sultanate to his son Humayun. Despite the enormous advantages bequeathed by his father Humayun did not have his father's ruthlessness and in 1540 lost the throne to the Bengali ruler Sher Khan. For the next fifteen years Delhi was ruled by Sher Khan and after his death by his son Islam Sher Sur. Humayun had lost the throne mostly through the treachery of his brothers and it was only after he had defeated them by recapturing Kabul and Kandahar in 1545 that he was in a position to retake Delhi which he did in 1555 defeating Sher Sur. Unfortunately Humayun was only able to enjoy his position for a year as he died in 1556 falling down a stairway in his library in Delhi.

Humayun left the empire to his 13-year-old son Akbar and his Turcoman guardian Bairam Khan. For the next four years the prince and his guardian had to fight off rival claims to the throne whilst securing the boundaries of the kingdom. Akbar's first concern on assuming full power was the pacification of the Rajput princes who constantly threatened the Delhi sultanate. In 1562 Akbar

MUHAMMAD 'ADIL SHAH

By

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The death of energetic Islām Shāh and the minority of his son Fīrūz gave the Afghān chiefs an opportunity to reassert their position in the sultanate. The attempt of 'Adil Shah to follow Islām Shāh, however, revived the conflict between the king and the chiefs culminating in the dissolution of the sultanate and the Afghān loss of sovereignty in Northern India.

Murder of Firuz

On October, 30, 1553, on the death of Islām Shāh, his son Fīrūz, a boy of twelve, was placed on the throne at Gwalior by the supporters of the late king. Tāj Khān Karranī, to whom the dying king had entrusted the guardianship of his minor son, became his wazīr¹. But the disaffection which Islām Shāh's strong monarchy and centralised government had created among the Afghān chiefs proved too strong for the boy king and his guardian minister and on the third day of his accession², Fīrūz was killed by his maternal uncle Mubariz Khān Sur, the son of Sher Shāh's younger brother Nizām Sūr, who had the support of Pahār Khān Sarwāni, Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, Shamsir Khān, the younger brother of Khwās Khān, and other disaffected Afghān chiefs³.

In his life time Islām Shāh had foreseen that such a calamity might befall his successor and he wanted to ensure his safety by executing Mubārīz, who formed the centre of the conspiracy of the Afghān chiefs against him. His wife Bibī Baī, however, prevented him from executing her brother, saying that he was given to music and pleasures and was not interested in the throne. Islām Shāh was disgusted and remarked that she would live to see the consequences of her folly. Badāyūnī writes that the prophesy of Islām Shāh came true and, in spite of her entreaties, Mubārīz murdered her son in her very presence⁴. With the consent

¹ *Shahi*, 272-74.

² Badayuni, I, 416 ; *Tabaqat*, II, 118 ; *Firishta* I, 438.

All the contemporary historians, except Ahmad Yadgar, say that Firuz was killed within a few days of his accession, the general statement being 3 days.

³ *Waq'iat-i-Mushtaqi*, 76b.

⁴ Badayuni, I, 416.

- Delhi Sultanlarından
Süriler (Afghanlar) hanedanı

- Babürhükümeti
Humayun

- Babürhükümeti
maddeler
yazılacak kullandığı
mal.

den örnek cümleler verilmiştir. İkinci bölümde Hunlarla ilgili ünvanlar çıkartılarak, Han dönemi okunuşlarıyla verilmiştir. Yiné metinden örnek cümleler yer almaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde Hunlarla ilgili Shi Ji'de geçen kişi adları verilmiştir. Han dönemi okunuşları bulunarak, metinden örnek cümleler verilmiştir. Hunların yazıyı tanıdıklarına dair bir kaynak elimizde bulunmadığı için Çince kaynakların Türk Tarihi bakımından önemi büyüktür.

Özhan, Günhan: "Türkçe, Japonca ve Korecedeki Ulaşlı Bileşik Eylemlerin Biçimbilimsel Karşılaştırması", Yüksek Lisans Tezi (Danışmanı: Dr. Michiko Wakui Şendil) 119 s.

Biçimbilimsel benzerlikler arasındaki diller akrabalık ilişkilerini ortaya koymak açısından önemlidir. Altay dillerinin başlıca temsilciliğini yapan Türkçe, biçimbilimsel olarak Korece ve Japonca ile benzerlikler göstermektedir. Bu dillerde çekim ve sözcük yapımı çoğunlukla son eklerle yapılmaktadır.

Biçimbilimde yer alan sözcük yapımı içerisinde ele alınan, Ulaşlı Bileşik Eylemler bu tezin konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Ulaşlı Bileşik Eylemler bu üç dilde de benzer biçimde yapılmakta olup diğer dillerden farklı bir yapıya sahiptirler.

Tezin birinci bölümünde karşılaştırmalı dilbilim, biçimbilim ve Altay dilleri teorisi üzerinde duruldu. İkinci bölümde Ulaşlı Bileşik Eylemlerin görünümü ve esas eylemin bileşimde aldığı şekil üzerinde durulduktan sonra, bileşimde ikicil unsur olarak yer alan betimleyici eylemler her üç dilde de örneklerle gösterildi. Üçüncü bölümde, üç dil arasında karşılaştırma yapıldı.

Konumuzu oluşturan Ulaşlı Bileşik Eylemler, esas bir eylem ile ona yeni bir anlam katan betimleyici eylemlerle bu iki eylemi birleştirici rol oynayan ulaş ekinden oluşmaktadırlar. Böylece bileşen eylemler yapısal ve işlevsel bir bütünlük oluşturmaktadırlar.

Bu şekilde yapılan eylemlerin Türkçe, Korece ve Japoncada görülmesi bu üç dilin arasında bir ilişki olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

DOKTORA 1996

Abay, Halıcı Gülseren: "Hindistan'da Kalıcı Türk İzleri (1542-1666)"; Doktora Tezi (Danışman: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Şevket Bulu), 329 s.

Hindistan'da İslamiyetin gerçek anlamda yayılması Gaznelilerle başlar. Gazneliler Sevütekin'den itibaren (977) Hindistan'a ilgi duymaya başlar. Gazneli Mahmud'un (Ölm. 1030) 17 Hint seferi neticesinde günümüzdeki Pancab ve Sindh, Gazne; imparatorluğuna katılır. Gaznelileri sırasıyla Gur (1173-1206), Mu'izzi (salatin-e Mu'izziyah 1206-1211), İltutmüş (1211-1266) ve Balaban Hanedanlıkları (1266-1290) izler. Hindistan'da I. Delhi Türk Sultanlığının sona ermesiyle yerine Delhi Afgan Sultanlığı (Lodhi Sultanlığı) kurulur. İbrahim Lodhi'nin zalimce yönetimi sırasında Kabil padişahı Babur'un Hindistan'a yaptığı son kesin seferde Panipat'da İbrahim Lodhi'nin mağlubiyetiyle sonuçlanan savaş sonrasında Delhi Sultanlığı sona erer, böylece Hindistan'da Türk-Hint imparatorluğu kurulmuş olur (1526).

Beş yıl gibi kısa bir sürede Hindistan'da hüküm süren Zahir-ud-din Mh. Babur (1526-1530) devlet adamı, usta bir diplomat ve komutan vasıtlarıyla tarihte önemli bir yer tutar. Atalarının kahramanlığını ilim ve zerafetle süslemiş bir şahsiyet olarak yüksek kültürlü ve edebi kabiliyetiyle de ün kazanmıştır. Hin-

distan'daki Hint-Türk medeniyetinin her alandaki temel taşları onun döneminde atılmıştır. Ölümünden sonra yerine oğlu Nasir-ud-din Mh. Humayun geçmiştir (1530/1540-1555/1556). Yaşamı boyunca şansızlıklar bir türlü yakasını bırakmamıştır; ancak tahtını ve tacını kaybettikten sonra bile umudunu yitirmemiş, ülkesinden uzakta geçirdiği sıkıntılı günlerden sonra Hindistan'a dönüp ikinci kez Hükümdarlığını ilân etmiştir. Babasının temelini attığı medeniyet kurumlarının gelişmesine büyük katkısı olmuştur, 1556'da ölmüştür. Oğlu Calal-ud-din Mh. Akbar babası öldüğünde 13 yaşındayken tahta geçer (1556-1605). Tarihçilerin en fazla ilgisini çeken hükümdarlardan biridir. İktidarı süresince ülkesinin sınırlarını biteviye genişletmiş, Babur'un temelini attığı hoşgörü politikasını daha da geliştirerek Hindular ile Müslümanlar arasında gerçek anlamda bir uzlaşma sağlanmasında I. derece rol oynamıştır. Büyük bir kumandan ve devlet adamlığına yanısıra bir düşünür ve sosyolog olarak da bölgenin ihtiyaçlarını titizlikle tesbit etmiş, bu yolda genel bir devlet politikası izlemiştir. Bilim ve edebiyat alanında Hint-Türk imparatorluğunun gelişiminde öncülük yapmıştır. Akbar'ı izleyen oğlu Nur-ud-din Mh. Cihangir (1605-1627); iyi eğitime görmüş, edebiyat ve sanat hamisi, cömert bir hükümdardır. Gerçek bir tabiat aşığıdır. Adalet ve hakkaniyeti sever, en uzak bölgelerde dâhi kanunlarının uygulanmasına özen gösterirdi. 1627'de öldüğünde yerine oğlu Şihab-ud-din Mh. Şah Cihan geçmiştir (1628-1659). Bu dönemde özellikle mimari ve bayındırlığa önem verilir. Döneminde yapılan mimari âbidelerin güzelliği, sanat değeri dikkat çekmektedir. Eşi Mümtaz Mahal'e duyduğu derin sevgiyi ebedileştiren Tac Mahal; dönemin özgün mimarı üslubunun ve genellikle Türk-İslam mimarisinin şaheserlerinden biridir. 1666 yılında ölmüştür.

Kırlangıç, Hicabi: "İdris-i Bidlisi, Selim-name" (Danışman: Prof. Dr. Mürsel Öztürk) Doktora Tezi, XI+434+430 S.

Osmanlı tarih yazarlığında Selim-namelerin müstesna bir yeri vardır. I. Selim dönemini konu alan bu eserler, ilgili dönemin tarihini, kültürünü ve sosyal durumunu da ortaya koyarlar. Tezimizin konusunu teşkil eden "Selim Şah-name" Farsça olarak yazılması ve yazarının dönemin olayları içerisinde bizzat yer alması bakımından Selim-name literatürü içerisinde öne çıkar.

Selim Şah-name, İdris-i Bidlisi tarafından M. 1520 yılında yazımı tamamlandıktan sonra müsvedde halinde kalmış ve ancak 1567 yılında müellifin oğlu Ebu'l-Fazl Mehmed tarafından düzenlenerek temize çekilmiştir. Bu yüzden bazı yerlerde Ebu'l-Fazl Mehmed'in eklediği kısımlar vardır. Selim Şah-name, manzum-mensur tarzda yazılmıştır. Önce nesir ile anlatılan kısımlar manzumelerde özetlenmiştir. Selim Şah-name'de özellikle Deyarbakır ve çevresi ile ilgili çok değerli tarihi ve sosyolojik bilgiler mevcuttur. Eser, kişi ve yer adları bakımından da önemli bir kaynaktır.

Çalışmamız üç kısma ayrılmaktadır: İnceleme, Metin, Çeviri.

İnceleme kısmı, bir giriş ve iki bölümden oluşmaktadır. Girişte Selim-name yazarlığı hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. I. Bölüm'de Selim Şah-name'nin müellifi İdris-i Bidlisi'nin hayatına, eserlerine ve kişiliğine değinilmiş, dönemin sosyokültürel ve edebi durumu ele alınmıştır.

Diğer iki kısımda ise eserin Türkçe çevirisi ve üç nüshaya dayanılarak oluşturulmuş metni verilmiştir. Metin'de nüsha farkları dipnotlarda gösterilmiş, ayet ve hadislerin yerleri belirtilmiştir. Çeviri kısmındaysa bazı özel isimlerle terim ve kavramları dipnotlara açıklanmıştır.

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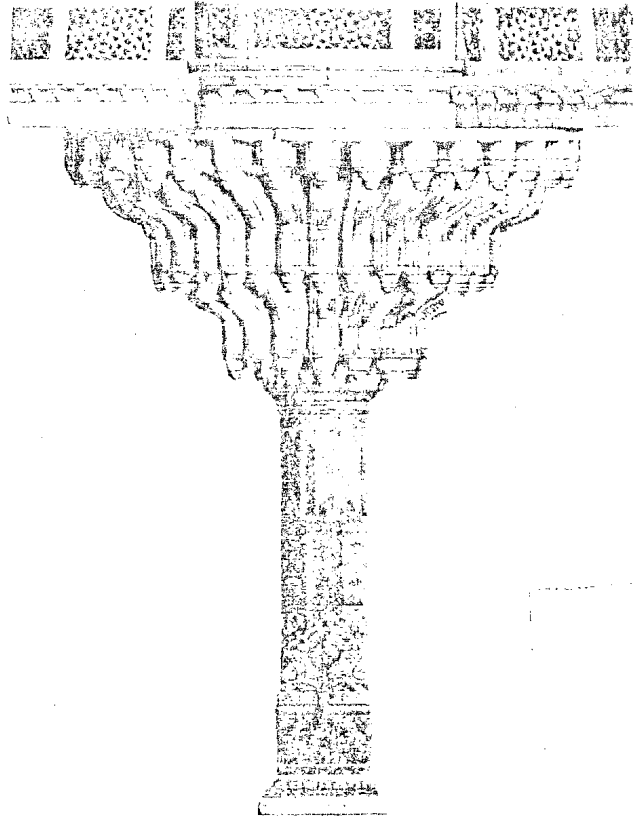
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History of the Rise of the
Mahomedan Power
in
India

Till the Year A.D. 1612.

Translated from the
Original Persian of
Mahomed Kasim Ferishta,

by

John Briggs, M. R. A. S.
Lieutenant-Colonel in the Madras Army.

To which is added
An Account of the Conquest,

by the Kings of Hindustan
Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
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Dynasty
of the
House of Teimoor.

BABUR PADSHAH.*

Babur's origin—his pretensions to succeed to his father's dominions opposed by his uncles.— Babur occupies Furghana.— Peace concluded with his uncles.— He takes Samarkand.— His troops mutiny, and support the claims of his brother Jehangeer in Indijan.— Babur is reconciled to Jehangeer.— Sheebany Khan Oozbuk takes Samarkand, but is eventually expelled from it by Babur—he continues the war with Sheebany Khan, but is defeated, and driven from Transoxania.— Babur occupies Kabul, and establishes himself in that kingdom—he conquers Seewustan.— The King of Persia unites with Babur in an attack on Sheebany Khan, who is slain.— Babur recovers Samarkand, but is eventually compelled to quit it for ever—projects the invasion of India, on the invitation of Dowlut Khan Lody.— Babur sends an army with Alla-ood-Deen Lody.— Alla-ood-Deen unsuccessful.— Babur invades India, and defeats Ibrahim Lody, who is killed.— Babur ascends the throne of Dehly.— Difficulties occur in securing the conquest.— Confederacy of the Indians, both Mahomedans and Hindoos, to expel Babur, The confederates are defeated.— Babur falls sick—his death.

At the time when Aboo Syeed Mirza suffered martyrdom in Eerak, he had eleven sons : Ahmud, Mahmood, Mahomed, Sharokh, Alugh Beg, Oomr Sheikh, Aba Bukr, Moorad, Khuleel, Sooltan, and Oomr. Four of these attained the dignity of kings. Alugh Beg Mirza succeeded to the throne of Kabul; Ahmud Mirza reigned over the kingdom of Samarkand; Oomr Sheikh Mirza ruled over the united provinces of Indijan and Furghana ; and Mahmood Mirza over those of Koondooz and Budukhsan. Yoonoos Khan, King of Mogulistan, gave to each of those Kings, excepting Alugh Mirza, one of his daughters in marriage.

At the time when Oomr Sheikh Mirza ascended the throne of Furghana in the year 888, he had a son by Kootloogh Nigar Khanum, the daughter of Yoonoos Khan, whom he named Babur. The relationship between Teimoor (Tamerlane) and Babur is as follows: Sooltan Aboo Syeed Mirza, the son of Mahommed Mirza, the son of Meeran Shah Mirza, was the son of Ameer Teimoor Korkan. Mowlana Hissamy Kurragoosly composed the following couplet, after the death of Babur, to commemorate his memory, which seems worth recording:

روزش محرم زاد آن شه کرم
تاریخ وقایع هم آمد شش محرم

This benevolent Prince was born on the sixth of Mohurram, on which day also he died ; and in the words " sixth of Mohurram " will be found the date of the year of his birth.

Babur, when as yet but 12 years old, discovered a capacity so uncommon, that his father gave him the management of the kingdom of Indijan. Oomr Sheikh Mirza, †on Monday the 4th of Rumzan, in the 890th year of the Hijra, fell, by an accident, from the roof of a pigeon-house, and being killed, Babur was advanced to the throne by his nobles, and assumed the title of Zeheer-ood-Deen.

Sooltan Ahmud Mirza, and Mahmood Khan the son of Yoonoos Khan, the former his paternal and the latter his maternal uncle, led their armies against the young Prince, to take revenge on him, on account of the war waged by his father against them ; hoping also, by the advantage which the accession of a child afforded, to appropriate his kingdoms to themselves.

* Subsequent to this period, the kings of Dehly become so frequently engaged in war with other, kings of India, that it becomes necessary to give them some distinguishing appellation, and this is the more proper here, as Babur, in his Memoirs, observes, "At this period (A. D. 1507) I ordered "that I should be styled Padshah."—See Erskine's edition of Leyden's Babur, p. 233.

† It is a curious coincidence that this prince, and his grandson Hoomayoon, should both have met their death by falling from the tops of houses—the one at Indijan, the other at Dehly.

spiritualité shi'ite, *ibid.*, xxix (1960); *idem*, *Le Combat spirituel du shi'isme*, *ibid.*, xxx (1961); *idem*, *Au "pays" de l'Imām caché*, *ibid.*, xxxii (1963); *idem* (in collaboration with S. H. Nasr and O. Yahya), *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, i, Paris 1964; *idem*, *En Islam iranien*, 4 vols., Paris 1971-2; D. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933; L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk et les prémises spirituelles de l'islam iranien*, Paris 1934; J. N. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, London 1953; F. Schuon, *Understanding Islam*, London 1963; S. H. Nasr, *Ideals and realities of Islam*, London 1966; M. M. Sharif (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-6; T. Fahd (ed.), *Le shi'isme imāmīte*, Paris 1970. (S. H. NASR)

I'TIBĀR KHĀN, a *Kh* wādja-sarā'ī (eunuch) who ultimately rose to the high office of a provincial governor under the emperor Djahāngīr [q.v.]. Originally in the service of a grandee of Akbar's court, on his death he joined the service of the Great Mogul who appointed him *nāṣir* (comptroller) of the household of Prince Salim (later Djahāngīr) on his birth in 977/1569. He served the prince well and soon after his accession to the throne Salim rewarded him by assigning to him the district of Gwāliyār as his *djāgīr* in 1025/1607. Thereafter he received one promotion after another both in rank and status rising to that of 6000 men and 5000 horse. In 1031/1622 he was appointed governor of Āgra, the capital of the empire, was honoured with the title of Mumtāz Khān in recognition of his distinguished services, and the fort and the imperial treasury were placed in his charge. Having faithfully served Djahāngīr, who pays him a generous tribute (cf. *Tūruk*, Eng. tr. ii, 285), for a long period of 56 years he died, over 80 years of age, in 1033/1623-24.

Bibliography: *Tūruk-i Djahāngīrī*, Eng. tr. by Rogers and Beveridge, London 1914, i, 113, 282, 319, 372, ii, 94, 231, 257-8; *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, Bib. Ind. i, 133-4; *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. by Blochmann, 433; *Shaykh Farīd Bhakkārī, Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, still in Ms. ii. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

I'TIKĀD, the act of adhering firmly to something, hence a firmly established act of faith. In its technical sense, the term denotes firm adherence to the Word of God. It may be translated in European languages by the words "croyance", "belief", "Glauben", with the proviso that this "belief" is not a simple "opinion" or "thinking" (*pensée*), but is the result of a deep conviction. As the root *'-k-ā* indicates, the idea of a "knot", a bond established by contract, persists. The VIIIth verbal form combines with this a greater measure of firmness and coherence.

I'tikād recurs many times in chapters or works which treat of faith [see *IMĀN*, § I]. It may be compared with and distinguished from two other technical words, *taṣḍīk* and *'akīda*.

At first glance, as D. B. Macdonald has pointed out (*EP*, s.v. *I'tikād*), *i'tikād* seems to be synonymous with *taṣḍīk*: both terms denote inner adherence to the fundamentals of faith. It must however be said that *taṣḍīk* is the act of judging and *i'tikād* the act of adhering. *Taṣḍīk* is then seen as an inner judgment of veridicity which affirms the reality and authenticity of the divine Word, a judgment which cannot fail to resolve itself in adherence. Let us say there could be no authentic *taṣḍīk* without *i'tikād*. It will then be understood that these two terms, each with the connotations belonging to itself, are sometimes interchangeable in definitions of *imān*, in particular those of the *Ash'arī* school, which make inner

adherence the "pillar" of faith. The majority of authors however prefer to explain faith by means of *taṣḍīk*. Al-Djurdjānī states specifically (*Ta'rifāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 41) that faith, *taṣḍīk* of the heart from the lexicographical point of view, becomes from the point of view of the Religious Law (*shar'*) *i'tikād* of the heart.

In the *Ihyā'*, to define faith, al-Ghazālī makes use of the term *'akīd* in the sense of adherence, and in his *Iktisād* he uses the term *taṣḍīk*. But in the actual title of the latter work, *i'tikād* becomes religious belief *in globo*, and therefore signifies not only the inner act which adheres but also the content of the faith. This meaning is common, both in *Shi'i* literature and also in Sunnism.

In this connection, *i'tikād* is associated with another word from the same root, *'akīda* [q.v.], pl. *'akā'id*, articles of faith. Credo's will be called *'akīda* or *'akā'id*. But the *ḥur'ānīc* prescriptions which directly involve faith will alone be defined, in the ordinary way, as pertaining to *i'tikād* (cf. al-Nasafi, *'Akā'id*, ed. Cairo 1321, 7). According to the comments of D. B. Macdonald (*art. cit.*), they will be called "fundamental" (*'aṣliyya*) or again *i'tikādiyya*; and distinguished from "derived" prescriptions concerning the action (*'amaliyya*), for example in the later manuals of al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen, al-Badjūrī, etc. Hence it will follow that the singular noun *i'tikāda* and the plural *i'tikādāt* will be used in the sense of *'akīda* and *'akā'id*. Finally, in some cases, *i'tikādāt* may have the meaning of "convictions rationally acquired". It is used in this way in the work of the Jewish theologian Sa'adyā Gaon, *Kitāb al-Amanāt wa'l-i'tikādāt*.

It remains to state that the inner act denoted by *i'tikād* connotes above all the idea of firmness in adherence. If some doubt should be felt, this would not be on account of the actual weakness of the act of adherence. It is, rather, that the motives upon which it relies are insufficiently elaborated, or are compounded with lack of knowledge not recognized as such. When on the other hand they are based on science or certain knowledge (*'ilm*), they lead to an *i'tikād* which can assume the quality of unassailable certainty (*yaqīn*). Here, on the question of inner adherence, we once more find an equivalent to the problem of the degrees of faith—faith of pure tradition, faith based upon science, faith of certainty (see *IMĀN*, IV, 2).

Bibliography: In the article. (L. GARDET)

I'TIKĀD KHĀN, a *Kashmīrī* of obscure origin, whose name was Muḥammad Murād, was originally in the service of Bahādur Shāh I (*reg.* 1119/1707-1124/1712), enjoying a rank of 1,000 and the title of Wakālat Khān. On the accession to the throne of the ill-starred Farrukhsiyar [q.v.] in 1125/1713 his name was included among those listed for execution but on the intercession of the (Bārha) Sayyid brothers, 'Abd Allāh Khān and Husayn 'Alī Khān, known as king-makers (*Bādshāh-gar*), he was spared, promoted to a high office, appointed as *basāwal* (harbinger) of the army, and given the title of Murād Khān. Acting as a spy on the leading nobles, he soon won the confidence of the emperor who conferred on him the rank of 7,000 men and 10,000 horse and the grandiloquent title of Rukn al-Dawla Khān Bahādur Farrukhshāhī. Later he became closely involved in the political machinations and intrigues which were going on to depose Farrukhsiyar. He was responsible for the clash between the emperor and the Sayyid brothers which resulted first in the emperor's being blinded and later in his cold-blooded

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areas. Mahābād's streets were paved, city water and lighting improved, an irrigation project began near the city and a modern road connecting Mahābād with Riḍā'iyya and Sanandaj was completed.

In 1974 a truce between Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzāni and the 'Irāki government ended in renewed fighting. This time the Kurds received strong backing from Iran, and Mahābād became the unofficial rest area behind the front. Its streets were filled with Barzāni's Pēsh Merga fighters driving captured 'Irāki vehicles, and the bazaar resounded to stories of free-spending Kurdish fighters. As the fighting intensified, Kurdish non-combatants from 'Irāk increasingly sought refuge in camps in the Mahābād area.

The 1975 Algiers Agreement put a sudden end to the Kurdish war, and over 100,000 new refugees fled to join the 30-40,000 already in Iran (about 28,000 of these were in the area around Mahābād). Mullā Muṣṭafā, his family and many of his tribesmen settled near Mahābād. By the end of 1975, most of the refugees had returned to 'Irāk and the remainder (about 30,000) had been forced to leave the Kurdish areas of Iran and settle elsewhere in the country. Barzāni was moved to Tehran, and eventually went to the United States where he died in 1979.

Calm returned to Mahābād until the beginning of the Iranian revolution in 1978. Initially, the city united to seek the ousting of the Shah. This unity, however, was quickly followed by strife between Kurds demanding greater autonomy and revolutionary guards supporting Khomeini (Khumayni). The most bitter fighting occurred in Sanandaj, but Mahābād again became the seat of the nationalist Kurdish movement. The city was captured by government forces in 1979, but was returned to Kurdish control as part of a negotiated truce. The area remained chaotic with various groups manoeuvring for power, including the sons of Mullā Muṣṭafā, Idrīs and Mas'ūd, and the 1980 Iran-'Irāk war added to the complexities as some Iranian troops were moved out to join the fighting in the south.

(W. EAGLETON and R. NEUMANN)

MAHĀBAT KHĀN, military leader in Mughal India. Zamāna Beg (later known as Mahābat Khān) was the son of Ghayyūr Beg Kābulī, a Riḍawī Sayyid, who migrated from Shīrāz to Kābul during the reign of Akbar and settled there. Zamāna Beg entered the service of Akbar's son Salīm as an *aḥādī* (cavalry trooper) and rose to the rank of 500. After Djahāngīr's accession (October 1605) he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 and given the title of Mahābat Khān, becoming a trusted noble of that Emperor. He led a rather unsuccessful campaign against Mewār (1608), but rose nevertheless to the rank of 4,000/3,000 by 1610. In 1615 he was awarded *dū aspa sih aspa* rank and was posted to the Deccan. Apparently unable to get on with Shāh Djahān, he was transferred and made governor of Kābul. When Shāh Djahān rebelled in 1622, Mahābat Khān was called upon by Djahāngīr and the Empress Nūr Djahān to command the imperial troops. He was awarded the highest possible rank for a noble, viz. 7,000/6,000. He pursued Shāh Djahān to the Deccan, with a force under the titular command of Prince Parwīz and then marched across the empire to eastern India in order to expel Shāh Djahān from that region. He then returned with Parwīz to the Deccan. Although his enhanced power and prestige aroused much jealousy at the court, he was now appointed to Bengal. Provoked by certain demands for accounts and by the humiliation of his son-in-law, he suddenly carried out a coup

(March 1626), capturing the person of Empero Djahāngīr, who now appointed him *wakil*. His power, however, came to an end within three months. He fled and was on the run when Djahāngīr died (1627).

Mahābat Khān in the meantime made his peace with Shāh Djahān, who after his accession (January 1628) appointed Mahābat Khān governor of Adīmēr and then in the same year sent him to the Deccan as viceroy. In 1629 he was appointed governor of Dihlī, and in 1632 again viceroy of the Deccan. Mahābat Khān won a signal success when he captured Dawlatābād in 1633, but lost much prestige when he failed before Parenda next year, being censured and recalled. He died in 1634 and was buried in Dihlī at the Qadamgāh of Shāh-i Mardān.

Mahābat Khān considered himself an opponent of both the dominant Irāni and Tūrāni factions in the Mughāl nobility; his troops consisted in a large part of Rāḍīputs. Though lacking a religious education, he was said to be skilled in astronomy and astrology, and to have embraced Shī'ism in his old age. His eldest son Amān Allāh Ḥusaynī (Khān Zamān) was also an important commander; and another son, Lahrāsp, rose to occupy high office under both Shāh Djahān and Awrangzib, enjoying the title of Mahābat Khān II.

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

○ **MAHALL** (A., lit. "place of alighting, settling, abode"), in the context of Islamic India, widely used in the sense of "palace pavilion" or "hall", and more particularly of private apartments in the palace, the *maḥall-sarā*—hence also a queen or consort. It seems not to have achieved the same currency in Iran. Here it appears as equivalent to Hindī *mandir*, *mandar* or *mandal*, sometimes replacing these in areas under strong Muslim influence such as Rāḍjasthān. Much palace terminology is Persian, though specialised Hindī terms like *tibāra* for a hall with three adjacent bays or doors, and *bāradārī* for one with twelve (3 each side) are applied to Muslim buildings, the latter figuratively as "summer house". Consideration of their architectural development entails a review of the palace layout in which they were set.

i. Dihlī Sultanate. Though none of the Mamlūk palaces have survived, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q.v.] has left a description of the Kushk-i La'āl in Kīl'ā Rāy Pithorā [see DIHLI] as used by Sultan Djālāl al-Dīn Khaldjī (689-95/1290-6), comprising two great audience courtyards (*mashwar*) in sequence, with a closed building at the rear. In the first was an immense vestibule (*dihlīz*), and both were overlooked by a domed pavilion (*kubba*) near the gate, where the sultan sat to watch games (*Rihla*, iii, 271). He writes of Muḥammad b. Tughlūk's new palace (seen ca. 1333-41), the Dār Sarā at Djahān-panāh, in similar terms, noting the platforms (or cells? *dakākin*) built on either side of the *dihlīz* for the guard, a platform in the second court for the masters of ceremonies, and room for the people to sit, and beyond the third gate a vast hall of private audience, the Hazār

bī's *Diwān*, and therefore quite different from the one mentioned above. It was written by Abu 'l-'Alā' in his old age, for on the basis of its title it was dedicated to the one who had commissioned it, the Mirdāsīd *amir* 'Azīz al-Dawla Abu 'l-Dawām Thābit b. Thimāl b. Šāliḥ b. Mirdās. The name of this *amir* is further explicitly mentioned in the short Preface of the manuscript of this work (ms. [Süleymaniye] Hamidiye 1148) and in a passage of the monograph on Abu 'l-'Alā' by Ibn al-'Adīm (*al-Inṣāf*, 540). In view of all this, the name erroneously given by F. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 493, should be corrected accordingly.

3. *'Abath al-walīd*, a commentary on verses selected from the *Diwān* of the poet al-Buḥturī [q.v.], owes its existence to the fact that a manuscript containing al-Buḥturī's poetry was sent from Aleppo to Abu 'l-'Alā' in Ma'arra, in order that he should correct and criticise its text if necessary (Ibn al-'Adīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 541). It is available in the critical edition of Muhammad 'Abd Allāh al-Madanī, Medina 1355/1936. However, a far better edition is the one recently prepared by Nādiyā 'Alī al-Dawla, *'Abath al-walīd fī 'l-kalām 'alā shi'r Abi 'Ubāda al-Walīd b. 'Ubayd al-Buḥturī*, Damascus 1978.

4. *Dhikrā Ḥabīb*, was a commentary on verses selected from the *Diwān* of Ḥabīb b. Aws Abū Tammām [see ABŪ TAMMĀM]. Though it is lost as an independent work, it has in essence survived because Tibrizī incorporated it in his own commentary on Abu Tammām's poetry; see *Diwān Abi Tammām bi-sharḥ al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī*, critical ed. by M. 'Abduh 'Azzām, Cairo 1964, 25-6 of the editor's *muḥaddima*.

Abu 'l-'Alā' made a commentary on the poetry of a contemporary of his, the *amir* and eulogist of the Mirdāsīds, Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna, who also chanced to be an inhabitant of Ma'arra. This commentary was to remain partial only, for the *amir* survived Abu 'l-'Alā' and only died in 457/1065 (on him see further IBN ABĪ ḤAṢĪNA). Abu 'l-'Alā's commentary is incorporated in the *Diwān Ibn Abi Ḥuṣayna*, critical ed. by As'ad Talas, Damascus 1375/1956, where incidentally on p. 373 can be found the elegy which was recited at Abu 'l-'Alā's grave by Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna, one among many other poets who are all reported to have recited their respective *marthiyas* on this occasion.

Bibliography: A compilation of biographical source materials taken from historical sources is *Ta'rif al-kudamā' bi-Abi 'l-'Alā'*, Cairo 1384/1965, *taṣwīr* of the edn. Cairo 1944. Monographs: Ibn al-'Adīm, *al-Inṣāf wa 'l-taḥarrī fī daf' al-zulm wa 'l-tadjiarrī 'an Abi 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri*, in *Ta'rif*, 483-578; idem, *Bughyat al-talab fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, ms. Topkapu Saray 2925 cilt 1, ff. 195a-225b; al-Badī'ī, *Awdj al-taḥarrī 'an haythiyyat Abi 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri*, Damascus 1944, is a compilation of works by previous historians, but none the less interesting for its quotations from works by Abu 'l-'Alā' which are now lost. Other historical sources: some of the sources incorporated in the *Ta'rif* may here be mentioned separately: Thā'libī, *Tatimmat al-yatima*, Tehran 1353/1934, i, 9 (= *Ta'rif*, 3-4); *Ta'rīkh Bughdād*, iv, 240-1 (= *Ta'rif*, 5-7); Bākhārzi, *Dumyat al-ḥaṣr wa-ḥuṣrat ahl al-ḥaṣr*, Aleppo 1349/1930, 50-2 (= *Ta'rif*, 8-11); Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, viii, 184-8 (= *Ta'rif*, 18-26); Ibn al-Kiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt 'alā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1950-5, i, 46-83 (= *Ta'rif*, 27-66); Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, i, 162-216 (= *Ta'rif*, 67-141); Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, in *Ta'rif*, 143-81; Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, in *Ta'rif*, 189-205; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-*

nihāya, Beirut 1966, xii, 72-6 (= *Ta'rif*, 301-8). For further reference, see the survey by Moustapha Saleh, *Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxii (1969), 141-204 ("Première partie: sources"). Modern studies, in addition to those already mentioned in the text of the article: C. Rieu, *De Abul-Alae poetae arabici vita et carminibus*, Bonn 1843; G. Salmon, *Un précurseur d'Omar Khayyam: le poète aveugle*, Paris 1904 ("Introduction et traduction"); 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī al-Rādjakūti, *Abu 'l-'Alā' wa-mā ilayh*, Cairo 1344/1925; a collection of articles in *al-Hilāl*, xlvi/8 (Cairo 1357/1938), "*Adad khāṣṣ*"; Aḥmad Taymūr, *Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri*, Cairo 1940; Brockelmann, I, 254, S I, 449; 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭi", *al-Hayāt al-insāniyya 'inda Abi 'l-'Alā'*, Cairo 1944; a collection of articles in *al-Adīb*, iii/6 (Beirut 1944), "*Adad khāṣṣ*"; a collection of articles in *al-Mihrājān al-alfi li-Abi 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri*, Damascus 1364/1945; 'Umar Farrūkh, *Ḥakīm al-Ma'arra'*, Beirut 1944, 1948; Amīn al-Khawli, *Ra'yī fī Abi 'l-'Alā'*, Cairo 1945; Amjad al-Ṭarābluṣī, *al-Naḥd wa 'l-lughā fī Risālat al-Ghufrān*, Damascus 1370/1951; Muḥammad Salīm al-Djundī, *al-Djāmi' fī akhbār Abi 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri wa-āthārīh*, Damascus 1382-4/1962-4; Muḥammad Yaḥyā al-Hāshimī, *Lughz Abi 'l-'Alā'*, Aleppo 1968; 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭi", *Ma'a Abi 'l-'Alā' fī riḥlat hayātīh*, Beirut 1392/1972, which is a slightly revised version of her previous study, *Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri*, see above; Ilyās Sa'd Ghālī, *Ḥadīkat al-hayawān fī Luzūmiyyāt Abi 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri*, Damascus 1978; Y. Friedmann, *Literary and cultural aspects of the Luzūmiyyāt*, in *Studia orientalia* . . . D. H. Baneth, Jerusalem 1979, 347-65. For further reference, see Moustapha Saleh, *Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 197-309 ("Deuxième parti: études critiques modernes").

(P. SMOOR)

MA'ATHIR AL-UMARĀ', the name of a celebrated Persian collection of biographies of Muslim Indian commanders from the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) till the time of its author, Šamsām al-Dawla Mir 'Abd al-Razzāk Shāh-Nawāz Khān Awrangābādī (1111-71/1700-58). Born at Lahore, he soon settled in the Deccan in the service of the first Nizām of Ḥaydarābād [q.v.], Nizām al-Mulk Aṣaf-Djāh, and filled offices in Berār [q.v.] and then as *Diwān* or chief minister of the Deccan. His policy in the latter post aimed at checking the growing influences in that state of the French Marquis de Bussy, but army discontent led to his fall in 1170/1757 and his murder in the following year.

The *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* was conceived on an extended scale and was unfinished at the author's death, hence completed by his son Mir 'Abd al-Ḥayy from notes and fragments left by Shāh-Nawāz Khān. The text of 'Abd al-Ḥayy's recension was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series, ed. Maulavi 'Abdur-Rahīm and Maulavi Ashraf 'Alī, 3 vols. Calcutta 1888-91, and an English tr. made by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad, Calcutta 1911. The whole work has been much used for the many studies which have recently appeared on the Mughal nobility and landholding class.

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(Ed.)

MA'AD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'UKAYM AL-DJUHANI, early representative of Kadari ideas,

270. OKADA, Amina. "Les peintres moghols et le thème de Tobie et l'Ange". *Arts Asiatiques* 43 (1988) pp. 5-12, 11 fig.

L'Inde comme l'Iran affectionnent particulièrement les anges; on les retrouve dans les récits merveilleux aussi bien que dans les enluminures et les miniatures des manuscrits. Lorsque l'Inde découvre, à l'époque d'Akbar, l'iconographie européenne (notamment à travers les gravures de la Bible polyglotte d'Anvers), une heureuse synthèse se produit. L'auteur présente ici, l'étude d'un de ces éléments iconographiques tiré de la Bible, l'ange et Tobie. A partir d'une peinture sur ce thème, signée par Hoseyn Naqqâs, et conservée au musée Guimet, A. O. examine les diverses illustrations inspirées par ce sujet, ainsi que les dérivations parfois curieuses que cette iconographie a subies. Outre les peintures sur papier, A. O. signale également la présence de cette iconographie angélique sur des peintures murales, notamment dans le fort de Lahore. On pourrait ajouter à cet exemple les représentations figurées sur les murs extérieurs de la "maison de Maryam" à Fatehpur Sikri (voir dans Smith, *Fatehpur Sikri* (1894) I, pl. CIX, "The so-called 'Annunciation'").
Y. P.

Abidibi

Abstracta Iranica, 13/1990, Leuven, s. 72

18 MAR 1997
MADAT PAVLONDIKTAN

Babürülük

Après son article sur la peinture du sultanat de Dehli ("On the Sultan's shadow"), dans Frykenberg éd., *Dehli through the Ages*, 1986; voir *Abst.Ir. X. 577*), l'auteur s'est intéressé ici à un manuscrit du *Šāhnāme* produit en Inde vers 1450. Arrivé sur le marché européen en 1987, ce manuscrit qui aurait compté 66 peintures, a été dispersé et vendu. L'auteur, qui a eu la chance de le voir avant sa dispersion, présente dans cet ouvrage 17 pages de ce ms. et en précise la localisation. Une intéressante introduction fait le point sur l'état des connaissances en matière de peinture de l'époque des sultanats. Il remet ensuite ce manuscrit dans le contexte de l'évolution de l'art du livre dans l'Inde du Nord, notamment en le mettant en rapport avec la production contemporaine de manuscrits jaïns, dont les mss. du *Kalakacharyā katha*. C'est en effet dans l'illustration de ce texte que se sont introduits les premiers éléments "iranisants" dans la peinture de manuscrits indiens. Cette monographie, bien que brève, est essentielle à la connaissance de la peinture des sultanats de l'Inde du Nord. On peut toutefois se demander ce que sont devenues les 49 autres peintures du manuscrit! Signalons cependant que deux de ces pages ont été acquises par le musée Guimet (Voir *Arts Asiatiques* 44 (1989) pp. 107-108).

Y. P.

Abstracta Iranica, 13/1990 Leuven, s. 42

268. MOHAMMED, K. K. "Bazars in Mughal India. An essay in architectural study and interpretation". *Islamic Culture* 63, 3 (1989) pp. 60-76.

L'auteur analyse la place du bazar dans les villes mogholes, notamment à Fatehpur Sikri, et relève les facteurs qui différencient ces constructions de celles de l'époque pré-moghole. Il cite ensuite les autres bazars construits à Agra, Delhi, Lahore, et signale, dès l'époque d'Akbar, l'apparition des *katrah*, structures carrées servant de magasins ou de lieu de transactions. D'autres termes comme *mandi* (marché "en gros"), *ganj* (marché au grain) n'apparaissent pas non plus avant la période akbarienne. L'auteur donne enfin quelques renseignements sur le fonctionnement du bazar moghol en se fondant sur plusieurs sources historiques (*Vâqe'ât-e Moštâqi*, *Târix-e Akbari*, *'Amal-e Şâleh...*) et récits de voyages (Bernier, Montserrat, Mundy...).

Y. P.

Abstracta Iranica. 13 / 1990 Leuven. s. 72

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

1997

ENCYCLOPAEDIC SURVEY OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

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Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh, Slate is obtainable in the neighbouring areas of Rewari, Chambal Valley, Kangra and Rajasthan.

From these details it would be easy to understand that the site selected by Emperor Shahjahan for construction of the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal had several advantages, the important ones being; it had a reasonably healthy and good climate; the soil was fertile for laying out a spacious garden; a strong foundation for the mausoleum could be constructed without much difficulty to withstand the enormous weight of the massive structures; building material was easily available both in the immediate vicinity of the city itself, and within reasonable distance; and last but not least, the scenic beauty was enhanced by the River Jamuna immediately to the north of the site.

Another advantage, not generally stated, was the fact that in the Moghul era with the headquarters of the Emperor situated in Agra Fort, Shahjahan could easily travel by boat from the fort on private visits to the site. Not only that, from the Jasmine Tower (Muthanmman Burj) a most entrancing view of the site and its environs is obtainable.

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- Barber dived

20

Mughul Farmans on the Land of the Tajmahal

R. NATH

Arjumand Banu Begum, entitled Mumtaz Mahal, the Chief Queen of the fifth Mughul emperor Shahjahan (birth A.D. 1592; ruled 1628-58; death 1666), died at Burhanpur on 17 *Dhi qa'd* 1040/June 1631 A.D. Her dead body was temporarily buried there in the Zaynabad Garden on the river Tapti. The coffin was later conveyed to Agra, the capital of the Mughul empire, where it reached on 15 *Janodi al-Thani* 1041 January 1632, i.e. about seven months after the death. Here too, it was buried temporarily before its final enshrinement into the permanent grave.

'Abd al-Hamid Lahawri (Lahori) who compiled his history the *Badshah-Namah* contemporarily, has graphically described the event. He recorded that Shahjahan decided to build, in her memory, a magnificent tomb which could be in conformity with his power and grandeur. A site on the right bank of the river Jamuna at Agra, down-stream the red stone Fort of Akbar, and far from the hubbub of city affording a quiet and beautiful situation was selected. The river took a sharp turn at this place, almost at a right angle so that a watershed was made and the thrust of the current was the minimum. It was thus the safest point on the river-bank, for such a vast project as this. Its orientation also facilitated incorporation of a mosque in the tomb-plan as its integral part. These considerations were decisive in its selection.

This was, in fact, a spacious slope of alluvial soil mixed with

The Mughal Empire and Its Decline

An Interpretation of the Sources of Social Power

Andrea Hintze

for my parents
Ingrid and Dietrich Hintze

Babürler

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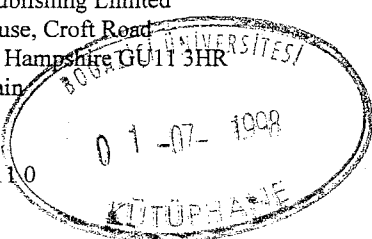
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Rabani

3

The Mughal System of Escheat and the Islamic Law of Inheritance

ZAFARUL ISLAM

The problem of succession to the property in Mughal India has been a matter of great controversy among medieval as well as modern scholars. The statements of contemporary European travellers leave the impression that there was no concept of private property in those days and that the king was the sole heir of the property of his subjects. They were led to this conclusion, at least in case of state officials, on the basis of the system of escheat that was in operation in Mughal India. It appears that they passed their judgement without going deeply into the cases of escheat and examining them closely. Here, an effort would be made to study the relevant rules and regulations as well as the actual cases of escheat in the light of the Islamic law of inheritance. Such an analytical study would, of course, help us to arrive at some definite conclusion about the nature and purpose of the escheat and to understand the actual working of the system under the Mughals.

As regards the origin of the escheat it is difficult to trace it in the history of Muslim countries. In the Islamic law of inheritance there is no provision for such a practice, but the general rules are that (a) the property of a deceased person would not be distributed among his heirs unless his debt has been paid and (b) the heir-less property would be deposited with the *Bayt al-Mal*. In the annals of Islamic history we come across plenty of cases of heirless property (left by state officials or people in general) going to public treasury, but nowhere is any reference made to the confiscation of property of officials by the state

28-38

The Mughal System of Escheat and the Islamic Law... 29

claiming its ownership. We are, however, informed by some Arabic sources that during the Abbasid rule it was an established practice to confiscate property of the fallen vizirs and that of state officials dismissed from service for embezzlement or other serious offence. The practice known as *musadarah* (confiscation) formed a part of punishment in case of defaulting officials. Commenting on this practice, Adam Mez comes to the conclusion that originating as a punishment in the beginning of the 10th century, it was later resorted to very frequently with regard to state officials at the slightest pretext. He has also given some cases showing the confiscation of the property of the deceased officials. But it appears from a close scrutiny of the cases that the property of the deceased official was seized by the Abbasid state to recover their ill-gotten wealth and that it was never done as a legitimate process of the state's claim to their property as its owner. It is also assumed by some modern scholars that the Abbasid caliphs chose to recruit their officers from among slaves mainly to have 'a legal pretext' for claiming their property after their death, but no evidence is given from contemporary sources to substantiate the point.

There is also no evidence to suggest that the practice was borrowed from the Mongols. We are informed by *Ta'rikh-i Jahankusha'i* that one of the rules formulated by Chingiz Khan was that the property of the deceased officials and other persons in the state would not be taken into state custody, and if anyone of them died heir-less his property would be entrusted to his disciple of slave. It was clearly stated that in any case the property of the deceased person should not be deposited with the state-treasury. We get nearly the same information about pre-Islamic Iran. It is reported that in the reign of Nushirwan (A.D. 531-579), the revenue-collectors collected about three thousand *dirhams* as heir-less property from Ispahan and brought them to the king to be deposited with the state-treasury. The king returned the amount to the officers of the said province and ordered investigations to find the heirs of the deceased person. In case no heir could be traced, the property was to be distributed among the needy and poor people and it was not to be kept in the state-treasury. However, the author of *Siyar*

Mogol

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-Barbarlaker

280 Muslim Rule in the Deccan

archaeological sites in terms of their distribution across a given region. Intensive surface surveys and mapping, followed by excavation wherever necessary, aimed at the identification of all possible types of sites, monuments and features and their interrelationships at both the intrasite and regional levels are a desideratum. The work done at sites like Hampi, Dualatabad, and Champaner underscores the usefulness of this approach.

Investigations of the kind suggested above have now acquired an added element of urgency. For, on account of various developmental activities such as the reclamation of even hilly tracts with poor soils for agricultural purposes, as facilitated by the large irrigation network called the Upper Krishna Project, mechanization of farming, initiation of small scale units like mini-cement factories and laying of new communication routes, the rural landscape in the Shorapur Doab is undergoing rapid change at the moment. This is no less true of most other parts of the Deccan. All these activities have inevitably brought archaeological sites and features, be they prehistoric or historic, under tremendous pressure and are altering or obliterating them at an alarmingly high rate. Careful recording of the extant features is a clear minimal need of the hour.

The study of cultural remains of the medieval period is a valuable research investment from another point of view too. Both because of the temporal nearness of the medieval period to the present, the high visibility value of its monuments and structures and also because of the manifold threads of cultural continuity from the medieval times to the present, medieval archaeology could serve as an excellent starting point in the process of disseminating to the society at large an objective knowledge of the past.

28 NISAN 2006

18

Inayat Jang Collection

A. I. TIRMUZI

This collection represents name and valuable press of Mughal archrines relating to provincial Mughal & Ajaj Jahi's administratin of the Deccan.

The Mughal administration has been described as *kaghazi raj* or Paper Government. This is borne out by the enormous transit of papers from one department to the other in the transaction of official business during the Mughal period. It is, however, a strange irony of history that very few papers of the so-called Paper Government have come down to us. The reason is not far to seek. The great anarchy that followed the disintegration of the Mughal Empire was not conducive to the preservation of the official records. This would largely explain the disappearance of the Imperial as well as Provincial Mughal Archives.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable conditions mentioned above, some fragments of the Imperial as well as Provincial Mughul archives have come down to us. Of the former, we have a few fragments relating to the last three Mughal emperors. They escaped destruction simply because they were brought together by the British for the purpose of the trial of Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal *roi faineant*, and subsequently transferred to the Imperial Records Department (now called National Archives of India) where they are now preserved along with all so-called Mutiny Papers. Similarly, the Provincial Mughal archives have succumbed to the ravages of time with the exception of the *Daftar-i Mughaliya* relating to the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. They outlived destruction simply because they remained locked up in the Fort of Ark at Aurangabad till they were transferred to the *Daftar-i Diwani wa Mal* (now called Andhra Pradesh

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has changed. We also analyse the larger forces outside the community, such as assimilation and acculturation, and forces inside the community, like, role of the leadership, role of the social and cultural groups and the so much alleged 'imbalance' in the theory and practice of the faith.

We are confident that this work will make a permanent and significant contribution to the study of Islam. Its style is simple, and it is presented in a style accessible to a wide audience. Its target audience is faculty, students, and all concerned with the understanding of the faith of the second largest following in the world. While it has scholarly materials, it is nevertheless also of use to those who have no knowledge of the field, as well as to those who are working in related and allied fields. Most important, we hope that this series will be useful in teaching and learning as an educational resource in the academic world.

The series is planned to be both, multi-volume and multi-facted set, which will run into hundreds of numbers. The compilation of such a huge set is a gigantic task and requires the support and encouragement of all concerned. It requires feed-back and also support from the literary market place and literary circles all over.

A collection of articles, or an anthology, has many benefits, like, it renews our acquaintance with literature which we have neglected, it reveals to us material of which we were ignorant, and it exposes relationships where we did not suppose them to exist. This is the ultimate purpose of our efforts and we wish and pray that this is fulfilled.

A word of acknowledgement is due to the inspiration of the idea of a comprehensive, commulative and compact set of literary works on the Islamic culture. These inspirers are from all walks of life and their efforts must be acknowledged which includes, contributors, authors and editors, as well as the publishers who have graciously contributed to this project and we duly acknowledge their cooperation. The well wishers are many more and listing all the concerned by names is impossible here. Each must be duly rewarded for this gesture, and this is our sincere prayer.

Editor

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Editor

28 NISAN 2004

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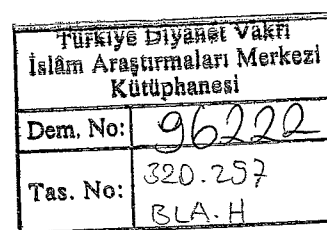
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17. *CH Iran* 7: 97-8; Lambton (1953: 133).
18. *EI* on Kadjar; Algar (1969).
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20. In Lambton (1953: 135-6); Lambton (1974: 107).

Babur'un
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India and the Mughals

23

The Mughal (sc. Mongol) dynasty¹ began as another central Asian invasion of northern India, this time under the Mongol clan leader Babur (d.1530) after they had been pushed out of central Asia by the Safavids and Uzbeks. His claim to leadership rested on his supposed descent from Timur and Chingiz; the Mughals looked back on Afghanistan and Transoxania as their dynastic homeland. Akbar (r.1556-1605) made extensive conquests to the west, east and south and transformed the dynasty into a world power. Under Aurangzib (r.1658-1707), their rule extended over most of India except the far south, creating the largest Indian state since Ashoka in the third century BCE. Akbar set out to create a multi-credal empire. From the mid-seventeenth century, the polity reverted to orthodox Sunnism. Mughal power declined rapidly in the eighteenth century.

This was another example of the Turco-Mongol ability to seize power and govern. Babur called himself padshah (world ruler) and, after his victory at Panipat (1526), he called his new capital, Agra, in the Ganges plain, 'the seat of the caliphate (darul khilafat)' (Farooqi 1989: 188). The culture of the court was influenced by Persian moeurs, literature and architecture; Persian poets, scholars and men of ambition were attracted to it, and Persian was the court language.

AKBAR (R.1556-1605), THE ENLIGHTENING MONARCH

Akbar and his government displayed a remarkable capacity for adaptation and innovation. Their project was to bring Muslims and Hindus, Sunnis as well as Shi'ites, into a single political community, by granting religious toleration and equality of status to the different creeds. This gave the early Mughal empire its distinctive political identity. It owed much to the Indian environment. The majority of the Mughals' subjects were Hindus; they formed a larger proportion than in any previous Muslim state. A policy of religious toleration had been initiated by Babur. He counselled his son, Humayun, to 'ignore the disputations of the Shi'a and Sunnis; for therein is the weakness of Islam'. He pointed out that

The realm of Hindustan is full of diverse creeds ... It is but proper that thou, with heart cleansed of all religious bigotry, should dispense justice according to the tenets of each Community ... And the temples and abodes

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Commerce and Industry in Mughal India*

— With Special Reference to Gujarat —

KONDŌ Osamu

Among the eleven reports read at the 1st All-India Seminar on Indian Economic History held in Delhi in April 1961 three were on source materials, four on the history of the land system, and the remaining four on the commercial and industrial history. It is particularly noteworthy that the number of reports presented on commercial and industrial history equalled the number on the land system when we take into account the fact that the study of Indian economic history in those days still centered on the history of the land system and agriculture.

Ishwar Prakash, who read a paper at the seminar on the setup of urban handicraft industries in the seventeenth century, pointed out that the Indian economy in that period was more advanced than that of the European countries, stating:

Urban handicrafts of high quality in textiles and other luxury products of artistic taste were flourishing under the patronage of the royalty and nobility. Foreign merchants flocked to India and Indian products enjoyed a worldwide reputation.¹⁾

It is indeed inappropriate to consider the whole process of premodern history with the modern yardstick of "advanced countries" and "developing countries." In fact, there have been not a few Indian economic historians who held a view similar to Prakash's, and furthermore, it is a well-known fact that Jawaharlal Nehru, too, in his work *The Discovery of India*, maintained that India, before becoming a British colony and before the Industrial Revolution, was an advanced country, not lagging behind any other country in the world. M. N. Pearson, too, holds in his recent book that the Europeans in the sixteenth century were yet "poor relations" to India and further states:

Nor, in the seventeenth century, were they capable of teaching new commercial or manufacturing techniques to the [Indian] locals. The

* This is a revised English version of the author's article entitled "Mugaruchō Indo no shōhin ryūtsū" ムガル朝インドの商品流通 included in *Chūseiishi kōza* 中世史講座 (Seminars on Medieval History) Vol. 3, Gakuseisha, Tokyo, 1982, pp. 292-319.

1) Ishwar Prakash, Organization of Industrial Production in Urban Centres in India during the 17th Century with Special Reference to Textile, *Readings in Indian Economic History*, ed. by B. N. Ganguli, Bombay, 1964, p. 44.

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COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN MUGHAL INDIA

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two seem to have been on much the same level of development.²⁾

The historical study of commerce and industry in the pre-colonial Mughal period has made great strides in the past two decades since the 1st All-India Seminar, and has brought many historical facts into light. In the present essay I intend to study, on the basis of the achievements of such studies, the problems related to the commerce and industry in Gujarat in Western India during the Mughal period, namely the late feudal period in Indian history. Prior to that, however, I shall briefly refer to the markets in the Mughal period and the trade routes closely related with them. Then I shall proceed to explain the manufacture and distribution of textiles in Gujarat, the rise and fall of Surat, the principal port city in Gujarat, and the development of overseas trade that was based on that city.

Biplab Dasgupta, who attempted to characterize the mode of production in Bengal's agriculture during the Mughal period, asserts that it was a variant of the feudal mode of production.³⁾ The same can probably be said of the agriculture in Gujarat during the same period. In the present essay, however, I have not dealt with agriculture but concentrated solely on the fields of commerce and industry. This is because I felt that I would be able, by taking up these two fields, to shed light on the nature of Mughal society from a different angle from Biplab Dasgupta's study.

I. The Markets and Trade Routes

Francisco Pelsaert, a Hollander from Antwerp, stayed in Agra as a factor of the Dutch East India Company from early 1621 to late 1627, the last part of the reign of Jahangir (r. 1605-1627). Agra was, at that time, the capital of the Mughal empire. A letter sent by Pelsaert to the head office in Holland a year before his transfer provides us with valuable and interesting information about Indian society and economy in those days, particularly on the market in Agra and its relations with other regions.⁴⁾

The construction of the city of Agra started under the Lodi dynasty which preceded the Mughal dynasty, but it was only after Akbar (r. 1556-1605) established the capital in that city that it came to flourish. Thereafter, that

2) M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat, The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1976, p. 5.

3) Biplab Dasgupta, Mode of Production and the Extent of Peasant Differentiation in Pre-British Bengal, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 12, No. 8, 1984, pp. 3-34.

4) *Jahangir's India, The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Cambridge, 1925.

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Contested History: Brahmanical Memories of Relations with the Mughals

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Abstract

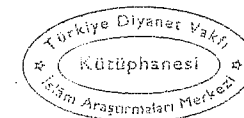
Brahman Sanskrit intellectuals enjoyed a century of relations with the Mughal elite. Nonetheless, such cross-cultural connections feature only sporadically in Persian chronicles, and Brahmins rarely elaborated on their imperial links in Sanskrit texts. In this essay I analyze a major exception to the Brahmanical silence on their Mughal connections, the *Kavīndracandrodaya* ("Moonrise of Kavīndra"). More than seventy Brahmins penned the poetry and prose of this Sanskrit work that celebrates Kavīndrācārya's successful attempt to persuade Emperor Shah Jahan to rescind taxes on Hindu pilgrims to Benares and Prayag (Allahabad). I argue that the *Kavīndracandrodaya* constituted an act of selective remembrance in the Sanskrit tradition of cross-cultural encounters in Mughal India. This enshrined memory was, however, hardly a uniform vision. The work's many authors demonstrate the limits and points of contestation among early moderns regarding how to formulate social and historical commentaries in Sanskrit on imperial relations.

Keywords

Brahmins – Mughals – Sanskrit – Persian – history – memory

* I thank Anand Venkatkrishnan for his comments on an earlier draft of this article. I also thank the participants of the 2013 Oxford Early Modern South Asia Workshop: Discipline, Sect, Lineage and Community: Scholar-Intellectuals in India, c. 1500-1800 for their feedback. I retain diacritics for the names of authors, intellectuals, and texts but forgo them for kings, princes, and places.

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