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TR. MATTHEW MELVIN-KOUSHKI

Akbar, Mughal emperor of India (r. 963–1014/1556–1605). His full name was Abū al-Faṭḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (5 Rajab 949–1014/15 October 1542–1605). He was born in Umerkot, a dependency of Thatta in Sind. His father was the emperor Humāyūn (r. 937–963/1530–1556, in two phases), and his mother a Persian by the name of Ḥamīda Bānū Begum.

Akbar's birth and childhood coincided with political upheavals in the Mughal lands, which led to Humāyūn being deposed and taking refuge with the

Ṣafawids of Persia. After winning back his throne in Delhi with the help of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsb, Humāyūn found himself in charge of a smaller kingdom than before. In 963/1556, he sent the young Akbar, with his guardian Bayram Khān, to engage the rebellious Afghan Sikandar Khān Sūrī. On the way, news of Humāyūn's death reached Akbar's party, and by consensus of the military commanders, Bayram Khān then and there placed Akbar on the throne. His accession on 27 Rabīʿ II 963/10 March 1556 marked the beginning of the *Tārīkh-i Ilāhī* (Divine Era) devised later by Akbar (Nizām al-Dīn, 2/126; Tatawī, 563–565).

Akbar inherited a state that had many opponents, including the Hindu Rajas, who mostly acted against the Mughals, and those military commanders and nobles who taking advantage of Humāyūn's sudden death and Akbar's youth sought to distance the latter from affairs of state and acquire power for themselves. Bayram Khān, who was then in charge of the government, began dealing with them. He first arrested Shāh Abū al-Maʿālī, one of Humāyūn's governors; but Akbar did not consent to him being put to death. His next step was to pursue Sikandar Khān Sūrī, who was defeated and sought refuge in the mountains (Nizām al-Dīn, 2/127; Abū al-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāmah*, 2/15–16, 20). Mīrzā Sulaymān, who had governed Badakhshān since the time of Humāyūn, decided to take advantage of the situation and capture Kabul but was thwarted by Akbar's official Munʿim Khān (Bayāt, 206–209; Abū al-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāmah*, 2/22–26).

The greatest danger, however, came from a prominent Hindu commander, Hīmū. While Akbar was dealing with Sikandar, Hīmū—deploying a large and well-equipped army—decided to take advantage of his absence by taking Delhi. He set out for Patna and then captured Agra. From there he marched on Delhi,

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qui entourait la tombe de Ruqaya Sultan Begam, première épouse d'Akbar. Cette enceinte,
ordonnée par Shah Jahan en 1638, lors d'une visite à la tombe de Babur, a été retrouvée en
1964. Son étude stylistique, par comparaison avec d'autres monuments du même type situés à
Delhi, a permis de reconstituer le monument dans son ensemble, mais sans que l'on puisse en
dater les éléments avec certitude. M. L. B.

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Vol. 15 pp. 137-140, plate XXIII: L. N. KUKURANOV, *The „Urdū” Issues of Emperor Akbar.*

Anlässlich der Veröffentlichung einer von der ANS neuerworbenen Goldmünze des Moghulen al-Akbar (1556-1605) mit *Urdū* (Heerlager) als Prägeort versucht K. eine neue Deutung dieser Münzen in der Weise, daß er in ihnen lediglich Gedenkmünzen sieht, die von Akbar neben anderen Maßnahmen im Anschluß an seinen Unfehlbarkeitserlaß vom Jahre 987/1579 zur Beruhigung seiner Gegner geprägt wurden. Tatsächlich weist die künstlerische Gestaltung der Münze auf eine besonderen Anlaß hin, und K.s Deutung hat einiges für sich, zumal alle bisher bekannten Stücke dieser Art aus dem Jahre 897 stammen. Es sei jedoch darauf hingewiesen, daß auch Bābur bereits 937/1530 Dirhams prägte, die als Prägeort lediglich *Urdū* tragen (vgl. Whitehead, in: NC 1923 S. 116), und man müßte analog zu K.s Ausführungen auch für diese einen besonderen Anlaß voraussetzen.

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ص ۷۲۰-۷۱۷، منابع: ۷۲۰.
کد پارسا: ۱۵۰۰۷
از بناهای برجسته دوره تیموریان هند واقع در سکندره می باشد از ویژگیهای این بنا، که به سلیقه اکبرشاه ساخته شده، تلفیق معماری ایرانی و هندو و توجه به عقاید هندو-اسلامی و مسیحی در ساخت برخی قسمت های آن می باشد. مقبره اکبر در سال ۱۰۹۹ غارت شد و طلاها، نقره ها و فرشهای نفیس آن به یمن رفت. نویسنده توصیفی از ساختمان مقبره، قبر اکبرشاه و تزیینات این بنا ارائه کرده است.
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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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till now helping the government in the War effort. But the mass arrest of the Muslim leaders forced him to withdraw his support.

In 1917, Hakim Ajmal Khan came to Gandhiji and other Congress leaders. The association transformed the 'loyal' Ajmal Khan into the rebel Ajmal Khan. He renounced his official title of *Haziq-ul-Mulk* which he is still known. In 1918, he was made the chairman of the Reception Committee of the Delhi Session of the Indian National Congress in the place of the previously elected President C.R. Das, who was arrested well before the session started.

During the non-cooperation movement a batch of students and faculty members of the Aligarh Muslim University in response to the call made by the Indian national leaders came out of the campus in 1920 in defiance of the official policy of the University. A new national educational institution, Jamia Millia Islamia, was started of which Hakim Ajmal Khan was the first Chancellor. For a few years the Jamia remained at Aligarh but it was felt that the tender plant could not survive under the shadow of a giant tree. The institution had either to be closed down or transferred to some other place. On the insistence of Hakim Ajmal Khan it was shifted to Delhi where he helped the institution generously when most of the leaders, due to the ebb in the political current, were in the mood of writing it off.

Hakim Ajmal Khan had developed heart troubles as early as 1904, when he was advised to spend some time in the dry climate of the Middle East. In 1911, he went to England for recovering his health. There, he visited many famous English hospitals and met leading figures in the fields of politics and medicine. His last foreign tour was in 1925, again for the sake of his health. This time he went to France and had the occasion to visit other countries of the Continent. But he did not go to England because

he did not like 'to be reminded of his being a subject'. Although these tours greatly helped him in his political and educational programmes, they could not revitalise his sinking heart. Finally, one early morning, on 29 December 1927, his heart refused to beat any more.

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Ajmal Khan, Mohammad (1897—1969)

Mohammad Ajmal Khan was an eminent Urdu writer.

Mohammad Ajmal Khan was, son of Mohammad Ismail Khan, born at Gotni in district of Partabgarh in 12th February 1897. He was educated at Simla, Allahabad, Lucknow and Aligarh. He passed M.A. (Arabic) and L.L.B. He got married to Tahira Begum in 1927. He had three sons and one daughter.

Akbar (1556 — 1605)

He was appointed as a lecturer in Arabic and Persian in Allahabad University, 1928-31 and Research Scholar in Shantiniketan, 1936-37. He was Private Secretary to Maulana Azad 1937-47; Personal Assistant, Deputy Personal Secretary and Personal Secretary to Maulana Azad when he was Union Education Minister, 1947-58; He was also an officer on special duty, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, 1958-64 and edited the Arabic Quarterly of ICCR, 1958.

He was a journalist, writer and translator; edited the *Dawn* (English weekly) of Allahabad, 1928-31 and helped in preparing the Urdu version of the Indian Constitution, 1948. He was appointed Joint-Secretary of Amir Khusro Academy, New Delhi; Secretary Khilafat Committee, Allahabad, 1920; District Congress Committee, Allahabad, 1922 and was nominated member of Rajya Sabha on 31st March 1964 and renominated in 1966.

His important publications are: Urdu: *Siasyat* (politics), 1924; *Sultanul Hind Gharib Navaz* (biography of Khwaja Moinuddin Hasan Sanjari), 1930; tr. *Tartib-e-Nuzul-auran* (research) 1940; *Tartib-i-suvar-i-Quran-i-majid* (Research on the Quran) 1941; *Pas-Mukhtasar Sirat Mohammad*, 1951 and *Muhammad-i-Arabi* 1955 (both biography); tr. *Principles of Freedom* by T. Macswing, Lord Mayor of Cork 1925; tr. *Bhagwad Gita*, 1935; edited *Bhagwad Gita* in Persian for Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1958; tr. *Japji Saheb with a life of Guru Nanak*, 1961; wrote a *Brief Life of Amir Khusro*; edited works of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad for Sahitya Akademi, 1958-62; also wrote books on *Gandhi's concept of basic education*.

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Akbar (1556 — 1605)

Akbar was one of the great Mughal rulers who unified India into a single political power.

Jalal-ul-Din Muhammad Akbar was the full name of the greatest of the Moghal emperors of India. This grandson of Babur and son of Humayaun ascended the throne in 1556 when he was barely fourteen years of age. The affairs of the state were managed by a more experienced aristocrat named Bairam Khan. But Bairam Khan, upon being dismissed a few years later, went out of the kingdom to mount a rebellion against Akbar. He did not succeed.

In his youth, Akbar was much interested in variety of physical sports. Stories have been told of his wild hunting parties and of the fabulous feasts that followed. But he was equally fond of having legend and poetry read to him. Indeed, though he could not read himself, he learned by heart many religious poems. Illiteracy need not necessarily mean ignorance or lack of taste.

Akbar considered himself a full Indian, not just the grandson of an alien conqueror of India. He appointed Hindus to high positions in his court and government, and even took a Hindu, the Rajput princess Jodha Bai, for his wife. He respected Hindu taboos against beef and garlic and repealed the taxes on pilgrimages, imposed by earlier Moslem rulers to punish idolaters and as a device for promoting conversions. He was a Moslem by birth, but he also took keen interest in other religions. He encouraged the Parsi practice of fire worship; and inspired by Jain belief, became a vegetarian himself. His goal seems to have been to make India a country for all Indians, rather than for any particular faith or sect.

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

اکبر

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کرد، ولی اکبر راضی به قتل او نشد (نک: نظام الدین، ۱۲۷/۲؛ ابوالفضل، اکبرنامه، ۱۶-۱۵/۲). اقدام بعدی تعقیب سکندر افغان بود که از لشکریان پیشواز اکبر شکست خورده، و به کوهستان پناه برده بود (نظام الدین، همانجا؛ ابوالفضل، همان، ۲۰/۲). در همین سال (۹۶۳ق) میرزا سلیمان که از زمان همایون حکومت بدخشان داشت، با استفاده از آشفته‌گی اوضاع در صدد برآمد تا کابل را تصرف کند. ولی بر اثر تدبیر و مقاومت منعم‌خان که از سوی اکبر حکومت آن دیار داشت، کاری از پیش نبرد (بیات، ۲۰۶-۲۰۹؛ ابوالفضل، همان، ۲۲/۲-۲۶).

اما بزرگ‌ترین خطری که حکومت جوان اکبر را تهدید می‌کرد، شورش هیمو - از سپهسالاران برجسته هندو - بود که با تجهیزات و لشکری فراوان در صدد برآمد تا در غیاب اکبر که درگیر سرکوب سکندر افغان بود، دهلی را تصرف کند. هیمو از پتنه به راه افتاد و آگره را گرفت و به سوی دهلی پیش رفت و آنجا را تسخیر کرد و تردی بیک حاکم آنجا گریخت (نظام الدین، ۱۲۹/۲-۱۳۰؛ ابوالفضل، همان، ۲۶/۲-۳۰؛ طباطبا، ۱۶۷/۱). خبر سقوط دهلی در سرهند به اکبر رسید و بیرم خان نیز به شتاب و بدون اجازه اکبر، تردی بیک را گرفت و به قتل رساند (بیات، ۲۱۲؛ نظام الدین، ۱۳۰/۲-۱۳۱). این واقعه سبب شد تا اکبر به تن خویش رهسپار آنجا شود و به تمام امرای اطراف نیز فرمان داد که با سپاه به دهلی آیند (تتوی، ۵۶۹). در دوم محرم ۹۶۴ در نزدیکی پانی پت جنگی میان هیمو و اکبر روی داد که به شکست و قتل هیمو انجامید (ابوالفضل، همان، ۴۳/۲-۴۴؛ تتوی، ۵۷۳-۵۷۵). در همان سال اکبر خود به ماجرای سکندر افغان خاتمه داد و وی پسر خود عبدالرحمان را به گروگان نزد اکبر فرستاده، به بنگاله رفت (نظام الدین، ۱۳۳/۲-۱۳۴). از این پس پایه‌های دولت اکبر به کوشش خود او و تدابیر بیرم خان مستحکم گردید و اگرچه هنوز ناآرامیها و مخالفت‌هایی بر ضد اکبر در نواحی مختلف وجود داشت، اما وی نه تنها این شورشها را سرکوب کرد، بلکه به توسعه قلمرو خویش پرداخت. اکبر در ۹۶۶ق گوالیار، جونپور و بنارس را فتح کرد (همو ۱۴۰/۲-۱۴۱؛ بدائونی، ۳۱/۲؛ تتوی، ۵۸۹).

اما مهم‌ترین واقعه در ۹۶۷ق، برای خاتمه بخشیدن به نفوذ و قدرت بیرم خان اتفاق افتاد. بیرم خان طی این سالها قدرت روزافزونی به دست آورده، و به همین سبب در میان درباریان مخالفان بسیاری پیدا کرده بود؛ به ویژه، برخی اقدامات بیرم خان مبنی بر تفویض مناصب مهم به اطرافیان خود و رفتار خودسرانه‌اش موجب هراس امرا و بزرگان دربار شد و گروهی به سعایت از او برخاستند (ابوالفضل، اکبرنامه، ۹۶/۲؛ تتوی، ۵۸۵). سرانجام پس از یک سلسله حوادث، بیرم خان به ناچار راهی حج شد (نظام الدین، ۱۴۸/۲-۱۴۹؛ ابوالفضل، همان، ۱۱۳/۲-۱۱۸)، اما در ۹۶۸ق پیش از ترک هند در احمدآباد گجرات توسط مردی افغانی به نام مبارک‌خان به قتل رسید (نظام الدین، ۱۵۰/۲؛ حسینی، ۳۵).

به دنبال آن در همان سال ولایت مالوه که در دست باز بهادر پسر

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'Abdul-Jabbar, M., «Agricultural and Irrigation Labourers in Social and Economic Life of Iraq...», *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, 1973, vol. XLVII, no. 1; Fraenkel, S., *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Hildesheim, 1962; Lane, E.W., *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Beirut, 1980.

صادق سجادی

اکبر، نک: اکبرشاه.

اکبرآباد دهند، نک: آگره.

اکبر بن اورنگ زیب، نک: اورنگ زیب.

✓ اکبرشاه، یا اکبر پادشاه، اکبر، ابوالفتح جلال‌الدین محمد (۵ رجب ۹۴۹-۱۰۱۴ق/ ۱۵ اکتبر ۱۵۴۲-۱۶۰۵م)، سومین و بزرگ‌ترین فرمانروای تیموری هند (حک ۹۶۳-۱۰۱۴ق/ ۱۵۵۶-۱۶۰۵م). وی در امرکوت از توابع تهته به دنیا آمد. پدرش همایون شاه (حک ۹۳۷-۹۶۳ق در دو مرحله) و مادرش حمیده بانو بیگم، زنی ایرانی بود که به گفته خافی‌خان نظام‌الملکی (۱۲۷/۱)، نسبش به شیخ احمد جام می‌رسید. تولد اکبر و دوران کودکی وی مصادف با بحرانهای سیاسی در قلمرو تیموریان، عزل همایون و گریز او نزد صفویان بود. اگرچه همایون به کمک شاه طهماسب صفوی دوباره در دهلی بر تخت نشست، اما قلمرو سابق را نداشت. وی در ۹۶۳ق، اکبر را که تازه در آغاز جوانی بود، به همراه اتابکش بیرم خان به جنگ سکندرخان افغان روانه ساخت. در میانه راه خبر مرگ همایون رسید و بیرم خان با موافقت امرای لشکر همانجا اکبر را بر تخت پادشاهی نشاند و تاریخ جلوس او، یعنی ۲۷ ربیع‌الآخر ۹۶۳ مبدأ تاریخ الهی قرار گرفت (نظام‌الدین، ۱۲۶/۲؛ تتوی، ۵۶۳-۵۶۵).

اکبر شاه وارث دولتی شد که مخالفان بسیار همچون راجه‌های هندو داشت که غالباً بر ضد تیموریان کار می‌کردند، و نیز امرای لشکر تیموری یا بزرگانی که به سبب مرگ ناگهانی همایون و جوانی اکبر، می‌کوشیدند او را از حکومت دور کنند و خود قدرتی بیابند. بیرم خان که رشته کارها را در دست داشت، به سرکوب ایشان پرداخت و از جمله مخالفان برجسته، نخست شاه ابوالمعالی را که از امرای همایون بود، دستگیر

AKBAR THE FOUNDER OF MUGHAL PAINTING

The universal fame of the Mughal empire rests upon two facts of historical significance. They are the glorious Taj Mahal and the great masterpieces of Mughal painting. They have lent the Mughal empire a lustre for all time to come. Since long, Mughal painting has attracted universal attention on the part of art lovers, and several scholars of the history of Mughal art have attained a great reputation for their investigation and research in this field. Even a cursory glance over the pages of art history reveals the undeniable fact that if Humayun and Akbar had not been gifted by nature with an aesthetic taste and great love of art, the Mughal School of Painting would never have come into existence.

Humayun and Akbar were highly talented descendants of the House of Timur. A study of the cultural history of the dynasty shows that they had inherited great talents from their forefathers, and nature had been specifically generous to them in the field of aesthetics and art appreciation. It is rare to find in a ruling house such a long and uninterrupted tradition of aesthetics and love of fine arts.

This statement is supported by a study of the entire record of Mughal history from the days of Babur up to the times of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal ruler of Delhi. According to Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, "the Mughal Empire has been called a Culture State and Akbar was the founder of this quality of his empire as well!"

A French writer on Islamic Art remarks, "Rarely in history has a sovereign possessed the theological and philosophical stature of Akbar the Great who ruled over Mughal India from 1556 A. D to

was not interested in the growth of art. By the time he laid the foundation of his new capital at Fathpur Sikri in 1569 A. D., he felt satisfied with the settled condition of the kingdom and its political stability. The foundation of the capital was a turning point for a well-regulated patronage of fine arts⁹. According to Abu'l Fazl:

"His Majesty from his earliest youth has shown a great predilection for this art and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means of both study and amusement. Hence the Art flourishes... Most excellent painters are now to be found and masterpieces, worthy of Bihzad, may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame... More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large¹⁰."

Abu'l Fazl has provided a selective list of the outstanding artists who were working in the Royal *Atelier*. The list includes the names of Mir Sayyid Ali, Khwaja Abdu's Samad, Daswanth, Basawan, Kesu, Lal, Mukund, Miskin, Farrukh the Qalmaq, Madhu, Jagan, Mohesh, Khemkaran, Tara, Sawla, Haribas and Ram. Every historian or scholar of Mughal painting frequently refers to this extract from Abdu'l Fazl's list of distinguished artists.

The personal interest and appreciation of Akbar in the art of painting had played a leading role in the development and progress of art, and a surprising outcome was the employment of more than one hundred master painters in the Royal *Atelier*.

Akbar was a great explorer of artistic talent and he never missed any opportunity for discovering the innate talent of the ordinary workman about him. The discovery of Daswanth was a happy instance of this constant watch for talent. Once he saw Daswanth, the son of a palanquin bearer, busy in the child play of drawing on the wall of the palace. He placed this young artist in the making as an apprentice under Khwaja Abdu's Samad. According to Abu'l Fazl, "in a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age¹²."

In the days of Akbar, a work of art was a cooperative effort by a group of artists who had specialized in various aspects of the painting operation. Akbar had personally learnt the art of paint-

ROYAL ATELIER UNDER AKBAR

Laurence Binyon in the opening chapter of his book on Akbar pays him a glowing tribute in these words : "Akbar's achievements are transcended in interest by the man himself". His personality is a rare combination of ability and intelligence but in spite of that he did not learn to read and write, which was the great desire of his father.

Although circumstances did not allow him to become a scholar, yet he cannot be called unlearned. By the rich knowledge he acquired from others through hearsay, he amassed an encyclopaedic information about every thing which concerned him and his kingdom. He had a deep knowledge of the principles of arts and sciences and held discussions on religion, philosophy and logic every night in his private assembly. Talks on military campaigns and political conquests were daily routine with him. With all this busy life of a ruler and an administrator, no aspect of cultural and social life was left ignored, unaffected or undeveloped by him. The establishment of the royal library in itself was a magnificent achievement in the cultural and educational field. He left behind 24,000 volumes. Some of these had been transcribed and illuminated by the most distinguished artists and calligraphists of his age.²

Akbar had attracted to his court a distinguished gathering of architects and engineers, poets and scholars, musicians and calligraphists, painters and illuminators. In fact they lent such a glory and splendour to his reign that his period became the golden age of the history of India. Quite a number of arts and crafts blossomed under the influence of his patronage but most of the outcome lost its lustre on account of the depredations of time. In the

might have unconsciously inscribed the name of Humayun in place of Akbar. Shahnawaz Khan writes :

"Though Akbar did not know fully the arts of reading and writing, yet he occasionally composed verses, and was versed in history ; especially was he well acquainted with the history of India. He was very fond of the story of Amir Hamza which contained 360 tales. So much so that he used to recite them like a story-teller in the female apartments. He had the wonderful incidents of that story illustrated from beginning to end of the book and set up in twelve volumes. Each volume contained one hundred folios, and each folio was a cubit (*zar'*) long. Each folio contained two pictures and at the front of each picture there was a description delightfully written by Khwaja 'Ata Ullah Munshi of Qazwin. Fifty painters were engaged, at first under the superintendence of Nadiru-l-Mulk Humayunshahi Sayyid 'Ali Judai of Tabriz, and afterwards under the superintendence of Khwaja 'Abdus-Samad of Shiraz. No one has seen another such gem nor was there anything equal to it in the establishment of any king. At present the book is in the Imperial Library."⁴

But in view of the very technique of miniature painting, the cooperation of other skillful assistants, especially the apprentices, was an essential part of the painting process. Hence, there should be hardly any hesitation in accepting the presence of an appropriate number of assistants at this early stage. Their number, might, however be less than fifty. In due course of time, the number of artists engaged in Akbar's *Atelier* exceeded one hundred.

In short, the main development of Mughal art was accomplished during the reign of Akbar, and art went through various stages with remarkable speed. In this process of evolution, the two great masters, Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abdus-Samad played the role of pioneers.

Mir Sayyid Ali

According to Abul-Fazl, Mir Sayyid Ali was born in the city of Tabriz⁵ and had his preliminary education in his home town. He

AKBAR AND AURANGZEB—SYNCRETISM AND SEPARATISM IN MUGHAL INDIA A RE-EXAMINATION*

Akbar is one of the most famous characters in Indian history and also one of the most complex. It is traditional even today, in the North Indian countryside, to attribute to him anything great or good, as anything unpopular tends to be attributed to Aurangzeb.

(Spear, *India, A Modern History*, p. 128)

Akbar's governmental policy [sought] a closer identification of Muslims with Hindus in one great commonwealth.

(Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, p. 167)

The Emperor... felt himself at liberty to proceed with his plan for establishing that universal religion which he foolishly dreamed of imposing on his whole Empire, under the name of the Divine Religion or Divine Monotheism. From that time he cannot be regarded as a Muslim.

(Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 134)

The calculating statesman became a Muslim devotee, distributing benevolences and wise saws to the eventual detriment of his authority, passing his nights reading the Koran and retaining only his suspicions of his sons and his alertness against intrigue.

(Spear, *India, A Modern History*, p. 143)

The above quotations are a sampling of views from several modern textbooks of Indian history which deal with the Mughal period. They show the prevailing characterizations of Akbar and Aurangzeb, which may be summarized as follows: Akbar is *the* Great Mughal, the empire builder, tolerant in religious matters to the point of apostasy, a charismatic leader idolized not only by generations of North Indian peasants, but also by generations of historians. Aurangzeb, on the other hand,

* Editor's Note. Three years ago this quarterly published Prof. Joseph Poltella's article, "Akbar: Warrior, Devotee and Mystic" (*M.W.*, LVI [1966], 23-42). Especially on the issues of the *ʿIbādat Khāna*, the *Din-i Ilāhī* and the *maḥzar* readers may wish to refer to this previous article as well. We trust that the differences in the spelling of personal names and in the transliteration system will not cause any confusion.

is the crafty arch-villain of the Mughal period, whose narrow-minded fanaticism was a major cause of the break-up of the Mughal Empire. These characterizations contain large measures of the truth, as well as much over-simplification. It must be conceded, for example, that Akbar is the more attractive figure to modern eyes, with his wide-ranging interests, eclectic religious ideas, and sympathetic character. In contrast, the austere figure of Aurangzeb commands respect, but not sympathy. The very manner in which he gained the throne inspires dislike, even though it proves his undoubted organizational and military ability.

Both Akbar and Aurangzeb were rulers of exceptional ability. They are the giants in a dynasty which produced a remarkable succession of great men. But they both are complex personalities, and consequently any brief character sketch tends to obscure almost as much as it portrays. It is necessary, therefore, to re-examine the textbook evaluation of these two great Mughals, to try and gain a fuller picture of each man, and of his age. Examination of the prevailing ideas of their times is particularly necessary, for concentration upon the great men of any period tends to portray the age in terms of the man. This is also a form of over-simplification which hinders intelligent historical interpretation.

Referring to the quotations, one may single out a number of points for re-examination. First is the question of Akbar's religious belief. Was he, or was he not, an apostate from Islam? Was his *Din-i Ilāhī* a new religion, meant for everyone in his realm, or was it merely a heterodox brotherhood of his immediate associates? Second is the question of the position of the Hindus and other non-Muslims in Akbar's political policy. Were his aims to secure the participation of all religious communities in the government of the empire, as in "one great commonwealth"? Or were his policies meant to reinforce the autocratic position of the emperor himself?

Turning from Akbar to Aurangzeb, one must ask first: what was the cause of the tremendous change in religious policy between the two monarchs? Was it merely a difference in character, or were the roots deeper? Secondly, were Aurangzeb's religious policies a major cause of Mughal decline, or were they only contributing factors in that decline? If the latter, then how important a factor of decline were these policies?

Akbar

The religious beliefs of Akbar have probably excited more controversy than any other aspect of his extraordinary personality. The modern accounts of his religious quest are about equally divided between those who feel that he was an apostate from Islam,¹ and those

¹ Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul* (Oxford, 1917), p. 134.

Akbar II as Pretender : A Study in Anarchy¹

By R. B. WHITEHEAD

(PLATE VI)

AKBAR SHĀH, son of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, was elevated to the throne of Delhi as pretender eighteen years previous to his accession as Akbar II, and money was struck in his name. The addition of another claimant to the dynastic list was communicated in a joint paper by Mr. S. H. Hodivala and myself, which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1922, and to which I invite reference. I had found a copper coin of Ahmadābād mint bearing the name of Akbar Shāh and date A.H. 1203, which made me conjecture whether Ghulām Qādir Khān, the "unspeakable Rohilla", raised another prince to the Mughal throne after the puppet Bedār Bakht (A.H. 1202-3), who might or might not be identical with the Akbar Shāh, eldest surviving son of Shāh 'Ālam II, who succeeded his father in the regular way as Akbar II in the year A.H. 1221 (A.D. 1806).² I put the matter to Mr. Hodivala, a leading authority on Mughal history, and his reply was that "it has not yet been possible to find an absolutely complete and satisfactory solution of the problem connected with the Akbar Shāh coins of A.H. 1203, but there would seem to be fairly good grounds for answering the question in the affirmative". The fullest account of the transactions which led to the deposition and blinding of Shāh 'Ālam II is in the *Ibratnāmah* (Book of Warning) of Faqīr Khairu-d-dīn Muḥammad, but this work closes soon after recounting the terrible cruelties practised on the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam and his family by the infamous Ghulām Qādir, whose atrocities the author describes

¹ Read at the Oriental Congress, Oxford, on 31st August, 1928.

² Bedār Bakht, "of wakeful fortune." He was a son of Ahmad Shāh Bahādur, and grandson of Muḥammad Shāh.

energy, weak of will, and infirm of judgment, "the pageant of every successful party," soon had the mortification to perceive his authority totally annihilated. Not only was the capital helpless to defend itself against threats from outside ; there was unceasing party violence within, owing to the unrestrained dissensions and jealousies of the Mughal nobles. The unfortunate emperor called upon Mahratta aid, and Madhava Rao Sindhia, Rajah of Gwalior, took possession of Delhi in January, 1785. Sindhia's resources were amply sufficient to restore law and order, and to enforce respect towards the emperor.

Towards the end of 1785 died Zābitah Khān, ruler of Sahāranpūr ; he was succeeded in his territories by his eldest son Ghulām Qādir Khān, "a youth proud, cruel, and ferocious. To him it was reserved to disgrace the house of Timoor, and to add the last outrage to the miseries of a long and most unfortunate reign" (W.F., pp. 139, 140). The first act of Ghulām Qādir Khān was to appear in open rebellion, and his example was followed by the Rajah of Jaipur. Sindhia lost a pitched battle in the year 1787, and the check was so severe that the Mahratta retired as far as Gwalior, where he awaited reinforcements. A force under Ismail Beg, a leading Mughal noble, started to reduce the fort of Agra which was still in the hands of the Mahrattas.

These events deprived the emperor of his protector, and the stage is now set for the ensuing tragedy. Ghulām Qādir Khān had arrived before Delhi with an armed force, and had fired upon the palace from the opposite bank of the river Jumna. There are lucid accounts in letters written to Warren Hastings in England, where he was undergoing his impeachment, by his friends and correspondents in India.¹ Major William Palmer, British agent with Sindhia, reports to Warren Hastings by a letter dated Sindhia's Camp near Gwalior,

¹ *Warren Hastings Papers*, vol. xl, British Museum Library. I am indebted for this reference to the kindness of Mr. T. G. P. Spear, St. Stephen's College, Delhi. I have modernized the spelling of personal names.

The New World Order of Akbar the Great: Profile of a Mystic Ruler



Part II

29 EYLÜL 1994

by Shuja Alhaq

Comparative Religion in Medieval India: Akbar's 'House of Worship'

In the first part of this study it was recorded how, in 1579, following the Emperor Akbar's disillusionment with the Islamic clergy, he had urged Shaykh Mubārak (the father of Abū l-Faḍl) to draft a decree which excluded the 'ulamā' from any exercise of authority in the business of running the Mughal empire. Behind this decree lay the notion of the 'just king' (*sultān-i 'ādil*), implying that the exercise of perfect justice was the chief function of the king. Akbar's theory of kingship was based upon this notion and was suggested by Srivastava as having been the outcome of a convergence of three streams of thought, the Muslim, the Mughal and the Hindu, the latter being the predominating influence.¹ Here, a few words about this new concept of kingship are in order.

The ideal of the 'just king' has a long history in Islam, most Muslim caliphs and monarchs having cherished pretensions of being the embodiment of that ideal. In India, it had been Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq

who openly expressed his desire to be called the *Sultān-i 'ādil*.² One should also recall that according to the views of the Mu'tazilite theologians (Islamic rationalists) 'Justice' was considered to be the chief attribute of God. Thus, since God was rational *because* he was Just and not vice-versa, divine 'rationality' was held to be a virtual corollary to this chief attribute.

The same juxtaposition of justice and rationality can also be found in the decree of 1579 drawn up by Shaykh Mubārak and Abū l-Faḍl. The 'just king' was necessarily obliged to make 'reason' the guiding light of the work of governing his empire—the implication of this doctrine being that in a land like India the king had to be of Unitarian persuasion, or, to be more precise, in order to be truly just, he had to be beyond the common bias of exclusive affiliation with any one religion.

This great leap of faith—from outward Islam to secular ecumenical Islam in the case of Akbar—was made possible by his remarkable experience in the House of Worship or '*Ibādat-khāna*', the first institution of its kind in the Islamic world—and, in fact, in the history of the entire medieval

world—devoted exclusively to the study of the science of comparative religion. By participating with leaders of different faiths in nocturnal gatherings, arguing the merits of opposing creeds, not only did Muslim exoteric orthodoxy lose its halo of sanctity, but Akbar himself grew out of a narrow sectarian mold and was enabled to discover for himself the essential unity in all the world's religions. The "True Man," he was, thus, to observe, is "one who makes Justice the guide of the path of inquiry, and takes from every sect what is consonant to reason" (Abū l-Faḍl 1873-94, III, p. 371). "The essence of religion," Abū l-Faḍl also commented, "is the distribution of justice" (*ibid.*, II, p. 247). Akbar himself once pointed out to Todar Mal, his celebrated finance minister, that the best worship of all was looking after the weak (Abū l-Faḍl 1972, III, p. 567), a statement clearly reminiscent of the Sufi saint Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī's saying that the highest devotion to God lay in redressing the misery of those in distress and fulfilling the needs of the helpless (Kirmānī 1978, p. 56).

In the theory of monarchy evolved by Akbar and his advisor Abū l-Faḍl

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AKBAR: WARRIOR, DEVOTEE AND MYST

1

A. Ruler and Warrior

Sir George Dunbar divides Akbar's life into three periods. The first is from his accession in 1557, then a boy under fifteen, to the fall of the Regent Bairam Khan in 1560. The second is called the period of "harem government", when he was under the sway of the ladies of the court and unscrupulous ministers. The third dates from 1562 onwards, "when he established himself as the first truly national ruler of India since the days of Asoka," becoming "one of the greatest sovereigns in history."¹

Vincent Smith, whose biography of the emperor is far from being complimentary or unprejudiced, yet has this to say:

"He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to rank as one of the greatest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements."²

The Jesuits, at his court, who had little reason to pay him false compliments, speak of him as "a great king", "a prince beloved of all; firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men high or low, neighbor or stranger, Christian, Saracen or Gentile." Father Monserrate, the Jesuit, who was invited to Akbar's court, speaks with admiration of his strength and courage, his noble mien and great dignity, and one who was majestic even in wrath.³

Dr. M. L. Roy Choudhury speaks about the new material which has recently come to hand to help us interpret the Moghul period and see it in a new light; new slants on the emperor's life let us see more truly the outer and inner man.⁴ Hitherto the life of the great Moghul has been seen largely through the jaundiced eyes of Mulla Badaoni, whose work, *Tarikh-i-Badaoni*, which records events up to 1596, contains so much hostile criticism, representing the Sunni Muslim point of view, that it had to be suppressed during Akbar's life time. And its patent lies drew upon it the anger of Jehangir who ordered Badaoni's son to be imprisoned and his property to be confiscated.⁵

¹ *History of India*, London, Nicholson and Watson, Ltd., 1949, Vol. I, p. 177. also, Sir Wolsley Haig in *The Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, The University Press, 1937, p. 74-5.

² *Akbar, the Great Moghul, 1542-1605*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2nd ed., rev. 1919, p. 353. On the extent of Smith's prejudices and inaccuracies, see Dr. M. L. Roy Choudhury, *The State and Religion in Moghul India*, Calcutta, Indian Publicity Society, 1951, p. 13 and passim, and his *Din-i-Ilahi or the Religion of Akbar*, Calcutta, Das Gupta and Co., Ltd., 1952, pp. xxxii-xxxv and passim.

³ *Akbar and the Jesuits*, pp. 205, 206, quoted by Sir Wolsley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, 154-5; p. 155.

⁴ *The State and Religion in Moghul India*, p. 9 ff.

⁵ *Din-i-Ilahi*, p. 175.

managed to get a secure foothold in India because of Hindu and Muslim enemies. Babur and Hamayun, Akbar's father and grandfather were always in the saddle, waging wars of defense and offense, and had little opportunity to establish a civil administration. Throughout the Pathan period, the Rajput chiefs had been the main opposition to any plans for conquest. Akbar's friendly relations with the Rajputs began with his marrying the daughter of Raja Behari Mall, a step which affected significantly his future policy. Though Akbar's motives are variously interpreted by friend and foe, the emperor sought to make it known that past rivalries were forgotten, and his subjects were to be regarded as one people.

B. Akbar the Devotee

The principal difficulty in understanding and judging emperor Akbar comes from our failure to appreciate that he grew in stature all the time, and that he set about establishing an empire surrounded by enemies, oftentimes even of his own household; he had the additional handicap of having inherited a cultural and religious tradition inflexible and unyielding, allowing for no other truth but its own.

Dr. Choudhury points out the complexity of factors which helped to predispose Akbar's religious background and outlook;¹² The blood and fire of Jenghiz-Khan and Timurlane ran in his veins. A Sunni by birth, he was born in the house of a Hindu Raja in Sind.¹³ His early life he spent in the home of his uncle Kamran in Afghanistan. When he was restored to his father, he was placed under Persian teachers and assimilated the breadth and the liberality of Persian culture. It was then that he committed to memory, among other things, the Diwan of Hafiz and Saadi's Gulistan, also some Sufi teaching which were to bear fruit later. Under the guardianship of Bairam Khan, which came later, he came under such Shi'ah teachers as Shaikh 'Abdul Latif and Sadr al-Sudur, Shaikh Gadai; the Shi'ah tendencies then absorbed were later to be effaced by 'Abdu'l Nabi, the staunch Sunni of the realm. Appreciating these influences help one to understand how the emperor could later be so cosmopolitan in outlook and without the rigid orthodoxy which was expected of him.

Until the age of thirty-three Akbar was known as a practising Sunni; he was regular in his devotions and in saying his daily prayers; he went on pilgrimage to his favourite shrine at Ajmer and built new mosques. Ritual and religious ceremonial meant much to his subjects, and he as a father of his people felt duty bound to accord such things equal respect. Modern historians, however, find it difficult to reconcile

¹² *The State and Religion in Moghul India*, pp. 188 ff.; Dunbar, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 189.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

baggage. These limits are unbreakable: they apply even in the event of willful misconduct. For the carriage of passengers, the Guatemala City Protocol further lays down rules on possible supplementary compensation schemes and periodic increases of the new limit. The rules concerning documents of carriage, which can have important effects on the carrier's liability, were substantially modified at The Hague and again at Guatemala City.

Third parties on the surface. While aircraft may fly over private lands in normal flight, most national laws protect the landowner against excessively low flights and other undue interference with his possession and use of land, such as the performance of aerobatics and buzzing. In addition, normally, every system of national law allows third parties on the surface (of the earth) to recover for damage done by an aircraft in flight, or by persons and things in or falling from it, though in some countries there are limits to the amount recoverable. Some national laws base liability on fault. The majority, however, hold the owner or the operator of the aircraft absolutely liable for any damage caused. Insurance against third-party liability is compulsory in many states.

In 1933 a convention was concluded in Rome on surface damage caused by foreign aircraft. This was supplemented by the 1938 Brussels Insurance Protocol. Both have since been superseded by the 1952 Rome Convention on the same subject. The convention applies only to surface damage caused in a contracting state by aircraft registered in another contracting state. It accepts the principle of absolute liability, subject to the exception of contributory negligence, providing however that

there shall be no right to compensation . . . if the damage results from the mere fact of passage of the aircraft through the airspace in conformity with existing air traffic regulations.

The convention makes the operator of the aircraft liable. The main *raison d'être* of the convention is said to be its scheme of compulsory insurance; in return, the liability of the operator is limited according to the weight of the aircraft, unless the damage is caused by a deliberate act of the operator, his servants, or agents, done with intent to cause damage. An unauthorized user of the aircraft also incurs unlimited liability. Actions to recover compensation may be brought only in the state in which the damage occurred. An important element in the convention is that judgments rendered under it are enforceable in all other contracting states. The convention came into force in 1958, but the number of states accepting it is not very high. The wording of Article 1(1) of the convention quoted above gives rise to doubt whether damage resulting from sonic booms is covered. In view of the treatment accorded to passengers by the Guatemala City Protocol, a revised convention establishing absolute, unlimited, and adequately secured liability for all damage caused by aircraft to third parties on the surface would seem indicated.

THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

Under the 1919 Paris Convention, an International Commission for Aerial Navigation (ICAN, or CINA) was created with headquarters in Paris. In 1937 an Inter-American Technical Aviation Conference decided on the creation of a Permanent American Aeronautical Commission (CAPA). Both were superseded by the establishment in 1947 of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) under the 1944 Chicago Convention. The Soviet Union joined in 1970, making ICAO membership almost universal.

ICAO is a specialized agency affiliated to the United Nations, with headquarters in Montreal. It has a plenary Assembly, which holds the budgetary power; a permanent Council elected triennially, which, among other things, adopts the Annexes to the Convention; an Air Navigation Commission; an Air Transport Committee; and a plenary Legal Committee, which discusses matters of air law of common interest to members and prepares draft conventions for their consideration and acceptance.

One of the most important functions of ICAO is the prepa-

ration and periodical revision of international standards and recommended practices relating to civil aviation. It has done much to standardize aeronautical regulations throughout the world. Among other functions of ICAO may be mentioned those in connection with joint support programs among members for financing air navigation facilities and its technical assistance program. The ICAO Council, under the Chicago Convention, may also function as either a conciliation body or a judicial organ in disputes between members.

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Air law is a dynamic subject, and much of its literature is found in periodicals, of which may be mentioned: *Aeronautical Journal* (London); *Current Legal Problems* (London); *ICAO Bulletin* (Montreal); *International Law Association Reports* (London); *Journal of Air Law and Commerce* (Dallas); and the *Yearbook of Air and Space Law* (Montreal).

(BLC.)

Akbar

Akbar, the greatest of the Mughal emperors of India, extended Mughal power throughout northern India and into the Deccan and established an elaborate administrative service on military lines, in which the highest posts were open to Hindus as well as Muslims. Although he never renounced Islām, he took an active interest in other religions, persuading Hindus, Parsis, and Christians, as well as Muslims, to engage in religious discussion before him. Illiterate himself, he encouraged scholars, poets, painters, and musicians, making his court a centre of culture.

Early life. Abū-ul-Fath Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar was born at Umarkot, Sind, on October 15, 1542; he was descended from Turks, Mongols, and Iranians—the three peoples who predominated in the political elites of northern India in medieval times. Among his ancestors were Timur (Tamerlane) and Genghis Khan. His father, Humāyūn, driven from his capital of Delhi by the Afghan usurper Shēr Shāh Sūr, was vainly trying to estab-

through these Śaiva texts, but the author gives us no fewer than ten verses that mention *Rāmāyana*-sites (her anthology-numbers 115–20, all from poems by Tiruñāṇacampantar or Appar.). Conversely, one might wish that more space had been devoted to 'Talapurāṇam: local legends' than is the case (poems 104–26). As it is, these include the *Rāmāyana*-allusions just noted. The Site-legends or *Talapurāṇam* are intrinsic to the sacred geography of Tamilnadu that is bound up with pilgrimage. Properly to appreciate this requires that one reads this group (poems 104–26) in conjunction with her 'Sacred landscapes' (poems 74–84, pp. 162–79) and the useful—though by no means exhaustive—Appendix D (pp. 343–8), 'Major Puranic myths of Śiva in the *Tēvāram*'.

This monumental work is concluded by a valuable glossary, bibliography, index of poems and general index. The standard of its printing and production is beyond praise, and I detected no 'literals'. The half-tone plates (between pp. 208 and [209]) are very good. An ungenerous eyebrow might be raised at the inclusion of the guide to Tamil pronunciation (pp. xv–xvi). Like the *pan*-list already referred to, it does not really help along a work of this kind which, in its stated purpose, is so outstandingly successful. It will be a long time before early Tamil literature is again made so to live and breathe in another tongue.

JOHN R. MARR

KAREL WERNER (ed.): *Symbols in art and religion: the Indian and the comparative perspectives*. (Durham Indological Series, no. 2.) xiii, 221 pp. Durham: School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham; London: Curzon Press, 1990. £14.50.

This second volume in the 'Durham Indological Series', arises out of the last of the seven symposia on Indian religions so far convened by its editor, Karel Werner. In the preface Dr. Werner summarizes the contents of each of the following papers contributed by ten scholars, including the editor himself. The first, 'Symbols and religious language' (pp. 1–13), by Glyn Richards, is intended as an introduction to the subject matter of the volume. Richards attempts to establish a suitable definition for the meaning of the word 'symbol' and considers various scholarly views on the characteristics of symbols. He then turns his attention to religious symbolism in particular and examines the theory of the symbolic nature of religious language. His conclusion is that symbols constitute the language of religion and should therefore be approached as a form of language.

In 'The symbolism of Indian art' (pp. 14–26) Philip Rawson analyses a series of basic symbols such as the lotus, the mountain, fertilizing waters, organic juice as energy, sex, the inverted tree, descent and ascent through tiers, speech and the alphabet, especially in relation to the Hindu temple, the Buddhist stūpa (of which he describes the evolution), the Goddess, and the yogin's body.

The editor's paper, 'Symbolism in the Vedas and its conceptualization' (pp. 27–45), goes back to the idea of a supra-mundane origin claimed by some religions, a claim that historians of religions should also endeavour to interpret. He then proceeds to make a re-appraisal of Aditi on the premise that the idea of 'infinity' and other notions associated with her image derived from the ancient seers' mystical experiences. He suggests that Indologists have only partially understood the importance of the role of that Vedic goddess. Werner also re-assesses the meaning of the role of Aditi's foremost son, Varuṇa. He further analyses a Vedic hymn which may be understood as a symbolic reconstruction of the ancient idea of a primordial manifest oneness, as symbolized by Aditi, and of the manifested cosmos that was born of her, as represented by Varuṇa.

In 'Origins of form and structure in monumental art' (pp. 46–67), John Irwin briefly sums up the development and methods underlying his fifty years of research on the meaning of the cosmic pillar, with particular reference to the so-called Aśokan pillars, and of the sacred tumulus, with particular reference to the Buddhist stūpa. He points out that such monuments are conceived as being 'the navel of the earth', that is, as marking the spot where heaven and earth were mythically separated and the world came into being. Both this paper and the preceding one point to the need for a re-assessment that breaks away from nineteenth-century positivist bias and evolutionist thinking.

Peter Harvey's paper, 'Venerated objects and symbols of early Buddhism' (pp. 68–102), analyses the evolution of early Buddhist symbols from their Hindu cultural context. Dealing in succession with relics, sacred trees and Bodhi-trees, Buddha-footprints, the lotus, the vase of plenty, and the *dharmacakra*, the author eventually shows how all these symbols are incorporated in the stūpa, conceived as a true symbol-system. In fact over half of Harvey's paper concentrates upon the early meaning and symbolism of the stūpa. Whereas Irwin views the stūpa as a representation of the creation of the universe, with its axis founded on the waters and rising through the earth to connect them with heaven, Harvey prefers to see it as an essentially doctrinal symbol referring not only to the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, but also to the latter's enlightened mind, and to the unshakeability of the *dharma* and its followers. He further views it as a symbol for Mount Meru, with the axis and dome representing the world of gods and men.

In 'Predestiny and evil in Hindu mythology: an inquiry into the symbolism of the Vena-Prthu legend' (pp. 103–28), Jeanine Miller deals with the two parallel situations of Yama's evil son, King Vena, and the latter's own good son, Prthu, in the light of the Hindu doctrine of *karma* and of Jungian psychology. After delving into the meaning of their symbolic value, she comes to the conclusion that both situations imply the necessity for divine intervention, namely, grace, to stop evil and achieve positive integration within oneself and with the universe.

'Aspects of the symbolism of fire'

(pp. 129–43), by David Smith, examines this symbolism in a ninth-century Sanskrit court epic, Ratnākara's *Haraviṇaya*, which deals with the destruction of Andhaka, a demon born of Śiva's sweat. The manifold symbolism of fire throughout the poem is related back to general fire symbolism in Hinduism. The usually negative connotations of fire in the poem are contrasted with its positive and sacred role both in ancient Vedic esotericism and in popular symbolism in India.

In 'Weapons as symbols in Hindu art' (pp. 144–70), Valerie Roebuck examines the role of weapons in Hindu art and the kinds of meanings they carry, with particular reference to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā in her wrathful manifestation as Mahiṣāsuramardīnī. Roebuck concludes that while in Hindu art weapons may feature in a variety of ways, it is always in connexion with the gods' power to overcome evil and to protect good, mythologically expressed as the power to kill demons. In some cases their warlike character seems to become secondary and they may be personified as attendants and even independent gods. In other cases their representation is merely intended to give a general impression of the warlike power of the gods and may even not rely on traditional iconography. In such instances actual weapons used at different historical periods may be represented.

Jonathan Sutton's paper, 'Meaning and symbolism in the work of Ananda Coomaraswamy' (pp. 171–90), traces the general process of thought that led Coomaraswamy to insist on the need for scrupulous study of, and then adherence to, traditional symbolism. In particular, Sutton attempts to illustrate Coomaraswamy's recognition of the decisive function that symbols fulfil within any authentic religious tradition through an examination of the Rājāsūya ceremony as explained in the latter's work, *Spiritual authority and temporal power in the Indian theory of government*.

In the last paper, 'The possibility of symbolism in Indian religions', David Bastow sketches a theory about the possibility of symbolism in general. He makes a distinction between 'superficial' symbols, such as similes, or merely doctrinal symbols, and 'deep' symbols, which are ontologically related to what is to be symbolized. After defining a symbol as a sign which is semantically non-arbitrary, he proceeds to underline its primary role as a bridge between the believer and the focus of religion. Bastow finally explores how this role of mediation works in Indian religions by referring to examples of symbolism provided by the other contributors to the volume.

Just as the editor's opening review of the papers and Glyn Richards's introductory essay on symbols and religious language served to place these contributions in context, so David Bastow's reference back to the papers in the light of his theory of symbols draws together and concludes this stimulating collection of essays. This kind of internal cross-referencing, in addition to the common central theme, gives the volume a cohesiveness often lacking in similar collections of papers.

A glossary of Sanskrit terms is conveniently

placed at the end of the volume (pp. 205–17), followed by a list of the contributors, and by a note on the papers and acknowledgements.

ERBERTO F. LO BUE

S. M. BURKE: *Akbar: the greatest Mogul*. xi, 249 pp. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1989. Rs. 250.

K. A. NIZAMI: *Akbar and religion*. (IAD Oriental (Original) Series, no. 33.) [x], 470 pp., 10 plates. Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1989. Rs. 350.

The 1980s saw a renewal of interest in the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar, notably among North American scholars, and as publication of these two books shows, also among South Asian authors. What then is new in this well-worked field? S. M. Burke, with no pretensions to original scholarship is merely reiterating, four decades after Partition, the view that Akbar's reign was a golden age of religious toleration and freedom, comparing favourably, he argues, with contemporary Elizabethan England, or indeed with the preceding centuries of Muslim rule in India. K. A. Nizami, as befits a former head of the History Department at Aligarh University, with a lifetime of important studies of medieval Indian Islam behind him, is claiming much more. His is, he says, an exercise in 'psycho-history', achieved by placing Akbar's religious behaviour in the context of the 'socio-political situation of the times'. If this sounds innovative, the result falls somewhat short of the declared aim.

While Burke's very favourable view of Akbar is immediately apparent from his title (though the comparative dimension implicit in the title is absent), Nizami's extremely critical conclusions will be no surprise to any reader familiar with his other contributions to this field. For Akbar, in his view, abandoned the balance established in the era of the Delhi Sultanate's 'secular polity', to pursue a course culminating in the ascription to himself of prophetic, if not divine, powers, which in the end proved counter-productive to his own objectives: for 'this search for religious and spiritual leadership created religious tensions and undermined the impact of his lofty political ideals and achievements. As a result, the secular tradition in India received a serious set-back.' The gulf between these two viewpoints will never be bridged, and the tools of psycho-history might well be applied, with a much fuller database, to understanding the reasons why these two elder statesmen both write as they do. More to the point here is to determine whether, within the circumscribed limits of each particular view of the medieval Indian past, these studies either break new ground, or might be put to any new uses.

Burke's view that Akbar was 'in a class of his own' as a ruler, because of his inculcation of a new era of religious toleration stemming from his own personal *suḥi* stance, certainly does not do the first. For by consciously setting as his parameters the historiographical tradition of,

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRIKH

BY

'ABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀONI.

VOLUME II

(THE REIGN OF AKBAR, FROM 963 TO 1004 A.H.)

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

AND EDITED BY

W. H. LOWE, M.A.

Hebrew Lecturer, Christ's College, Cambridge.

Revised and enlarged

with an account containing

THE CONTEMPORARIES' ESTIMATE OF AKBAR

BY

BRAHMADEVA PRASAD AMBASHTHYA, M.A.,

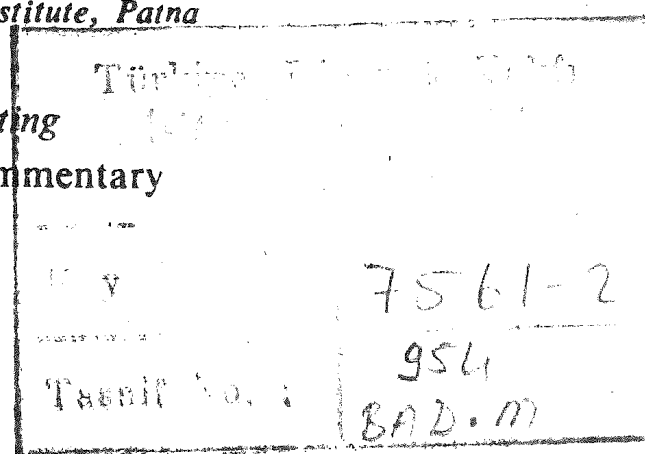
Bihar Educational Services,

K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna

AND

Also Incorporating

S. H. Hodivala's Commentary



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DELHI-110051

MUNTAKHABU'T-TAWĀRIKH.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

[VOLUME II.]

[THE REIGN OF AKBAR, 963-1004 A.H.]

The Emperor of the time, the Khalif of the age, Jalāl-ud-dīn 8 Muḥammad Akbar Pādshāh (may he ever be firmly seated¹ on the throne of the Khalifate and the seat of clemency!) with the approval of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, began to honour and adorn the throne of the Sultanate, under an auspicious star, "on Friday the 2nd of the month Rabi'ul-avval, in the year nine hundred and sixty-three (963) in the garden of Kalānor²—which, to this day, they have not yet finished laying out. Then he sent messages of conciliation and courtesy to the Amīrs of the frontier, so that the *Khutbah*³ was read also at Dihlī. And they composed this hemistich, as giving the date: '*More noble than all princes he.*'⁴

They composed also the following distich:—

'Jalāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, that prince of the age,

At the date of [the death of] father said: *Prince of the age am I.*'⁴

And another [mnemosynon] they found [for the date]:

'*The granter of desires.*'⁴ Then the world began to blossom like a rose-garden, and pitiless Fate, binding up those wounds, said:—

¹ The word in the text means 'ambushed'; but transpose the *k* and the *m* and read *mutamakkin* 'established.'

² A dependency of Lahore. The year is 1556 A.D.; as for the month, see Elliot, V. 247.

³ A form of praise and prayer consisting of four parts: (1) The praise of God, (2) of Muḥammad and his twelve descendants, (3) of royalty, (4) praise of, and prayer for the reigning sovereign. The mention of the Emperor's name in the *Khutbah* constitutes a legal proclamation of his accession to the throne. See Kitto's *Court of Persia*, 160-1.

⁴ The sum of the numerical values of the letters of each of these three expressions, in the original Persian, gives the date 963 A.H.

LAHORE:

ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

BY
SYAD MUHAMMAD LATIF,

KHAN BAHADUR,

EXTRA JUDICIAL ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, GURDASPUR,
FELLOW, PANJAB UNIVERSITY, & MEMBER OF THE BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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LAHORE: HISTORICAL.

Mahomed Zamán Mirza In the years 1535 A.D., Mahomed Zamán Mirza,* after his defeat at Mandśūr, having made a diversion on the side of the Panjáb laid siege to Lahore. Kámran Mirza, however, returned in time victorious from his expedition of Candahár, and Zamán Mirza retired precipitately to Gujrat.

The perfidious conduct of Mirza Kámran. When the conflict between Humayún and Sher Sháh Súr, Afghan broke out, Humayún with his brothers Hindal and Askerí sought refuge at Lahore; but the perfidy of his brother Kámran, who had made peace with Sher Sháh by ceding Panjáb to that monarch, compelled him to quit Lahore with the Imperial family. He and the Mirza crossed the Ravi on 31st October 1540. The Mirza separated from the Emperor near Hazara, and His Majesty proceeded to Scindh. Sher Shah, who had pursued the Emperor from Agra, through the Panjáb, laid the foundations of a new Rohtas, and, having appointed his able general, Khawás Khán, Viceroy of the province, returned to Agra.

His benevolent schemes. Sher Sháh was an enlightened and magnificent monarch. From his commanding position on the frontier and his possession of the great mercantile cities of Peshawar and Lahore, he developed the trade of the Panjáb with the countries of Central Asia and Northern China. He connected the cities of Multán and Lahore by a road and planted fruit trees to refresh the weary traveller from Bengal to Niláb, a branch of the Indus, for a distance of 1,500 miles. Sher Sháh, on attaining power, made special provision for the employment of his countrymen from Roh.† This marvellous man died by the bursting of a shell, at the siege of Kalinjar, on May 22nd, 1545. Taken to his tent, he survived for two days, in great agony, but conscious and contemplating future events, thus doing his duty to the last. Sher Sháh, on his death-bed, regretted that he had not razed the city of Lahore to the ground. He had long meditated the entire destruction of the city; "for," said he, "such a large city should not exist on the very road of an invader, who, immediately after capturing it on his arrival, could collect his supplies and organise his resources there." He repented also not

And immediately after this he spoke the following verse *extempore*.

برجام از تو هر چه رسد جای منست
گر ناولك جفاست و گر خنجر منست

"Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness,
Be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of cruelty."

* He was grandson of the famous Sultán Husein Mirza, of Khorasán. After his father's kingdom had passed into the hands of the Uzbeks, he had resided at the Court of Baber, with whom he was a particular favourite. One of Baber's daughters was married to him. Compare Baber's Memoirs by Erskine and Khalasat-ul-Tawarikh.

† It is a ridge of the Sulémán mountains. The Afghans settled in large numbers in the Pergana of Bijwara and were handsomely provided for by the Emperor.—Tartikh-i-Sher Sháh.

AKBAR.

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having had time to plant his tribesmen from the hills of Roh on the tract between Niláb and Lahore, to watch the attempts of the Moghals on the Panjáb.

Humáyún, after an exile of fourteen years, crossed the Indus, unopposed, on 2nd of January 1555. Sekandar Sháh, the Afghán Governor of Lahore, had carried away the army of the Panjáb to Delhi, so that the province was left without any troops for its defence. Humáyún marched to Lahore, which was abandoned on his approach, and, entering it on 24th February, was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants.* Having appointed Farhat Khán, *Shakdár* (Governor) of Lahore, Babbús Khan, Foujdar, Mirza Sháh Sultán, Amir and Mehtar, and Jouhar Treasurer for the Suba of the Panjáb, His Majesty marched for Sirhand.†

Akbar.—On the death of his father at Delhi in 1556 A. D., Akbar, then only thirteen years and four months old, ascended the throne at Kalanor‡ in the Panjáb, where he was then encamped to prosecute a war with Sekandar Sháh Súr, under the tutelage of the famous General and Minister Behráh Khán. Here the *Khutba* was proclaimed from the pulpit. The first event of importance which took place at Lahore after the accession of the Emperor, was the capture of Sháh Abul Ma'áli, Governor of Lahore, in the time of Humáyún, and an *Amir* of the first rank, who had shown a disposition to rebel.§ He was seized and made over to Pahalwan Kalgaz, the *Kotwal*, or chief Police officer, of Lahore, but he managed to effect his escape from custody, and, collecting an army, invaded Kashmir. The *Kotwal*, feeling ashamed of the disgrace to which he was likely to be subjected by the imperial government, committed suicide.

The Emperor, having heard of the defeat of his General, Khizr Khán, within twenty *koss* of the capital of the Panjáb, arrived at Lahore during the second year of his reign, and remained

* Erskine.

† *Akbarnáma* p. 25, Vol. I.

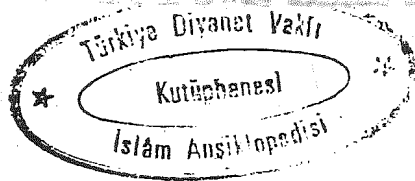
‡ Kalanor was at that time an important town of the district of Lahore. It is now a town in the Gurdáspur district. After the coronation of Akbar at Kalanor, spacious palaces and edifices were built there by His Majesty's command, in commemoration of the event. When Abdul Qádir, Badáoni, the well-known historian of Akbar, wrote his history, these edifices were in course of construction, vide *Muntakhib-ul-Tawarikh*, Book III. Some of these existed down to the British period, but were mercilessly destroyed for the sake of their bricks. What now exists is a platform of packa masonry marking the place where Akbar had been raised to the throne of Hindustán by his *Omerahs*. Around this are cultivated lands of *Zamindárs*.

§ He was a Saiyad of high family, and was a native of Káshghar. He was noted for his valour and the symmetry of his limbs. Humáyún had honored him with the title of *Farzand* (son).

Lahore in the hands of Humáyún, 1555.

Akbar's coronation at Kalanor.

Rebellion of Sháh Abul Ma'áli.



HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA

(THE HISTORY OF HUMĀYUN)

Elkeer Sah
(Gülbedin dönemi ile ilgili
ayatların birliği)

Diğer isim
Tercüme
Meb

BY
GUL-BADAN BEGUM

56-77

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi	
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Translated with Introduction & Notes
BY

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE, M.R.A.S.

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CHOWK URDU BAZAR LAHORE (PAKISTAN)

56

Adam Ghakkar who had made over Kāmran to Humāyūn ; that they saw two rhinoceroses, an event which makes one wonder whether there still remained a part of the ancient lake of the plain of Peshawar to serve as habitat for the huge and now vanished beasts ; and that they crossed the many-memorial Khaibar.

In Kābul the admiral saw Humāyūn's two sons, Muḥammad Hakim and Farrukh-fāl, who were born in the same month of 1553, one being the child of Māh-chūchak and the other of Khānīsh aghā Khwārizmī. This statement is a surprise, because Bāyazīd says that Farrukh died within a few days of birth. The admiral's information suggests an error in Bāyazīd's MS.

Sidi 'Ali found Kābul beautiful and speaks of its snowy girdle, its gardens and its running water. He traced pleasure and merriment and feasting everywhere, and even instituted comparison between it and Paradise to the disadvantage of the latter. But he had no time for 'frivolities,' and thought only of hurrying home. He saw Mu'nim Khān in the city, and being told by him that he could not cross the passes, observed that men had overcome mountains, and under the care of a local guide whose home was on the road, accomplished the feat with labour and safely. He took the road to Tāliqān and there saw our well-known friends, Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm, but he is silent as to Hāram. Here, too, he wrote and offered his ghazal, and was both welcomed and speeded. In Tāliqān we must leave him who has been a welcome new figure amongst familiar actors.

SECTION III.—UNDER AKBAR.

Protected by the capable men who upheld Akbar, the royal ladies had not again to flee before foes or to suffer violent change of fortune. Humāyūn had planned their journey from Kābul to India. Akbar more than once in his first year of rule had to cancel the orders he had given to effect it. Three military affairs disturbed the plan,—the suppression of the revolt of Abū'l-ma'ālī, the operations

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against Sikandar Afghān, and the encounter with Himū at Pānipat. At length amirs were named to escort the ladies from Kābul. The officers set out, but on their march received orders to act first against Sulaimān Mirzā, who, on hearing of Humāyūn's death, had come over from Badakhshān to besiege Kābul. This was the first of a series of his attempts on the city, to which he laid fanciful claim as head of the house of Timūr after Humāyūn. The approach of the imperial troops broke up his siege, and his claim having been accommodated by reading his name once in the *khutba* at Kābul, he went home and left the ladies free to start.

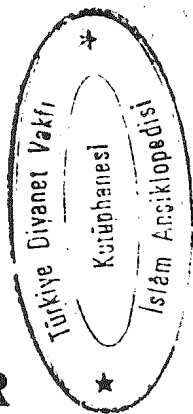
They made their journey in time to arrive during the first quarter of 1557 near where lay the royal camp, at Mānkot, in the western Sewālīks. The Emperor came a stage from it to meet them, and was 'much comforted by the reunion.' With Hamida-bānū Begam, to whom, as Empress-mother, the chief place must be assigned, were Gul-badan, Gul-chihra, Hāji, and Salima Begams. There was also a large company of officers' wives.

Perhaps the ladies remained near the camp until it broke up and went to Lāhūr. It left that city on its march for Dihli on December 7th, 1557 ; at Jalindhar it halted, and here, with pomp and amidst general interest, Bairām Khān-i-khānān married Salima Sultān Begam, a granddaughter of Bābar. She was a half-niece of Humāyūn, and she had with Akbar cousinship of the 'four-anna' degree. Bābar was their common ancestor, and their differing grandmothers diluted the cousinly relation.

This alliance had been arranged by Humāyūn, and the use of *sipurān* by Abū'l-faḍl when writing of it, shows that what was now celebrated was a marriage, and not a betrothal. This point is mentioned here because some writers fix Salima's age at this time as five, an estimate which is not supported by known facts of her life. The bride was probably a reward for the surpassing services done by Bairām for Humāyūn, the newest being those of the Restoration. Bairām was a man to whom seems due the largesse

THE TŪZUK-I- JAHĀNGĪRĪ

OR
MEMOIRS OF JAHĀNGĪR

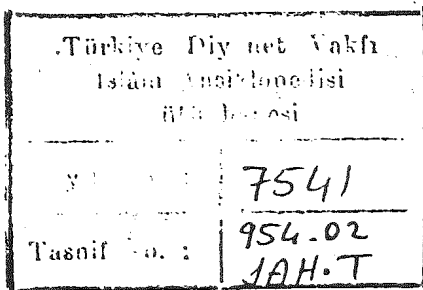


Elber Sah 37-4A1a

Translated by
ALEXANDER ROGERS
I.C.S. (Retired)

Edited by
HENRY BEVERIDGE
I.C.S. (Retired)

*Coreli
Nebi*



**Munshiram Manoharlal
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Dāniyāl was of pleasing figure, of exceedingly agreeable manners and appearance; he was very fond of elephants and horses. It was impossible for him to hear of anyone as having a good horse or elephant and not take it from him. He was fond of Hindi songs, and would occasionally compose verses with correct idiom in the language of the people of India, which were not bad.

After the birth of Dāniyāl a daughter was born to Bibi Daulat-Shād whom they named Shakarū-n-nisā Begam.¹ As she was brought up in the skirt of my revered father's care, she turned out very well. She is of good disposition and naturally compassionate towards all people. From infancy and childhood she has been extremely fond of me, and there can be few such relationships between brother and sister. The first time when, according to the custom of pressing the breast of a child and a drop of milk is perceptible, they pressed my sister's breast and milk appeared, my revered father said to me: "Bābā! drink this milk, that in truth this sister may be to thee as a mother." God, the knower of secrets, knows that from that day forward, after I drank that drop of milk, I have felt love for my sister such as children have for their mothers.

After some time another girl was born to this same Bibi Daulat-Shād, and he (Akbar) called her Ārām Bānū Begam.² Her disposition was on the whole inclined to excitement and heat. My father was very fond of her, so much so that he described her impolitenesses as politenesses, and in his august sight they, from his great love, did not appear bad. Repeatedly he honoured me by addressing me, and said: "Bābā! for my sake be as kind as I am, after me, to t' is sister, who in Hindi phrase is my darling

¹ The MSS. have *Shakar-nisār*, 'sugar-sprinkling.' She lived into Shāh-Jahān's reign.

² She died unmarried in Jahāngīr's reign.

(that is, dearly cherished). Be affectionate to her and pass over her little impolitenesses and impudences."

The good qualities of my revered father are beyond the limit of approval and the bounds of praise. If books were composed with regard to his commendable dispositions, without suspicion of extravagance, and he be not looked at as a father would be by his son, even then but a little out of much could be said.

Notwithstanding his kingship and his treasures and his buried wealth, which were beyond the scope of counting and imagination, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God, but considered himself the lowest of created beings, and never for one moment forgot God.

"Always, everywhere, with everyone, and in every circumstance, Keep the eye of thy heart secretly fixed on the Beloved."

The professors of various faiths had room in the broad expanse of his incomparable sway. This was different from the practice in other realms, for in Persia¹ there is room for Shias only, and in Turkey, India, and Tūrān there is room for Sunnis only.

As in the wide expanse of the Divine compassion there is room for all classes and the followers of all creeds, so, on the principle that the Shadow² must have the same properties as the Light, in his dominions, which on all sides were limited only by the salt sea, there was room for the professors of opposite religions, and for beliefs good and bad, and the road to altercation was closed. Sunnis and Shias met in one mosque, and Franks and Jews in one church, and observed their own forms of worship.

¹ This must, I think, be the meaning, though according to the wording the statement would seem to be that there is no room for Shias except in Persia. Erskine has "None but Shias are tolerated in Persia, Sunnis in Rūm and Tūrān, and Hindus in Hindustan."

² Kings are regarded as shadows of God.

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1904.] H. Beveridge—*Observations on General Maclagan's paper.* 49

*Observations on General Maclagan's paper on the Jesuit Missions to the
Emperor Akbar, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 38.—By H. BEVERIDGE.*

[Read November, 1903.]

General Maclagan's paper is a very valuable and interesting one, but he has fallen into some mistakes from relying upon Mr. Rehatsek, etc. I beg to offer the following remarks as supplementary to it:

It is somewhat singular that the writers who have discussed the religious opinions of the Emperor Akbar have said so comparatively little about the account of them given by Abul-Fa'zl in the historical portion of the Akbarnāma.

Mr. Blochmann has noticed the references in the Ain-i-Akbari, and he, as well as Vans Kennedy, H. H. Wilson, Rehatsek and General Maclagan, have given full abstracts of Badayūni's account of the matter. But they have said little about the references in the historical parts of the Akbarnāma, and with the exception of Rehatsek, none of them has noticed the chapter in the Akbarnāma which deals expressly with Akbar's position as the founder of a religion. This chapter occurs in the annals of the 24th year of the reign and is headed "The acceptance by the wise men of the age of the spiritual authority (Ijtihad) of the world's lord."

This chapter is to be found in Vol. III, p. 268 of the Bib. Ind. ed., which corresponds to Vol. III, p. 140 of the Cawnpore ed. Rehatsek has indeed referred, though without citing the page, to two passages in this chapter, but he has not done so correctly, and so he has misled General Maclagan.

Mr. Rehatsek, who was a man of varied accomplishments, but the conditions of whose life were not favourable to accuracy, published in the Calcutta Review for January 1886 an article called "Missionaries to the Mogul Court," and at page 3 he makes two erroneous statements. The first is that Abul Fa'zl states that the malevolent rumour of Akbar's hatred to Muhammadanism and of his having become a Brahman, was refuted by the Christian philosophers. Evidently this refers to two

J. I. 7

MADDE YATIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DURÜMAN

09 HAZİRAN 1999

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38 E. D. MacLagan—*Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar*. [No. 1,

The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar.—By E. D. MacLagan, C. S.,
from notes recorded by the late GENERAL R. MACLAGAN, R.E.

[Read April 1896.]

Almost all the historians of the reign of Akbar have discussed in some form or other his religious views, and in histories written by Europeans attention has naturally been paid to the attitude which he assumed towards Christianity, as put before him by the Jesuit Missionaries at his Court. The records of these Jesuit Missions are not, however, very easy of access, and few of the published histories do more than refer in the briefest terms to the remarkable incidents which these records set forth and the interesting picture of the times which they present to us. In order to supply this defect it was the intention of the late General MacLagan R.E., to prepare a sketch of the religious views of the Emperor Akbar, which should have special reference to the history of his attitude towards Christianity, and the present writer has come into possession of the notes and references which General MacLagan from time to time recorded with this object in view. It is unfortunately impossible to prepare from these notes any complete sketch of the nature originally contemplated, but it may be of some interest to reproduce in one place the substance of the chief original authorities on the subject of the Jesuit Missions at Akbar's Court, and the scope of the present paper is limited to this.

What the general histories tell us is shortly as follows. That from about A.D. 1580, till his death, or at any rate till the year 1596, the Emperor Akbar held the most unorthodox opinions, culminating for a time in the promulgation of a form of natural religion entitled the Tauhid-i-Ilāhī or Divine Monotheism, in which the worship of the Sun and of the Emperor himself formed a prominent part. That during this period he assumed a tolerant attitude towards all religions and made constant enquiries into the tenets and customs of the Hindūs, Pārsis and Christians; and that at his invitation three separate special missions were equipped and despatched to his Court by the Jesuit authorities at Goa. The first of these missions was sent in 1580, under

1896.] E. D. MacLagan—*Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar*. 39

the guidance of Father Rodolfi Aquaviva who remained at the Court of the Mogul for three years. The second, under Father Edward Leoton, arrived in 1591 and after a short stay was somewhat hastily withdrawn. The third, under Father Jerome Xavier, a nephew of St. Francis, persevered in its labours from the date of its commencement in the year 1595 to a time considerably later than the death of the Emperor.

It is of these three missions that the present paper treats. A narrative of all the three missions is to be found in Hugh Murray's 'Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia,' Edinburgh 1820, vol. II., 82-96, but the narrative is brief and is disfigured by some unfortunate misprints of dates. So again in the Rev. James Hough's 'History of Christianity in India,' London, 1839, vol. II., 260-287, there is a history of the missions to Akbar, which is taken almost entirely (mistakes and all) from the History of the Mughal Empire issued in 1708 by the Jesuit Catrou: Catrou's work was compiled from the Portuguese manuscript of Signor Manuchi, a Venetian who was physician to the Mughal Court in Aurangzeb's time, and Manuchi professed to base his history on Persian records in the Mughal capital, but his translator, Catrou, confesses to having added to the original history, and the account of the Jesuit missions in Catrou's work is obviously taken from European sources.¹ Even in the 'Kaiser Akbar' (1880) of Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein (Count von Noer), where an admirable account, based on Du Jarric's history of these missions will be found, there is a certain want of completeness owing to the fact that the writer had not apparently seen the last volume of Du Jarric's work which treats of the missions after the year 1600.² It is advisable, therefore, to leave our modern authorities and to go back as far as we can to the original records of these missions.

Notices by native historians.—Before, however, examining the Jesuit records attention may be paid to the passing allusions made by native historians to the Christian proclivities of Akbar and the doings of the priests at his Court.³ We are fortunate in finding among

¹ See also 'The Portuguese in Northern India,' *Calc. Rev.* v. 279-284, (1848).

² See *Kaiser Akbar*, I., 440. A short notice of Akbar's connection with Christianity will be found in Bohlen's 'Alte Indien,' 1830, vol. I., 104-105. Attention may also be directed to Dr. Ireland's romance called 'Golden Bullets,' Edinb., 1890, in which the Jesuits at Akbar's Court play a large role: and to the sketch of the missions in Max Müllbauer's *Geschichte per katholischen Missionen in Ostindien*, 1852, pp. 133-149.

³ The quotations made below are all collected from translations and English works and cannot claim to be exhaustive. Reference may be also made to Asad Beg's amusing account of the introduction of tobacco in Akbar's Court, and the Jesuit Father's support of the tobacco smokers (Elliot, VI., 167).

Edited by
Fuat Sezgin

THE ISLAMIC WORLD
IN FOREIGN
TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

77

Mughal India
according
to
European Travel Accounts

Texts and Studies
Selected and Reprinted

III

1997

Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science
at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University
Frankfurt am Main

THE ISLAMIC WORLD
IN FOREIGN
TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

Volume 77

MUGHAL INDIA
ACCORDING
TO
EUROPEAN TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

TEXTS AND STUDIES

III

Selected and reprinted
by
Fuat Sezgin

in collaboration with
Mazen Amawi, Carl Ehrig-Eggert,
Eckhard Neubauer

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262

THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH KANARA.

the Roman Catholic religion, more than twenty-five churches, some of them larger and more handsome buildings than the churches in Bassein or Salsette, and other monuments, which I shall reserve for Part II. of this paper, testify to the civilizing action of that small nation, in times past. Mangalore, the capital of South Kanara, where the largest number of the converts of the Portuguese reside, is now a prosperous town. With the bright prospects of a rapidly advancing community, with all the elements, moral and material, that help to make a people happy, and the abundant resources of a rich commercial city, it is expected that, if the port can be improved and a railway built, it will soon become the emporium of the Western Coast of Southern India.

MADDE YATIRILANDIKTAN
SONRA GİLEN DOKÜMAN

89 HAZİRAN 1999

83

ART. IV.—*Notes on Akbar's Subahs, with reference to the Ain-i Akbari.* By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (ret.).

No. I.

BENGAL.

For upwards of twenty years the late Professor Blochmann's translation of Abul Fazl's monumental work, the *Ain-i Akbari*, has remained a splendid fragment, and students have longed in vain for its completion. It is, therefore, cause for congratulation that this has at length been effected. Colonel Jarrett's scholarly translation of the remainder of the work, which has recently appeared, is fully equal in accuracy, while it is superior in grace of language, to that of his predecessor. Only those who have laboured over the intricacies of Abul Fazl's detestable style, at one time turgid and overloaded with meaningless phrases, at another so curt and jejune as to be obscure, can fully appreciate the skill and learning which Colonel Jarrett has brought to bear on the supremely difficult task of rendering his author intelligible to European readers.

The translation, moreover, is illustrated by notes, which, if not so copious as Blochmann's, are sufficient—and more than sufficient—for all practical purposes. It is not given to everyone to possess such stores of learning as the late Professor Blochmann, who was as familiar with the Court and times of Akbar as we are with those of Victoria, and who, in fact, sometimes rather overdid his note-making, giving us treatises instead of notes. Colonel Jarrett's sense of proportion has led him to restrain his notes within reasonable limits, though he is rather unequal in this respect, some subjects being far more generously illustrated than

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THE FIRST JESUIT MISSION TO EMPEROR AKBAR

Edward R. Hambye

THE LONG-AWAITED ARRIVAL

On a warm late afternoon, Sunday the 28th of February 1580, Akbar was told that the visitors he expected rather impatiently from Goa had finally arrived in his imperial town, Fatehpur-Sikri—*Nicopolis*, as Monserrate writes with some humanistic flavour.¹ The two padres were still tired, if not exhausted, by the 43-day journey by land from Daman via Surat, Mandu and Narwar.² One of the three priests, Monserrate himself, had fallen ill, and had to be left at Narwar

¹MLC, p. 560.

For a more complete narrative of the First Mission, consult E. MacLagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932, pp. 23-45. The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes to this article:

MLC: *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*, or The First Mission to Akbar by Fr Anthony Monserrate, s.j., in *Jesuit Letters and Allied Papers on Mogor, Tibet, Bengal and Burma*. Edited by the Rev. H. Hosten, s.j., *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta 1914, vol. III, no. 9, pp. 573-704.

DI: *Documenta Indica, in Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu*, Rome.

All correspondents of the quoted letters are Jesuits, if not otherwise indicated.

²Fr. Henriques to L. Peres, 6.4.1580, DI, vol. XII, p. 4.

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HISTORY OF INDIA

(IN 9 VOLUMES)

EDITED BY
A.V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

Elkber Sahi 277
VOL-V *293*
THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIOD
AS DESCRIBED BY
ITS OWN HISTORIANS
*Dit is in Tarikh
Nebi*

Selected from the works of
Henry Miers Elliot

THE HISTORY OF INDIA



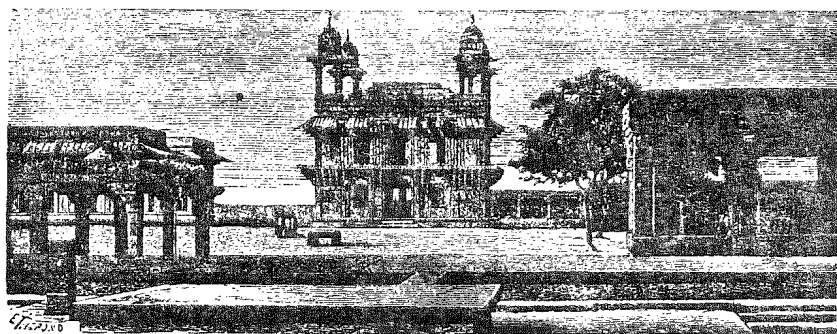
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NEW DELHI, 1987

276 THE BEGINNING OF HUMAYUN'S REIGN

The king accordingly fixed the resolution in his enlightened mind; and after he had returned from Gwalior to Agra, under the protection of the Almighty God, he turned the reins of his world-travelling horse toward the city of Delhi in the beginning of the month of Zu-l-hijja, 939 A. H. When he had reached the city, which was as beautiful as heaven, and had taken omens and religious advice, a rising ground adjacent to the banks of the stream of Jumna, about three leagues from the city, was selected for the foundation of Dinpanah.

In the middle of the month of Muharram, 940 A. H., at an hour which was prescribed by the most clever astrologers and the greatest astronomers, all the divines, Sayyids, scholars, and elders of the city of Delhi accompanied the king, who was as generous as the ocean, to the new site, where they prayed that God on high might vouchsafe to finish the happy foundation of that city and to strengthen the basis of the king's wealth. His Majesty with his holy hand first laid a brick upon the ground, after which each person from that concourse of great men placed a stone on the earth, and they all made such a crowd there that the army, the people, and the artists, masons, and labourers found neither space nor time to carry stones and mud to the spot. On the same date work was commenced in the king's own palace, and by this time, that is to say, the latter part of the month of Shawwal of the same year, the walls, bastions, ramparts, and gates of the city of Dinpanah are nearly finished.'



THE PACHISI COURT OF AKBAR AT FATEHPUR-SIKRI.

CHAPTER XII

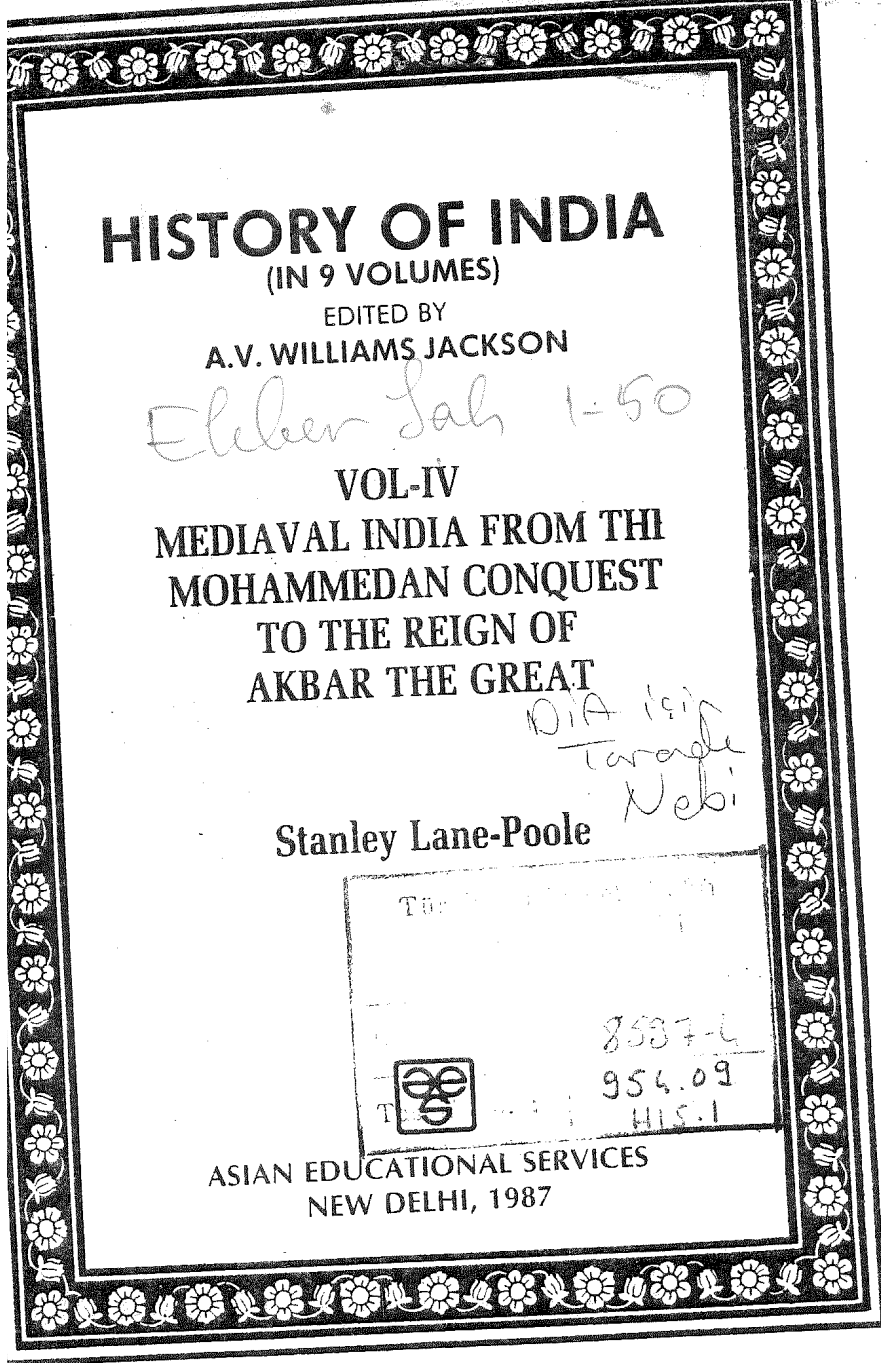
AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS, AS DESCRIBED BY
BADAUNI

Sixteenth Century A. D.

AKBAR the Great was a reformer and innovator, as has been fully shown in the preceding volume. Among the detailed accounts of his reign is a record by Abd-al-Kadir Badauni, who lived and wrote at the great emperor's court and died in 1615 A. D., ten years after his royal patron's death.

The selection here chosen from Badauni's work illustrates the well-known latitudinarianism of Akbar in religious matters and shows how little favour they met with in orthodox Mohammedan eyes like those of Badauni.

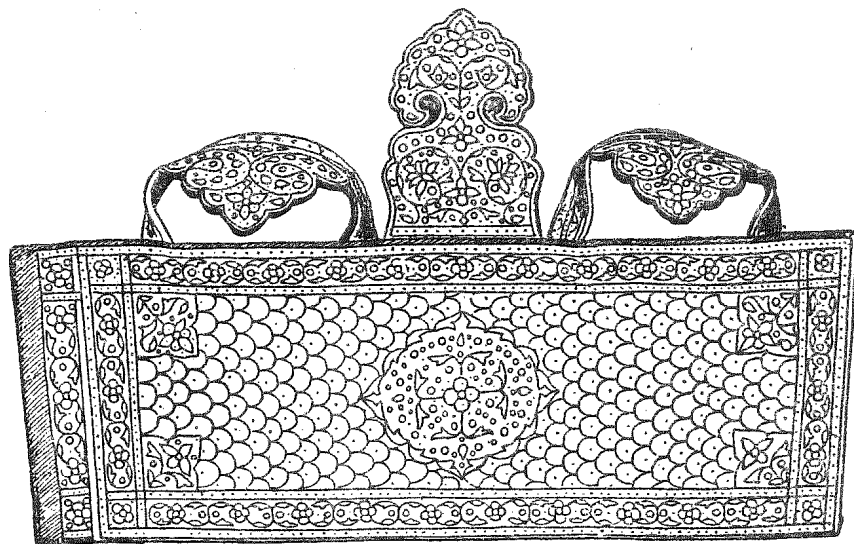
'In the year 983 A. H. (1575 A. D.), the buildings of the *Ibādat-Khānah*, or "Hall of Worship," were completed. The cause of their erection was as follows. In



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CUIRASS, MADE OF HIDE COVERED WITH VELVET, AND STUDDED WITH NAILS.

CHAPTER I

THE UNITED EMPIRE

AKBAR THE GREAT

1556-1605 A. D.

THE long reign of Akbar, which lasted from 1556 to 1605, has been represented as the golden age of the Moghul empire. It was in reality but the beginning of the period of splendour which ended with the disastrous wars of Aurangzib. Akbar was the true founder and organizer of the empire, but it is too often forgotten that it took him twenty years of hard fighting to bring Hindustan under subjection, and that even at his death

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APPENDIX

ALLUSIONS BY MOHAMMEDAN HISTORIANS TO EUROPEANS IN INDIA

As an appendix to this volume, in which the history of the early struggle by Europeans to gain a foothold in India is recounted in such detail, it may not be out of place to present some allusions to these foreigners (*Firingis*) by Mohammedan writers contemporary with the events described. The selections have been made from various parts of Elliot's "History of India as told by its own Historians," and, although not exhaustive, they are nevertheless in a way representative of the native view and may perhaps interest the reader as much as they did me in collecting and editing them.

A. V. W. J.

THE FORT OF SURAT ERECTED BY AKBAR IN OPPOSITION TO THE PORTUGUESE

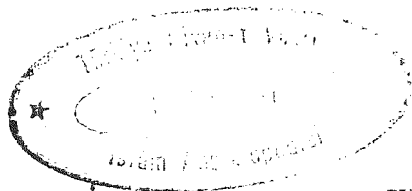
AKBAR'S imperial annalist, Badauni, when describing the emperor's campaign in Surat, 1572-1573 A. D., records that the erection or rebuilding of the Fort of Surat was in direct defiance of European intrusion and in opposition to foreign influence upon the Mohammedans of the country. A similar account is given by Nizam-ad-din Ahmad, but that of Badauni is a trifle clearer and is therefore the one here presented.

[Elliot, vol. v, pp. 501-503.] 'One day in the year 980 A. H. (1572 A. D.) Akbar, the king, went to look at the Fort of Surat, and gave orders to repair the portions

THE DIN-I-ILAH

OR

THE RELIGION OF AKBAR

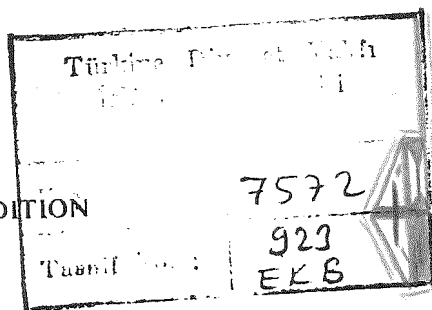


BY

MAKHAN LAL ROY CHOUDHURY, M.A., LL.B.,
D.LITT., SASTRI

Premchand Roychand Scholar ; Mouat Gold Medalist ; Griffith Scholar ; Formerly Professor of History, T. N. Jubilee College, Bhagalpur, Bihar & Professor of Oriental Culture, Royal University, Cairo, Egypt ; Head of the Department of Islamic History and Culture, Calcutta University.

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Chaitanya, the great Saint of Bengal (1484 A.D.), allowed both Hindus and Muhammadans to become his disciples. Yavan Haridas was one of his most important disciples. Rup and Sanatan, two of his important disciples, were so very tolerant to Muslim converts to *Vaisnavism* that the orthodox *Vaisnavas* and Hindus refused to have any social intercourse with them.

Ramanand, the great saint, ranked a Muslim weaver, Kabir, as his first disciple. He protested against caste and put faith in love of God above caste and rituals of religion. To him, "there is no question of caste and rank before God. He, who devotes himself to God, is God." Kabir was the personification of the process of Hindu-Muslim fusion in mediæval India. He attacked the orthodox Hindu institutions like *Tirtha* (pilgrimage) *Upabas* (fast), *Vrata* (rites), *Mala* (beads) and *Tilak* (marks).²⁴

Kabir's great friend was saint Taqi of the Suhrawardi sect. His daughter Kamali was married to a Brahman. When he was charged with apostasy before Sikandar Lodi, he defended himself by saying that his definite aim was to unite Hindus and Muslims. His followers, *Kabirpanthis*, remember God along with their breath in the manner of the Hindu Yogis. Even women were allowed to become his disciples and Gangabai was one of them. The great saints Ravidas and Namdeb were contemporaries of Kabir and were much influenced by him. Ravidas was a *Chamar*, a cobbler, and his disciple was the Queen Jahli of Mewar.

Kabir was followed by Nanak ; the former, on his death-bed, is said to have remarked that he would die in peace because Nanak would take his place. Nanak raised his voice of protest against idolatry, caste-system and communalism.²⁵ His teachings

²⁴ *Hindi-ke Musalman Kabi*, p. 35. Some say that Kamal was a disciple of Kabir.

दुई जगदीश कहे ते आवे कहू कीने भरमाया ।
अल्ला राम करीम केशव हरि हजरत नाम धराया ॥
बही महादेव बही मुहम्मद ब्रह्मा आदम कहिए ।
कोई हिन्दू कोई तुर्क कहावे एक जमीन पर रहिए ॥
बेद किताब पढ़े वे कृतवा वे मौलाना वे पाँडे ।
बिगत बिगत के नाम धरायो यक माटी के पाँडे ॥
कहे कबीर वे दीनों भुले रामहि किनह न पाया ।
वे खसिया वे गाय कटावे बादै जन्म गवाया ॥

(Continued)—

were so liberal that, after his death, his Muslim disciples claimed his dead body for burial. Nanak's *Japajis* (prayers) were more influenced by Hinduism than by the *Dohas* (poems) of Kabir. His Muslim disciples assert that he was initiated into mysticism by a Sufi saint, Sayyid Hasan. He even visited Makkah on a pilgrimage. In Baghdad, his teachings have been embodied into Arabic and there stood for a long time Nanak's *Dargah* in that Islamic centre.

Dadu (1575 A.D.)²⁶ makes a definite attempt to combine the Hindus and Musalmans. Like Kabir, he consciously denounced pilgrimage, idolatry and outward symbols. Amongst his most important disciples were Shaikh Baharji, Bakarji and Rajjabji.

Even in the far distant land of Assam, there appeared a new cult called *Mahapurushia* founded by Shankardeo. This cult was more liberal than Vaisnavism. Himself he was a *Kayastha*. He counted amongst his disciples a large number of Muslims. To him, Temples were fraud and offerings (*Prasad*) hypocrisy. Their *Gurus* (preceptors) were not Brahmans.

Sanatan Goswami, a Hindu saint from Gaur, founded a new order called the *Darweshia*. The Darweshia cult is like that of the Vaisnavas and Bauls. They wear beads called *Tasbih mala* and put on the dress of Muslim faqirs called *Alkalla*. Their songs contain the names of Allah, Khuda, Muhammad and of various saints.

The *Saini* sect shows an extreme form of fusion of Hindu and Muslim faiths. They drink intoxicating liquors and wear beads round their neck, bangles on the wrist and observe the fast of *Ekdasi* (eleventh day of the moon), etc., but like Muslims they

(Continued)—

"Tell me where did you get two Gods ; who has led you astray? The same God is called differently Allah or Ram, Karim or Keshav, Hari or Hazrat.

The same God is called Mahadev, Muhammad, Brahma or Adam. Every one lives on the same earth, one is called Hindu, and the other Turk.

The first reads the Vedas, the second the Quran and the *Khutbah* one is called *Maulana*, the other is called *Pande* (or *Pandit*).

They style themselves separately though they are pots of the same earth. Kabir says, both are mistaken ; none has got Ram (God).

One kills (castrated) goats, the other cows, and they have wasted their lives in (futile) disputes."

Macauliffe:—"He who worshippeth stones, visiteth places

Of pilgrimage, dwelleth in forests,

And renounceth the world, wandereth and wandereth,

How can his filthy mind become pure?"

²⁶ K. M. Sen says that Dadu was a Muslim and his original name is 'Dawud' which means 'devoted.'

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIA

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Akali Dal

Guru was born is based at Patna (Bihar) and *Takhat Huzur Saheb* is in Nanded, Maharashtra, where he died at the hands of an assassin. Of these, the *Akal Takhat*, Amritsar, is held in the highest esteem by every devout Sikh. It is housed in a grand edifice facing the Golden Temple. The idea of having a permanent seat for spiritual and temporal authority was conceived during the days of the sixth guru, Hargovind Dev, son of Guru Arjun Dev, who took the reins of office after the martyrdom of his father in the days of Mughal Emperor Jahangir. In the beginning the place, where now stands the building housing the *Akal Takhat*, was merely an earthen mound from where Guru Hargovind used to exercise his spiritual and temporal authority on his followers, as the place quite suited him being in the vicinity of *Har Mandir* (Golden Temple), as it was known then. About more than half a century later in 1774, the ground floor was got ready for new construction which was done in the days of and solely with the money given by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He got four more storeys added to the building. But by that time, the politico-religious authority vested in the *Gurus* had come to be bifurcated with the end of *Guru*-line. The day-to-day exercise of the temporal powers was left with the Maharaja, with the priests being declared superior to the temporal head with powers to summon and if need be, punish the latter. As luck would have it, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who got a fourstorey edifice added to the *Akal Takhat* was the first ruler to be hauled up before it to answer charges of showing undue favours to a courtesan. He was heard and sentenced, according to one version, to clean the shoes of the *Sangat* (congregation of the faithfuls while according to the other he was ordered to be whipped. The Maharaja took his punishment like an ordinary citizen).

After Maharaja Ranjit Singh, P.S. Badal, the former Chief Minister of Punjab, is the second ruler (not in old sense) to be summoned by the *Akal Takhat*. But his summoning was of a different nature. It was not to answer any charge but to find ways and means to keep unity in the *Dal*. Besides Mr. Badal, three more Akali leaders involved in the conflict namely, SGPC Chief G.S. Tohra, Akali Dal president J.S. Talwandi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, senior vice-president of the SGPC and a candidate for the Dal presidentship had also been summoned before the *Takhat*. Long before it, Sikh leaders Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh were also summoned by the *Akal Takhat* and punished for breaking their vows of getting the Punjabi Suba for the Sikhs. The presiding officers of the *Takhats*, known as *jathedars*, are appointed by the SGPC and are paid

honoraria for their duties which are mainly religious in nature.

Cunningham, J.D., The History of the Sikhs, London, 1849.
Harinder Singh, 'Dilgeer', The Akal Takht.
Kushwant Singh, The Sikhs, London, 1953.
Sadher Swarup Singh, Akali Movement.
Sher Singh, Glimpses of Sikhism and Sikhs.

Akali Dal—Started in 1921 as group organised by some Sikh Akalis to reform their shrines and gain effective control of their land and endowments; some religious (Sikh) heads of *gurdwaras* did not cooperate with movement; to crush it, *mahant* (head priest) of shrine of Nankana Sahib (birthplace of the first Sikh Guru Nanak) with help of some Pathans opened fire on worshippers who had come to worship at the shrine, 130 being reported killed; in same month (February), Akali Dal leaders joined non-cooperation movement, losing much life and property; acclaimed by Indian National Congress; after 1932 it became a semi-communal body.

Akali Movement—Among Sikh reformist movements most important was the Akali who claim for themselves 'a direct institution' by Guru Govind Singh, the tenth Guru, in present century their great achievement was the passage of Sikh Gurdwara Act in 1925; it enabled Sikhs to take over control of Gurdwaras from the hereditary *Mahants*.

Cunningham, J.D., The History of the Sikhs, London, 1849.
Kushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol. II, 1966.
Mohinder Singh, Akali Movement, New Delhi.
Sadher Swarup Singh, Akali Movement.
Tara Singh, Why we must avoid civil War in India.

Akbar, Jalaluddin Muhammad (1542-1605)—Born at Amarkot (Sind Valley), grandson of Babur (who established the Mughal empire in India) and his son Humayun; ascended the throne when 14 (1556); enlightened, tolerant and liberal; not literate but encouraged literature, science, fine arts, industry and religious toleration and widow marriage; abolished sati, torture, slavery, child marriage, arbitrary taxes (*jazia*, capitation, pilgrim); fixed land revenue on basis of quality and value of land; organised his administrative set up and ushered in many reforms; made matrimonial alliances

Islam And Muslims In South Asia: Historical Perspective

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attached to the Afghan cause like other Indian aristocratic families.¹

As regards Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), he followed an eclectic faith. His liberalism even antagonised the Muslim religious elite, for it was considered by the orthodox ulama antagonistic to Islam. But it cannot be denied that Akbar's religious policy strengthened the foundations of the Mughal dynasty in India as Hindus were brought closer to it. The Emperor abolished *Jizya* and pilgrimage tax that were levied on Hindus. This was not all. He also forbade the forcible conversion of war-prisoners to Islam.²

Akbar's successor, Jahangir (1605-1627) tried to follow his father's policy in respect of his relations with the non-Muslims, although he does not seem to have subscribed to his father's eclecticism. Like his father, he issued a farman in his sixth regnal year, forbidding forcible conversion of people, guilty of serious crimes to Islam in the provinces.³ At the same time he pleased the leaders of Islamic orthodoxy by abolishing non-Islamic practices prevalent among Muslims in the Empire. In the 15th regnal year he gave orders that no Muslim girl would be married by a non-Muslim. It was a common practice in Rajauri (Kashmir) that both the Hindus and Muslims intermarried among themselves. Some Christians are also reported to have been converted to Islam at his instance.⁴

Again, it may be emphasised that his relations with Hindus remained cordial; state policy adopted by Akbar with regard to the employment of Hindus in administration did not undergo any change. No privileges conferred upon them were withdrawn. However, Jahangir's son, Emperor Shah Jahan seems to have deviated from Akbar's religious policy. In fact, Shah Jahan's own

1. Bayazid Biyat, *Tadhkira-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar*, Calcutta, 1941, P. 300; Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Calcutta, ed. Abdul Rahim, Vol. 2, PP. 56, 139.

2. Cf. S.R. Sharma, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Bombay, 1972, PP. 82-3.

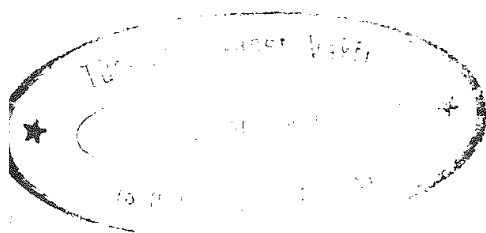
3. 4. *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, op. cit. PP. 82-3.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN

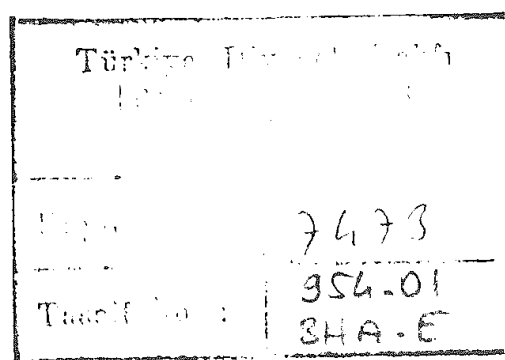
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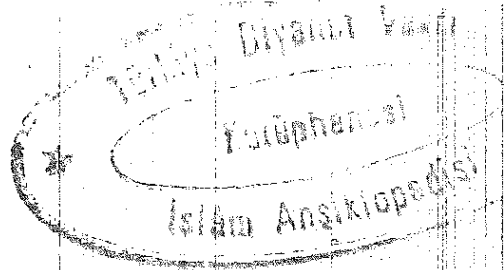


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AKBAR
and his
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(A Critical Study)



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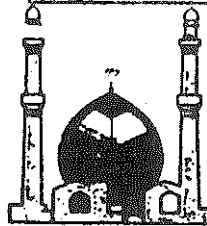


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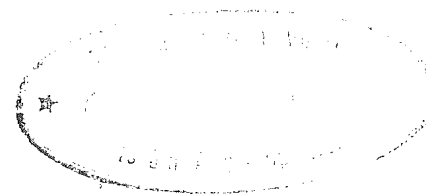
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THE DIN-I-ILAH

OR

THE RELIGION OF AKBAR



BY

MAKHAN LAL ROY CHOUDHURY, M.A., LL.B.,

D.LITT., SASTRI

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Scholar ; Formerly Professor of History, T. N. Jubilee College,
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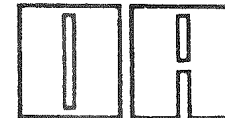
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SIX OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS ON MUGHAL-OTTOMAN RELATIONS DURING THE REIGN OF AKBAR

N. R. FAROOQI
Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies

In 1556 when Emperor Humāyūn (ruled 1530–56) died and his teenaged son Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar (d. 1605) ascended the Mughal throne, the Ottoman Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent (ruled 1520–66) was ruling over an intercontinental empire spread over Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Ottoman rule over Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, and the Hijaz, the heartland of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphal empire, not only made the Ottoman sultan the premier Muslim monarch of the world but also earned him the dignity of the *khilāfa* and the title of Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Šarīfayn.¹ Shortly before his death Humāyūn had handed over an imperial letter, addressed to Sulaymān, to the shipwrecked Ottoman Admiral Sidi Ali Reis.² A masterpiece of Persian diplomatic epistolography, the letter, while acknowledging the sultan as the ‘*khālīfa* of highest qualities’ and the ‘adornor of the throne of *khilāfa*’, reminded him that the ‘throne of *khilāfa* of the realms of Hind

¹ Makka and Madina were the jewels in the Ottomans’ crown and their suzerainty over these holy cities had considerably bolstered their claim to *khilāfa*. On this ground ‘Abdullāh Ibn Zubayr had exacted supremacy over Mu‘āwiya during the early days of the Umayyad rule. Later the ‘Abbāsīds claimed primacy over the Umayyads of Spain and the Fāṭimīds of Egypt on the same premiss. On the other hand, Humāyūn’s claim to *khilāfa* in India was probably based on Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī’s (d. 1501) theory that the monarch who governs with justice and directs the affairs of the state in accordance with the *Shari‘a*, was entitled to hold the dignity of the *khilāfa*. For a detailed analysis of the Ottoman claim to universal *khilāfa* and the Mughal response to this claim see N. R. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations: A Study of Political and Diplomatic Relations between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire 1556–1748* (Delhi, 1989), 173–221.

² For Sidi Ali Reis and his adventures in India, Persia, and Central Asia see his *Mirāt al-Mamālik*, Persian translation (Tehran, 1975). For an English translation of this book see A. Vambrey, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis* (London, 1899). Prior to his departure from India, the Sidi had also met Akbar. The letter carried by him was therefore probably approved by the new king also.

and Sind is once again graced by a monarch [Humāyūn] whose magnificence is equal to that of Solomon’.³ Presumably this vainglorious letter from the emperor was not received with approbation by the sultan and his advisers and hence remained unacknowledged. The Ottoman sultan also did not care to send the customary congratulatory embassy at the accession of the new Mughal ruler. In subsequent years Akbar also remained indifferent to the Ottomans. He maintained a brisk exchange of embassies and epistles with the Uzbeks of Central Asia and the Safavids of Iran, but made no attempt to enter into any kind of dialogue with the Ottomans. The initial rebuff which Akbar had received from the Ottomans matured into full-fledged hostility in the early 1580s when the Ottoman authorities of the Hijaz humiliated the ladies of Akbar’s household and their numerous attendants during their sojourn in Makka and Madina. All Mughal chroniclers have glossed over this episode, but several documents preserved in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul furnish intriguing information about the affair. In the following pages an attempt has been made to bring these documents to the attention of scholars and to analyse the impact of this episode on Mughal-Ottoman relations during the reign of Akbar.

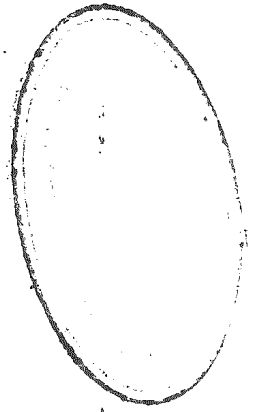
The six documents considered in this paper were issued by Sultan Murād III (ruled 1574–95)⁴ and cover a time-span of approximately a decade from 1578 to 1588. Five of these documents deal with the activities of Indian pilgrims in Makka, including the ladies of Emperor Akbar’s household who had accompanied the Mughal *Hajj* caravans to the Hijaz between 1577 and 1580, while the sixth document refers to Akbar’s alleged alliance with the Portuguese and the proposed Mughal-Portuguese invasion of the ports of Yemen. The first and second documents, which are practically identical with minor modifications here and there, are addressed to the authorities of the Holy Cities of Makka and Madina. The next three documents are imperial letters, issued between February and August 1580, to the sharif of Makka.⁵ The last document is addressed to Hasan Pāshā,⁶ the governor-general of Yemen.

³ *Mirāt al-Mamālik*, 201–2. Also see Joseph de Hammer, ‘Memoir on Diplomatic Relations between the Courts of Delhi and Constantinople in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 (1830), 476.

⁴ Sultan Murād III was the son of Sultan Selīm II (ruled 1566–74) and grandson of Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent. For the career of Murād III see Şekir Kurukoğlu, ‘III Murād’, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, viii, 615–25. Also see Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge, 1976), i, 179–84.

⁵ The letters were addressed to Sharif Abu Numay II (1524–84). For the sharifs of Makka see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Mekke-i mukerreme Emirleri* (Ankara, 1972). Also see Gerald De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca* (London, 1952).

⁶ For Hasan Pāshā see Çengiz Orhonlu, *Habeş Eyaleti* (Istanbul, 1974), 10, 82, 99.



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Vol. 9
Mughal India

Edited by
MOHAMED TAHER

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16 Mughal India

of cards at Kabul with his step-mother and sisters. Akbar made certain alterations in the cards and also changed the signs on them.

Other popular games in the time of Akbar were Chawpar and Chandal Mandal, whose details, with plans of their boards, have been so elaborately furnished in the *'ain-i-akbari*.

-Elber Sal

2

Akbar's Eclecticism and Parliament of Religions

C.S. SRINIVASACHARI

The recent celebrations of the quarter-centenary of the birth of Akbar the Great form a fitting occasion for bringing to the popular mind some of the ideals which that Emperor pursued in his religious policy and the attitude which he was convinced that the state should adopt towards the different religious communities of the land. The honouring of a great scholar like Dr. Mookerji whose aim has been, among others, the demonstrations of the unity of Indian culture is a most fitting occasion for the submission of this paper.

Recently several treatises have been published, in which the birth and life of Akbar are detailed as well as the inner strands of the great religious upheaval that marked his age. These latter forces have been revealed, as they probably worked not only India, but in other parts of Asia, in that age of renaissance through which our continent also passed. We learn from one of these writers that Jauhar who was a personal attendant on Humayun and who wrote a history of his master's chequered career, confused the date of Prince Akbar's birth with that of his tonsure ceremony which took place forty days later. On the basis of evidence supplied both Jauhar and Gul Badan Begam, the talented sister of Humayun, who has left us a historical account of the times, perhaps the view may be maintained that the great Emperor was born on the night of 4/5 Rajab 949 A.H., i.e., on the night of October 14/15, A.D. 1542. In spite of his continued misfortune and exile from his Indian throne for a number of years, Humayun contrived to contribute his own quota to the culture that was bequeathed by the Mughal state

17-33

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1

Social Condition at the Court of Akbar and its Influence on Society

AZHER ANSARI *

Social life at the court of Akbar was varied and interesting, pompous and full of grandeur. The king being the centre of all activity in the political life, and representative of God on earth took the initiative and set fashions for all, specially in the social sphere. The Mughal government was a military autocracy dominated by the Mughals. Its character was feudal, the king being the owner of all land in the Empire, not theoretically but in practice. The Mughal kingship being a military autocracy, everything in practice depended upon the sweet will of the Emperor. He could make and unmake a man's career, he could spare or destroy life. In theory he was the representative of God on earth. His influence was to be traced in all the spheres of social and state activity, behaviour of the people, morality, trade, commerce, agriculture, handicrafts, manufacturers and cultural life.

SOCIETY AT THE COURT

The Court Etiquette, its Grandeur and Pomp

As the ruler of the people whom the Mughal Emperor governed and as their protector, he had to govern his territory impartially, had to be just, benevolent, vigilant and forbearing and had to understand the spirit of the age. Therefore, to carry out his duties towards his subjects Akbar sat in audience twice (excluding the private assembly), receiving petitions, inspecting the army, dispensing justice and directing the work of the different departments of the state.

* Dr. Mohd. Azher Ansari. M.A. (D. Phil.), Lecturer in History, University of Allahabad

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taires, mais d'un groupe de population civile, originaire de Barqa (*Nudjum*, éd. du Caire, IV, p. 47).

(16) CASANOVA, *Citadelle*, p. 531, 544; DJABARTI, II, p. 6; III, p. 93, 154; IV, p. 314; traduction française, III, p. 241; VI, p. 178, 291. Je ne puis que protester contre l'ignorance ou le laisser-aller du traducteur arabe de mon Index de Djabarti, lequel, au lieu de Bab al-Barqiya, a lu : Bab al-Bakriya (باب البكريّة).

(17) IBN MUYASSAR, p. 80; WIET, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, IV, p. 275.

(18) DERENBOURG, *Vie d'Ousama*, p. 250-251; *Hist. de la Nation égyptienne*, IV, p. 286; SCHLUMBERGER, *Campagnes du roi Amaury*, p. 36, 47.

(19) *Ousama*, p. 272; QALQASHANDI, III, p. 358. C'est en ce sens qu'il faut corriger les renseignements que j'ai autrefois fournis (*CIA, Égypte*, II, p. 220; *Hist. de la Nation égyptienne*, IV, p. 292).

(20) *Oumara*, p. 271-273, 277, 283, 285-286.

(21) Épisode qu'on retrouve dans un conte (GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, *Cent et une Nuits*, p. 101-102).

(22) MAQRIZI, I, p. 439; II, p. 12; RAVASSE, *Essai*, II, p. 55-56; *CIA, Égypte*, II, p. 220.

(23) *Ousama*, p. 239-240; *Oumara*, p. 286-287; GROUSSET, *Histoire des Croisades*, II, p. 350.

(24) MAQRIZI, II, p. 12, 78; *Oumara*, p. 106, n. 2, 280, 285, n. 9.

(25) MAQRIZI, I, p. 338; trad. Casanova, III, p. 284.

(26) *Oumara*, p. 314, n. 2; MAQRIZI, I, p. 339; trad. Casanova, III, p. 287; CASANOVA, *Citadelle*, p. 652; SCHLUMBERGER, *Campagnes du roi Amaury*, p. 203-204.

(27) MAQRIZI, II, p. 326; *Nudjum*, IX, p. 205.

(28) ZETTERSTEEN, *Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, p. 226; MAQRIZI, II, p. 425; *Nudjum*, XI, p. 13, 84, 219, 279.

(29) DJABARTI, III, p. 25-26, 182; trad., VI, p. 56; VII, p. 20.

(30) DJABARTI, III, p. 154, 159; trad., VI, p. 291, 302.

(31) DJABARTI, III, p. 271; IV, p. 57, 126; trad., VII, p. 243; VIII, p. 122, 375.

(32) DJABARTI, III, p. 160; trad., VI, p. 303.

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AKBAR,

HÉRÉTIQUE OU APOSTAT?

PAR

AZIZ AHMAD

L'expérience de loin la plus audacieuse qui ait jamais été tentée dans toute l'histoire de l'éclectisme est celle qu'entreprit dans l'Inde musulmane l'empereur mogol Akbar (1556-1605). Né dans une période difficile, après que son père, dépossédé de son empire, se fut enfui en Perse, Akbar ne reçut pas l'éducation habituellement réservée aux princes de la dynastie. Il était presque illettré et s'en faisait gloire. « Les prophètes, disait-il, étaient tous illettrés. Les croyants devraient donc maintenir dans cet état l'un de leurs fils ⁽¹⁾. » Akbar était un homme d'une profonde piété ou, plus exactement, un homme désespérément voué à la recherche d'une religion.

Dans sa jeunesse, il accepta aveuglément les dogmes de la religion orthodoxe traditionnelle et professa un culte quelque peu exagéré pour les saints Čištīs, morts ou vivants. Jusqu'en 1579, il alla se recueillir presque chaque année ⁽²⁾ sur la tombe de Mu'in al-dīn Čištī, à Ajmer où il avait effectué, à pied, en 1567, un pèlerinage pour rendre grâce au saint de la conquête de Čittor ⁽³⁾.

A cette époque, le soufisme avait toutefois perdu en Inde de sa vigueur et de son dynamisme, et les esprits orthodoxes, d'une extrême intolérance, faisaient la guerre aux mouvements alfis. Le soufisme s'était assoupi dans l'ordre Čištīs après Khwajā Muḥammad Gesūdarāz, et

ANGLO-MUGHAL COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

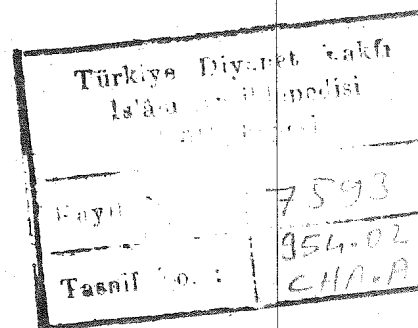
1583-1717

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CHAPTER I

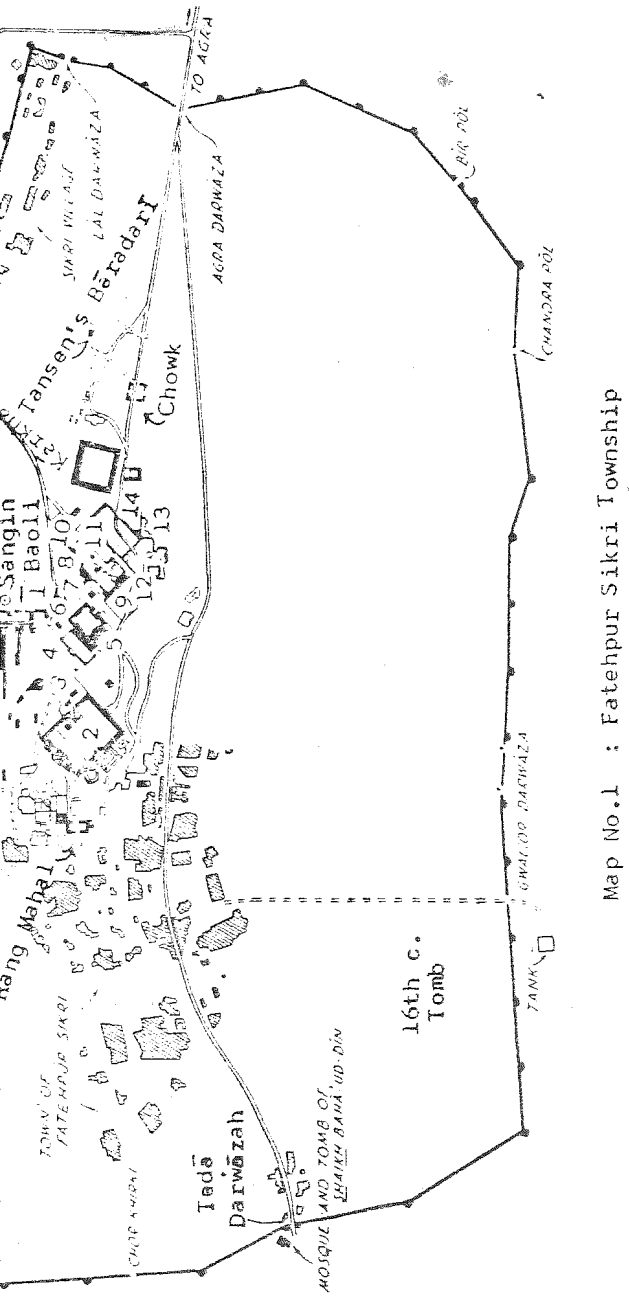
THE FIRST ENGLISH COMMERCIAL MISSION TO THE COURT OF AKBAR : RALPH FITCH

(1583-1591)

1. The Background :

The first Englishman who arrived at India on a commercial mission to the court of Akbar in 1584 was Ralph Fitch, a merchant adventurer of England.¹ To understand how this contact took place it is necessary to look backwards.

As early as September 1581 the new Levant or Turkey Company had been established to carry on trade with Turkey by the Syndicate of merchants of London headed by Sir Edward Osborne, Lord Mayor of London for sometime and Richard Staper, a London merchant. The Company managed to obtain some commercial privileges from the Government of Turkey under the reign of Sultan Murad III (1574-95).² Subsequently, they turned their attention towards India. The factors responsible for this diversion are not definitely known. It is, however, believed by several modern writers that the letter of Father Thomas Stevens³ written from Goa (1579) to his father, a London merchant, had a deep commercial significance and stimulated the business instincts of the English merchants. But the matter is highly controversial.⁴ Another plausible factor may be found in the efforts of the Turkey Company or the new Levant Company to open an overland trade to the East Indies. Their traders carried merchandize 'from Aleppo to Baghdad



Map No.1 : Fatehpur Sikri Township

Reference on page 159

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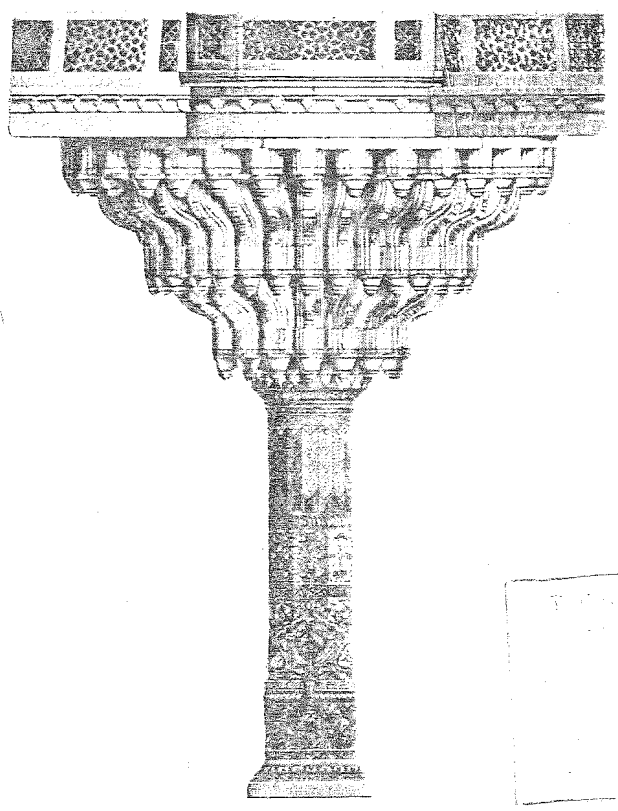
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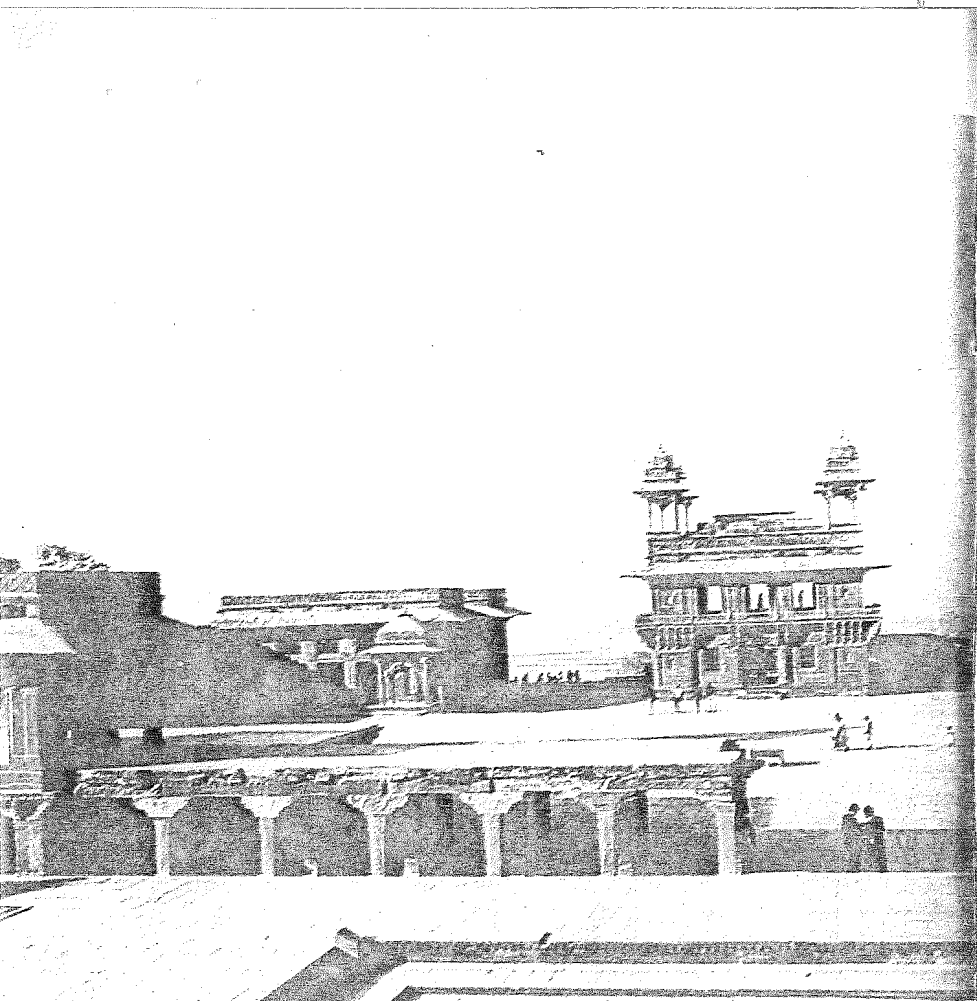
AKBAR
(1556-1605 A.D.)

(The Age of Personality Architecture)

R. NATH



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Fatehpur Sikri

CHAPTER I

THE MAKING OF AKBAR'S PERSONALITY AND THOUGHT



Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar was born and brought up in sheer adversities and his early fourteen years' life from his birth (on 5th Rajab 949 A.H. 15th October 1542) to his accession to the throne (on 2nd Rabi'ul-Ākhir 963/14th February 1556) is a nerve-breaking, pathetic story which has been oft-repeated, with more or less details. It was, in fact, on this foundation and with this metal that his personality was made up. An iron-will and firm determination; courage and enthusiasm to begin and pursue to its logical end any revolutionary measure; lion's fearlessness; dare-devil initiative and discretion; inexhaustible resourcefulness, more than Sher Shah possessed; indefatigable energy, perseverance and dedication to work; keen understanding and *Sahaja-Buddhi*, that common sense which enables one to look to the root of the problem; Jāt-simplicity on the one hand, and grace and dignity of the House of Timūr on the other; and an unquenchable thirst for truth and knowledge—these were his personal assets which his early life and its sufferings had bestowed upon him. He was a genius-flower which blossomed in hardships and brazen realities of a medieval life. It may appear to be a paradox but the fact stands out that most of the great men of India have always been simple fellows with a similar background; they founded Empires, while those who inherited them 'with a silver spoon in mouth' always spoiled the things. This is the difference between Babur and Humayun and, more eloquently, between Akbar and Jehangir.

Akbar's heritage also contributed substantially to the making of his personality and thought, primarily his liberal outlook. He belonged to the Chaghtais and the House of Babur was distinguished for a distinctive Culture (Tahzīb) and Temperament (Mizāj). Both Babur and Humayun, his grandfather and father respectively, were free from any religious taboos and reservations and generously patronised Fine Arts, including Painting and Music. The latter lived at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia and was associated with such a cultured Shia' as Bairam Khān. Shia' connection with the early Mughals was also one of the several influences which worked upon young Akbar's mind, gradually and imperceptibly. Persian Culture had completely diluted Arabic orthodoxy and Akbar could not miss to realize, even in the early phases

Fig. 1 Young Akbar trying a gun (British Library Akbar-Namah)

الاسلام

الصراط المستقيم

الجزء الثاني

— Ekben Sah

كتب فضوله

محمد عبد الله دراز (مصر) ابن خلدون (تونس)
شفيق غزال (مصر) حسن بصرى (تونس)
عمود شلوت (مصر) مظفر الدين صدقي (باكستان)
أبو الفلا عفيفي (مصر) داود س. م. تنغ (الصين)
عمود شهابي (إيران) ب. ا. حسين مجادنت (الهند)

محمد رشدي (الهند)
زعمه دندنه محمد عبد الله بقرقوب
زعمه دندنه نور الدين الواعظ
محرر نعتانم العلامة الكبير عمود كلال

منشورات

دار مكتبة الحياة
بيروت
شركة النبراس
بغداد

نشر بالاشتراك مع
مؤسسة فرانكلين للطباعة والنشر
بغداد - نيويورك

١٩٦٣

فيها الكثير من العلماء والشعراء جاءوا اليها من خراسان والبلدان المجاورة بعد غزو بابر . وما لبث بلاط المغول ان أضحي مركز الحركة الادبية والثقافية الزاخر بالنشاط .

وبعد ان توفي بابر عام ٩٣٧ هـ (١٥٣٠ م) خلفه ولده همايون وهو صاحب ذوق رفيع ، وعالم في الفلك والرياضيات ، ومنشئ اول المدارس والكتليات في الهند المغولية . ولكن حكم همايون كان قصيراً اذ أقصته عن الحكم قوات باتان (Pathan) واضطر الى الالتجاء الى بلاد فارس ، ولكنه عاد - فيما بعد - وأعاد فتح شمالي الهند بمساعدة الملك الفارسي .

يبدأ التاريخ الحقيقي للهند المغولية عام ٩٦٣ هـ (١٥٥٥ م) بتولي العرش أكبر بن همايون . وقد تمكن معلمه ورائده الفارسي ، بيرم خان ، من ان يوطئ حكم المغول في الهند ، واكبر لا يزال دون العشرين من عمره ، وكان اكبر عبقرية ألحق بخدمته الكثير من ابناء الهنداكة ذوي الخبرة في ادارة البلاد ، وتمكن أحدهم من ايجاد نظام الدخل الذي سارت عليه الهند منذ ايام المغول حتى ايام الحكم البريطاني بعد ان تم ادخال بعض التعديلات عليه . وفي مطلع القرن الحادي عشر الهجري (السابع عشر الميلادي) كانت البلاد التي يحكمها أكبر ، من خير بلدان العالم ادارة ، وازدهرت فيها الثقافة اكثر من اي وقت مضى .

وبعد خمسين عاماً من حكم أكبر خلفه في الحكم جهانكير من عام ١٠١٤ - ١٠٣٨ هـ (١٦٠٥ - ١٦٢٨ م) ، ثم شاه جهان الذي عرف بانه باني «تاج محل» وصار امبراطوراً من عام ١٠٣٨ - ١٠٧٠ هـ (١٦٢٨ - ١٦٥٩ م) ، ثم خلفه ولده اورنكزيب آخر كبار اباطرة المغول ، وقد توفي عام ١١١٩ هـ (١٧٠٧ م) . ومع ان حكم المغول دام بعد اورنكزيب كان دورهم دور انحلال

لقد اتضح اثر الاسلام في الهندوسية من حركات الاصلاح التي اثارها الاسلام بين الهنداكة في المدة الواقعة بين القرنين الثالث والسادس الهجريين (التاسع والثاني عشر الميلاديين) وكان اول ظهور هذه الحركات بما رافقها من اسماء سنكرة ورامانوجا واتباعها في جنوبي الهند نتيجة للاتصالات الاولى مع المسلمين الذين وفدوا الى الهند سائحين وتجاراً قبل ان تكون ثمة اية فتوحات اسلامية في الهند ولم تمتد حركات الاصلاح الى الشمال حيث كان الحكم من المسلمين الا في وقت متأخر ويبدو ان تأثير الاسلام الاول في الهندوسية جاء - اكثر ما يكون - من مراقبة طقوس الصوفيين وشعائر المسلمين وعاداتهم في حياتهم اليومية .

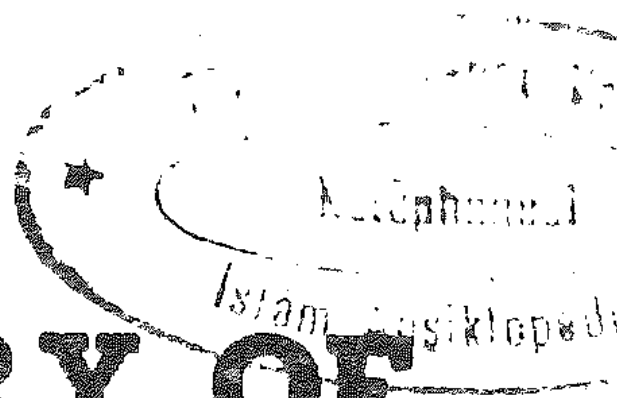
عهد المغول

٩٢٣ - ١١١٩ هـ (١٥٢٦ - ١٧٠٧ م)

يبدأ دور المغول من معركة باني بت عام ٩٣٣ هـ (١٥٢٦ م) عندما انتصر بابر انتصاراً حاسماً على الاسرة اللوديهية ومكنه ذلك من تأسيس حكمه في دلهي وكان بابر - وهو من نسل تيمور - تركياً فخوراً بمحتده معتزاً بنسبه . وكان يتكلم اللغتين الفارسية والتركية . ولكن لأن المغول كانوا متشبهين بالثقافة الفارسية قبل مجيئهم الى الهند كانت اللغة الفارسية هي الاداة التي يستخدمونها في تعابيرهم الادبية اكثر من استخدامهم التركية . وقد وفد الى الهند واستوطن

— نشرت الطريقة وترعرعت على يد الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني .
اشهر مشايخها معروف الكرخي ، السري السقطي ، الجنيد البغدادي ، ابو بكر الشبلي ، عبد الواحد التميمي ، ابو الفرج الطرسوسي ، ابو الحسن قرش الهكاري ، ابو سعيد مبارك الهزومي وعبد القادر الجيلاني .
(ملخصة عن التركية من كتاب - حديقة الاولياء - سلسلة مشايخ قادريه - للخواجه زاده احمد حلمي ط ١٣١٨ هـ باستانبول) .

المراجع



A HISTORY OF PAKISTAN

(PAST AND PRESENT)

Ekber Sah

by

Dr. M. A. Aziz

1979

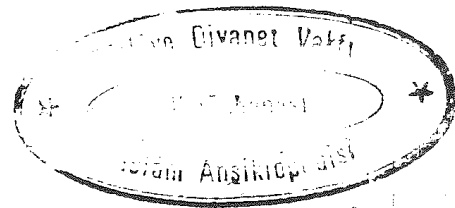
Turkey	8289
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SANG-E-MEEL PUBLICATIONS

Chowk Urdu Bazar, Lahore (Pakistan)

SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

[1206-1707]



M. P. SRIVASTAVA
Department of History
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Kayıt No.	7493
Tasnif No.	954.02 581.5

CHUGH PUBLICATIONS
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Akbar's tomb. This tomb is in a village known as Sikandra. It is a huge structure planned by Akbar himself³⁷ during his life time, but it took many years in building and was completed in 1612.³⁸ This mausoleum is not a conventional Muslim tomb; it is quite unlike any other ever built in this country. In design it is like a *Buddhist Vihar*. The Akbar's tomb is of a pyramidal form, 100 feet high, and stands on a high terrace in the centre of a very extensive and well-laid out garden. Its beauty is set off by four graceful minarets of white marble, one at each corner. According to Percy Brown no other monument in northern India had an *elegant* minaret of this type before Akbar's tomb was built at Sikandra.³⁹ The double arched gateway of this tomb is embellished on both sides with inlay work of exquisite beauty.

The mausoleum itself is a five-storeyed building and looks like "a low truncated pyramid", each storey of which grows smaller than the one below it. It stands on a raised platform 339 feet square. At the head of the tombstone is inscribed in bold relief the expression 'Allah-hu-Akbar' (God is great) and at its foot 'Jall-e-Jalal-Hu'. There is at the head of the tomb-stone, a small half pillar with a circular niche. Ninety-nine names of God are inscribed in Arabic around the tomb. According to Fergusson the total height of the building now is a little more than 100 feet to the top of the angle pavilions, and the central dome 30 or 40 feet higher, which is the proportion that the base gives, seems just what is wanted to make this tomb as beautiful in outline and in proportion as it is in detail. Had it been so completed, it certainly would have sank next to the Taj, among Indian Mausoleums.⁴⁰ But Percy Brown says that the monument, as it is, including its upper storey, is complete. "In many respect", he says, "the unroofed terrace and its refined treatment is an appropriate finish to the building as a whole."⁴¹ Havel says that Akbar's tomb is a worthy monument of one of the greatest of Indian rulers."

(37) V. A. Smith Akbar the Great Mughal, p. 42

(38) H. G. Rawlinson; India-A Short Cultural History. p. 360

(39) Indian Architecture (Islamic Period) Vol. II p. 107

(40) James Fergusson; History of Indian and Eastern Architecture Vol. II p. 309

(41) Indian Architecture (Islamic Period) Vol. II p. 103

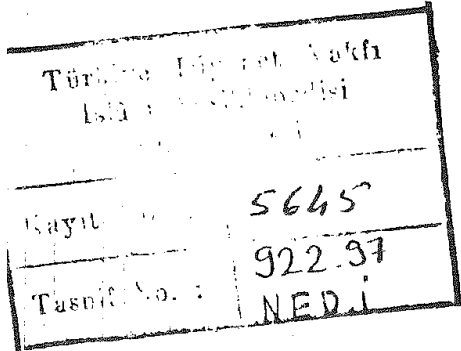
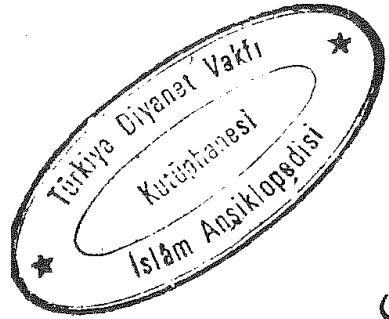
الملك أكبر (63-78) ٧١١١

الإمام السهروردي

حياته وأعماله

تأليف

أبو الحسن علي الحسيني الندوي



الباب الثاني

عهد الملك أكبر ، والفترتان المتعارضتان في حياته

حياة الملك أكبر الدينية ، وتدينه :

يجمع المؤرخون للهند ولعهد الملك أكبر - بصفة خاصة - على أن «أكبر» بدأ حكمه ومباشرته للإدارة ، ملماً راسخ العقيدة ، متنسكاً مع التقشف في الحياة والمغالاة في العقائد ، ونقطة للدلالة على ذلك من الكتاب الشهير «منتخب التواريخ» للعلامة عبد القادر البديوني (م ١٠٠٤ هـ) - الذي يعد من مشاهير العلماء ، وكبار مؤلفي البلاد في العهد الأكبري ، ومؤرخي عهده - وقائع متناثرة من تلك الفترة الأولى لعهد الملك أكبر ، ونبذة من أحواله وسيرته ، حين كان مسلماً ساذجاً على طريقة سلفه الملوك من آل تيمور ، وكان - لعدم تلقي الدراسة ، وتأثير البيئة المحيطة ، وتقاليده عصره - الذي عمّت فيه البدع والمغالاة في تعظيم المشايخ ، واعتقاد مكانهم من الله ، وشفاعتهم للناس ، وزيارة الضرائح والمشاهد - يشد الرحال لزيارة قبور الصالحين من المشايخ المعروفين ، وكان يعاقب الناس على مخالفة عقائد الجمهور ، وقلة التدين ، وضعف الاعتقاد ، وكان يقدم النذور إلى ضرائح الأولياء والصالحين ، ويشغل بالأذكار والأوراد في شغف واستغراق ؛ ويصاحب العلماء والصالحين ، ويحضر مجالس «السماع» .

ولا بأس بنقل تصريحات العلامة عبد القادر البديوني عن تدين الملك أكبر ، ومغالاته في العقيدة والدين ، إذ أن ذلك مما اتفق عليه المؤرخون ، وهو جانب مشرق من حياة «أكبر» فلا يتهم الشيخ عبد القادر بالنيل منه ، والخط من شأنه ، وأنه كتب ذلك تحت ضغط عاطفة الكره والمعاداة ، أو التعنت والعناد .

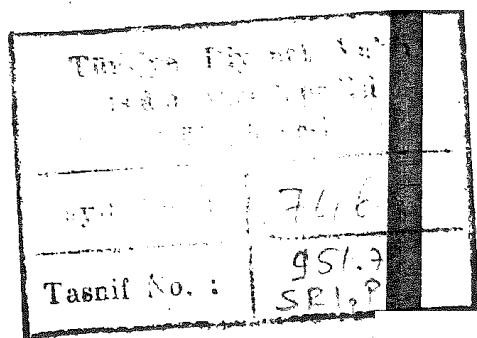
أما الفترة الثانية من حياة الملك أكبر - وهي الفترة التي قام فيها بنشر نظرية

POLICIES OF THE GREAT MUGHALS



-Elber Leht

M. P. SRIVASTAVA M.A., Ph.D.



CHUGH PUBLICATIONS

Konu 145-153 sayfaları arasındadır

7

DAKHIN POLICY OF THE MUGHALS

The first two Mughal emperors had no leisure to think seriously of conquering the south India. Babur was, no doubt, interested in the affairs of the south and took note of the political developments there, as is clear from his autobiography, but his career in India was so short that he could not conquer even the whole of Northern India. Humayun's tumultuous career concerned itself with the affairs of Northern India. The acquisition by Mughal Kings of Kabul, Kashmir, Sind, Baluchistan and Kandhar completed their conquest of Northern India and the position of the Mughal Empire was greatly consolidated. This diverted their attention towards the South. It was Akbar's long-cherished desire to bring the Shia Sultanates of the South under his own sway. After he was successful in establishing his authority in the North, he found himself at leisure to turn his attention towards the South.

Akbar was the first Mughal Emperor to formulate a concrete scheme for conquest of the South. In this, he only followed the traditional policy of the early rulers of Hindustan such as, the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Khiljis and the Tughluqs. Akbar's Dakhin policy sought to realize two objects, namely, (1) the establishment of an all-India empire with himself as its head, and (2) driving away the Portuguese, who were rising into importance as a political power, to the sea. Being an imperialist of the type of ancient Indian Kings like Chandra Gupta Maurya or Samudra Gupta, Akbar desired to achieve the distinction of *Chakrvartin*



THE HISTORY OF HUMĀYŪN (HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA)

BY
Gul-Badan Begam (Princess Rose-Body)

EKBER SAH

*Translated with Introduction, Notes, Illustrations and
Biographical Appendix and reproduced in the Persian
from the only known MS. of the British Museum*

Annette S. Beveridge

Tasni	7618
Kay	954.02
Tasni	BEG-11

ORIENTAL REPRINT



556-77

Adam Gbakkhar who had made over Kāmran to Humāyūn; that they saw two rhinoceroses, an event which makes one wonder whether there still remained a part of the ancient lake of the plain of Peshāwar to serve as habitat for the huge and now vanished beasts; and that they crossed the many-memored Khaibar.

In Kābul the admiral saw Humāyūn's two sons, Muḥammad Hakim and Farrukh-fāl, who were born in the same month of 1553, one being the child of Māh-chūchak and the other of Khānīsh *aghā Khwārizmī*. This statement is a surprise, because Bāyazīd says that Farrukh died within a few days of birth. The admiral's information suggests an error in Bāyazīd's MS.

Sidī 'Alī found Kābul beautiful and speaks of its snowy girdle, its gardens and its running water. He traced pleasure and merriment and feasting everywhere, and even instituted comparison between it and Paradise to the disadvantage of the latter. But he had no time for 'frivolities,' and thought only of hurrying home. He saw Mu'nim Khān in the city, and being told by him that he could not cross the passes, observed that men had overcome mountains, and under the care of a local guide whose home was on the road, accomplished the feat with labour and safely. He took the road to Tāliqān and there saw our well-known friends, Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm, but he is silent as to Hāram. Here, too, he wrote and offered his ghazel, and was both welcomed and speeded. In Tāliqān we must leave him who has been a welcome new figure amongst familiar actors.

SECTION III.—UNDER AKBAR.

Protected by the capable men who upheld Akbar, the royal ladies had not again to flee before foes or to suffer violent change of fortune. Humāyūn had planned their journey from Kābul to India. Akbar more than once in his first year of rule had to cancel the orders he had given to effect it. Three military affairs disturbed the plan,—the suppression of the revolt of Abū'l-ma'ālī, the operations

ABDUL QADIR BADAUNI

As a Man and Historiographer

Ehberghah

(Bedouin in an
Arabian desert
reaching home)

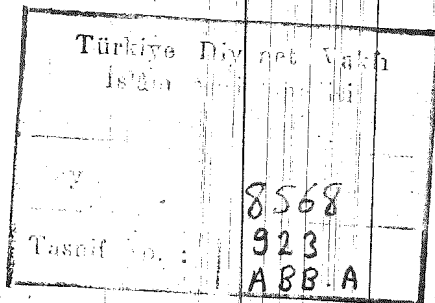
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With a Foreword by
Prof. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami



Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli
2009 Qasimjan Street
Delhi-110006



5

Badauni's Reaction to Akbar's Religious Ideas

Initially on joining the court Badauni was impressed by the Emperor. He records some of the characteristics of the Emperor in the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, his memoirs, which he wrote in secret. The Emperor showed interest in the various departments of the Empire and had reverence for *Shaikhs* and *Ulema*. The Emperor was liberal and kind,¹ and constructed charity houses for the poor.² He was broad-minded and far-sighted,³ vigilant⁴ and deeply interested in art and architecture.⁵ Badauni has cited examples when the Emperor forgave his foes.⁶ Prior to the promulgation of the *Din-i-Ilahi*, Badauni considers Akbar to be a religious man who considered it his duty to visit the tombs of *Shaikhs* and holy men, especially the tomb of Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti at Ajmer.⁷ After victory at a battle, the Emperor often went on foot to pay his homage to Ajmer.⁸ Akbar's reverence for *Shaikhs* increased after the prophecy of Shaikh Salim Chishti, in connection with the birth of Salim, came true.⁹ Salim

1. Badauni, Vol. II, pp. 16, 38, 75-76, 97, 171, 348.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 66, 164, 165, 166, 145-146.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75, 97-98, 145, 367.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. p. 74, 132, 173.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 104-105, 108, 123-124, 139, 165, 238-239.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

Badauni's Reaction to Akbar's Religious Ideas

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was born in the *Shaikh's* hospice on the 30th of August 1569¹ and as a thanksgiving Akbar had a lofty palace built on the top of the hill of Sikri near the monastery and old prayer house of the *Shaikh*. In addition to this, Akbar also laid the foundation of a new prayer house and a high and spacious mosque of stone.² Murad was also born there on the 7th of June 1570³ while Daniyal was born in the *dargah* of Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti on the 10th of September 1572⁴.

Badauni records that in March 1568,⁵ while hunting in the neighbourhood of Alwar, Akbar separated himself from the camp and went to Narnouli and there he paid homage to Shaikh Nizam and entreated his blessings.⁶ In the year 1569-70⁷ Akbar had Mirza Muqim of Isfahan put to death on the charge of being a *shiah*.⁸ Earlier in 1566-67⁹ on the request of the courtiers, Mir Murtaza's body was exhumed from the neighbourhood of Khusru's grave as he was a *shiah*.¹⁰ Badauni also records that Akbar would sit alone in the early mornings in a quiet lonely spot in a pensive and contemplative mood¹¹ and he tried to imitate the example of Sulaiman Karani.¹² It was his feeling of reverence for *Shaikhs* and *Ulema* that Akbar felt intense joy at the news of the coming of Mirza Sulaiman, a *sahib-i-hal*,¹³ from Badakhshan.¹⁴ During some months of 1575-76¹⁵ Akbar observed silence having stopped all ingress and egress to mankind, as he wished to practise retirement of a monastic solitude.¹⁶

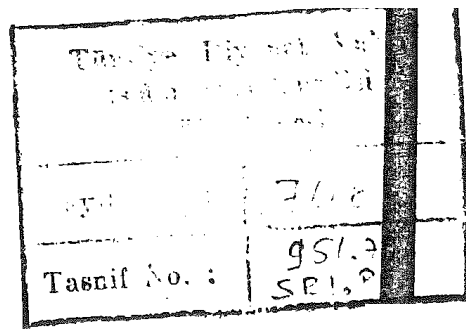
1. 17th *Rabi-ul-awwal* 977 A.H.; Badauni, Vol. II, p. 120.
2. Badauni, Vol. II, pp. 108-109.
3. 3rd *Moharrum* 978 A.H.
4. 2nd *Jama-di-ul-awwal* 980 A.H.
5. *Ramzan* 975 A.H.
6. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 105.
7. 977 A.H.
8. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 124.
9. 974 A.H.
10. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 99.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 200; Roychoudhury, p. 67.
12. Ruler of Bengal between 1563-1573 who was succeeded by his imperious son Daud.
13. A person of *sufi* tendencies.
14. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 201.
15. 983 A.H.
16. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 200; Roychoudhury, p. 53.

POLICIES OF THE GREAT MUGHALS



Ekber Jan

M. P. SRIVASTAVA M.A., Ph.D.



CHUGH PUBLICATIONS

Sehwan. Jani Beg was taken to the court where he was treated well. He was also given a high rank of 5,000.¹¹ and Thatta was restored to him as a mark of royal favour.

Akbar paid a second visit to Kashmir in 1592 and on his return to Lahore in December of the same year, he received the news of the conquest of Orissa by Raja Man Singh. Orissa was attached to the Suba of Bengal and it remained to form its part till 1751. In 1595, Bulochistan was conquered by Mir Masum and was annexed to the Empire. Akbar was victorious from all sides and his enemies had been over powered. Abdulla felt happy that Akbar did not co-operate with Abbas for declaring war against him. He became friendly and tried to live at peace with Akbar. Thus Kashmir, Bulochistan and Kandhar were conquered and annexed, and all uprising, large and small, were put down. No longer could Abdullah exploit Akbar's position for his own benefit¹² and we find that the North-western Frontier was made secure.

Akbar's relation with Persia : Humayun had seized Kandhar from his brother Kamran with the help of the Persian troops. Humayun must have seen the importance of possessing Kandhar which commanded the principal route between India and the countries of western Asia. The Shah acquiesced in this forcible seizure for the moment because he had to defend his country against his formidable enemies the Turks and the uzbeks in the 16th century. Humayun granted Kandhar as a fief to Bairam Khan his Shia minister, and Bairam Khan entrusted it to Shah Muhammad Qandhari to govern it in his name. When Akbar ascended the throne trouble began as Bahadur Uzbeg tried to seize Kandhar. Shah Muhammad invited Persians to occupy the city as he could not get help from Delhi. Akbar admitted the lagitimacy of the Persian claim to Kandhar hence Shah Muhammad obeyed the order of the Emperor and from this time Kandhar

11. Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 252.

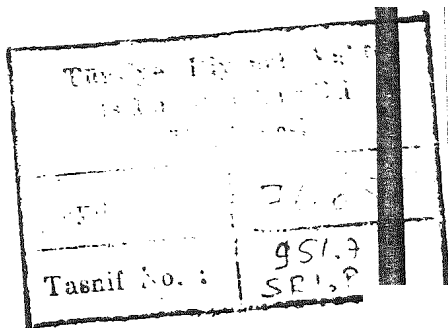
12. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 363.

POLICIES OF THE GREAT MUGHALS

- Ekber Sah



M. P. SRIVASTAVA M.A., Ph.D.



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3

RAJPUT POLICY OF THE MUGHALS

The contemporary records show that Babar and Humayun had come into close contact with the rulers of Amber, Mewar, and had fought with them, but they could not subjugate them completely. These Mughal emperors did not have enough statesmanship in them to realize the importance of an alliance with the Rajputs and to appreciate the value of their co-operation and friendship. The credit must be given to Akbar who revolutionized the Mughal policy towards the chiefs of Rajasthan. But Akbar's treatment of the Rajputs was not the outcome of thoughtless sentiment or a mere chivalrous regard for their valour, generosity and patriotism. It was the result of a deliberate policy and was based on the principles of enlightened self interest, recognition of merit, justice and fair play. As his Muslim nobles and officials had been far from loyal and had rebelled again and again and as the Afghans in the country were the sworn enemies of his royal house, Akbar decided to seek the co-operation of the Rajputs and use them as a counterpoise against his self-seeking Muslim nobles and officials.¹

Akbar was by nature a tolerant and broad-minded sovereign. He sympathized with the Hindus and sought their friendship. Akbar was born under the sheltering roof of a Hindu and shortly after his accession, relations developed between him and the Rajputs which have been of wide significance in the history of Hindustan; for it was precisely from this race that he not only

Rajput Policy of the Mughals

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drew friends but some of his most influential counsellors and distinguished generals.² The Rajputs were the military leaders of the Hindu community. They were the best fighting men of India and it was necessary for him to subdue or conciliate them if his empire was to rest upon solid foundations. Akbar became more inclined to extend his favour to them and to make them sharers in developing the grandiose plan of the empire, knowing no distinction of caste and creed when men like Todarmal, Man Singh and Birbal joined his service and impressed him with their genius and ability.

The Emperor's mind rose above the pretty prejudices of his age and he decided to associate the Rajputs with him on honourable terms in his ambitious enterprises.³ It was a well known fact that there could be no Indian empire without the Rajputs, no social or political synthesis without their intelligent and active co-operation.

Moreover, there had already been points of contact between Hindus and Mughals. When Babar was planning the conquest of Hindustan, he several times entered into negotiations—having for their object the dethronement of Ibrahim Lodi⁴—with Rana Sanga, then the most powerful and respected of Rajput chiefs. Like Babar, Humayun was not averse to friendliness with Hindus when this suited his purpose; in his needs, he has sought protection against Shershah from Maldeo, Raja of Jodhpur but without success and the aid he craved was first afforded by the Rana of Amarkot. Another instance of alliance occurred during Bahadur Shah's first siege of Chitor, when its Rana sent an embassy to supplicate Humayun's help.⁵ The native annals of Mewar add the further information that Rani Kurnavati, the noble mother of

1. A. L. Srivastava. The Mughal Empire; p. 503

2. S. Beveridge, The Emperor Akbar, Vol I, p. 144

3. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, The Mughal Empire; p. 210

4. Babar and Humayun, Eraskine, Vol I, p. 462; Tuzak-i-Babri Elliot, Vol IV, p. 264

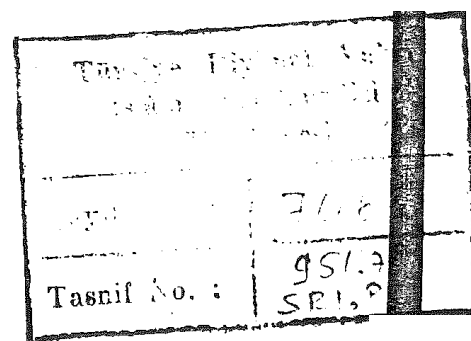
5. Firishtah, Briggs, Vol II, p. 74

POLICIES OF THE GREAT MUGHALS

-Ekber Sah



M. P. SRIVASTAVA M.A., Ph.D.



CHUGH PUBLICATIONS

Konu: 2-15 sayfaları arasındadır

them and maintaining law and order which was necessary for successful cultivation.¹

We also learn that the accepted share of produce to be paid was one-sixth, or less, though the Laws of Manu allowed one-fourth to be taken in emergencies. However, we find that through the ages, the amount of revenue actually collected by the king and their administrators was much greater than that allowed by Manu.

Land revenue, having always been the chief source of income for the royal treasury, was an important issue in the administration of every kingdom.

The first two Mughal Emperors Babar and Humayun allowed the land revenue system of the sultanate period to remain in existence and generally collected revenue on the basis of the old records without surveying the land and ascertaining the actual produce of the soil. It was the time of Akbar (1556-1605), the great Mughal emperor, that a definite system which proved to be workable and profitable for the kingdom, as well as the king, was inaugurated.

Akbar had two main principles which guided him throughout his life in the rule of his empire.

1. To conquer for securing unity.
2. To introduce, as he conquered, principles so acceptable to all classes, to the prince as well as to the peasant, that they should combine to regard him as the protecting father, the unit necessary to ward off from them evil, the assurer to them of the exercise of their immemorial rights and privileges, the asserter of the right of the ablest independently of his religion, caste, or nationality, to exercise command under himself, the

1. Day U. N; The Mughal Government 1556-1707, p. 100

No 570

مجلہ علوم اسلامیہ

Elkber Jan

20 JAN 2011

SUNIL GLEN DOKUMAN

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ڈاکٹر مختار الدین احمد

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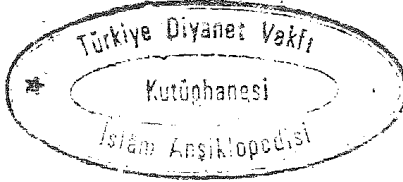
مسلم یونیورسٹی علی گڑھ

تاریخ اکبری معروف بہ تاریخ قندھاری

تالیف: حاجی محمد عارف قندھاری، تصحیح و تحشیہ: حاجی سید معین الدین ندوی مرحوم و ڈاکٹر سید اظہر علی دہلوی مرحوم، نظر ثانی: جناب امتیاز علی عرشی، مدیر کتابخانہ رضا، رام پور، سلسلہ مطبوعات کتابخانہ رضا شماره-۱۱، صفحات: دیباچہ مصحح ۲۷ + متن و حواشی و فہارس ۴۸۷، طبع اول ہندستان پرنٹنگ ورکس رام پور ۱۳۸۲ھ، ۱۹۶۲م قیمت ۱۰ روپے۔

جلال الدین اکبر بادشاہ کے عہد کے تاریخی مآخذ میں، جو کتابیں تالیف ہوئی ہیں اور ہم تک پہنچی ہیں ان میں حاجی محمد عارف قندھاری کی تالیف «تاریخ اکبری» خاصی اہمیت رکھتی ہے۔ یہ اکبر کی حکومت کی ابتدا سے سنہ ۹۸۷ھ تک کے واقعات پر مشتمل ہے اور اس عہد کی تاریخی کتابوں میں جو اب تک منظر عام پر آئی ہیں بہ استثنائے «نفائس المآثر» مصنفہ میر علاء الدولہ قزوینی (جس پر تفصیلی مضمون ڈاکٹر ام ہانی فخر الزماں کا مجلہ علوم اسلامیہ جون ۱۹۶۰ میں شائع ہوا ہے) سب سے قدیم کتاب ہے، حیرت یہ ہے کہ فرشتہ اور عبدالباقی نہاوندی کے سوا کسی مؤرخ نے اپنی کتاب میں اس سے استفادہ نہیں کیا، زمانہ حال میں انگریزی مؤرخ ایلٹ (Elliot) بھی براہ راست اصل کتاب سے استفادہ کے مدعی نہیں۔ «تاریخ اکبری» کے صرف دو نسخوں کا اب تک پتا چلا ہے، ایک نسخہ کتابخانہ رضا رام پور میں محفوظ ہے اور دوسرا جامعہ کیمبریج کے کتاب خانے میں، لیکن عجیب اتفاق کہ دونوں نسخے ناقص ہیں۔ نسخہ کیمبریج، اچانک، اکبر کی اجمیر سے مراجعت فتح پور سیکری (اواخر رجب ۹۸۱ھ) کے ذکر پر تمام ہو جاتا ہے، نسخہ رام پور ۹۸۷ھ تک کے واقعات پر مشتمل ہے۔ پروفیسر C. A. Storey کا خیال صحیح معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ موجودہ نسخہ ایک بڑی اور ضخیم تصنیف کا صرف آخری حصہ ہے،

EKBER ŞAH



İSLÂM TARİHİ

DERSLERİ

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin G. YURDAYDIN

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
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arasındaki üstün ve önemli yerini açıkça belirtmiştir. Hatta o sıralarda Çin imparatoru, Çin'de yaşayan müslüman tebaasının hutbeyi Kanunî adına okumasını kabul etmiştir. Hümayûn'un da Osmanlı sultanlarının padişahlığa layık yegâne hükümdarlar olduğunu ifadeden çekemediği görülmektedir. Seydi Ali Reis Delhi'de bulunduğu sırada 1556'da Hümayûn ölmüş ve bu olay, Seydi Ali Reis'in tavsiyesi ile Ekber Şah tahta geçinceye kadar kimseye duyurulmamıştır. Genç Ekber, tahta geçer geçmez Osmanlılara babasından daha fazla ilgi gösterdiğini ifade eden bir mektubu Seydi Ali Reis ile Kanunî'ye yollamıştır. Ekber, bu mektubunda Kanunî'yi yeryüzünün halifesi, zamanın bütün hükümdarlarının sığmağı ve hükümdarlar arasında çıkan bütün anlaşmazlıkların halledicisi olarak tavsif etmekte, aradaki münasebetlerin devam etmesi dileğinde bulunmaktadır. Halbuki Ekber, sonradan Osmanlı hükûmeti aleyhine siyasi faaliyetlere geçecek ve bir hükümdar olarak kendisinin ilâhî haklarından bahsedecektir.

EKBER DEVRİ (1556 - 1605)

Tam adı Ebu'l-Feth Celâleddin Mehmet Ekber Şah'dır. Ekber, 1556 yılı başlarında tahta geçtiği zaman 13 yaşında idi. Onun yukarıda zikri geçen mektubuna Osmanlı sultanının cevap verip vermediği hakkında bir bilginiz yoktur. Bu sıralarda Osmanlıların Süveyş'te bir kanal açma projesi başarıya ulaşmamış, Pers körfezi ile Hint denizindeki Türk donanmaları yenilmişler, Portekizliler açık denizlere hâkim duruma geçmişlerdir. Ruslar'ın da Kazan ve Astrahan'ı almaları, Seydi Ali Reis'in Kırgız steplerinden Hazer'in kuzey yolu ile dönmelerini imkânsız bir hale getirmiş, o da dönüşünü İran yolu ile yapmak zorunda kalmıştı. Diğer taraftan 1558'de İran Şahı Tahmasb, Kandahar'ı işgal etmiş; Ekber buna karşı koyamamıştı. İran ile olan münasebetler, hac vazifesini yerine getirmenin imkânsızlaşması üzerine daha da kötüleşmişti. Hattâ Ekber'in şeyhülislâmı Mahdûm el-Mülk, hac yollarının karadan, "sapık" Safevîler; denizden de hristiyan Portekizliler tarafından kesilmiş bulunması dolayısıyla hacın Hint müslümanlarını bağlayıcı olmadığı yolunda bir fetva vermişti. 1576'da Şah Tahmasb ölmüş, yerine oğlu II. İsmail geçmiş, durum, biraz düzelmiştir. Bu sırada Ekber ile Portekizliler arasında da bir anlaşmaya varıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Zira Ekber karadan, ya da denizden hac'a gideceklerle genel bir müsaade verdiğini, bunların masraflarının hazinenin karşılanacağını bildirmiştir. İran'da Tahmasb'ın ölümünü takip

كتاب
عبد

EKBER SAH
(262-298)

تاريخ الإسلام في الهند

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الدكتور عبد المنعم النمر

المؤسسة الجامعية للدراسات والنشر والتوزيع

ولكن همايون توفي قبل أن يعود ، فأعلن في البنجاب « المناذرة به سلطانا على عرش أبيه سنة 963 هـ - 1556 م ، وكانت سنة في ذلك الوقت ثلاث عشرة سنة وتسعة شهور ، ولذا قام بيرم خان وصياً عليه ونائباً عنه في أمور السلطنة ، وقبض على ناصية الحكم وأدار دفته ، وكان بيرم خان قائداً قوياً بصيراً بأمور الملك ، اعتمد عليه همايون في منفاه ، وفي استرداد ملكه ، وقد أبلى بلاء حسناً في توطيد الملك لأكبر ، وقمع الثورات والفتن والغارات على دلهي وغيرها ، حتى استتب الأمر له أو كاد .

لم يمكث همايون طويلاً بعد أن انتصر على اسكندر شاه سوري ودخل دلهي ، حتى يتعقب خصومه ، ويقضي عليهم ويقرر أمور مملكته ، بل توفي ولم تقم دولته على عمد راسخة ، وكان أعداؤه الأفغان لا يزالون يقبضون على أكثر البلاد ، فاسكندر شاه سوري ما زال بفلول جيشه ينتهز الفرص لينقض على ملك المغول ، وعادل خان سوري مع وزيره هيمو ما زال في الشرق بقوتها ينتهزان الفرص أيضاً للاستيلاء على أكرا ودلهي واسترجاع الملك مرة ثانية (1) ، وكثير من الأمراء والحكام طمعوا أثناء الفوضى هذه وانحلال عقد السلطنة في أن يستقلوا ، وهكذا واجه أكبر كل هذه الصعاب .

أما عادل خان ووزيره هيمو فقد انتهزا فرصة وجود الملك الصغير

في الهند فإن همايون يعتبر المؤسس الثاني لها بعد أن استعاد ملكه فيها .

ومما تجدر الإشارة إليه أنه كان لمكثه مدة كبيرة في إيران ، ومعاونة امبراطورها الشيعي له ، وقوة نفوذ بيرم خان الشيعي في بلاطه - أثر كبير في وفود كثيرة من الشيعة من إيران والعراق وغيرها إلى الهند ، والعمل في حكومته واتساع نفوذهم في البلاط المغولي . . مما سترى آثاره في عهد « أكبر » ومن بعده من الملوك .

جلال الدين أكبر

963 هـ - 1556 م إلى 1014 هـ - 1605 م

هو جلال الدين محمد أكبر بن همايون بن بابر التيموري ، كانت أمه حاملاً به حين فرت مع أبيه ، حتى إذا بلغت السند وضعت في قلعة « عمر كوت » حيث نزلا ضيفين عند حاكمها من الراجوات في ربيع الأول سنة 949 هـ - فبراير 1542 م ، ثم واصل همايون سيره بأسرته حتى وصلوا إلى قندهار التي كانت تحت حكم أخيه ، ولما علم بأن أخاه يريد القبض عليه والفتك به فر بنفسه إلى إيران ، تاركاً ابنه مع أمه في قندهار عند أخيه ، ولما عاد بعد مدة إلى أفغانستان ، وفتح قندهار وكابل لحق أكبر بأبيه ، حتى إذا تم فتح الهند جعله أبوه حاكماً على البنجاب ، ومعه بيرم خان خانان مستشاراً له وموجهاً ، وعندما وقعت لهمايون حادثة السلم أرسل الأمراء رسولا إلى أكبر في بنجاب يخبره بمرضه ،

(1) يقول المؤرخ فرشته جـ 2 ص 312 : إن الرسول الذي ذهب إليه من دلهي تلاقى معه في « كلانور » وأخبره ب وفاة أبيه وهناك أدبت مراسيم التعزية له وأعلن توليه العرش . .

(2) كان عادل قد فر أمام إبراهيم سوري حين كان وزيره هيمو في البنغال كما سبق .

این کتاب گزارش نکرده است و کسی مدعی نشده که توحید مفضل کنونی غیر از آن است که مفضل بن عمر جعفی از قول امام صادق علیه السلام روایت نموده است، بلکه سیره آنان در نقل و ترجمه و شرح این اثر، نشان از اعتقاد به عدم تحریف و تغییر دارد. البته آقابزرگ طهرانی در الذریعه (ج ۴، ص ۴۸۲-۴۸۳) به این نکته اشاره کرده که ظاهراً بخش دیگر توحید مفضل، در بیان احوال ملکوت اعلا را، که در دوره سیدین طاووس شهرت و تداول چندانی نداشته (← ابن طاووس، ۱۴۰۹، همانجا)، شخصی به نام سیدمیرزا ابوالقاسم ذهبی، معاصر آقابزرگ، یافته و تماماً در کتاب خود به نام تباشیرالحکمه آورده است. به سبب اهمیت خاص توحید مفضل نزد علمای تشیع، کسانی چون سیدین طاووس (همانجا)، همراه داشتن آن را در سفر و مطالعه و تفکر درباره آن را توصیه و بر آن تأکید نموده‌اند. مجلسی آن را ترجمه و شرح کرده و در بحارالانوار (ج ۳، ص ۵۷-۱۵۱) نیز آورده است. علاوه بر او علمای دیگری نیز تاکنون به ترجمه و شرح و تحقیق درباره توحید مفضل پرداخته‌اند و حتی برخی ترجمه فارسی آن را به نظم کشیده‌اند. ظاهراً اولین ترجمه فارسی این اثر را شیخ فخرالدین ترکستانی که مقیم قم بوده، در ۱۰۶۵ به انجام رسانده است (آقابزرگ طهرانی، ۱۴۰۳، ج ۴، ص ۹۱، ۴۸۸؛ فکرت، ص ۱۵۰؛ حسینی اشکوری، ج ۱، ص ۱۳۱).

نسخه‌های خطی متعددی از توحید مفضل به‌جا مانده است که برخی از آنها در ایران (در کتابخانه‌هایی چون آستان قدس رضوی، ملی و آیت الله مرعشی نجفی) و برخی دیگر در خارج از ایران (از جمله در عراق) نگهداری می‌شوند (← حسینی اشکوری، ج ۱، ص ۱۴۴؛ فکرت، همانجا). آقابزرگ طهرانی، بعضی از این نسخ را دیده است (← ۱۴۰۳، ج ۴، ص ۹۱). ظاهراً قدیمترین نسخه خطی این اثر، متعلق به ۱۰۵۶ و به خط عبدالرزاق جیلانی است که در کتابخانه آیت الله گلپایگانی در قم نگهداری می‌شود (← عرب‌زاده، ص ۱۹۷). ترجمه مجلسی از این کتاب که در ۱۰۹۴ به انجام رسیده بود، برای نخستین بار در ۱۲۸۷ در ایران به چاپ رسید. از آن پس تاکنون، متن و ترجمه‌ها و شروح متعددی از توحید مفضل در ایران و عراق و مصر چاپ شده است (← آقابزرگ طهرانی، ج ۴، ۱۴۰۳، ص ۹۱، ۴۸۲-۴۸۳؛ همو، ۱۳۷۳، ج ۲، ص ۱۶۷؛ فاضل، ج ۳، ص ۱۵۱۵). منابع: محمدحسن آقابزرگ طهرانی، الذریعه الی تصانیف الشیعه، چاپ علی نقی منزوی و احمد منزوی، بیروت ۱۳۸۳/۱۴۰۳؛ همو، مصنفات شیعه: ترجمه و تلخیص الذریعه الی تصانیف الشیعه، ج ۲، به اهتمام محمد آصف فکرت، مشهد ۱۳۷۳؛ ابن شهر آشوب،

مناقب آل ابی طالب، چاپ هاشم رسولی محلاتی، قم [بی‌تا]؛ ابن طاووس، الامان من اخطار الاسفار و الازمان، قم ۱۴۰۹؛ همو، کشف المحججه لثمره المهججه، چاپ محمد حسون، قم ۱۳۷۵؛ عبدالله انوار، فهرست نسخ خطی کتابخانه ملی، تهران ۱۳۴۳-۱۳۵۸؛ محمدتقی نستری، قاموس الرجال، تهران ۱۳۷۹-۱۳۹۱، ج ۱۴-۱۲؛ ملحقات، تهران: مکتبه الصدر، [بی‌تا]؛ احمد حسینی اشکوری، فهرست نسخه‌های خطی کتابخانه عمومی حضرت آیت الله العظمی مرعشی نجفی مدظله العالی، قم ۱۳۵۴-۱۳۷۶؛ محمدحسن طوسی، کتاب الغیبه، تهران [؟ ۱۳۹۸]؛ ابوالفضل عرب‌زاده، فهرست نسخه‌های خطی کتابخانه آیت الله العظمی گلپایگانی (قدس سره)، قم ۱۳۷۸؛ محمود فاضل، فهرست نسخه‌های خطی کتابخانه جامع گوهرشاد مشهد، مشهد ۱۳۶۳-۱۳۶۷؛ محمد آصف فکرت، فهرست الفبائی کتب خطی کتابخانه مرکزی آستان قدس رضوی، مشهد ۱۳۶۹؛ ش: اتان کولبرگ، کتابخانه ابن طاووس و احوال و آثار او، ترجمه علی قرائی و رسول جعفریان، قم ۱۳۷۱؛ کلینی، عبدالله مامقانی، تنقیح المقال فی علم الرجال، چاپ سنگی نجف ۱۳۲۹-۱۳۵۲؛ مجلسی؛ مفضل بن عمر، توحید مفضل، ترجمه محمدباقر مجلسی، چاپ باقر بیدهندی، تهران ۱۳۷۹؛ محمدتقی محمد مفید، الارشاد فی معرفه حجج الله علی العباد، با ترجمه و شرح هاشم رسولی محلاتی، تهران [۱۳۴۶ ش]؛ احمد بن علی نجاشی، فهرست اسماء مصنفی الشیعه المشهوره رجال النجاشی، چاپ موسی شبیری زنجانی، قم ۱۴۰۷.

/ پرویز سلمانی /

توحیدی، ابوحنیان ← ابوحنیان توحیدی

تودد ← هزار و یکشب

تودرمل (تُدْرَمِل)، وزیر هندومذهب اکبرشاه در امور مالی. وی از «کاست» (طبقه) کهنری^۱ یا شتریا^۲ در پنجاب بود (هروی، گ ۳۲۵ پ). تودرمل تحت سرپرستی اکبر، که در ۹۶۴ به پادشاهی رسید، رشد کرد و در ۹۷۱ برای خدمت به دربار مظفرخان، از امرای دوره اکبری، به بنگال رفت. در مدت خدمت در دربار مظفرخان توانست تشکیلات امور مالی و درآمد امارت او را سازماندهی کند. به سبب این خدمت و شایستگیهای دیگر، مظفرخان به او لقب «راجه» داد. در ۹۸۱ بعد از فتح گجرات، برای سامان دادن به درآمدهای آن ناحیه منصوب شد، اما مؤلف کتاب طبقات اکبری (هروی، گ ۲۹۶ پ) تاریخ انتصاب وی را ۹۸۴ ذکر کرده است. وی در ۹۸۳ از بنگال قریب پانصد زنجیر فیل با دیگر پیشکشها برای اکبر آورد (همان، گ ۲۸۱ ن). سپس

1. Khatri

2. Kshatria

early Islam. The daughter of Umm Ruman and one of the Prophet's companions, Abu Bakr (the first caliph of Islam after the death of the Prophet), she married Muhammad at a young age. Her intelligence, beauty, and spirited personality are well recorded in historical sources.

The hadith tradition records a unique level of intimacy shared by the Prophet and 'A'isha. They bathed in the same water, he prayed while she lay stretched out in front of him, he received revelation when they were under the same blanket, and he expressed a desire to be moved to 'A'isha's chambers when he knew his death was approaching. Affection and playfulness also characterized their relationship. They raced with each other and enjoyed listening to the singing of Ethiopian musicians together. The Prophet related that when 'A'isha was pleased with him, she would swear "By the God of Muhammad" and when she was annoyed with him she would swear "By the God of Abraham." She regularly engaged the Prophet on issues of revelation and religion. Recognizing her intelligence and perceptiveness, he told the Muslims "Take two-thirds of your religion from al-Humayra," the term of affection referring to the rosy-cheeked 'A'isha.

A scandal once surrounded 'A'isha, who was mistakenly left behind during a caravan rest stop on an expedition with the Prophet. She returned to Medina escorted by a young man who had found her waiting alone. Amid the ensuing gossip and speculation about 'A'isha's fidelity, one of the Prophet's companions, 'Ali, advised Muhammad to divorce her. This caused her to bear deep resentment against 'Ali, which manifested itself in her later opposition to him as Muhammad's successor. Finally a Qur'anic revelation exonerated her of all suspected wrongdoing, proclaiming her innocence. This same revelation established the punishment for false accusations of adultery.

In the lifetime of the Prophet she, together with Muhammad's other wives, was referred to as "Mother of the Believers." She is known to have transmitted approximately 1,210 traditions (hadiths), only 300 of which are included in the canonical hadith collections of Bukhari and Muslim. She is said to have transmitted hadith to at least eighty-five Muslims, as well as to have corrected inaccuracies in the hadiths reported by some of the Prophet's male companions.

After the death of the Prophet, she was critical of the third caliph, 'Uthman, but also called his killers to accountability during the caliphate of 'Ali. Together with the Companions Zubair and Talha, she mobilized opposition to 'Ali, culminating in the Battle of the Camel (656 C.E.). The name of the battle reflects the centrality of 'A'isha's role in the conflict, seated on her camel in the middle of the battlefield. This struggle over succession marked the development of a major civil war (called *fitna*) in Islam, which ultimately contributed to one of the most significant religious and political divisions in the Muslim world. The representations of 'A'isha in subsequent Shi'ite and Sunni polemics reflected some of the

historical antagonisms between the two. Many Shi'ite Muslims reviled 'A'isha, whereas Sunni Muslims embraced her as a revered wife of the Prophet. Tradition holds that she was consulted on theological, legal, and other religious issues, and was also known for her poetic skills. She is buried at al-Baqi in Medina.

See also 'Ali; Bukhari, al-; Fitna; Muhammad; Shi'a; Early; Sunna.

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Sa'diyya Shaikh

AKBAR (1542-1605)

Jalal al-Din Akbar was born in 1542 as his father Humayun fled India before the forces of the Afghan warlord Sher Shah Sur. After thirteen years of exile, his father returned to rule India, but died in a fall in a matter of months. Akbar came to the throne at the age thirteen in 1555. He ruled until his own death in 1605.

Akbar's reputation as the true founder of the Mogul empire rests partly on his own reign of fifty years and partly on the writings of Abu 'l-Fazl, a loyal companion who was Akbar's ardent supporter. Abu 'l-Fazl's *A'in-i Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* presented the image of Akbar as a political genius. Abu 'l-Fazl saw Akbar as the "perfect man" (*insan-i kamil*) of Sufi lore: a master of both the temporal and spiritual realms. He, therefore, inflated Akbar's reputation whenever possible.

In practical terms, Akbar adopted some of the administrative practices of the defeated Sher Shah. As the influence of his grandfather and father's aging courtiers declined, Akbar was free to recruit a new corps of advisors, like Abu 'l-Fazl. These advisors depended on his patronage for their own status. During Akbar's reign, India saw an influx of silver bullion as European traders began massive purchases of Indian cloth. Because of the cash nexus created by increased commerce, Akbar was able to manage a system in which officials received salaries either directly from the imperial treasury or through assignments of the government's revenue

حسان انوشه، دانتشنامه ادب فارسی: ادب فارسی در شبه قاره (هند، پاکستان، بنکلاش)، جلد. چهارم، تهران ۱۳۸۰. ISAM۱۳۷۵۹۹

طب صدیقی

طبقات اکبری

طب صدیقی (teb.[b]-e.sed.di.qi) / صدیقی / صدیق، منظومه‌ای به فارسی در پزشکی، اثر ابوبکر صدیق ناگوری / راجستانی. وی که از پزشکان امرای وابسته به دربار جهانگیر (۱۰۱۴-۱۰۳۷ق) بود و داروها و روش‌های درمانی هندی را خوب می‌شناخت، این اثر را در صد و بیست و دو باب، در بیان روش‌های هندی برای درمان بسیاری بیماری‌ها نوشت. ابوبکر صدیق این منظومه را در ۱۰۲۴ق / ۱۶۱۵م سرود. نسخه‌هایی خطی از این اثر به شماره‌های N.M.1959-102، N.M.1971-294 و N.M.1973-157 در کتابخانه موزه ملی پاکستان و به شماره Tibb.13812 در موزه سالار جنگ نگه‌داری می‌شود که نسخه خطی اخیر در آغاز، پایان و میانه‌اش افتادگی‌هایی دارد. نسخه خطی دیگری هم از این اثر در دارالکتب قاهره نگه‌داری می‌شود که پایان آن نیز کامل نیست.

منابع: تاریخ ادبیات مسلمانان پاکستان و هند، ۷۱۰/۲، ۷۲۲؛ فهرست مشترک نسخه‌های خطی فارسی پاکستان، ۶۱۲/۱-۶۱۳؛ فهرست نسخه‌های خطی فارسی، ۵۵۶/۱؛ فهرست نسخه‌های خطی فارسی موزه ملی پاکستان کراچی، ۱۰۰؛ نزّه الخواطر، ۱۳-۱۲/۵

Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature, 32.

اسماعیل پور

طبی قزوینی (tab.i-ye.qaz.vi.ni)، میر اسماعیل، ز ۱۰۳۶ق، شاعر ایرانی. در «کند [= کن] و سولقان»، که «قصبه‌ای است مابین قزوین و طهران» (میخانه، ۸۵۱)، زاده شد و در قزوین برآمد و در شعر و شاعری دستی یافت. در آغاز جوانی به گشت‌وگذار پرداخت و از جمله تا ۱۰۲۶ق دوبار به هند سفر کرد و دکن و گجرات و بهار و پتنا را گشت و «در عین سیاری در هر دیار استقراری به خود قرار داد، حکام هر ولایت صحبت او را غنیمت انگاشته، بلکه بهترین نصیب خویش پنداشته با او از روی اعزاز و اکرام پیش آمده‌اند و از مجالست او حظی وافر، و از موانست او حلاوتی کامل یافته.» (میخانه، ۸۵۱) تا ۱۰۲۶ق که ملا عبدالنبی فخرالزمانی قزوینی، مؤلف میخانه، در پتنا با طبی دیدار کرد، وی، با این‌که هنوز دیوانی ترتیب نداده بود، نزدیک سه هزار بیت شعر سروده بود. طبی پس از ۱۰۲۶ق به ایران بازگشت، اما بعدها بار دیگر رهسپار هندوستان شد و ملک‌شاه حسین سیستانی، مؤلف تذکره خیرالبیان، در ۱۰۳۶ق در فراه وی را، که عازم هندوستان بود، دیدار کرد. ملک‌شاه حسین درباره طبی می‌نویسد که او ذوق سخن بسیار داشت و از

موسیقی آگاه بود. و در ایران «در اردوی معلی. [لشکر صفوی] در خدمت نواب سیاده پناه عیسی خان بیگ قورچی‌باشی [داماد شاه عباس یکم صفوی] به سر می‌برده است (خیرالبیان). نصرآبادی، طبی را شاعری خوش طبع و شوخ گفته و افزوده است که وی از شاگردان و مصاحبان حکیم شفایی اصفهانی (۱۰۳۷ق) بوده و زمانی چون از خواجه شاپور تهرانی (که نخست فریبی تخلص می‌کرد) رنجیده، این قطعه را در هجو او گفته است: «خواجه شاپور فریبی که مدام از پی رزق - صبح عیدش همه چون شام محرم باشد / دست خشکیده او گر به مثل ابر شود - غمزه گل همه خمیازه شبنم باشد / بس که دلگیر ز همکاسه بود، می‌شکند - کاسه‌ای را که درو صورت آدم باشد.» وی همچنین درباره بیتی بی‌نقطه که کاملای کاشی سروده بود این دو بیت را سروده است: دوش اندر سر بازار شنیدم ز کسی - بیتی از کامل جاهل که شنیدن دارد - از پی آن‌که به خود ره ندهد معنی را - حرف حرفش ز نقط سنگ به دامن دارد.»

منابع: آتشکده، چاپ سادات ناصری، ۱۱۹۵-۱۱۹۴/۳؛ تذکره نصرآبادی، ۳۰۵-۳۰۴؛ الذریعه، ۶۴۴/۹؛ روز روشن، ۴۹۸؛ ریاض العافین، آفتاب‌رای، ۴۱۴/۱؛ شمع انجمن، ۲۷۸؛ کاروان هند، ۸۰۳؛ مخزن‌الغرائب، ۲۹۴/۳؛ میخانه، ۸۵۳-۸۵۱؛ نشر عشق، ۹۵۲-۹۵۱/۳؛ نگارستان سخن، ۵۵.

برزگر

طبقات اکبری (ta.ba.qāt-e.ak.ba.ri) / طبقات اکبرشاهی / تاریخ نظامی، کتابی در تاریخ هند از نظام‌الدین احمد هروی (۱۰۰۳ق). این کتاب که در ۱۰۰۲ق به انجام رسیده و مؤلف در نگارش آن از دستیاری کسانی مانند میرمحمد معصوم بهکری نگارنده تاریخ سند بهره برده نخستین تاریخ مدون درباره پادشاهان مسلمان هندوستان است که در دوره گورکانیان هند نوشته شده و از جهت شیوه تدوین برای کتب تاریخ مانند خود سرمشق بوده است. موضوع آن تاریخ هند و طبقات سلاطین گوناگون آن از سبکتگین غزنوی (۳۶۶-۳۸۷ق) تا سی و هشتمین سال پادشاهی جلال‌الدین اکبر گورکانی (۱۰۰۲ق) است و در سه جلد در یک مقدمه در بیان احوال غزنویان از روی کار آمدن سبکتگین تا برافتادن دولت غزنویان هند (۵۸۲ق)، نه طبقه (۱- شاهان دهلی تا جلال‌الدین اکبر، ۲- شاهان دکن، ۳- شاهان گجرات، ۴- شاهان بنگاله، ۵- شاهان مالوه، ۶- شاهان جونپور، ۷- شاهان سند، ۸- شاهان کشمیر، ۹- شاهان مولتان)

شده است.

منبع: افغان نامه.

آتشين

افغان نويس (af.qān.ne.vis)، عبدالله فرزند ملامحمدخان، محله اچکزيي ها واقع در شهر قديمي کابل ۱۲۷۳- همان جا ۱۳۵۱ش، نویسنده و اديب افغانستاني. وي از پشتون هاي لغمان يا قندهار سابق، واقع در جنوب افغانستان است. پدرش معروف به عرض ييگي از نويسندگان مشهور دربار امير عبدالرحمان خان بود که مقالات بسياري به دو زبان فارسي و پشتو برضد استعمار انگليس مي نوشت و در آن سوي خط ديورند امروزي، مرز افغانستان با پاکستان، پخش مي کرد. عبدالله زبان فارسي را از مادرش (که فارسي زبان بود) و زبان پشتو را از پدرش فراگرفت. نخست نزد دايمي خود، ميرزا مرتضي خان، به فراگيري علوم مقدماتي پرداخت. سپس علوم متداول را از علما و فضلاي روزگار خود، از جمله به سبب پيوستگي پدرش به دربار، از فضلاي دربار آموخت و به آساني به حلقه نويسندگان دربار اميرحبيب الله خان و اميرامان الله خان درآمد. وي گذشته از شغل نويسندگي، در وزارت جنگ و رياست مستقل مطبوعات نيز انجام وظيفه مي کرد. عبدالله در روزگار نخست وزيري سردار محمدهاشم خان و برادرش سردار شاه محمودخان (عموهاي محمدظاهرشاه، آخرين پادشاه افغانستان) رياست دفتر نخست وزيري را برعهده داشت. وي را پس از درگذشتش، در قول آبچکان کابل به خاک سپردند. جز مقاله هاي ادبي و سياسي که به زبان هاي فارسي و پشتو در روزنامه هاي سراج الاخبار، امان افغان، انيس و اصلاح به چاپ رسيدند، آثار ديگري نيز از افغان نويس منتشر شده است. از آثارش: لغات عاميانه فارسي افغانستان* (بلخ، مؤسسه تحقيقات و انتشارات بلخ، ۱۳۳۵ش)؛ افغان قاموس*، به دري و پشتو، در سه مجلد (کابل، مجلد يکم در ۱۳۳۵ش؛ مجلد دوم و سوم در ۱۳۳۶ش)؛ امثال زبان فارسي افغانستان؛ لندي پشتو که اين هر دو اثر، جايزه مطبوعاتي آريانا را به خود اختصاص داده اند.

منابع: فهرست کتب چاپي دري افغانستان، ۲۰-۲۱؛ لغات عاميانه

فارسي افغانستان، عبدالله افغان نويس؛ دست نويس محمد مهدي

مختار.

مختار

اکبرنامه (ak.bar.nā.me)، منظومه اي حماسي تاريخي در جنگ هاي وزير محمد اکبرخان (-۱۲۶۳ق) از قهرمانان تاريخ افغانستان، پسر امير دوست محمدخان فرمانرواي کابل (-۱۲۷۸ق) با انگليسي ها، از حميدالله کشميري (-۱۲۶۴ق). وي اين منظومه را در ۱۲۵۹ق آغاز کرد و در ۱۲۶۰ق به پايان برد. فشرده داستان از اين قرار است که پس از پيکاري پردامنه که ميان شاه شجاع و برادرانش و برادران وزيرفتح خان درگرفت، امارت کابل به امير دوست محمدخان رسيد و رنجيت سنگه بر کشمير دست يافت. سپس ميان رنجيت سنگه و وزير محمد اکبرخان جنگ درگرفت و محمد اکبرخان پيروز شد. پس از مدتي الکزاندر برنس به کابل درآمد و در دربار امير دوست محمدخان پذيرفته شد. شاه ايران با نامه اي امير کابل را از نيت پليد برنس آگاه کرد و برنس به هند بازگشت. حکايت هايي که برنس از کابل به ارمغان برده بود، فتنه شاه شجاع را شعله ور ساخت. سپس انگليسي ها بدون مشورت با شاه شجاع، مرز افغانستان را شکستند. در اين هنگام، امير دوست محمدخان که در رهبري کفايت لازم را نداشت، سپاه را گذاشت و به خلم گريخت و با نامه اي که از امير بخارا دريافت کرد، با همه دودمان و هواخواهانش به دربار امير بخارا پناهنده شد. سپس خود به خلم بازگشت و با نيروهاي انگليسي جنگيد. در اين جنگ کشته بسيار داد. پس از آن، کوهستانيان را به ياري خود خواست و يکي از فرماندهان انگليسي به نام کانولي را کشت. سپس مکناتن با آزمند ساختن سران کوهستان، نيروي پيکارشان را درهم شکست و امير دوست محمدخان تسليم و به هند فرستاده شد. در اين هنگام، برنس از شاه شجاع درخواست که براي امنيت بيشتري شماري از سران را به لندن بفرستد، اما محمدزمان خان، برادرزاده امير دوست محمدخان و از سران قوم، اين پيشنهاده را پذيرفت و به جاي آن دستور قتل وي را داد. خان هاي کابل محمدزمان خان را پادشاه خويش خواندند. در اين ميان جنگ هاي سختي ميان نيروهاي مکناتن و ميهن دوستان درگرفت و قواي مکناتن شکست خورد. سپس وزير محمد اکبرخان و سلطان محمدخان، به درخواست محمد زمان خان به کابل درآمدند. محمدزمان خان، مکناتن را کشت و به بازماندگان سپاه انگليس، به درخواست خودشان، اجازه داد تا از خاک افغانستان بيرون روند، اما در راه جلال آباد آزادي خواهان همه سپاه دشمن را کشتند. شاه شجاع نيز که مي خواست با نيروهاي انگليس به هند بگريزد، در سياه سنگ به دست

بساون، نقاش هندی دربار اکبر شاه (س ۹۶۳-۱۰۱۴/ق ۱۵۵۶-۱۶۰۵ م). وی در طول ۴۰ سال فعالیت هنری (۹۶۸-۱۰۰۹/ق ۱۵۶۱-۱۶۰۰ م) بیش از صد اثر از خود برجای گذاشت (EWA, II/384؛ بیج، ۸۹). از زندگی او اطلاع چندانی در دست نیست، جز آنکه احتمالاً هندو و پدر منوهر نقاش بود (EWA، همانجا؛ بارت، ۸۴). منوهر در یک نقاشی از چهره خود «منوهر ولد بساون» امضا کرده است (کریم زاده، ۱۲۲۶/۳-۱۲۲۷).

بساون شاگرد خواجه عبدالصمد شیرین قلم شیرازی بود. خواجه عبدالصمد و میرسیدعلی تبریزی در دوره صفویه به همراه همایون (س ۹۳۷-۹۶۳/ق ۱۵۳۰-۱۵۵۶ م) به هند رفتند و در آنجا شاگردان زیادی پرورش دادند (ابوالفضل، ۷۷/۱؛ دیبماند، ۶۲؛ EWA، همانجا). به همین سبب، کارهای نخستین بساون تحت تأثیر نقاشی ایرانی است، ولی بعد سبکی خاص خود اختیار کرد (دیبماند، نیز EWA، همانجاها). او مؤثرترین شخص در پیشرفت و تکامل سبک معروف به مغولی هند و مبتکر شکل گیری پرتره‌هایی است که در سده ۱۱/ق ۱۷ م در دوره جهانگیر (س ۱۰۱۴-۱۰۳۷/ق ۱۶۰۵-۱۶۲۸ م) مرسوم شد (بیج، همانجا؛ ولش، ۱۴۹). او پس از دو استاد ایرانی خود و نقاش هندی، دسوته، بهترین نقاش دربار اکبر به شمار می‌رفت. ابوالفضل علامی در آیین اکبری چنین آورده است: «در طراحی و چهره‌گشایی و رنگ‌آمیزی و مانند نگاری و دیگر کارهای این فن، یگانه زمانه شد و بسا از دیده‌وران شناسا او را بر دسوته ترجیح دهند» (همانجا). بساون در آخرین سالهای فعالیت هنریش، سرپرست گروه نقاشان در کتابخانه اکبر بود (بارت، بیج، همانجاها).

بساون توجه خاصی به نقاشی اروپایی داشت. در نسخه طوطی‌نامه (۹۶۷/ق ۱۵۶۰ م) موجود در موزه کلیولند، تأثیر نقاشی اروپایی در کار بساون به خوبی دیده می‌شود. این امر نشانگر آن است که وی مدتی طولانی و به صورت مستمر در آثار اروپایی مطالعه و دقت داشته است (همانجا). با سمه‌های چایی و حکاکیه‌های روی فلز مکاتب فلاندری و آلمانی، به خصوص کارهای دورر^۱ (د ۹۳۴/ق ۱۵۲۸ م) و بهام^۲ (د ۹۵۷/ق ۱۵۵۰ م) که توسط مهاجران پرتغالی و گروه‌های مذهبی زروئیت در اواخر سده ۱۰/ق ۱۶ م به هند آورده شده بودند، در نقاشی هندی به ویژه کارهای بساون مورد تقلید قرار گرفته‌اند (EWA, X/178). با وجود تأثیرپذیری از سبک نقاشان اروپایی، او عناصر هندی و خصوصیت کارهای خود را نیز حفظ کرده است؛ چنانکه در کاری از او که نسخه‌برداری از یک اثر اروپایی است و اکنون در موزه گیمه^۳ پاریس نگاهداری می‌شود، عناصر هندی در آن به گونه‌ای به کار رفته است که می‌توان آن را اثری بازآفرینی شده دانست (نک: EWA, II/385).

هرچند در کارهای بساون پرسپکتیو کامل علمی وجود ندارد، اما او توانسته است از فضاهای معماری و تناسبهای فضایی و سه بعدی

حاکمی، ۱۳۶؛ نیز نک: بساطی، ۴۶۷)، اما همواره با کمال خجندی معارضه و مباحثه داشت (نک: ص ۴۹۲؛ دولتشاه، ۲۶۶؛ مبتلا، ۴۱؛ آزاد، ۱۴۸). بساطی اندکی پس از مرگ خلیل سلطان در سمرقند درگذشت. برخی بر اساس باورهای خود، علت مرگ او را نفرین کمال خجندی دانسته‌اند (احمدعلی، ۳۲۱).

گرچه تذکره‌نویسان بساطی را شاعری کم‌مایه و عامی دانسته‌اند، اما لطافت طبع و خوش ذوقی و شیرین سخنی وی را انکار نکرده‌اند (جامی، علیشیر، همانجاها؛ انصاری، ۳۷). وی در دوره‌ای می‌زیست که تکلف در کلام شعرا راه یافته، و اشعار ایشان آکنده از عیوب لفظی، معنوی، کثرت تشبیهات و فراوانی صنایع شعری و مضمون سازی بود. مجموعه این ویژگیها مقدمات ظهور سبک هندی را فراهم آورد. بساطی به اشعار خود سخت می‌بالید و دیوان خود را «عروس نکوروی بی جهیز» می‌خواند (نک: انصاری، ۲۲۶-۲۲۷). وی مضامین گوناگون را در قالبهای مختلف سروده است (برای نمونه، نک: یارشاطر، ۲۱۰، ۲۱۶، ۲۴۳؛ دولت‌آبادی، ۱۰۰-۱۰۱).

دیوان بساطی تاکنون به چاپ نرسیده، اما نسخه‌های خطی پرشماری از آن در کتابخانه‌های ایران و جهان موجود است (نک: منزوی، خطی، ۲۲۴۹/۳-۲۲۵۰، خطی مشترک، ۲۰۰۹/۹؛ آستان، ۲۵۷، هاشم پورسیبحانی، ۱۶۸؛ همو و آق‌سو، ۲۲۹؛ نورعثمانیه، ۲۳۹؛ آتش، 313-315/I؛ آکیموشکین، 201/I؛ سمنوف، 152/II).

مآخذ: آذر یگدلی، لطفعلی، آتشکده، به کوشش جعفر شهیدی، تهران، ۱۳۳۷؛ آزاد بلگرامی، غلامعلی، خزانه عامره، کانپور، ۱۲۷۹؛ آستان قدس ف، فهرست؛ ابراهیم خان خلیل، علی، صحف، نسخه عکسی موجود در کتابخانه مرکز؛ احمدعلی هاشمی سندیلوی، مخزن الفرائد، به کوشش محمدباقر، لاهور، ۱۹۶۸ م؛ انصاری کازرونی، ابوالقاسم، مرقوم پنجم کتاب سلم السموات، به کوشش یحیی قریب، تهران، ۱۳۴۰؛ لیمان، رحم علی‌خان، منتخب اللطایف، به کوشش محمدرضا جلالی نائینی و امیرحسن عابدی، تهران، ۱۳۴۹؛ بختاورخان، محمد، مرآة العالم: تاریخ اورنگ‌زیب، به کوشش ساجده س. علوی، لاهور، ۱۹۷۹ م؛ بساطی سمرقندی، دیوان، نسخه خطی کتابخانه شماره ۱ مجلس شورا، ش ۲۶۵۶؛ جامی، عبدالرحمان، بهارستان، به کوشش اسماعیل حاکمی، تهران، ۱۳۶۷؛ حاکمی، اسماعیل، «معرفی چند نسخه خطی از دیوان بساطی سمرقندی»، یادگارنامه حبیب یغمایی، تهران، ۱۳۵۶؛ دولت‌آبادی، عزیز، «بساطی سمرقندی»، آشنا، تهران، ۱۳۷۶؛ س ۷، ش ۳۶؛ دولتشاه سمرقندی، تذکرة الشعراء، به کوشش محمد رمضان، تهران، ۱۳۳۸؛ رازی، امین احمد، هفت اقلیم، به کوشش جواد فاضل، تهران، ۱۳۴۰؛ زنوزی، محمدحسن، ریاض الجنة، نسخه خطی کتابخانه ملی تبریز، ش ۳۵۷۸؛ صفا، ذبیح‌الله، تاریخ ادبیات در ایران، تهران، ۱۳۴۶؛ علیشیر نوایی، مجالس النفاث، به کوشش علی‌اصغر حکمت، تهران، ۱۳۶۳؛ مبتلا لکهنوی، مردان علی‌خان، منتخب‌الاشعار، به کوشش محمد اسلم خان، دهلی، ۱۹۷۵ م؛ منزوی، خطی؛ همو، خطی مشترک؛ نورعثمانیه کتبخانه سنده محفوظ کتب موجوده نک دفتردر، استانبول، ۱۳۰۳؛ هاشم پورسیبحانی، توفیق، فهرست نسخه‌های خطی فارسی کتابخانه‌های ترکیه، تهران، ۱۳۷۳؛ همو و حسام‌الدین آق‌سو، فهرست نسخه‌های خطی فارسی کتابخانه دانشگاه استانبول، تهران، ۱۳۷۴؛ یارشاطر، احسان، شعر فارسی در عهد شاه‌رخ، تهران، ۱۳۳۴؛ نیز:

Akymushkin, O.F., *Persidskiye i tajykskiye rukopisi...*, Moscow, 1964; Ateş, A., *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, Istanbul, 1968; Semenov, A.A., *Sobranie vostochnykh...*, Tashkent, 1954.
ایران‌ناز کاشیان

■ الأكاديمية - المجمع

■ الأكاديمية العربية للعلوم والتكنولوجيا والنقل البحري

الأكاديمية العربية للعلوم والتكنولوجيا والنقل البحري، The Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transportation إحدى الوكالات المتخصصة المرتبطة بجامعة الدول العربية. وكانت أصلاً مؤسسة بين مصر ومنظمة الأمم المتحدة باسم المنظمة العربية للنقل البحري. وقد باشرت أعمالها في الإسكندرية عام ١٩٧٢، ثم وسعت قاعدة العضوية فيها فشملت الدول العربية كافة ماعدا الجزائر والمغرب وموريتانية وجيبوتي. ارتبطت بالجامعة العربية بموجب قرار مجلس جامعة الدول العربية رقم ٣٢٥٤ تاريخ ٢٦/٤/١٩٧٥ الذي أقر اتفاقية لإنشائها عام ١٩٧٤. وقد نقل مقر الأكاديمية إلى الشارقة إثر نقل مقر الجامعة إلى تونس عام ١٩٧٩. لكنها أعيدت إلى الإسكندرية أواخر عام ١٩٨٩، وفي هذه المدة ظلت مصر محافظة على أكاديمية الإسكندرية التي ماكانت تضم إلا مصر.

تقوم الأكاديمية بالعمل على تدعيم قطاع النقل البحري وتطويره في الدول الأعضاء وخاصة فيمايلي:

- إقامة بنين بحري وتجاري متطور وفقاً لأحدث النظم العلمية.

- إجراء البحوث والدراسات وتقديم المشورة لمؤسسات وشركات النقل البحري والموانئ العربية بطلب منها.

- التخطيط لضمان استمرار توفير الملاكات العربية اللازمة لإدارة وتنمية وتطوير الأساطيل البحرية التجارية العربية وتشغيلها بمايفي بالاحتياجات المتطورة لشركات الملاحة والموانئ بالدول العربية.

- إعداد هيئة التدريس، على أحدث النظم العلمية، وإقامة نظام كفي للتعليم.

- نشر الوعي العلمي وتشجيع البحوث في المسائل المتعلقة بالنقل البحري والموانئ والدعوة إلى عقد المؤتمرات والندوات في شؤون الملاحة والموانئ.

- إنشاء مكتبة حديثة وإقامة مركز للوثائق يكون على اتصال دائم بالمراكز المتخصصة في مجال النقل البحري.

- العمل على إقامة وتوثيق صلات الأكاديمية مع المنظمات العربية والعالمية المتخصصة ومعاهد التعليم والبحوث العلمية المتخصصة في مجال النقل البحري.

وبموجب الاتفاقية المنشئة للأكاديمية في صورتها الراهنة، وبعد تغيير اسمها إلى ماهو معروف اليوم، تتألف هذه الأكاديمية من الأجهزة الرئيسية التالية:

أ - مجلس الإدارة

ب - الإدارة العامة

ج - الكليات والمعاهد

د - مركز البحوث والاستشارات.

ويتألف مجلس الإدارة من ممثلي الدول الأعضاء في الأكاديمية، ويحضره بصفة مراقب ممثلو الدول العربية غير الأعضاء، وممثل عن جامعة الدول العربية، ومن يرى مجلس الإدارة دعوته لحضور اجتماعاته. ويتولى المجلس وضع السياسة العامة للأكاديمية ومتابعة تنفيذها، وعموماً يختص بالصلاحيات كلها اللازمة لإدارتها. وينعقد المجلس في دورتين كل عام كما تجوز دعوته إلى دورات خاصة.

أما الإدارة العامة فتتضم مديراً عاماً ونواباً عنه وموظفين.

درس وضع الأكاديمية العربية للعلوم والتكنولوجيا والنقل البحري، سواء من حيث فاعليتها أو من حيث ارتباطها بجامعة الدول

العربية ووكالاتها المتخصصة الأخرى ذات الصلة من قبل عدد من اللجان التي أنشأها مجلس الجامعة بين عامي ١٩٧٦ و١٩٧٧. وفي عام ١٩٨٧ اقترحت لجنة الخبراء العرب التي ألفها المجلس الاقتصادي والاجتماعي (قراره رقم ١٠٨٠/د. ج تاريخ ٢٧/٢/١٩٨٦) دمج هذه الأكاديمية بمنظمات متخصصة أخرى في المنظمة العربية للنقل والمواصلات التي اقترحت إقامتها؛ لتنصهر فيها نشاطات كل من مجلس الطيران المدني للدول العربية، والاتحاد البريدي العربي، والاتحاد العربي للمواصلات السلوكية واللاسلكية وماقد يتمخض عنه العمل العربي المشترك مستقبلاً في المجالات الأخرى للنقل والاتصالات. لكن المجلس الاقتصادي والاجتماعي لجامعة الدول العربية بقراره ١٠٥٦/د. ج تاريخ ٥/٦/١٩٨٨ أخذ بديل آخر قدمته لجنة الخبراء. فقد قرر إقامة الأجهزة الفنية في الأمانة العامة للجامعة وتطويرها تحت إشراف وزراء النقل والمواصلات؛ للقيام بمهام المنظمة الكبرى المقترح إنشاؤها، مع مراعاة الوضع الخاص للأكاديمية العربية للعلوم والتكنولوجيا والنقل البحري، فكان أن حُل مجلس الطيران المدني والاتحاد البريدي العربي، والاتحاد العربي للمواصلات السلوكية واللاسلكية؛ في حين بقيت الأكاديمية العربية للنقل البحري منظمة متخصصة مستقلة، ترتبط بالجامعة عن طريق لجنة التنسيق الخاصة؛ بربطها مع المنظمات المتخصصة العربية الأخرى. وينحصر نشاطها الفعلي في تخريج دفعات من المتخصصين في إدارة السفن البحرية التجارية؛ وأصبح اسمها الأكاديمية العربية للعلوم والتكنولوجيا والنقل البحري.

محمد عزيز شكري

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الموضوعات ذات الصلة:

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■ أكبر (جلال الدين محمد -)

(٩٤٩-١٠١٤هـ/١٥٤٢-١٦٠٥م)

حفيد تيمورلنك من الدرجة السادسة. وثالث السلاطين التيموريين في الهند. مولده بإحدى قلاع السند في أثناء فرار والده

في قندهار وتابع فراره إلى إيران. ولم يجتمع بابنه إلا بعد ثلاثة عشر عاماً في كابل، وهو عائد لاسترجاع ملكه. ولما وُفق إلى ذلك عام

«هُمايون» من مغتصب عرشه شير شاه آل سور الأفغاني. وأمه حميدة بنت علي أكبر جامي. ترك هُمايون ابنه، وهو في عامه الأول مع زوجته

A. Moulieras, *Le Maroc inconnu, vingt deux ans d'exploration*, i, Paris 1895, 91-101, "Tribu des Beni Ouriarel", 91-101 with map; Marquis de Segonzac, *Yoyages au Maroc*, Paris 1903, 56; B. Meakin, *The Land of the Moors*, London 1901, 336-9; M. Besnier, *Géographie ancienne du Maroc*, in *AM*, iii (1904); C. R. Leclerc, *Le Maroc Septentrional, souvenirs et impressions*, Algiers 1905; E. Douitté, art. *Alhucemas*, in *EI*¹; I. Bauer, *El Rif y la kabila de Beni Urriaguel*, in *Memorias de la Sociedad española de antropologia, etnografia y prehistoria*, i (Madrid 1921-2); Col. H. de Castries, *Sources inédites, Filaliens*, i, Paris 1922, 86; J. Cazenave, *Les Présides Espagnoles d'Afrique, leur organisation au XVIII^e siècle*, in *R. Afr.*, 1922/2, 255-69, and 1922/3, 457-507; A. Steiger, *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-arabe y de los española*, Madrid 1922; al-Bādisī, *El-maqṣad (viés des saints du Rif)*, annotated French tr. G. S. Colin, in *AM*, xxvi (1926); *Rif et Jbala* (a communication), in *Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc*, lxxi (Jan. 1296) (with bibl.); Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf*, Rabat 1931, 346-7 (*Hadjrat al-Nukūr*); J. Caillé, *La représentation diplomatique de la France au Maroc*, PIHEM, Notes et Documents, viii, Paris 1951, with a complete bibl. of the Compagnie d'Albouzème; Leo Africanus, *Africae descriptio*, French tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 277-8; P. Schmitt, *Le Maroc d'après la géographie de Ptolémée*, Centre de Recherches Piganiol, Tours 1973; A. al-Bū'ayyāshī, *Harb al-Rif al-tahririyya*, Tangier 1974, i, 112-4. (G. DEVERDUN)

① HUSAYN B. 'ALĪ B. HANZALA [see 'ALĪ B. HANZALA, above].

— HUSAYN DJAJADININGRAD [see HOESEIN DJAJADININGRAD, above].

X AL-HUSAYNĪ, ṢADR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. NĀSIR B. 'ALĪ, author of the late Salḍjūk period and early decades of the 7th/13th century, whose work is known to us through its incorporation within an anonymous history of the Salḍjūks and succeeding Atabegs of Ādharbāyḍjān, the *Akhbār al-Dawla al-salḍjūkiyya* (ed. Muhammad Iqbal, Lahore

1933; Tkish. tr. Necati Lugal, Ankara 1943; cf. Brockelmann, I², 392, Suppl. I, 554-5). Al-Husaynī apparently composed the *Zubdat al-tawārikh, akhbār al-umarā' wa 'l-mulūk al-salḍjūkiyya*, which forms the first part of the longer, anonymous work. The *Zubda* was in turn based on the history of the Salḍjūks by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Īsfahānī [q.v.], continued up to 590/1193-4, the date of the death of the last Great Salḍjūk sultan, Toghrlī III. The author of the *Akhbār al-dawla al-salḍjūkiyya* then continued his own work with the history of the Atabegs of Ādharbāyḍjān, either up to 620/1223-4 or 622/1225-6, the latter being the date of the deaths of the caliph al-Nāṣir [q.v.] and of Özbek b. Pahlawān [see ILDEŪZIDS].

There are considerable problems regarding both al-Husaynī and the anonymous author and their respective works, which have been discussed by K. Süsseheim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im Britischen Museum zu London verwahrten Chronik des Seldschukischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1911, by M. T. Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, in *AO*, iii (1925), 145 ff., by Lugal in the Introd. to his translation of the *Akhbār*, by Cl. Cahen, *Le Malik-nāme et l'histoire des origines seljukides*, in *Oriens*, ii (1949), 32-7, and by Angelika Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225), Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten 'Abbāsidenzeit*, Berlin 1975, 17-18.

It seems that al-Husaynī's name became attached to the *Akhbār* through a copyist's mistake, the real author being, in Hartmann's view, an official in the administration at Baghdād. As for al-Husaynī, he remains an enigmatic figure; he was apparently an 'Alid, and may conceivably be identical with the "al-Ṣadr al-Adjall, Ṣadr al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn" of Nishāpūr, historian and poet, whom 'Awfī [q.v.] mentions and knew personally in the early 7th/13th century, see his *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 125-7.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

— HUT [see SUKNA]

— HYDROMANCY [see ISTINZĀL]

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I

IATROMANCY [see FIRĀSA, ISTIKHĀRA]

✦ 'IBĀDAT KHĀNA, literally "House of Worship", the name of the chamber or building where religious discussions among theologians were held under the patronage of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. It was constructed by Akbar at Fathpūr Sikrī [q.v.] the seat of his court, in 983/1575. He was then interested in finding a common interpretation of Muslim law, and invited Muslim jurists and theologians to hold discussions with a view to resolving their disputes; he was himself present at many of these. It was discovered, during the course of discussions, that Muslim orthodoxy was divided not only on the fine points of law but also on basic principles. Akbar's subsequent disenchantment with Muslim orthodoxy were ascribed by Badā'ūnī to the effects of the open and bitter theological disputes of the 'Ibādat Khāna. Akbar then enlarged the scope of the debate by inviting non-Muslim divines to discussions in the 'Ibādat Khāna, and Hindus,

Christians and Parsees could now explain articles of their faith and engage in controversy with Muslim divines. The *Dabistān-i madhāhib* contains an interesting record of these discussions among representatives of various religions.

With the *maḥḍar* of 987/1579, when Muslim theologians set forth high claims for Akbar as an interpreter and enforcer of Muslim law, the 'Ibādat Khāna sessions seem to have ended. The *maḥḍar* did not win much support among Muslims; and Akbar himself began to hold larger religious views. Moreover, he left Fathpūr Sikrī soon afterwards, and his sessions with such religious divines as appeared at his court were held elsewhere.

The actual building of the 'Ibādat Khāna at Fathpūr Sikrī has not been properly identified.

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ASMA AFSARUDDIN

Akbar

Abū l-Faṭḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad **Akbar** (949–1014/1542–1605, r. 963–1014/1556–1605) was the third Tīmūrid ruler in South Asia and the effective founder of the Tīmūrid empire. Although Akbar's grandfather Bābur (r. 888–99/1483–94) brought Tīmūrid sovereignty south of the Hindu Kush, neither he nor Akbar's father, Humāyūn (r. 937–47/1530–40 and 962–3/1555–6), had the opportunity to establish a lasting polity there. Akbar's conquests established clear Tīmūrid dominance throughout the Indo-Gangetic Plain and its immediate environs. His political and institutional innovations formed the foundation of a larger, more centralised, and more durable empire, with broader legitimacy than any of his Muslim predecessors enjoyed during the four centuries of the Delhi sultanate. For all practical purposes, the word "Mughal" means "Akbarī."

1. EARLY LIFE

Born at Amarkot', in Sind, in 949/1542 to Ḥamīda Bānū Begum (933–1013/1527–1604), herself from a Persian Shī'ī family, Akbar suffered the consequences of his father's weak position in his first years. He became a pawn in Humāyūn's struggle against his brothers; his uncle Mīrzā Kāmran (915–64/1509–57) held him hostage several times. Only his two wet nurses, Māham Anaga (d. 969/1562) and Jījī Anaga, and Jījī's husband, Shams al-Dīn—who had saved Humāyūn from drowning and was

later given the title Ataka (foster-father) Khān—remained with him throughout his childhood. The Tīmūrid accounts of Akbar's birth and childhood include the portents of greatness, including favourable astrological events and dreams, common in the biographies of such figures as the founder of the Mongol empire, Chinggis Khān (557–624/1162–1227); the Mongol conqueror and founder of the Tīmūrid empire, Tīmūr (736–807/1336–1405); and the ruler of Iran, Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī (892–930/1487–1524). These accounts also portray him as an idle and difficult student.

Akbar held several appanages in his youth. After Humāyūn regained control of the Panjāb from the Sūrī Afghans in 962/1555, he conferred the appanage of Hisār (northwest of Delhi, in contemporary Haryana), considered the reserve of the crown prince, upon Akbar, and then appointed him governor of the Panjāb, with Bayrām Khān (d. 968/1561) the leading Tīmūrid officer, as his guardian. A Qarā-Qoyūnlū Turk, Bayrām Khān had played a critical role in Humāyūn's campaigns of the 950s/1540s and 960s/1550s. He and Akbar were in Kalānawr, near Gurdāspur in the Panjāb, when they received word of Humāyūn's death. Bayrām Khān hastily enthroned Akbar on 2 Rabi' II 963/14 February 1556, assumed the position of regent, and proceeded to Delhi. Akbar's only brother, Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm (960–93/1553–85), the titular governor of Kabul, was an infant, and there was consequently no opposition to Akbar's enthronement.

Acting as regent for Akbar, Bayrām Khān dominated the Indo-Tīmūrid principality until 967/1560. He dealt successfully with the challenge of the resurgent Sūrī Afghan forces and their Hindu general Hīmū. The Sūrī forces defeated

MADDE YAYIMLANDIRILAN
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AKBAR I, ABU'L-FATH JALĀL-AL-DĪN MOHAMMAD (949-1014/1542-1605), third and greatest of the Mughal emperors of India. Akbar established the patterns of Mughal government and culture during his forty-nine year reign. While he worked successfully to establish his empire as one of the major sovereign states of the Islamic world, independent of the Safavid Persian sponsorship his grandfather and father had from time to time been forced to acknowledge, paradoxically his reign brought Persian cultural influence to its zenith in India, and the resulting Indo-Persian synthesis, in fact, outlived the Mughals.

The foothold of Akbar's grandfather Bābor in Hindustan was lost by his son Homāyūn in the first year of Akbar's life. After years of exile in, and sponsorship by, the Safavid court of Shah Ṭahmāsp, Homāyūn was on the verge of regaining his Indian kingdom when he died by accident in Delhi on 12 Rabi' I 963/24 January 1556. Akbar was only thirteen years and three months old at the time. He was the first Mughal ruler to have been born in India (at Umarkot, Sind) and to identify with it, though his mother, Ḥamīda Bānū, was a Persian and thus, like his father, a foreigner. His early life was unsettled enough to permit him to avoid most formal schooling (some authorities argue that he remained illiterate all his life), and he spent his efforts in mastering the more profitable arts of war and leadership. His powerful mind thus escaped the dogmatic rigidity that characterized much of medieval education, but he retained a zest for learning which was manifested in later life by his interests in curricular reform and his patronage of writers of new and better textbooks. Homāyūn had given the young prince responsibilities from an early date, and he was already governor of the Panjab at the time of his father's death. When Akbar was officially proclaimed emperor on 3 Rabi' II 963/14 February 1556, the prospects were not promising for a long or successful reign. Sekandar Sūr was still a threat in the Panjab; other Afghan chiefs held most of the Gangetic plains; and the Hindu minister-general Hēmū made his own bid for power by taking Delhi from the Mughals in October, 1556. But under the exceptionally able and loyal regent Bayrām Khan (q.v.), the Mughals rallied to defeat Hēmū decisively at the second battle of Panipat on 2 Moḥarram 964/5 November 1556; with the constant threat of an Afghan revival hanging over them, the older Mughal nobles accepted the irksome burden of central administration and control as the price for their share in continued Mughal rule over the Asian subcontinent.

Political career. Throughout his life Akbar consistently pursued the twin goals of enlarging the Mughal state and increasing his own personal control over it. He was the greatest centralizing ruler seen by India before Lord Curzon or Indira Gandhi. Akbar began modestly by dismissing his regent, Bayrām Khan, in October,

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EIR. C.I (S.7), S. 707-711.1984 (LONDON)

taires, mais d'un groupe de population civile, originaire de Barqa (*Nudjum*, éd. du Caire, IV, p. 47).

(16) CASANOVA, *Citadelle*, p. 531, 544; DJABARTI, II, p. 6; III, p. 93, 154; IV, p. 314; traduction française, III, p. 241; VI, p. 178, 291. Je ne puis que protester contre l'ignorance ou le laisser-aller du traducteur arabe de mon Index de Djabarti, lequel, au lieu de Bab al-Barqiya, a lu : Bab al-Bakriya (باب البكريّة).

(17) IBN MUYASSAR, p. 80; WIET, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, IV, p. 275.

(18) DERENBOURG, *Vie d'Ousama*, p. 250-251; *Hist. de la Nation égyptienne*, IV, p. 286; SCHLUMBERGER, *Campagnes du roi Amaury*, p. 36, 47.

(19) *Ousama*, p. 272; QALQASHANDI, III, p. 358. C'est en ce sens qu'il faut corriger les renseignements que j'ai autrefois fournis (*CIA, Égypte*, II, p. 220; *Hist. de la Nation égyptienne*, IV, p. 292).

(20) *Oumara*, p. 271-273, 277, 283, 285-286.

(21) Épisode qu'on retrouve dans un conte (GAUDEFRY-DEMOMBYNES, *Cent et une Nuits*, p. 101-102).

(22) MAQRIZI, I, p. 439; II, p. 12; RAVASSE, *Essai*, II, p. 55-56; *CIA, Égypte*, II, p. 220.

(23) *Ousama*, p. 239-240; *Oumara*, p. 286-287; GROUSSET, *Histoire des Croisades*, II, p. 350.

(24) MAQRIZI, II, p. 12, 78; *Oumara*, p. 106, n. 2, 280, 285, n. 9.

(25) MAQRIZI, I, p. 338; trad. Casanova, III, p. 284.

(26) *Oumara*, p. 314, n. 2; MAQRIZI, I, p. 339; trad. Casanova, III, p. 287; CASANOVA, *Citadelle*, p. 652; SCHLUMBERGER, *Campagnes du roi Amaury*, p. 203-204.

(27) MAQRIZI, II, p. 326; *Nudjum*, IX, p. 205.

(28) ZETTERSTEEN, *Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, p. 226; MAQRIZI, II, p. 425; *Nudjum*, XI, p. 13, 84, 219, 279.

(29) DJABARTI, III, p. 25-26, 182; trad., VI, p. 56; VII, p. 20.

(30) DJABARTI, III, p. 154, 159; trad., VI, p. 291, 302.

(31) DJABARTI, III, p. 271; IV, p. 57, 126; trad., VII, p. 243; VIII, p. 122, 375.

(32) DJABARTI, III, p. 160; trad., VI, p. 303.

Journal Asiatique, c. 249, s. 21-38, 1961 Paris

E kber Sah

AKBAR,

HÉRÉTIQUE OU APOSTAT?

PAR

AZIZ AHMAD

L'expérience de loin la plus audacieuse qui ait jamais été tentée dans toute l'histoire de l'éclectisme est celle qu'entreprit dans l'Inde musulmane l'empereur mogol Akbar (1556-1605). Né dans une période difficile, après que son père, dépossédé de son empire, se fut enfui en Perse, Akbar ne reçut pas l'éducation habituellement réservée aux princes de la dynastie. Il était presque illettré et s'en faisait gloire. « Les prophètes, disait-il, étaient tous illettrés. Les croyants devraient donc maintenir dans cet état l'un de leurs fils ⁽¹⁾. » Akbar était un homme d'une profonde piété ou, plus exactement, un homme désespérément voué à la recherche d'une religion.

Dans sa jeunesse, il accepta aveuglément les dogmes de la religion orthodoxe traditionnelle et professa un culte quelque peu exagéré pour les saints Čištīs, morts ou vivants. Jusqu'en 1579, il alla se recueillir presque chaque année ⁽²⁾ sur la tombe de Mu'īn al-dīn Čištī, à Ajmer où il avait effectué, à pied, en 1567, un pèlerinage pour rendre grâce au saint de la conquête de Čittor ⁽³⁾.

À cette époque, le soufisme avait toutefois perdu en Inde de sa vigueur et de son dynamisme, et les esprits orthodoxes, d'une extrême intolérance, faisaient la guerre aux mouvements alfis. Le soufisme s'était assoupi dans l'ordre Čištīs après Khwajā Muḥammad Gesūdarāz, et

and 17) originally covered most surfaces with Jataka (birth-story) scenes, Buddha images, and decorative motifs.

[See also Painting: South Asian Painting.]

J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *Cave Temples of India* (1880). G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, 4 vols. (1931–1955).

GERI HOCKFIELD MALANDRA

AJIVIKA SECT, prominent school of nonorthodox wandering ascetics (*shramanas*) established in the Ganges basin during the time of Shakyamuni Buddha. The teachings of the founder, Gosala Maskariputra, combined atheism, belief in fully determined fate (*niyati*), and a severe ascetic ideal that prescribed complete nudity. Although an Ajivika community existed in India until at least 1300, none of their texts has survived.

A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas* (1951).

TODD THORNTON LEWIS

AJMER. Although archaeological evidence exists for much earlier occupation of this Rajasthani city, local legend identifies a Chauhan Rajput prince, Aja, as its founder. The etymology for the place was Aja's name joined with the Sanskrit word for mountain, *meru*. The city has been fought over by the Delhi sultans, the Rajputs, the Mughals, the Marathas, and the British. Since the thirteenth century the city has been famous for the tomb of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti (d. 1236). The emperors Akbar and Jahangir showed special respect for this saint, made frequent pilgrimages to his tomb, and showered wealth on his descendants. Their patronage helped to make the town one of the most popular shrine centers in India, attracting devotees from as far away as Afghanistan and Bengal.

[See also Rajasthan.]

Rajasthan District Gazetteers (1966).

GREGORY C. KOZLOWSKI

AKALI DAL, Indian political party founded to promote Sikh interests in 1920. Initially formed to assist in retaking control of *gurdwaras* (Sikh temples) to the Sikh community, it assumed the role of a full-fledged political party in 1937. Following independence in 1947 it campaigned for Punjabi Suba (statehood for Punjabi-speaking people), eventually

succeeding in 1966. During the same period it had contested control of the Punjab with Congress, significantly aided by its firm hold on the *gurdwaras*. Previously dominated by urban Sikhs, the Akali Dal now draws its principal support from rural landowners of the Jat caste.

[See also Sikhism; Punjab; and Jats.]

Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics in the Punjab* (1966). Dalip Singh, *Dynamics of Punjab Politics* (1981).

W. H. McLEOD

AKBAR (1542–1605), the third Mughal emperor, ruled a major part of India from 1556 to 1605. Born to royal parents constantly in flight, Akbar inherited his father Humayun's throne when he was fourteen. His fifty-year reign marked major breaks in several spheres. Although he inherited a small territory, Akbar expanded it into a vast empire comprising all of North India, eastern Afghanistan, western and much of eastern India, and the northern and middle parts of the peninsula.

Akbar put this empire on an administrative footing that was to sustain it until the mid-eighteenth century. The basic institution of this administrative structure was the *mansabdari* system. Akbar integrated leaders of the indigenous ruling class, the Rajputs, into the imperial framework. In the preceding three centuries Rajputs and the imperial rulers at Delhi had been at loggerheads, neither side gaining a decisive victory over the other. Akbar resolved the conflict with generous treatment of those who submitted to his authority and ruthless treatment of the few who did not. Akbar had inherited a nobility almost equally divided between Mughals and Persians. Over the next quarter century he gradually altered this composition by inducting at the highest echelon diverse elements such as Afghans, Indian Muslims, and Hindus so that by 1580 every group had been reduced to a small minority in no position to dominate over others or the emperor. In this context Akbar's political and religious philosophy of mutual tolerance ("peace with all") found ready acceptance. The diverse yet well-balanced elements in the nobility, along with the efficient administrative apparatus, also gave successive Mughal emperors a much greater degree of centralized power than any other dynasty in Indian history.

Akbar also perfected a mechanism of revenue administration that was to last until the end of the empire. After several experiments, the "Ten-Year Settlement" was formulated. Land was divided into

A new Interpretation of Akbar's "Infallibility" Decree of 1579¹

By F. W. BUCKLER, M.A., Lecturer in History, University College,
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IN the month of Rajab, A.H. 987 (September, 1579), the 'Ulamā of the Mughal Empire issued a joint *fatwa* (*maḥẓar*),² by which, according to Vincent Smith,³ "Akbar was solemnly recognized as being superior in his capacity of Imām-i-Ādil to any other interpreter of Muslim law, and practically was invested with the attributes of infallibility." He therefore calls it the "Infallibility Decree", and he interprets it as the turning-point of Akbar's religious life. He regards it as the "momentous innovation which should extend the autocracy of Akbar from the temporal to the spiritual side, and make him Pope as well as King".⁴ By this step he rendered impossible all opposition to any future developments of his religious policy.⁵ This limited interpretation of the *maḥẓar*, however, in the light of the *Dīn Ilāhī*, seems to obscure the real policy of Akbar.

The *maḥẓar*, it is suggested, was intended to fix the position of Akbar in the Muslim World by eliminating him from the religious and political control of Persia, but without com-

¹ Read on Friday, 20th July, 1923, before the Islamic Section of the Centenary Meeting of the Society.

² *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārikh*, by 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Badā'ōnī (*Bibl. Ind.*) (cited *Bad.*), ii, 270-2.

³ V. A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*² (1919), p. 179.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 178.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 180, and n. 1. Vincent Smith appears to have been misled by

Badā'ōnī, whose statement (ii, 272) وبعد ازان که فتوی بدست

آوردند راه اجتهاد مفتوح گشت و غیره . . . does appear to support the view, but it must not be forgotten that the passage was written after the promulgation of the *Dīn Ilāhī*. *Bad.* i, 5.

**FAWĀ'ID AL-INSĀN :
A RARE MANUSCRIPT OF AKBAR'S TIME**

KAUSAR CHANDPURI

Akbar's reign was the starting point of the development of such democratic tendencies as are now being pursued with a view to bring them to a fuller realization. A beginning was made to promote scientific and artistic traditions side by side with social and cultural development. A Bureau for Translation and Compilation was established. It attracted reputed scholars and physicians like Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir, Faṭḥallāh Shīrāzī, Ḥakim 'Alī Gilānī, Mullā Aḥmad, Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn, Shaikh Faiḍī, 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān and Abūl'-Faḍl—all unrivalled in their fields. One can imagine the work and efficiency of these translations and writings from the books which are still available. These literary activities were not confined to the official Establishment. There were men of learning outside it, engaged in their scholarly pursuits individually. The real spur to these activities was indeed the interest that the reigning monarch took in them. It was this interest which stimulated in different men the urge to work. One can hardly dispute the value and utility of these individual efforts. Many literary achievements of great value came into being through them. *Fawā'id al-insān* may justly be included among them.

Fawā'id al-insān is the poetic creation of Ḥakim Dawā'ī. The great Mughal emperor wanted that the diet and drugs which were currently used in Iran, Turan, Asia Minor and India be briefly described along with their effects. Drugs which were known by Arabic or Persian names were to be mentioned with their original names only, and those that were not popularly known by Arabic or Persian names were to be described in simple language along with their effects. The writer has followed this principle scrupulously.

As there is no word in Arabic and Persian for *pān* and banana which is free from unfamiliarity, Dawā'ī has preferred Hindi names. The reason why he has adopted poetic medium instead of prose may be because prose was the usual medium of

FAWĀ'ID AL-INSĀN

expression for medical subjects in the Mughal period. Until the time of Akbar there is only one book where poetry is used, that is *Rubā'iyāt-i Yūsufī*. Its author was Yūsufī Khurāsānī, the court physician of Bābur. There is no other work in medicine written in poetry which is known to us.

The great merit of Dawā'ī is the use of *taushih* (single acrostic) and in its use he has shown rare control and command of expression. If the first letter of each distich is added, it gives the name of the medicine itself. For example, the effects of spinach are described in the following six lines:

*Spinach, as they say, is not
flatulent at all.*

*Perfect food—cold and moist—,
it is useful, as it conquers bile.*

*It strengthens the chest and lungs
and relieves the chronic cough.*

*Neutralizing the effects of hot temperament,
it removes the back-ache and pain in urinating.*

*As it cleanses the bowels, it tones up
(the body) thoroughly and makes one feel active.*

*Gone are the hotness and dryness of lungs and throat
if I take (spinach cooked) with fat.*

Akbar himself had appointed Dawā'ī for writing *Fawā'id al-insān* and on its completion he also suggested its name in a hemistich which is in the same metre in which the whole book has been composed: "Its name came to be *Fawā'id al-insān*." This is simply a matter of chance that this hemistich also gives the date of its composition.

The manuscript of *Fawā'id al-insān* which is now before us is the proud possession of the Library of the Institute of History of Medicine and Medical Research, Tughlaqabad, New Delhi. This unique piece can safely be included in the list of rare manuscripts. The colophon does not give the year or the scribe. Its many peculiarities lead us to the conclusion that the transcription was undertaken during the author's own lifetime. It is guessed that the manuscript must have been written between 1004 and 1014 A.H. (A.D. 1596-1606) Akbar breathed his last in 1014/1606. During the reign of Akbar the art of painting had made tremendous progress, for the simple reason that painters were patronized. They were granted *manṣabs* and rewards. As a consequence, there

AKBAR: WARRIOR, DEVOTEE AND MYSTIC

I

A. Ruler and Warrior

Sir George Dunbar divides Akbar's life into three periods. The first is from his accession in 1557, then a boy under fifteen, to the fall of the Regent Bairam Khan in 1560. The second is called the period of "harem government", when he was under the sway of the ladies of the court and unscrupulous ministers. The third dates from 1562 onwards, "when he established himself as the first truly national ruler of India since the days of Asoka," becoming "one of the greatest sovereigns in history."¹

Vincent Smith, whose biography of the emperor is far from being complimentary or unprejudiced, yet has this to say:

"He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to rank as one of the greatest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements."²

The Jesuits, at his court, who had little reason to pay him false compliments, speak of him as "a great king", "a prince beloved of all; firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men high or low, neighbor or stranger, Christian, Saracen or Gentile." Father Monserrate, the Jesuit, who was invited to Akbar's court, speaks with admiration of his strength and courage, his noble mien and great dignity, and one who was majestic even in wrath.³

Dr. M. L. Roy Choudhury speaks about the new material which has recently come to hand to help us interpret the Moghul period and see it in a new light; new slants on the emperor's life let us see more truly the outer and inner man.⁴ Hitherto the life of the great Moghul has been seen largely through the jaundiced eyes of Mulla Badaoni, whose work, *Tarikh-i-Badaoni*, which records events up to 1596, contains so much hostile criticism, representing the Sunni Muslim point of view, that it had to be suppressed during Akbar's life time. And its patent lies drew upon it the anger of Jehangir who ordered Badaoni's son to be imprisoned and his property to be confiscated.⁵

¹ *History of India*, London, Nicholson and Watson, Ltd., 1949, Vol. I, p. 177, also, Sir Wolseley Haig in *The Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, The University Press, 1937, p. 74-5.

² *Akbar, the Great Moghul, 1542-1605*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2nd ed., rev. 1919, p. 353. On the extent of Smith's prejudices and inaccuracies, see Dr. M. L. Roy Choudhury, *The State and Religion in Moghul India*, Calcutta, Indian Publicity Society, 1951, p. 13 and passim, and his *Din-i-Ilahi or the Religion of Akbar*, Calcutta, Das Gupta and Co., Ltd., 1952, pp. xxxii-xxxv and passim.

³ *Akbar and the Jesuits*, pp. 205, 206, quoted by Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, 154-5; p. 155.

⁴ *The State and Religion in Moghul India*, p. 9 ff.

⁵ *Din-i-Ilahi*, p. 175.

managed to get a secure foothold in India because of Hindu and Muslim enemies. Babur and Hamayun, Akbar's father and grandfather were always in the saddle, waging wars of defense and offense, and had little opportunity to establish a civil administration. Throughout the Pathan period, the Rajput chiefs had been the main opposition to any plans for conquest. Akbar's friendly relations with the Rajputs began with his marrying the daughter of Raja Behari Mall, a step which affected significantly his future policy. Though Akbar's motives are variously interpreted by friend and foe, the emperor sought to make it known that past rivalries were forgotten, and his subjects were to be regarded as one people.

B. Akbar the Devotee

The principal difficulty in understanding and judging emperor Akbar comes from our failure to appreciate that he grew in stature all the time, and that he set about establishing an empire surrounded by enemies, oftentimes even of his own household; he had the additional handicap of having inherited a cultural and religious tradition inflexible and unyielding, allowing for no other truth but its own.

Dr. Choudhury points out the complexity of factors which helped to predispose Akbar's religious background and outlook;¹² The blood and fire of Jenghiz-Khan and Timurlane ran in his veins. A Sunni by birth, he was born in the house of a Hindu Raja in Sind.¹³ His early life he spent in the home of his uncle Kamran in Afghanistan. When he was restored to his father, he was placed under Persian teachers and assimilated the breadth and the liberality of Persian culture. It was then that he committed to memory, among other things, the Diwan of Hafiz and Saadi's *Gulistan*, also some Sufi teaching which were to bear fruit later. Under the guardianship of Bairam Khan, which came later, he came under such Shi'ah teachers as Shaikh 'Abdul Latif and Sadr al-Sudur, Shaikh Gadai; the Shi'ah tendencies then absorbed were later to be effaced by 'Abdu'l Nabi, the staunch Sunni of the realm. Appreciating these influences help one to understand how the emperor could later be so cosmopolitan in outlook and without the rigid orthodoxy which was expected of him.

Until the age of thirty-three Akbar was known as a practising Sunni; he was regular in his devotions and in saying his daily prayers; he went on pilgrimage to his favourite shrine at Ajmer and built new mosques. Ritual and religious ceremonial meant much to his subjects, and he as a father of his people felt duty bound to accord such things equal respect. Modern historians, however, find it difficult to reconcile

¹² *The State and Religion in Moghul India*, pp. 188 ff.; Dunbar, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 189.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

بإشراف
كنيت و. مورغان
أستاذ الأديان بجامعة كولجيت

الاستعلام

الصراط المستقيم

الجزء الثاني

كتب فضوله

محمد عبد الله دَرَاَز (مصر) إسحق موسى الحسيني (فلسطين)
شفيق غزبال (مصر) حسن بصري جنتاي (تركيا)
محمد شلنوت (مصر) مظفر الدين صديقي (باكستان)
أبو العلاء عفيفي (مصر) داود س. م. تنغ (الصين)
محمد شهساي (إيران) ب. ا. حسين مجادنتزات (أذربايجان)

محمد راشدي (أذربايجان)
زمره دزغيبه محمد عبد الله يعقوب
رامنه دزغيبه نور الدين الواعظ
مهره دزغيبه العلامة الكبير محمود الللاح

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE *MANṢAB* SYSTEM UNDER
AKBAR UNTIL 1596-7

BY SHIREEN MOOSVI

The organization of the nobility of the Indian Mughal Empire in numerical grades (*manṣabs*) is now generally recognized as one of the basic elements of its administrative and military structure. Equally general, perhaps, has been a recognition of the *manṣab* system's many complexities. However, by combining the information in Abu 'l-Faḥl's *Ā'in-i Akbarī* with a number of 17th-century texts and documents, it has been possible to construct a tolerable picture of the working of the *manṣab* system during the 17th century. In many respects, the basic features were first delineated by Moreland and Abdul Aziz;¹ but their views have been greatly refined, and often substantially revised, by M. Athar Ali and Irfan Habib.² It is now accepted as beyond argument that by Akbar's death (1605), *manṣab* was explained in two numerical representations: the first, *zāt*, determined the holder's personal pay (*ṭalab-i khāṣa*) and status in the hierarchy; the second (*sawār*) indicated the number of horsemen to be maintained by the holder and set the amount sanctioned to cover their pay (*ṭalab-i tābīnān*). In each case, the rank-number was converted into monetary claims and military obligation by means of the schedules (*dastūr al-'amals*) in force at the time. The system undoubtedly gave to the Mughal nobility and military machine a high degree of uniformity and regularity in its functioning, which is likely to have contributed greatly to the stability and strength of the Empire.

The question of how the *manṣab* evolved before it reached, what may, by 1605, be called its classic form (summarily described above) has elicited diverse answers. Both Moreland and Abdul Aziz held that a single numerical rank existed before Akbar, the number directly indicating the size of the cavalry contingent that the rank-holder was expected to maintain.³ Moreland further supposed that as this number became more and more a sham in terms of cavalry actually mustered, Akbar introduced the second (*sawār*) rank in his 11th regnal year (1566-67). Hereafter the new and usually smaller numerical rank indicated the size of the cavalry contingent to be maintained, while the first became what in course of time came to be called the *zāt* rank, indicating personal pay and status only.⁴ A. J. Qaisar, in a short but important paper, has cast doubt on the existence of numerical ranks before Akbar, and argued that the two ranks (*zāt* and *sawār*) came into existence simultaneously in the 18th regnal year (1573-74).⁵ Irfan Habib seems tacitly to accept Qaisar's finding that the two ranks were established in that year; and he continues to assume, as do practically all the previous writers, that the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, in assigning to *manṣab*-holders a single rank in a list belonging to a period as late as the 40th regnal year

purpose; he does not even mention the size of contingent actually maintained.¹³ There are a number of other references in the *Akbar-nāma* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* indicating that up to the 18th regnal year, the salaries were specified without defining, at least explicitly, associated military obligations.¹⁴

The measures adopted by Akbar in the 11th year (1566-7) (taken by Moreland to signify the institution of numerical ranks) are then the earliest, where an attempt to impose the obligation of maintaining a certain number of troopers is made. Abu 'l-Faḥl says:¹⁵

"... For all the *umarā'* and the Imperial servants, the (number of) retainers (*naukar*) was fixed and it was settled that everyone would keep some in readiness for service. The troopers belonging to nobles were divided into three categories; and it was ordered that the first kind would get 48,000 *dāms* per year, the second 32,000 *dāms* and the third 24,000 *dāms* per year".

This passage led Moreland to believe that the second (or *sawār*) rank had now been introduced. However, the passage is not only vague about the size of the retinue to be maintained, but the system it envisages shows a fundamental difference from the *manṣab* system proper. Here the system of territorial assignment (*jāgīr*) is taken for granted and the number of troopers is fixed in conformity with it, instead of awarding a rank first, defining the number of troopers on its basis, and then assigning the *jāgīr*, as was the case under the evolved *manṣab* system.¹⁶ This is made particularly clear by Mu'tamad Khān's exposition of the same measure (of the 11th regnal year). He says that "the number of horsemen to be maintained by the nobles was fixed in accordance with the *jāgīrs* (held by them)".¹⁷

It also does not seem possible to determine the precise basis on which the troopers were categorized in the 11th year. However, in later years, the rates varied according to the race of the noble or the number of horses per trooper. Nevertheless, the salaries quoted here, per trooper, appear to be very high in comparison with the rates fixed later (in the 40th year, 1595-6).¹⁸ It is possible, however, that the rates of the 11th year were high because the *jama'* (the expected net revenue realization) was greatly inflated.¹⁹ Quite naturally, if the *jama'* was high, the division of its amount by a low rate of salary would have resulted in the imposition upon the assignee of the obligation to furnish an impossibly large contingent. It must also be remembered that the *dāgh* or branding system had not yet been introduced; so whatever might be the military obligation fixed in theory, it could not in actual fact have been effective in the absence of a system of muster and brand.

What was achieved in the 11th year had, therefore, little to do with the fixing of numerical ranks. The 11th regnal year saw simply an attempt to work out the size of military obligation from the estimated revenues of *jāgīr*, with the use of some fixed salary rates per trooper. The *Iqbāl-nāma* adds that the regulations continued until the *dāgh* was introduced in 1573-4.²⁰ This means, in other

an amnesty and in 1867 sent Karam into a second exile, this time permanently, in Algiers and Europe. He died in Italy after many vain requests for permission to return to Lebanon. For ten years he was paid by Istanbul a considerable monthly stipend, which only stopped because of his ongoing polemical publications against the régime in Mount Lebanon and his contacts with various political groups and states.

In spite of Karam's total failure to change the *status quo* in Lebanon, dissatisfaction among the Maronites continued. Karam was held up by them, as well as by certain circles in France, as the supreme example of the Lebanese national hero. Biographers and local historians clearly testify to such a view of "Lebanese Christian nationalism". On the other hand, one must consider Karam's contacts with the Algerian *amir* 'Abd al-Kâdir regarding an Arab confederation (i.e. a certain autonomy for Arabs within the Ottoman Empire), first still under Muslim leadership, but in the long run, on a non-confessional, secular and national basis. In this vein, the role and the success of freemasonry [see FARMÂSÜNİYYA], in general rather influential among intellectuals and politicians in these times, was obviously very crucial: an issue which, however, still needs further research.

Bibliography: K.S. Salibi, *The modern history of Lebanon*, London 1965, 68, 102-3, 112-14; F. Steppat, *Eine Bewegung unter den Notabeln Syriens 1877-78*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. I (1969), 631-49; T. Touma, *Paysans et institutions féodales chez les Druses et les Maronites du Liban du XVII^e siècle à 1914*, Beirut 1971-2, 294-312, 315-33; J.P. Spagnolo, *France and Ottoman Lebanon 1861-1914*, London 1977, 58-65, 100-10 and *passim*; E.D. Akarlı, *The long peace. Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1920*, Berkeley etc., 1993, 37-8; 'Abd al-Ra'ûf Sinnû, *al-Naza'ât al-kiyâniyya al-islâmiyya fi 'l-dawla al-uthmâniyya, 1877-1881*, Beirut 1998, 48-52. For other modern works and sources in Arabic, cf. the bibls. in the studies listed.

(A. HAVEMANN)

YÜSUF KHÂN RIDWÎ, Mîrzâ, Mughal commander and governor, d. 1010/1601-2.

The son of Mîrzâ Aḥmad Ridwî, he was appointed by the Emperor Akbar *ṣubadâr* or governor of Kāshmir in 995/1586-7. He imposed Mughal authority in the Kāshmir valley and secured the submission of the Čak [q.v. in Suppl.] chiefs. Yūsuf Khān himself rebelled against the Mughals in 1001/1592-3, but came back into favour and in 1003/1594-5 was *dārūgha* or superintendent of the Top-khāna or arsenal.

Bibliography: Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the sultans*, Calcutta 1959, index; A.R. Khan, *Chieftains of the Mughal empire during the reign of Akbar*, Simla 1977, 18-19, 52; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire. Award of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility 1574-1658*, Delhi 1985, index for Akbar's reign. See also KASHMÎR. I. (Ed.)

YÜSUF KHÄŞŞ HÂDJIB, Turkish poet of the 5th/11th century whose work, the *Kutadghu bilig* [q.v.] ("Wisdom of Royal Glory"), completed in 462/1069-70, is the oldest monument of Islamic Turkish literature. He is not mentioned in any other source, so we must deduce what we know about him from the three surviving mss. of his work. (For the interrelation of the mss., see R. Dankoff, *Textual problems in Kutadgu Bilig*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, iii [1979], 89-99.) Two of these contain a verse prologue, written perhaps a century after the work was completed, and all three contain a shorter prose prologue which appears to be a summary of the verse prologue. These prologues provide the information

that the author was originally from Balāsāghūn [q.v.]; that he completed the work in Kāshghar, where he presented it to the king, Tavghač Bughra Khān; and that he was awarded the office of *khāşş hâdjib* or privy chamberlain. His patron has been identified as the Khān Hasan b. Sulaymān, ruler of the eastern branch of the Karākhānids or İlek-Khānids [q.v.]. Yūsuf himself names him near the beginning of the work, in a section entitled "Ode to spring and praise of Ulugh Bughra Khān".

The prologues also, trying to assimilate the work to known genres, somewhat contradictorily label it both as a "Mirror for Princes" (*Adab al-mulūk*, etc.) and a "Book of Kings" (*Shāh-nāma*). The only similarity it has to the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī [q.v.] is the use of the *mutakārib* metre. To be sure, Yūsuf does, in an introductory passage (ll. 276-80), identify the legendary hero of the Turks, Tonga Alp Er, with Afrāsiyāb, the ruler of Tūrān in the Persian epic, thus following a tradition also found in the work of his contemporary, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [q.v.]. But in the body of the work, Tonga Alp Er appears only once (l. 5861) as the authority for one of the sententious sayings of political wisdom (*bilig*) attributed elsewhere to various anonymous Khāns and Begs. Still, one can say that Yūsuf, in attempting to assimilate the Inner Asian traditions of royalty and wisdom to the Irano-Islamic ideals of statecraft in a Turkish dress, was following the model of Firdawsī, who had consolidated the Iranian traditions of kingship within the framework of Islamic culture in a Persian dress (see Dankoff, *Qarakhanid literature and the beginnings of Turco-Islamic culture*, in *Central Asian monuments*, ed. Hasan B. Paksoy, Istanbul, 1992, 73-80; H. Inalcik, *Turkish and Iranian political theories and traditions in Kutadgu Bilig*, in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, Bloomington 1993, 1-18).

"Mirror for Princes" is a more accurate generic label. The *kut* ("glory, fortune") referred to in the title is the Turkish equivalent of Persian *farr*, designating the ruler's charisma, and *Kutadghu bilig* literally means "The wisdom that conduces to royal glory or fortune". The first half of the work is largely concerned with traditional matters of statecraft: the virtues of the king and his obligations to his subjects; the qualities and duties of the various courtiers; and the establishment of justice. The second half, however, introduces a new theme: the conflict between the political goals of the state and the religious conscience of the individual. Here Yūsuf incorporates Sūfī asceticism as an opposing, and ultimately complementary, ideal to the prevailing community and statecraft ethics; in this regard he may be considered a precursor of al-Ghazālī [q.v.].

Another original contribution of Yūsuf to the Mirror for Princes genre is to dramatise the issues in the form of dialogues, within a frame story, among characters with significant allegorical names. The king, Kūn Toghdī ("the sun has risen"), who represents justice, longs for a good vizier, and his trusty chamberlain presents to him Ay Toldī ("the moon is full"), who represents fortune. Ay Toldī suffers a fatal illness, but before he dies he commends his son Ögdūlmish ("praised"), who represents intellect, to the king's care. The king discovers the young man's virtues and appoints him as chief counselor. Ögdūlmish advises the king well on worldly matters, and then informs him of a kinsman named Odhghurmish ("awakened"), who represents otherworldly concerns. The king summons Odhghurmish to court, and the latter, after refusing several times to abandon his life of ascetic withdrawal and religious contemplation, eventually visits the king

Mughal architecture sets it apart from the earlier Muslim architecture of India and gives it a universal appeal.

Since the Mughals were direct heirs to the Tīmūrids, the sustaining element of their architecture, especially in the initial phase, was Tīmūrid (in the older literature often taken to be "Persian"). A fact that is not generally recognised is that essential ideas of Tīmūrid architecture, such as symmetry of plans reflected in the elevations, as well as complex vaulting, came to fruition much more in Mughal architecture than in Ṣafawid Persia, which was also heir to the same tradition.

Bābur (932-7/1526-30).

The initial phase under Bābur is difficult to evaluate because of the discrepancy between his own writing about architecture, which sets high Tīmūrid standards (*Bābur-nāma*, Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1921), and the few buildings that have survived. Although he is celebrated as a founder of gardens, it is his mosques in Sambhal (933/1526), Ayodhya and Pānīpat (both 935/1528-9) that remain from his brief reign. Of Bābur's gardens in India, the rock cut Bāgh-i Nīlūfar at Dhōlpūr is preserved to some extent (933-5/1527-9). Only fragments remain of his famous Čahār Bāgh (Čār Bāgh) or Bāgh-i Hašt Bihišt at Āgra. According to an 18th-century plan of Āgra in the Dījaypur Palace Museum, the garden was situated on the other side of the Yamunā or Jumna almost opposite to the later Tādī Maḥall. According to Zayn Khān (*Tabakāt-i Bāburī*, Eng. tr. S.H. Askari, Delhi 1982, 160 f.), Bābur's nobles followed his example by building gardens "on the models of Khurāsānī edifices". Other amenities of Central Asian life style, such as "four royal hot-baths", were constructed "in the cities of Hindūstān" to content the "Khurāsānīs and Samarkandīs" who had come with Bābur to India (*ibid.*).

Humāyūn (937-50/1530-43, 962-3/1555-6).

A heterogenous picture of Mughal architecture prevails during the next period, that is, up to the middle of the 16th century, the two phases of Humāyūn's reign. The Tīmūrid strand is represented by almost pure imports such as the mosque at Kačpura, Āgra (937/1530-1), which shares its main features with the 16th-century Namāzgāh at Kaṛshī [q.v.] to the southwest of Samarkand. Two anonymous tombs at Dihlī, the "Sabz Burdj" and the "Nīlā Gumbad", introduce on North Indian soil a late-Tīmūrid formula for octagonal tombs [see MUTHAMMAN]. The common features of the two buildings are their elegant proportions (more pronounced in the "Sabz Burdj", Pl. XXI, 1, which reflect late-Tīmūrid ideals with its elongated *pīsh-tāks* (sc. portals in the form of a monumental arched niche in a rectangular frame), and a slightly bulbuous dome set on a high cylindrical drum housing an inner lower dome), their four-centred arches, their outer facing with tile work arranged in geometrical patterns and the painted plaster decoration and arch-netting of their vaults. The ground plan of this tomb type is in the form of an irregular octagon. The Tīmūrid element was soon to merge with local building traditions, in particular with regard to the facing of buildings and architectural decoration. The main source of inspiration was here the revival of the ornamental sandstone style of the early Dihlī sultanate. It had gone out of fashion during the 14th and 15th centuries in Dihlī, but continued uninterrupted in provincial centres (Bayāna, Kanawdj) leaving an architectural deposit from which early Mughal and Sūrī architectures could draw their inspiration (Koch, *Arch. forms*, 135 f.). Characteristic

of this style is, *inter alia*, a highly ornate revetment of buildings with red or buff sandstone. Typical examples are the buildings of the Purānā Kīl'a at Dihlī (the palace citadel founded in 939/1533 as Dīnpanāh by Humāyūn and altered consequently by Shēr Shāh Sūrī and probably also by Akbar), particularly the mosque in it, which, on the basis of literary evidence, must be attributed to Shēr Shāh Sūrī (early 1540s). The only surviving palace building in the citadel, the two-storeyed octagonal "Shēr Mandal", represents a Tīmūrid-Ṣafawid pavilion type with a painted cruciform interior and arch-netted vaults (for a plan, see Petruccioli, 1988, fig. 237). None of Humāyūn's own palace buildings described by Khwāndamīr (cf. MAḤALL) seems to have survived. The first preserved Mughal residential building that can be dated is the recently-identified pavilion of Muḥammad, Humāyūn's *bakhshī* (Pl. XXIII). It was built in 940/1533-4 near the tomb of Shaykh Bahlūl in the fort of Vīdīyāmandirgāh, Bayāna (Dījahāngīr, *Ṭūzuk*, ii, 63; cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, *New light on the history of two early Mughal monuments of Bayana*, in *Muqarnas*, vi). The small two-storeyed stepped pavilion of red sandstone is a key building of Mughal palace architecture because it contains in *nuce* two constituent elements: that of flat-roofed post and beam construction and, in its main floor, the configuration of a closed central block with an ambulatory verandah.

Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605).

General considerations. After these architectural preludes, Mughal architecture attains its distinctive character during the reign of Akbar, whose syncretistic genius had its impact not only on the political affairs of the Mughal empire but also on the development of the arts. Military conquests were reflected in architecture, a process helped by an influx of craftsmen from the new provinces to the Mughal court. Akbar's architectural activity surpassed even that of the Tughluqs, who had already shown a mania for building. Akbarī architecture developed into a supra-regional dramatic synthesis characterised by a most sweeping extraction of features from earlier Indian, Central Asian, Tīmūrid and Persian styles. Stylistic clashes resulting from the amalgamation of such heterogenous elements were absorbed by the favourite building material, red sandstone, whose unifying hue carried an additional attraction in being the colour reserved for imperial tents.

In the uninhibited interaction of styles, however, a certain predilection prevails for particular types of buildings. The Tīmūrid influence makes itself most felt in vaulted masonry architecture employed for mausolea, individual palace buildings (pleasure kiosks), gate houses (serving often residential purposes), *ḥammāms*, *kār-wānsarāʾīs* and smaller mosques. To this category belongs the first major building enterprise of Akbar's period, the tomb of his father Humāyūn, the first of the grand dynastic mausolea which were to become synonymous with Mughal architecture (Pl. XXII). Here Mughal architecture reaches for the first time the monumental scale which was to be characteristic of imperial projects. The tomb is situated in the centre of the first preserved Mughal garden of a four-fold *čār bāgh* pattern (for a sketch plan, see DIHLI, Fig. 6). The intricate ground plan of the main body of the mausoleum, which stands on a large podium housing some 124 vaulted chambers, elaborates on the nine-fold plan or *hašt bihišt*, derived from its late- (or post-) Tīmūrid versions. The complete nine-fold plan consists of a square or rectangle (sometimes with cor-

Sayyid, under whose personal attention 'Abd Allāh learnt writing for newspapers on various educational and social themes. It was, he stated, Sir Sayyid's guidance which inspired him actively to participate in the community's welfare work.

After graduation with a law degree and at the expressed desire of Sir Sayyid, 'Abd Allāh settled down in 'Aligarh and began his career as a lawyer. In 1902 he was married to Wahīd Djahān Begam (from an established Muslim family of Dihlī), with whom he had four daughters and a son.

A few of his childhood experiences of witnessing cruelty and injustice to women left deep impressions on him which were to lead him later in life to a whole-hearted involvement in social welfare work for women, especially in education. He intensely believed that, with education, women's lot could alone be improved. With the then existing atmosphere in 'Aligarh, he became more and more concerned with the education of Muslim women.

During the 1896 session of the Muhammad Educational Conference, a section was established for women's education; but because of Sir Sayyid's involvement in other tasks, no practical steps were taken to attain any specific objectives toward education of Muslim women. In the 1902 session of the Conference, held at Dihlī, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, together with several of his friends, proposed to revive the section on women's education, which was enthusiastically approved: thereafter year after year he kept on propagating the necessity of providing adequate education to Muslim women in India. For this purpose he began publishing a monthly periodical *Khātūn*, the first issue of which came out in 1904 and continued to be published for the next ten years. Also in the year 1904 he was permitted by the Conference session at Lucknow to open a normal (up to eighth grade) school for Muslim girls at 'Aligarh. After three years of hard work he succeeded in establishing the proposed normal school. The modest beginning of this school in 1907 in 'Aligarh attracted the attention of the government of the United Provinces (now known as Uttar Pradesh), which granted a sufficient sum for the purpose of buying land and constructing building for the school in 1908. The school at that initial stage had no boarding facilities for girls from outside the town. The increasing popularity of this pioneer institution for Muslim girls' education throughout the subcontinent meant that there was a need of residential facilities for girls from other nearby areas who wanted to join. In 1911 help came again from the U.P. government; Lady Porter, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, laid the foundation stone of the hostel adjacent to the school building. The school which had a modest beginning in 1907 had grown by 1936 into a renowned degree college leading up to B.A. classes. In that year it was affiliated to the Aligarh Muslim University.

Until 1947, education in all classes of the college and its affiliated primary and secondary schools was conducted under the strict rules of Islamic seclusion. The hostel followed also tradition both in observing *parda* and in religious obligations. In 1947, however, after the independence of the country and promulgation of a secular constitution, the basic structure of Islamic-oriented Western education remained untouched in all the affiliated institutions of the Muslim University (Muslim Girls' College included), but seclusion of women students and obligatory religious observances were eliminated.

The attachment of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh to the Muslim Girls' College was so deep that he built

his spacious residential house close to the buildings of the College, and from the 1940s onwards, donated a large part of this house as the hostel for postgraduate girl students. His strong attachment to the girls' education and welfare was reciprocated by the affectionate title of "Pāpā Miyān" with which he came to be known in 'Aligarh.

In recognition of his pioneer work for Muslim women's education the British Government awarded him the title of "Khān Bahādur", and Aligarh Muslim University honoured him with the award of honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Towards the end of his life, in 1964 the post-Independence national government of India expressed its appreciation for his services by awarding him the title "Padam Bhūṣhan". He died on 9 April 1965 at the age of 91, and was buried in the garden of his residential house, adjacent to the buildings of the Muslim Girls' College.

Bibliography: Sh. 'Abd Allāh, *Mushāhidāt wa-ta'thirāt* [Urdu], 1969; idem, *Sawānih 'umrī 'Abd Allāh Begam* [Urdu] Delhi 1954; *Khātūn*, Urdu monthly journal, 'Aligarh, ed., Sh. Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, 1904-10; Thurayyā Husayn, *Bānī-e-Darsgāh: Doktor Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, hayāt wa shakhṣiyyat*, in *Women's College, Muslim University Aligarh Magazine* (1975). (GHAUS ANSARI)

MUHAMMAD 'AKIF PASHA [see MEHMED 'AKIF PASHA].

MUHAMMAD AL-DJAWĀD [see MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-RIDĀ].

MUHAMMAD HĀKIM MĪRZĀ, Mughal prince and half-brother of the emperor Akbar [q.v.], b. 960/1553, d. 993/1585.

In 973/1566 he was governor of Kābul and eastern Afghānistān for Akbar, but when temporarily forced out of his capital by the Timūrids of Badakhshān, he retreated towards India, where a group of dissident Özbek nobles proclaimed him emperor at Djawpūr and incited him to invade India. He besieged Lahore with his forces, but had to retreat to Kābul. For over a decade, he posed a threat on Akbar's northwestern frontier, offering a legitimate alternative to Akbar's rule. A fresh revolt of Mughal and Afghān nobles broke out in 987-8/1579-80, in the wake of Akbar's *maḥḍar* or decree proclaiming himself supreme arbiter of religious affairs and claiming authority as caliph, and Muḥammad Hākim was again proclaimed counter-emperor. Akbar sent his chief minister Tōdar Mal [q.v.] to suppress the rebels in Bihār, and himself marched against Kābul, entering the town in Rajab 989/December 1581. He pardoned Muḥammad Hākim and reinstated him, but it was not until Muḥammad Hākim's death in Sha'bān 993/August 1585 that all threats from Kābul were ended and the region brought under direct imperial rule.

Bibliography: See that for AKBAR, and add R.J. Majumdar (general ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people*, vi, *The Mughul empire*, Bombay 1974, 141-5, and J.F. Richards, *The Mughal empire*, Cambridge 1993, 18-19. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUHAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ KANBŌ LĀHAWRĪ, Indo-Muslim historian and stylist whose exact dates of both birth and death are unknown but who flourished in the 11th/17th century under the Mughal emperors Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb [q.v.]. He may have been the younger brother of the historian and littérateur 'Ināyat Allāh Kanbō (d. 1082/1671 [q.v.]), if Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's reference to this last person, his master and patron, as *birādar-i kalān* "elder brother" is to be taken literally.

Virtually nothing is known of his life, but he was

BETWEEN *HADĪTH* AND *FIQH*:
THE "CANONICAL" IMĀMĪ COLLECTIONS OF AKHBĀR*

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(University of Bristol)

Abstract

In Imāmī legal theory, the *akhbār* of the Imams form one of the material sources of law, alongside the Qur'an and Prophetic *ḥadīths*. The *akhbār* are presented in compendia, assembled by Shī'ite collectors in the fourth and fifth century AH/tenth and eleventh century CE, four of which subsequently came to be regarded as "canonical" in Imāmī law. In this essay, I examine the processes at work in the collation of these "canonical" *akhbār* collections. These processes, I argue, were influenced by an emerging juristic tradition in Imāmī Shī'ism. As Imāmī thinkers became increasingly concerned with *fiqh* and the elucidation of the Shari'a, the collectors developed new techniques of selection, presentation and organisation. The *akhbār* collections became a material source upon which jurists could draw in their *fiqh* discussions, *rather than the law itself*. As an example of the processes at work in the collection and presentation of *akhbār*, I examine the issue of *tayammum*, ritual purification by sand rather than water.

THE BOUNDARIES between *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* in early Imāmī juristic thought appear quite porous. The influence of the emerging *fiqh* tradition (both Sunni and Shī'ī) can be detected in features such as the arrangement and presentation of *ḥadīth* compilations. *Ḥadīth* compilers, in turn, provided *fiqh* writers with a body of juristic material, which an accomplished *faqīh* could employ with acumen in his elaboration of the law. The four collections examined in this paper were considered "canonical" in the sense that subsequent Imāmī theological and juristic thought gave reports from these collections a stronger "probative force" (*hujjiyya*) than those found in other collections.¹

These four collections are, I propose, quite different in terms of compilation, presentation and organization from their Sunni counterparts. Furthermore, each Imāmī canonical collection has its own distinctive character. The different techniques of compilation, presentation and

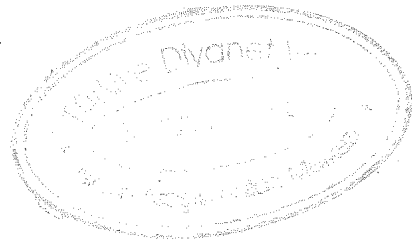
* I would like to thank the anonymous readers for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

¹ I analyse the attitudes to the collections in subsequent Imāmī tradition in *Inevitable Doubt: Two theories of Shī'ī Jurisprudence* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000) 31-48, 66-78.

organization utilized by the authors indicate that they did not all share the same purpose in producing their respective works. In what follows, I outline how these techniques developed from the earliest collection (written in the early 4th century AH/early 10th century CE) to the last of the canonical collections (written in mid-5th century AH/mid 11th century CE) through a detailed analysis of the manner in which a discrete legal issue (ritual purification by sand in place of water) is presented in the four texts. These developments, I argue, are due to the rise of jurisprudence as an Imāmī intellectual discipline distinct from the collection of *ḥadīth*. In the earliest works, there is evidence to suggest that the authors saw the law expressed solely through *aḥādīth* and hence there was no need for a separate genre of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Later works indicate a growing awareness of the need for *ḥadīths* as evidence in juristic discussions. Of course some *ḥadīth* were more useful than others in these discussions, and the result is author-specific techniques of selection and presentation. The manner in which an author might select *aḥādīth* for inclusion in his collection, present them (in terms of organizing his material) and comment upon them (both explicitly through exegetical comment, and implicitly through chapter headings) was, I argue, influenced by (and in some cases determined by) the developing Imāmī *fiqh* tradition. Below I trace the nature of this influence through two sets of analyses. First, in the arrangement of *ḥadīth* material and the argumentation accompanying it, one can detect the developing importance of jurisprudence. Second, in the selection of certain *ḥadīth* variants over others, and in an increased sensitivity to *isnāds*, one can detect how authors of later works modified the presentation of their *ḥadīth* material in response to the demands of jurisprudence. In short, the collections of *ḥadīth* moved from being an expression of the law in themselves to being a genre intended to provide support for the expression of the law delineated in works of *fiqh*.

The collections yield to systematic analysis with some resistance since the authors/compilers, both explicitly and structurally, demonstrate disparate aims in their collections. A final preliminary matter: I am restricting myself to the so-called "canonical" four books of Imāmī *ḥadīth* and to the topic of *tayammum* (ritual purification with sand, rather than water). My reason for proceeding along these lines is not dogmatic but practical: the material had to be both available and circumscribed, and any conclusions drawn should be similarly tempered. This selection may appear arbitrary; the canonical position of the four books was neither immediately, nor universally recognised by

practices imported from other countries of Dār al-Islam were adopted by various Hindu sects. Much animism, much superstition is common to all humanity. Certain superstitious practices in North African Islam have been traced by sociologists to Berber origins; curiously enough identical forms of animism and superstition made their appearance in India and have been attributed to Hindu influences. The two streams are largely unconnected, and have their common origin, perhaps, in the very nature of mass belief.



Aziz Ahmad

Studies in Islamic culture
in the Indian Environment.
Oxford-1969, s. 167-181.

DN: 72521

VI

AKBAR: HERETIC OR APOSTATE?

By far the most daring experiment in eclecticism made in Muslim India was by the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) both at the personal and at the official level. Born in the strenuous period of his father Humāyūn's loss of the Indian empire and flight to Persia, Akbar did not receive the traditional education of a Mughal prince. He was almost illiterate. At the same time he was an intensely religious person, or rather a person desperately in search of a religion.

At first his approach to religion was a devoted, if superficial, acceptance of traditional orthodoxy and an exaggerated veneration for Chishtī saints, living and dead. Until 1579 he visited the tomb of Mu'īn-al-dīn Chishtī at Ajmer almost every year,¹ and in 1567 he had travelled the whole distance on foot in thanksgiving for his conquest of Chitore²; two of his eldest sons were born at the house of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī so as to be under the influence of the saint's blessing.³

But by now Sūfism had lost its spiritual dynamism in India, and orthodoxy was waging a war of intolerance against the Alfī movements. The two Sūfī orders which penetrated deep into and revitalized Indian Islam in the seventeenth century, the Naqsh-bandī and the Qādirī, had not yet gathered any vital momentum.

After the death of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī in 1571 there was no spiritual guide of any calibre who could maintain a hold on the spiritually receptive mind of the emperor. Shaykh Tāj-al-dīn Ajodhanī, whom Akbar met in 1578 when he had already absorbed a great deal of eclecticism, was a heterodox Sūfī, deeply under the influence of Ibn al-'Arabī and 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī. This contact, instead of restraining Akbar within the fold of traditional Islam, seems to have unintentionally smoothed his path to a heretical application of al-Jīlī's conception of the Perfect Man to himself.⁴

By far the most formidable messianistic influence was that of the

¹ 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta, 1868-9, ii, 49, and *passim*.

² *Ibid.* ii, 105.

³ *Ibid.* ii, 108-9, 120, 132.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 265.

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author quotes a few of Iqbal's verses in V. Kiernan's translation instead of going to the original, especially *Zarb-i Kalim*). Iqbal emerges in Gilmartin's analysis mainly as an inspiring visionary (his decision to use poetical expressions to voice his ideas certainly made his voice better heard among people in both urban and rural areas). As for Quaid-i Azam M. A. Jinnah, the author writes that his 'strength lay in the ability to transcend tensions, to direct Muslim politics towards symbolic goals' (p. 205)—his Ismā'īlī background may have enabled him to do so as he was neither bound by the traditions of an 'agricultural tribe' nor belonged to reformist or orthodox Muslim circles.

Gilmartin succeeds in leading his readers through the jungle of trends and political games that finally resulted in the Muslim League emerging as the party which gained victory against the Unionists although formerly it had appealed mainly to the minority areas, and urban centres of Muslims in India—again, the ardent defence of the Pakistan ideal by the *Muhājirs* after partition comes to mind.

Gilmartin's book explains thus many facets of Muslim political power struggle, which continues to this day in Pakistan. One would perhaps have liked a somewhat more detailed account of the role of women in Punjabi politics (the name of Begum Shah Nawaz appears once at random).

Although Punjab was certainly the centre of political movements in the subcontinent before partition, it would be fascinating to carry out similar research in the case of Sind where, as far as I can see, similar conditions prevailed and the interplay of landed gentry, pirs, and urban business classes would be worthy of an in-depth analysis.

Gilmartin's book, provided with two useful maps and a welcome glossary, would form a good model for future research in this field and will remain indispensable for everyone interested in the pre-history of Pakistan.

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Akbar and Religion.

By KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI. Idārah-i-Adabiyāt-i-Delli, Delhi, 1989. Pp. 471. Rs 275.00.

There is no dearth of books on Akbar, for many the most beloved Indian emperor. We are lucky that the days of his rule have been fully documented not only by his admirer Abul Fazl and his critic Badauni but also by the Jesuit fathers who visited India and enjoyed his favour. In numerous Indian works—Hindu and Muslim, as well as Western—authors have tried to understand the complex nature of this conqueror and mystic, alleged heretic and visionary, patron of arts and literature and (perhaps) illiterate hero. Among Western scholars, the works of Stuart Cary Welch, such as his Catalogue of the great INDIA! exhibition in New York, or the introduction of *Anwarī's Divān*, a pocket book for Akbar, have shown the greatest understanding of the enigmatic ruler's personality.

Khalīq Ahmad Nizami has attempted to give an unbiased picture of Akbar which is based on an in-depth study of all available documents in Persian as well as in other languages, and tried to see to what extent the divergent opinions of

Indian and Western scholars can provide a comprehensive picture of the emperor, and how far the sources help to understand the monarch's spiritual development. Still, even the most careful research leaves some questions open; one wonders, for instance, why the vision of Bhira in 1578 is not more strongly emphasized as this seems to be one of the key experiences or perhaps the event that is at the root of Akbar's later religious attitude. But it seems that Professor Nizami deliberately avoids singling out specific points in order to give a detailed picture of the changes in Akbar's personality so that the scholar perusing this book has before him all the source material (including many Persian quotations) and can form his own opinion based on the thorough historical research offered here.

Professor Nizami himself reaches a pretty negative conclusion concerning the ruler's personality: he accuses him of a 'miserable lack of understanding of both the Muslim and Hindu attitude', towards his religious claims, and accuses him of having committed three major mistakes: (a) he did not adopt the printing press, first examples of which had been used by the Jesuits in India; (b) he did not recognize the need for a strong navy to block off, in cooperation with the Ottomans, the growing European influence in the Indian Ocean, and (c) he did not assume the role of a philosopher-king but of a prophet-king, which, understandably, offended the Muslims.

A number of rare documents are appended; they are particularly welcome to the historian. The inscription for a temple in Kashmir begins with a verse from Šanā'ī's *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa*, which was very common among Sufis; and it is interesting that 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith uses, in his letter after Akbar's death, the old story from the *Mahabharata* about the man who fell in the well and is surrounded by all kinds of dangers—a story which seems to have been a favourite with Indian Muslims as it is found, to mention one instance, in Gesudaraz's *Jawāmi' al-Kalim*.

At some points one tends to put a question mark: were the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān as-Šafā indeed still influential in Mughal India? That would have to be proved. The role of Ibn 'Arabī (usually misunderstood) thoughts will become clearer once William Chittick has published his studies on Ibn 'Arabī's influence on Indian thought. As for the Ottoman interest in Mughal India, it is well known that 'Urfī and, to a lesser extent, Fayzī strongly influenced seventeenth century Ottoman poetry. Turkish historians are working on related problems even after the death of Zeki Velidi Togan, Emel Esin, and Karl Jahn (thus the correct spelling of these names).

The bibliography, large and impressive as it is, could still be enlarged, especially by some important studies by British and American art historians such as S. C. Welch and Ellen Smart (the question of Akbar's dyslexia!) and the studies of Attilio Petruccioli as well as of Glen Lowry and Michael Bernard concerning Fatehpur Sikri.

A chronology of Akbar's life is welcome; in the index, there seems to be an error in pagination at 459.

The book will provide historians of Akbar's India with much food for thought.

Annemarie Schimmel
Harvard University

Rooh Afza

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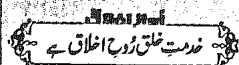
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A NOTE ON DĪN-I-ILĀHĪ

A WAHEED GHIAZNAVI*

Although Akbar was brought up as an Orthodox Sunnī he with the passage of time, under the influence of Shaykh Mubārak and his two sons, Abu al Faḍl and Fayḍī, developed the catholicity in his religious discussions of Hindus, Jains, Buddhists and Christians and compared them with the religious principles of Islam, which is the purest and everlasting religion. As a Muslim he found himself to be bound with the principles of Islam and as such to free himself he revolted from these principles and adopted the principles of other religions which he could turn and twist according to his own whim or existing circumstances. In his opinion he was making his Kingdom a place of perfect peace with himself as head of the religion.

Akbar therefore invented a new religion which he named as *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* (Allāh's Dīn)⁴ principles of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* were as follows:

1. The unity of God. There is God and none except God and Akbar was His khalīfah or vicegerent on earth, performance of *sajdah* to the emperor was made obligatory.²
2. On meeting, the members of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* saluted each other by saying *Allāh-u-Akbar* and "*Jalla Jalālūhū*".
3. Dinner of *Chehullum* etc. was to be given in one's own life time.
4. Absence of meat of all kinds.
5. One's on birth by anniversary party was a must for every member.
6. The followers of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, who were called *chelahs* (disciples), were not to dine with fishers, butchers and hunters etc. because they were men violence whereas the *Dīn* adopted "*ahimsa*" (non-violence).
7. According to Abū al Faḍl the enterant had to take off his turban and place his head on the feet of Akbar who in return used to raise him, put his turban on his head and give a *shast* to him in token of his new belief.³

There were four grades of sincerity (*chahārgānah akhlas*) the followers of this cult:-

- a) Those who offered to sacrifice their property for the king.
- b) Those who offered their property and life for the king.
- c) Those who offered their property life and honour for the king.
- d) Those who offered their life, property, honour and religion for the king.

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Ekber Sah

L'ESSAI DE REFORME RELIGIEUSE ET SOCIALE D'EKBER GÜRKAN, EMPEREUR TURC DE L'INDE

1556 — 1605

Hikmet Bayur

Député de Manisa, membre de la S. H. T., professeur.

Du côté paternel, Ekber est le petit-fils de Babour, le conquérant des Indes. Timur est ainsi son aïeul de la septième souche. Sa mère Hâmide Banu Begüm est la fille de Mir Baba Dost, qui a des liens de parenté avec cette même dynastie.

Les principaux événements survenus peu de temps avant l'avènement au trône d'Ekber sont les suivants :

Après avoir essayé à maintes reprises de reconstituer en Asie centrale l'Empire de Timur, Babour se voit obligé d'abandonner ce pays aux Özbeks et de se retirer à Caboul. En 1526, il engage une lutte décisive contre la dynastie Afghane des Lodis qui règne à cette époque sur une grande partie du Nord de l'Hindoustan. On trouve dans l'Histoire des Indes de Cambridge le passage suivant au sujet de cette dernière dynastie: (T. III, p. 224; note 2.): «Les Lodis sont, quant à leur race, des Turcs Kalatch ou Gildjai; mais ils sont établis en Afghanistan depuis si longtemps qu'il est juste, au XV. e. siècle, de les considérer comme des Afghans.» Le membre de cette dynastie qui, à cette époque, occupe le trône, le Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, est complètement battu par Babour à la bataille de Panipat où il trouve la mort; son pays tombe alors entre les mains de Babour. L'Etat turc désigné sous le nom de Gurkanîg, - du nom de Timur Gurkan - se trouve être ainsi fondé aux Indes.

Babour doit ensuite lutter contre un rival encore plus dangereux: le Radjah de Tchitor, Rana Sanka, qui s'appuie sur la presque totalité des Etats Radjputs, sur la faveur de toute la population hindoue et le désir et l'espoir qu'ont les Hindoux de reconquérir la souveraineté, perdue trois siècles et demi auparavant. Babour écrase complètement Rana Sanka à la bataille de Kanva (1527).

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T.T.K. Bellefleur, c.II / no: 5-6,

1938, s. 127-185.

Dong / Kikop
Kütüphanede Mecutter

der ş a h î âleme doğru terakki ettiğini gördük. Diğer taraftan, *Eurasia*'nın garp mıntakalarında güneşin hâkimiyetini tesbit etmeğe muvaffak olduk; *Avrupa*'lı *Hunlar*'ın bu istikamet alma sisteminde, evveleminde, bu garp muhitinin bir tesirini görmeliyiz. Hattâ garpta bulunan bu muhit içinde, iki buçuk asır yaşadıklarından, arkeolojik bakiyelerini mütalâa eden bir eserde, maddî medeniyetlerinin garp medeniyetine tamamen uygun olduğunu tesbit ettim. Aynı hâdis, *Avarlar*'da da tezahür etmektedir. *Uzakşark*'tan gelen *Avarlar*, cedlerinden kalma hayvan üslûbunu sâf bir halde muhafaza edebilmişlerdir; halbuki hakikî *Avarlar* tarafından *Karadeniz* havalisinden getirilen *Kuturgutlar* ve arkadaşları, bunu muhafaza edememişlerdir.

Son olarak, gök mıntakalarına ait bu istikametlerin ve buna bağlı renk sembolizminin sihrî ve kozmik mânası hakkında bir kaç söz söylemek isterim. Göğün dört bucağı, renkler ve bunlara tekabül eden unsurların kültü, yalnız *Çin*'de değil, göçebelerde de mevcuttu. Meselâ eski bir seyyah *cenup Rusya*'sı *Tatarları*'nın her sabah dört bucağa doğru ateş, hava, su ve ölmüş cedler şerefine eğildiklerini müşahade etmiştir. Bunun aynı Moğollar'da da mevcut olduğunu biliyoruz. *Soyotlar* başlıca ilâhlarına münacatta bulunmak için göğün dört bucağına doğru eğilirler; şimal kutbu yakınında yaşayan kavimlere göre göğün iyi ve fena bucakları vardır. Bu gibi misalleri fazlaştırmaya vaktim kalmadı. Fakat şunu kaydetmeliyim ki, gök bucakları kültü daima bazı renklerle münasebettar kılınmış; esasen buna dair bir işaret, ekseriya renklerin uğurlu ve uğursuz vasıfları hakkında ileri sürülen iddialardır. *Moğol* kavimlerinin bayrak direklerinde sallanan beş renkli hamailer, şüphesiz *Çinliler*'de olduğu gibi onlarda da dört kutbun ve dünyanın merkezinin renklerine tekabül eder. Menşei göçebe olup *Çin* kaynaklarında hayatını idame ettiren ve gök atlarına beş renkli bir kısrak gönderildiğini ifade eden efsane de, bu fikir çevresine işaret eder. İşte bundan dolayıdır ki *Asya Hunları*'nın meşhur kralı *Mo-tun*'ün garp tarafına (yani esas tarafa) ancak beyaz atlarla, şarka mavi (yani kırmızı) atlarla, şimale yağız atlarla ve cenuba al atlarla taarruz ettiğini öğreniyoruz. *Gyula Németh* aynı usulü *Peçenekler*'de tesbit etmiştir. *Türk* kavimlerinin destanlarında pek sık tasvir edilen muhtelif renkli at sürüleri, aynı neviden fikirlerin solmuş akislerinden ibarettir.

Çin'de böyle bir şeye, kâinata intibak derler. Bunun menşei sinologlara nazaran, - aynı zamanda göçebelerin mukabil inanları-

nın kaynağı olan - eski *Çin* felsefesidir. Bu hususta, *Frobenius*, *Fr. Röck* ve sairlerin araştırmalarına müracaati tavsiye etmek gerektir. *Mısır*'da, *cenubî Asya*'da, ilh... aynı fikirlere rastlamamız pek hayrete şayandır. Hattâ yukarıda ana hatları çizilen etiket de medenî dünya ile temasın bir neticesi değildir. Göçebelerin çadır ekonomisine bir nazar atarsak, bunda, ilâhların, misafirlerin, çadır sahibinin, kadının, zahirenin, yatakların yerlerinin, ev işleri bölümünün pek katî bir şekilde tayin edilmiş olması, hemen dikkat nazarları kendisine çekecektir. Cedlerden kalma örfler ve dinî fikirler bu yerlere hürmeti temin eder; ve aynı aristokratik meratip silsilesini ve aynı askerî disiplini törenlerde, en basit insanların düğünlerinde, kabile toplantılarında, *Atılâ*'nın ziyafetinde olduğu kadar müşahade ediyoruz; ve cihanın diğer iptidâî medeniyetlerinde, bu örf ve ananeler, küçük insan gruplarının beraber yaşamlarının zarurî temeli iken, göçebeler bu eski teşkilâtı o derece inkişaf ettirmişlerdir ki, bunlar sayesinde *Eurasia*'yı ihata eden imparatorluklar kurmağa muvaffak olmuşlardır.

550689

Prof. HİKMET BAYUR (Ankara) : 16 ıncı asırda Dinî ve Sosyal bir inkılâp teşebbüsü : Ekber Gurkan.

Ekber, baba tarafından *Hindistan* fâtihî *Babür*'ün torunudur. Bu suretle *Timur* onun yedinci göbekten büyük babası olur. Anası *Hâmide Bânu Begüm* bu hanedana nisbeti olan *Mir Baba Dost*'ün kızıdır.

Ekber'in *Hindistan* tahtına çıkmasından az evvel cereyan eden mühim vakalar şunlardır:

Babür orta *Asya*'da *Timur*'ün devletini yeniden kurmak için yaptığı bir çok uğraşmalardan sonra orayı *Özbekler*'e bırakmağa mecbur kalır ve *Kâbil*'e çekilir. 1526 da *Hindistan* şimalinin büyük bir kısmına hâkim olan *Afganlı Lodi* hânedanı ile katî çarpışmada bulunur. Bu hanedan için *Kembrîç Hind* tarihinde (C. III, S. 224, haşiy 2) denilir ki: «*Lodiler* neslen *Kalaç* veya *Gılcai Türkler*'dir, fakat o kadar zamandanberi *Afganistan*'da oturuyorlardı ki, 15 inci asırda onlara *Afganlı* demek doğru olur.»

Bu hanedanın o sırada tahtta bulunan üyesi *Sultan İbrahim Lodi*, *Panipat* meydan muharebesinde *Babür* tarafından katî surette yenilir, kendisi ölür ve memleketi *Babür*'ün eline geçer. Bu suretle *Hindistan*'da *Timur Gurkan*'ın adına atfen *Gurkani* denilen *Türk* devleti kurulmuş olur.

and translators in and around the court was considerable. They could intervene in favour of Christian interests, and the medical doctors in particular enjoyed the confidence of the caliphs and grandees and also their harems. Timothy I represented this Christian community better than anyone else could have done, as Head of the Church of the East, a man of learning and a participant in all affairs of the country who was consistently loyal to 'Abbāsid interests.

The court at the time could function as a potential meeting place between Christian dignitaries and the caliph. On the lower levels Christians could be despised and hated, and they were, but they could still find powerful protection at court if needed.³⁷ The court in its turn of course demanded its price in terms of flattery, intrigue and manipulation. But it made possible at least the kind of courtly interreligious discourses which started in this period. Much depended on the will and whims of the caliph himself; al-Mahdī, Hārūn and al-Ma'mūn showed a certain openness. Al-Ma'mūn in particular liked to surround himself with non-orthodox voices, including those of Christians. Significantly, he undermined the position of the class of 'ulamā', already powerful in his time, by demanding their loyalty to Mu'tazilī doctrine;³⁸ likewise, he loved to arbitrate in disputes between Christians.

It appears that, until the reversal brought about by al-Mutawakkil (r. 847-861), the concept of religion, whatever the shadow of its purely legal and doctrinal interpretation, was still general enough at this time to admit a search for knowledge and culture beyond confessional differences, and on the highest level it did not obstruct a certain Interreligious discourse which as such tended to broaden the notion of religion, even if Christian doctrines were understood essentially by analogy with Muslim concepts of monotheism, prophethood and scripture. With al-Mutawakkil such open interreligious discourse was finished at least for a time, except privately and among friends. In periods of greater cultural openness, however, it could re-emerge, especially if encouraged by a ruler or *wazīr*.³⁹

³⁷ The situation of the Christians during the first century of 'Abbāsid rule worsened continuously, both by the promulgation of legal restrictions and in popular feeling, with a gradual shift of power to the Muslims in the new and flourishing towns and cities. See Antoine Fattal's study mentioned in Note 18, and A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects* (Oxford: 1930 etc.).

³⁸ Al-Ma'mūn's *miḥna* indicates his will to put the 'ulamā' under his control.

³⁹ Such a cultural openness allowing for interreligious discourse can be seen, for instance, in Muslim Spain until c. 1030, in Muslim Sicily, under Salāh al-Dīn (d. 1192) and the Ayyūbid dynasty in Egypt, and under Ilkhānid rule in the second half of the 13th

Hindu India in early Moghul times (1526-1605 A.D.)

With the conquest of a large part of Northern India in 1526 Bābur laid the foundations of the Moghul empire, in which a Muslim government was to rule a majority Hindu population for more than three centuries. Bābur, himself a man of culture and a writer,⁴⁰ brought with him Turkic cultural traditions which became part of the court culture and left their mark on the social structure of the leading classes. After his death in 1530, his son Humāyūn ruled for ten years but then was decisively defeated by Shīr Khān Sūnī, the Aghan ruler of Bihar, and took refuge at the court of Shah Ṭahmāsp in Isfahan.

It was Shīr Khān who laid the foundations for important innovations in the administration of the Moghul empire, itself temporarily absent from the scene.⁴¹ In Bihar he created a central administrative structure, with a new system of taxing land revenues which paved the way for Akbar's reforms. In particular he gave Hindus a range of new rights, appointing them to high positions in the army and promoting them in various other respects, for he understood that the leaders of the non-Muslim majority must participate in ruling the country. Shīr Khān proclaimed himself ruler of Northern India in 1539, assuming the title of Shīr Shāh 'Ādil; he died in 1544.

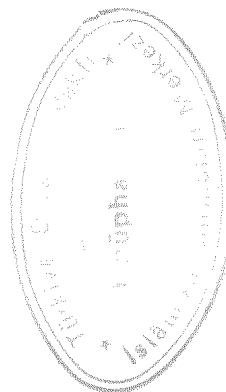
After fifteen years' exile Humāyūn succeeded in reconquering part of his father's territory in Northern India and reestablishing the empire after the death of Islām Shāh, Shīr Shāh's successor, in 1554. He took Delhi in 1555 and in his turn introduced the court and Muslim nobility to Persian culture, which was to leave its mark on Moghul culture for three centuries to come.⁴² But he died suddenly in an accident in January 1556 and his then fourteen-year-old son Akbar

century. The 'ulamā' have nearly always been against it. Although popular movements could be directed against any prestige given to Jews and Christians living in Muslim territory, on the level of popular religion there may have been more interaction between adherents of these three religions than the official "ideology" would allow.

⁴⁰ Bābur as an author is most known for his *Bābur-nāma*, his autobiography written in Chagatāy Turkish (English tr. by Annette S. Beveridge, *The Bābur-nāma in English*, 2 vols., London 1921/2). He was, however, also an important poet (his *Diwān* contains besides Turkish also some Persian poems) and wrote several proseworks. Bābur wrote mostly in Chagatāy Turkish and was proud of being of Turkish descent.

⁴¹ For the reforms of Shīr Khān Sūnī (Shīr Shāh 'Ādil) during the five years of his rule, see S.M. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India* (New York and London: Columbia Univ. Press, 1964) 138-140.

⁴² Humāyūn wrote Persian verse and was a patron of mathematics and astronomy. During his stay at the Persian court of Shah Ṭahmāsp he was under pressure to become Shī'ī and at the Moghul court there would be an important Shī'ī group.



HADESE TITELADOKTAN
SONRA ULLEN DOKÜMAN

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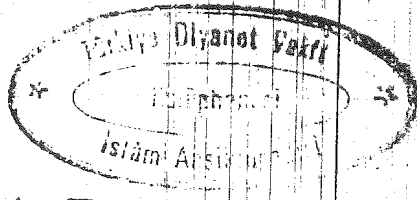
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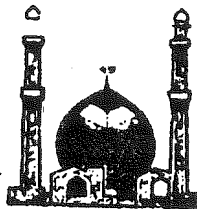


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Ekber Lah

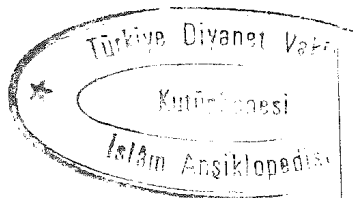
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csaba, The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, [2002] 2003, pp. 177-201.

Étude consacrée à la « faction iranienne » (*irānī*) de la noblesse de la cour des Grands Moghols de l'Inde qui, selon B. Péri, ferait son apparition seulement en 1555 dans le cortège de Homāyūn b. Bābor rentrant en Inde de son exil en Iran safavide. Privilégiant la prosopographie comme méthode d'approche et travaillant d'après les sources safavides et mogholes (chroniques et *taḍkera*), l'A. propose une définition de cette faction non pas comme d'origine ethnique iranienne mais comme issue du territoire safavide, et la présente en tant que groupe de pression opposé à celui de la noblesse *tūrānī*. Ses statistiques distinguent trois groupes ethniques dans la faction iranienne : avant tout les Persans (« Persians ») dont des membres de la dynastie safavide, puis les Turkmènes (« Türkmāns »), enfin les Turcs chaghataï (« Khurāsānī Turks »). L'article est suivi d'un tableau de 114 noms de personnages ayant-fait partie de la « faction iranienne » à la cour d'Akbar, indiquant leur généalogie et leur origine ethnique (si possible), ainsi que le poste occupé dans le système administratif moghol.

M.S.

MS.

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- Mogollar
- Elke Sah

**Circular motions: Private pleasures and public prognostications
in the nativities of the Mughal Emperor Akbar**

Astrologische Beobachtungen und Anspielungen sind in den Quellen zu vielen Herrschern und Epochen der Islamischen Welt zu finden. Ganz besonders auffällig ist dies für das Moghulreich. In den historischen Überlieferungen zu dieser Dynastie finden sich zahlreiche Hinweise auf Astrologen als Ratgeber, die den richtigen Zeitpunkt für die Thronbesteigung oder den Einzug in Städte bestimmen. Eine Sonderstellung nehmen die vier Horoskope von Akbar ein, die am Anfang des AkbarnÁme einzeln aufgeführt und ausführlich erläutert werden.

Der Vortrag geht den Unterschieden in den verschiedenen Versionen dieses Horoskops nach und fragt nach ihrer Funktion im Kontext des AkbarnÁme. Dabei kann sowohl eine Brücke zu den Timuriden, als auch zur Ideologie Akbars geschlagen werden.

05 AGUSTOS 2005

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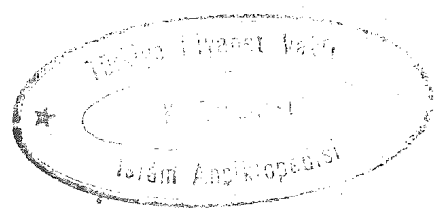
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THE RELIGION OF AKBAR

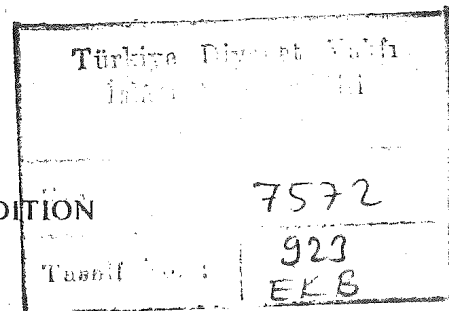


BY

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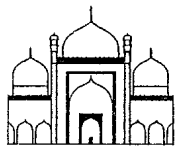


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5



The Nobility Under Akbar and the Development of His Religious Policy, 1560-80*

Iqtidar Alam Khan

Ekbar Sah
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The significant changes that were introduced in the organization of Mughal government and the accompanying shifts in Akbar's administrative and religious policies during the period 1560-80 have remained for long a favourite subject of study for a number of modern historians. The existing interpretation of these changes seems largely to run parallel to Abu'l-fazl's line of argument, which seeks to explain the growth of institutions and policies in terms of the unfolding of Akbar's personality. Abu'l-fazl often tries to ignore, or brush aside as the outcome of 'wrong advice', all those measures or decisions that appeared to him inconsistent with Akbar's policy during the last 25 years of his reign.¹ The impression created by Abu'l-fazl is reinforced by a similar tendency in Badayuni, who, from an opposite point of view, quite frequently mixes up his comments on some of Akbar's enlightened measures of the later period with the events of the earlier phase, when there was hardly any ground for him to find fault with Akbar from a doctrinal angle. Under the influence of these interpretations modern historians also tend to disregard facts that are inconsistent with Abu'l-fazl's theory of Akbar's gradual 'unveiling' of himself as 'the superman', through the introduction, one after another, of his policies based on the principles of *shuhl-i-kull* and universal kingship. This has often resulted in reducing discussion of Akbar's religious policy and his relations with the Rajputs largely to speculation based on selected facts that have been highlighted by Abu'l-fazl and Badayuni. It may further be pointed out that the whole problem of the nobility under Akbar is generally sought to be understood in terms of their relations with the king, which is no doubt an important aspect to

* Reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1968), pp. 29-36.

120-132

be considered, but not the only one. The exclusive attention given to this has served to hide from view many other equally important factors such as the pattern of racial and religious alignments within the nobility, tribal or clan ties among groups of nobles, and their relations with other sections of the people. These kinds of interactions determined to a large extent changes in the role and standing of the nobility.

In this essay an attempt is made to suggest a reappraisal of Akbar's early policies by raising certain points which tell against the accepted interpretation. The views put forward here are purely tentative and by no means based on an exhaustive analysis of the available evidence. The purpose of this appraisal will be served if it succeeds in stimulating fresh thinking about some of the well-known generalizations so often repeated in textbooks.

A significant aspect of the transformation that came about in the nature and functioning of the institutions of the Mughal empire in the sixteenth century was the evolution of a culturally unified nobility out of the multiracial and religiously heterogeneous elements brought together by Akbar. An analysis of the list of nobles who accompanied Humayun to Hindustan in 1555 shows that the nobility inherited by Akbar consisted chiefly of two racial groups,² the Persians and the Turanis; and of the two, the Turanis enjoyed a pre-dominant position. The nobility left behind by Humayun had thus essentially a Turani complexion. The Persian nobles with the exception of Bairam Khan, Mirza Nijat, and Mirza Hasan were simply exalted scribes who could exercise but little influence on state policies.³ But for the promotions received by a few (hardly three or four) persons of Persian origin,⁴ the composition of the nobility remained unaltered during the regime of Bairam Khan. But after Bairam Khan's fall the situation gradually changed. As is apparent from the accompanying tables, two new elements of local origin entered the imperial service between 1560 and 1575. These new elements were the Rajput chiefs and the Indian Muslims (mostly *shaikh-zādas*, the majority of whom belonged to the families living on *madad-i ma'āsh* grants or enjoying *zamīndārī* rights). At the same time, there was a marked increase in the relative strength of the Persians, especially in the higher grades.⁵ The net result of this process was the gradual fading away of the Turani complexion of the nobility as well as the erosion of the Chaghatai traditions and customs of state organization,⁶ thus indirectly facilitating Akbar's quest for an alternative theory of kingship in the subsequent years.

The Persian nobles seem to have improved their position in the period 1562-7⁷ mainly by earning promotion in the course of military operations

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[6] THE THRONE OF TIME

THE PAINTED MIRACLES OF THE SAINT EMPEROR

IN HIS half-century of rule, Akbar transformed the conquest state of Babur and Humayun into a wealthy, stable, and integrated empire. More than two generations witnessed the rise of a new social, political, and economic order that stretched from Kabul to Bengal and from Kashmir to Gujarat. The symbol of this new order was the Mughal emperor. When he died in 1605, Akbar was the greatest sovereign in living memory. This can be seen in the emotive reaction of Banarasidas, a Jain merchant who was nineteen at the time, to the news of the emperor's demise. In an account written in his later years, he reported that he had fainted, fallen down the stairs he had been sitting on, and injured his head. This sense of anomie was not merely the private emotion of a young man. It was collectively felt: bazaars shut down, and people buried their jewels, put on old clothes, and expected the worst. Banarasidas recounted, "The people felt suddenly orphaned and insecure without their sire. Terror raged everywhere; the hearts of men trembled with dire apprehension; their faces became drained of colour."¹ However, the transition of power to Akbar's son, Salim—who took the title of Jahangir (r. 1605–1627)—was a relatively smooth and nonviolent affair. An attempt to place Jahangir's seventeen-year-old son Khusraw on the throne was rejected by a majority of nobles, and the matter was settled within the palace precincts in a matter of days. Even when Khusraw fled to Punjab six months later, the new emperor was able to muster enough support to defeat and capture the rebellious prince quickly.

Jahangir was thirty-six years old at the time of his accession. He was already adept at maintaining an independent army and retinue as well as at negotiating complex political situations. In this respect, he had an advantage over his three predecessors—Babur, Humayun, and Akbar—who

had all assumed the mantle of sovereignty at a young age with little skill or authority in handling a formidable array of male and female kin, court nobility, and other kingmakers. The problem facing Jahangir was of a different nature. In the last few years of Akbar's reign, he had been less than patient in waiting for the throne, openly rebelling and posturing against his "heretical" father's policies. Now, on the throne, Jahangir had to decide how much of Akbar's sacred legacy to embrace as a model for fashioning his own sovereign self.

As we saw in the last chapter, Akbar's foundational claim of sacrality, enunciated at the moment of the millennium, had embroiled the emperor in controversy. He was accused of attempting to undo the order of Islam and replacing it with his own religion. These accusations occurred in the wake of Akbar's attempts to seal his conquests and administrative accomplishments with a new set of courtly rituals and symbols. Despite this resistance, he went ahead with his project and instituted an order of disciples in which initiates swore to sacrifice their life, family, honor, and religion in the service of the emperor. Furthermore, this imperial cult was inaugurated at the moment of the first Islamic millennium, or, more precisely, in 990 AH (1582), when a conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter took place, indicating a great change in world affairs. In essence, Akbar celebrated his imperial achievements as a millennial being who had ushered in a new world order, as a Lord of the Conjunction like his ancestor Timur, as a savior like the expected heir of Ali, as an avatar like Rama, as a messiah like Jesus, and as a Renewer of the Second Millennium (Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani) of Islam. This was the millennial-messianic dispensation that Jahangir inherited, in which the monarch was a sacred figure towering above the religious and sectarian differences of his subjects. The question taken up here is how Jahangir dealt with his father's sovereign legacy. Did he reject it or make it his own?

JAHANGIR AND AKBAR: FROM OPPOSITION TO MIMESIS

In the last five years of his reign, Akbar's political energies had mainly been consumed by attempts to rein in his rebellious heir.² In 1599, he had given Jahangir the assignment of dealing with the recalcitrant rana of Mewar, while he ventured south to the Deccan to expand the Mughal realm. Taking advantage of Akbar's absence from the capital, Jahangir abandoned his mission and, ignoring the entreaties of his grandmother,

orders of his realm,⁵ his enthusiasm for a pantheistic metaphysics,⁶ and his political need to bind together a ruling class in India that was ethnically and religiously diverse.⁷ While these elements were certainly relevant, they do not explain why Akbar's claim was made in an idiom of messianism and enacted with rituals of sainthood similar to the ones that the Safavids of Iran had deployed. To understand why, we must view the religious dynamic at Akbar's court through sixteenth-century eyes. We must take seriously the fact that Akbar used the first Islamic millennium to proclaim his sacrality and, as the opening quotation shows, in doing so was accused of mimicking the messianic project of the Safavid Sufi-monarch Shah Isma'il.⁸

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THE MILLENNIUM IN MUGHAL INDIA

Made king at age thirteen, Akbar spent the first five years of his reign in the grip of powerful regents, court factions, and kin groups. Successfully breaking free of these political forces at the age of eighteen, he began the hard work of building alliances and establishing a stable equilibrium among his Turkish, Persian, and Indian nobility. Akbar also had to fight incessantly, at first to preserve his precarious patrimony and then to subjugate rival sovereigns and warrior chiefs across northern and central India. He excelled at war, deploying innovative tactics and inventing new technologies. Between 1561 and 1569, a number of important Rajput kingdoms were added to the Mughal realm. In 1573, Gujarat was conquered, and in 1576, Bengal. This was not for Akbar, however, a zero-sum game of territorial conquest. Rather, it was a remarkably successful campaign to recruit participants in a long-term project of empire building that remapped the political geography of South Asia. Two decades into his reign, Akbar had created under him a diverse ruling class of noblemen, warlords, clan chiefs, and minor kings who were assigned numbered ranks and incited to serve as salaried servants of the expanding Mughal imperial realm. The emperor had become without doubt one of the greatest sovereigns of the time.

It was at this juncture that Akbar turned to pursuits that can be termed "cultural." Illustrated works of history, poetry, and epics were produced on a scale and in a style that had no precedent. Imperial palaces, mausoleums, and urban complexes were erected of a size, number, and grandeur hitherto unimagined. Amid this frenzy of cultural production and experimentation, the emperor began his inquiry into the religious traditions

132-146

of his realm. In 1575, Akbar established the House of Worship (*Ibadat Khana*). In this novel venue, the emperor personally supervised late-night debates in which scholars of various traditions—Islam, Christianity, Brahmanism, Jainism, and Zoroastrianism—expatiated and defended their beliefs.⁹ During these gatherings, Akbar allowed free-ranging discussion on all points of doctrine and metaphysics, not excepting even the most central tenets of Islam. As was to be expected, the discussions often became bitter and deeply acrimonious, but he continued with the project. Then, in 1579, scandal broke and controversy began raging publicly. The emperor's rivals used accusations of heresy to rally men to their cause.¹⁰ In some cases, religious edicts were issued against Akbar. None of this seriously weakened his political position, however. The rebels were crushed and at least two of the unruly Muslim jurists reportedly put to death.¹¹

Once political order had been restored, Akbar celebrated his victories in the year 1582. In terms of the Islamic Hijri calendar, it was only the year 990. But those familiar with astrology knew that in this year an important conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter had reoccurred in the same celestial position as it had near the birth of Islam and the end of the Sassanian-Zoroastrian dispensation—a once-in-a-millennium event.¹² Grand celebrations were held at court. New coins were issued with the word "thousand" (*alf*) stamped on them. Most significantly, a thousand-year history was commissioned, called *Tarikh-i Alfi* (Millennial History).¹³ This voluminous chronicle, written in Persian, consumed the labors of a team of authors for more than a decade. As a work of history, it was an unremarkable synthesis of the established Arabic and Persian chronicle tradition. But as a symbol of the millennium, the chronicle had many notable attributes.

For one, the Millennial History began not from the birth of the Prophet or his famous migration (*hijra*) from Mecca to Medina but from the year of the Prophet's death. No explanation was given for this curious choice of beginning. Universal histories at the time usually began with the birth of Adam. Dynastic histories began with a founding figure. Similarly, the history of an individual monarch started with the year of his birth or ascension. The norm, in other words, was to imagine the past as beginning with the advent of a sacred being, an embodied presence. The Millennial History, by contrast, began with the end of a sacred being, an embodied absence. By doing so, it set up an expectation of a new beginning and a new being, that is, a new cycle of time. Since the chronicle ended with the reign of Akbar, one can surmise that it was the Mughal emperor who had filled this absence and fulfilled this expectation by inaugurating the

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present, an inveterate hostility has taken hold between the Deccanis and Westerners, and whenever they get the chance, the former have engaged in killing the latter.

(From Muhammad Qasim Firishta, *Tarikh-i Firishta*, quoted in Eaton 2005: 59)

5.4 Africans in the Deccan

The presence of Africans in India is a subject of great curiosity among many historians. During the Middle Ages, most of them were Ethiopian slaves (Habshis) bought by Muslim merchants who sailed from the Deccani ports.

Father Francisco Alvares (the first Portuguese Jesuit to reach the Ethiopian highlands in 1520) noted the enormous quantities of Indian silks and brocades consumed by the Ethiopian court, acquired both by gifting and by purchase. African demand for Indian textiles . . . appears to have been the principal engine behind Ethiopia's slave-extraction process . . . The Habshis were not intended to serve their masters as menial laborers but as elite military slaves.

(Eaton 2005: 108–10)

5.5 Babur on Hindustan

Although Babur pays tribute to the Indians' capacity for producing prodigious wealth in their country he also betrays much ignorance of the true condition of India in the following excerpt.

Hindustan is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks; of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits there is none; of genius and capacity none; of manners none; in handicraft and work there is no form or symmetry, method or quality; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the bazaar, no hot-baths, no colleges, no candles, torches or candlesticks.

(Beveridge 1922: 518)

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THE MUGHAL ASCENDANCY

Akbar and his successors (1556–1689)

Neither Babur nor Humayun (Chapter 5) ruled over North India long enough to influence the future shape of their fledgling kingdom. It was Humayun's son Akbar (Plate 4.2) who, during his long reign of forty-nine years (1556–1605), established institutions and created conditions that enabled his son Jahangir, grandson Shah Jahan and great grandson Aurangzeb to rule effectively over an empire of great majesty and awe. For 133 years after Akbar's accession, this empire remained a rock of stability for the vast majority of the peoples of South Asia, and Muslim power reached its apogee during those years. Aurangzeb reigned on until 1707, but after 1689 the empire lost its dynamism.

The four Mughals: a brief introduction

Akbar ascended the throne at fourteen and, for the first five years of his reign, was guided by two regents. From 1561, however, until his death in 1605, he, alone, controlled the destiny of the Mughal state. Throughout his reign, he continued to expand his territories with ambitious ruthlessness and occasional cruelty, reminiscent of both his Mongol and Turkish ancestors. He built up a strong and centralized state.¹ Wise enough to recognize the limits of brute power alone, he was prepared to use diplomacy and institutional structures to create a new type of imperial order. This gained him respect from his subjects. He also possessed much sensibility, curiosity and openness of outlook, qualities that he demonstrated in his handling of controversial issues of faith and belief.² To his court, he attracted an array of brilliant advisers, associates and protagonists of varied ethnic and faith backgrounds; while completely open to their counsel he remained his own man throughout his life.

Akbar's eldest son was Salim (Jahangir) whose Hindu mother, Jodha Bai, the daughter of the Rajput chief of Amber (Jaipur), had been his father's principal wife. A brief revolt by him before his father's death had not deprived him of Akbar's consent for his succession. However, in the Timurid