Modern historiography on Aurangzeb began in the mid-nineteenth century when H.M. Elliot published:

Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Mughal India, (1849), one of the four volumes planned by him. His premature death in 1853 left professor John Dowson to edit his papers and the outcome was The History of India as told by its own Historians. One book of the series in eight volumes, deals exclusively with the reign of Aurangzeb entitled

*This is the general and current spelling given by most of the writers and I have accepted this popular way of writing Aurangzeb. However, Sir J.N. Sarkar spelt it as Aurangzeb which is technically the correct spelling, meaning 'ornament of the throne'. See, A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary by P. Steingass, Kegan Paul, London, 1930 impression. Whenever reference is to Sir J.N. Sarkar, his original spelling of the emperor's name has been retained.

Aurangzeb Muntkhab-ul-Lubab of Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan, a study of the emperor based on extracts from Khafi Khan's account, translated by John Dowson, which removed the complaint of not having any 'complete history' of Aurangzeb. Alexander Dow earlier having been obliged to conclude at the end of the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign because there were no documents available to throw light on the subsequent period. The text used by Dowson was the one published in the Bibliotheca Indica and many British historians have been greatly indebted to it.

Dowson's account suffered from inaccuracies of dates and names and 'meagreness of descriptions' inherent in the work of Khafi Khan. He was conscious of the imperfections.

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2Zahiruddin Malik, "Persian Historiography in India During the 18th Century", Historians of Medieval India, ed. Mohibbul Hasan, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1968, pp.142-143.

3Alexander Dow, History of Hindostan, 3 Vols, Becket, London, 1768-72. Dow had to conclude at the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign as in the 11th year of his reign the emperor had forbidden any official history to be recorded.

of his work. It was confined in great measure to the limited resources of his own library in the country, far away from public libraries. No wonder the book consisting of 183 pages, has only 108 footnotes or references for clarifications, which again are confined to Ma-asir-i-Alemgiri and Alemgir Name and Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas. While realizing Dowson's limitations as owned by him, one cannot help the total impression of description without illumination.

It was not until the close of the century that a notable improvement on the study of Aurangzeb's reign appeared in the Rulers of India Series: Aurangzeb and the Decay of the Mughal Empire (1893) by Stanley Lane-Poole.

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6 Lane-Poole has also spelt the emperor's name as 'Aurangzib'. He was known for his proficiency in Oriental Studies. The Catalogue of Oriental and Indian Coins in the British Museum was published in 14 volumes by him between 1875 and 1892. In 1903 was published his Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule. He had also conducted Archaeological Surveys in Egypt, before being appointed Professor of Arabic at Trinity College, Dublin. For more details see J.S. Grewal's Muslim Rule in India: The Assessments of British Historians, pp.180-182.
Though he had no personal experience of India, he appears to have made good use of the contributions of his predecessors on Muslim India, specially Elphinstone whose work he considered judicious. Erskine whose 'ripe learning' despite his 'nervous English' he appreciated and finally for Lane-Poole 'to realize Medieval India, there was no better way than to dive into the eight volumes of the priceless History of India as told by its own Historians'. He also consulted contemporary European 'authorities' for the earlier part of Aurangzib's reign - the French Physician Bernier who was 'a Philosopher and a man of the world', and Tavernier who viewed India with the 'Professional eye of a jeweller'.

For Lane-Poole, 'No true or permanent union took place between the Hindus and Muslims except occasionally amidst the ruling classes. The new emperor had it in his power, when he ascended, to decide what role of the non-Muslims be, they could go entirely with or against the

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7 Stanley Lane-Poole, Medieval India under Mohammedan Rule, 2nd edition reprint, A Universal Publication, Delhi, 1971, Preface, pp.6-7.

8 Stanley Lane-Poole, Aurangzib and the Decay of the Mughal Empire, 3rd Indian reprint, S.Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1971, 'Note on Authorities', p. 5.

9 Stanley Lane-Poole, Medieval India Under Mohammedan Rule, Preface, 5.
Akbar's genius had welded an empire out of heterogeneous materials with marvellous success but it was not entirely without foible. The other problems which faced Shah Jahan's successor to a splendid but cankering power were to redeem the growing effimiancy of the Mughals, to attach or curb the Rajputs, to check the provincial governor's tendency to perpetuate themselves, 'to put a heart into a decaying system and a faith into a listless soul'. The main question according to Lane-Poole however, was whether an effort to solve these problems be made by the 'zeal of Lord or by compromise of man of the world'. The new emperor chose the former path - 'Muslim puritanism was at once his distinction and his ruin'.

Lane-Poole finds Aurangzib first and last a stern Muslim puritan in life - neither expediency nor love, nor ease, weighed for a split second in his mind against fealty to the principles of Islam. If for its sake he

10 Stanley Lane-Poole, Aurangzib and Decay of the Mughal Empire, p. 10.
11 Ibid., p. 18.
12 Ibid., p. 19.
13 Ibid., p. 27.
persecuted the Hindus, destroyed their temples, levied Jiziyah and consequently had to fight his southern foes with the 'loss of his right arm', the same zeal and not so much the desire to extend further the boundaries of his empire, made him wage the unending wars in Deccan against the heretical Shia kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. Following the Prophet's precept that every Muslim should practice a trade, he devoted his leisure in making skull caps, which were no doubt bought enthusiastically by the courtiers of Delhi. He not only knew Quran by heart, but copied it twice over in his fine calligraphy, and sent the manuscripts richly adorned, as gifts to Mecca and Medina. In fact except the pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj), which he dared not risk lest 'he should come back to find an occupied throne', he left nothing undone of the whole duty of the Muslim. Lane-Poole notes that even the English merchants of Surat, who had their own reasons for disliking the emperor, could only tell Ovington that Aurangzib was 'a zealous Professor of Islam'.

To obstinacy and fanaticism in matters of religion, was added suspicion to an unusual extent even by

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14 Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt in the year 1692* (London, 1696), p.195, quoted by S. Lane-Poole on p.66 of *Aurangzib and Decay of the Mughal Empire*. 
oriental standards. Not only he had his daughter for a
taster - to test the wholesomeness of his food, if he
took medicine, the physician had to 'lead the way, taking
pill for pill, dose for dose'.

Lane-Poole's verdict on Aurangzeb thus was

"His glory is that he could not force his soul... he dared
not desert the colours of his faith. The man of the world
smiles at his short sighted policy, his zeal for truth as
saw it. The great puritan of India was of such stuff that
wins the martyr's crown. His glory is for himself alone.
To his great empire his devoted zeal was an unmitigated
curse'.

Lane-Poole's originality mainly consisted in
his sparkling style. As a comprehensive work on Aurangzeb,
it left much ground to be covered. His general treatment
of the subject was extremely restricted, resulting from
his equating Indo-Muslim history with merely Indo-Muslim
politics. For him the historian of Medieval India had
'to do with kings and their works' and again, 'the diff-
erence caused in the royats life by a good or a bad king

15 Ibid., p.209, quoted by S.Lane-Poole, p. 83.
16 Stanley Lane-Poole, Aurangzeb and Degay of the Mughal
Empire, p. 206.
17 J.S.Grewal, "The Medieval Indian State and Some British
Historians", The Medieval Indian State, Panjab University,
Chandigarh, 1967, pp.6-8.
is too slight to be worth discussing\textsuperscript{18}. Such a premise no doubt effected his interpretation of sources on Aurangzeb - sources he not only calls 'authorities' but appears to have considered them as such too.\textsuperscript{19} There is no effort to show the reader how a source is sifted into an evidence for history. Not because he felt he had anything to hide but because like many of his contemporaries as well as those who followed him, he felt he had nothing important to reveal.\textsuperscript{20} For him too history was written from the 'testimony of authorities', 'History' of Aurangzeb was still greatly lacking.

It was Sir Jadunath who chose Aurangzeb as the subject of his life's work, study and research. A quarter century after his demise, his work remains a classic. In modern times he stands for the golden age of scientific historiography on Aurangzeb, notwithstanding the recent trends. It was in 1892 that he started the journey into the

\textsuperscript{18}Stanley Lane-Poole, \textit{Medieval India Under Muhammadan Rule}, p.58.

\textsuperscript{19}See S.Lane-Poole's 'Note on Authorities', \textit{Aurangzeb and Decay of the Mughal Empire}, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{20}Peter Hardy, \textit{Historians of Medieval India}, Preface, iii.
realm of Aurangzeb. The journey took longer than the lengthy reign itself but its output in quantity and quality remains unsurpassed.

It was not a stray chance that Sir Jadunath chose Aurangzeb as his 'hero' from the galaxy of the great Mughals. Some of the scholars have thrown light on the possible factors responsible for the choice. However, the choice was best expressed by the historian himself.

Emperor Aurangzeb was free from vice, stupidity and sloth; his intellectual keenness was proverbial.

He took to the business of governing with all the ardour which men usually display in the pursuit of pleasure.

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21 His thesis, *India of Aurangzeb: Its Topography, Statistics and Roads*, which was published in 1901 and was a part of enormous hardwork since 1892 and won him the prestigious Premchand Roy award. H.R. Gupta(ed.), *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, pp. 28, 58.


In industry and attention to public affairs, he could not be surpassed by any clerk.

His patience and perseverance were as remarkable as his love of discipline and order.

In private life, he was simple and abstemious like a hermit.

He faced the privations of a campaign or a forced march uncomplainingly.

No terror could daunt his heart, nor weakness or pity melt it.

Of the wisdom of the ancients which can be gathered from ethical books, he was a master.

He had, besides undergone a long and successful probation in war and diplomacy in his father's life time.

And yet the result of fifty years' rule by such a sovereign was failure and chaos. 24

Thus, "the political paradox makes Aurangzeb's reign an object of supreme interest to the student of political philosophy no less than to the student of Indian history." 25

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25 Ibid.
The historian was also aware that the reign that practically covered the history of the country for sixty years (1658-1707), stood forth as the epoch representing the Mughal 'crescent rounding to fullness and then waning visibly.' Emergence of the Marathas, appearance of the Sikhs in the role of warriors and armed opponents to the ruling power, the Rajputs turning from pillars of strength to the sworn enemies of the crown and finally the future masters of the country gaining a safe footing in its soil. The end of the reign manifests the rot at the roots. To many an onlooker the edifice looked grand outwardly but it was ready to fall asunder at the first onslaught. With a bankrupt treasury, impoverished and bemoaning peasantry, a demoralized army, giving way to centrifugal forces, the government machinery having lost efficiency and honesty, the Mughal dynasty and government had lost all justification of its existence. 


general picture of misery, Khafi Khan, in addition was nostalgic of the glories of the empire of the past. The old emperor at the helm of affairs bemoans the deplorable state of affairs, the utter incapacity of his sons and officers, admonishes and chastises them with the sharpness of his pen, but 'is despaired of a remedy at his death bed'.

Bhimsen Burhanpuri's *Buakha-i-Dilkasha* Ms. translated by J.N. Sarkar, unpaged. *Sir J.N. Sarkar collection, National Library, Calcutta, tells* "When the king's heart was true to the peasants, disorder could not rise out of its sound sleep... there is oppression... no body gets justice... the ryots gave up cultivation..."*When the forests becomes empty of male tigers, jackals enter it bravely from all sides". After consulting the above Ms. at Calcutta I came to know that this has been published as *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha* by Department of Archives, Maharashtra and released at a special function organised to celebrate the Birth Centenary of Sir Jadunath Sarkar (1970).


J.N. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Auranzeb*, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1947, p. 87. *Aurangzeb chastises Jahan Bahadur, the oppressive Governor of Lahore, "The worst of all is that you have set on foot certain illegal practices (bidat) which will last for ever (Verse) "Even after his death the tyrant does not cease to oppress The Plumes of the (dead) eagle become the feathers of arrows".*

"The presages of my horoscope... from the day of my birth till after my death, have all been verified by actual experience. In that horoscope it is written that after me will come an emperor, ignorant, narrow minded whose words will be all imperfect and whose plans will be all immature... but advice is out of place here as saltishness is not at all present in your nature". *Aurangzeb to Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah, Anecdotes, pp. 53-54.*
Why did it all happen the way it did? It is no mean question, for the 'supreme factors of Indian history in the 18th and early 19th century owe their origin directly or indirectly to the reign of Aurangzeb'.

When Sir Jadunath made the choice of the particular period for study and research, he was fully aware of the formidable challenge and enormity of the task. No serious research of the subject was possible without consulting the original sources which were mainly in Persian and Marathi - both of the languages he did not know. He started Persian from the alphabet and learnt enough to decipher Persian manuscripts in Shikast.

In fact he made quite a few copies of Persian manuscripts in his own hand. He obtained thorough and accurate knowledge of Marathi too. His command of Persian and Marathi along with his technique of textual criticism gave him a decisive advantage over any purely Persian or

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Marathi bred scholar. To make better use of contemporary European accounts he learnt both French and Portuguese - enough to be able to read, write and speak these two languages.

Sir Jadunath was fully aware that 'to understand a Muslim, one must understand Islam', more so when the particular Muslim held the reins of an empire for over half a century and was perhaps much less of an individual than representative of an ideology. The key to understand what was not merely a creed but 'a total way of life'. He traced the study of Muslim history beyond India too. Study of Islam and Islamic history revealed that Polestar of it all was the belief in one God, the Lord of all Creation and source of all law and judgement, who gives guidance to humanity through revelations to a series of prophets. For Muslims the final and most complete revelation was presented through Muhammad and is recorded in the Holy Book Quran. The attempt to

34 G.S. Sardessai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", Life and Letters, p. 23.
37 Ibid., 178, "The basic foundation of Islam, the record of God’s revelation to Muhammad".
create a community in accord with the revelations of God is the key theme in the history of Islam. The Islamic law of polity or of nations is not a system separate from Islamic religious law and the Shari'a designed to govern the relations of Muslims with non-Muslims whether inside or outside the territory of Islam. For Muslims then there could be no law except that derived from religion and it is therefore, not possible to be an 'Islamic secularist', that to 'be a Muslim and adopt a non-Islamic viewpoint is meaningless'. By the theory of its origin the Muslim State had to be nothing else but a theocracy.

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41 Similar belief is held by modern orthodox Muslims still. Maulana Madoodi, Nationalism in India, pp.5-11, quoted in Current History, p. 159, says "Muslim Nationalist" and "Muslim Communist" are as contradictory terms as "Communist Fascist" and "Chaste Prostitute".

42 K.S.Lal, "Nature of the State in Medieval India" in The Medieval Indian State, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1966 pp.32-47, examines the opinions of J.N.Sarkar, R.P.Tripathi, K.M.Ashraf, T.P.Hughes, I.H.Qureshi, Muhammad Habib and says since religious law was supreme in both Hinduism and Islam both are theocratic in nature, however the Hindu law was not based on divine revelation, and though it was unfair to many sections of the Hindu society itself, but in it no injunctions against non-Hindus were laid and in this respect its policy may not be considered theocratic in the sense Islamic state was.
The true king being God while earthly rulers are merely agents to enforce His Law on all.\(^{43}\) Toleration of another religion is equal to compounding with the worst form of sin — Polytheism (\(\text{Shirk} - \text{Arabic term}\)) — associating others (false gods) with God.\(^{44}\) This is the most heinous ingratitude (\(\text{Kufir}\))\(^{45}\) The highest duty of the true believer is "to make exertion (\(\text{Jihad}\)) in the path of God" (\(\text{Jihad fi sabil illah} - \text{Quran, ix 29}\)) to turn the infidel lands (\(\text{dar-ul-harb}\)) till they turn into the realm of Islam\(^{46}\) (\(\text{dar-ul-Islam}\)). All the four Muslim schools of Muslim jurisprudence are agreed that non-Muslims have no place in a Muslim state and if they are suffered to exist, they cannot be allowed to enjoy the same rights as Muslims, who alone are its citizens.\(^{47}\)

\(^{43}\) In the consciously secular Milieu of the 20th century it has been sometimes difficult to recognise Islam as a political ideology; the West having separated religion and politics for centuries — see Shaleen P.Dil's "The Myth of Islamic Resurgence in South Asia", \(\text{Current History}\), p.165.


\(^{45}\) \text{Kufir} literal meaning (covering up the truth (regarding God) and secondary 'ingratitude', \text{Kafir} a man guilty of \text{Kufir}.


\(^{47}\) 1. The \textit{Quran} the holy book of Islam, embodying the word of God. 2. The \textit{Sunnah} of the Prophets, the example or the practice of the Prophet Muhammad. 3. The \textit{Ijma} or consensus of Islamic jurists. 4. The \textit{Qiyas} or analogical reasoning. See Faslur Rahman, \textit{Islam}, p. 68.
The law for non-Muslims particularly for Hindus is 'Islam or death', the special privilege of Christians and Jews for possessing 'in parts book of revelations', was to live under contract (Zimma) and enjoy the status of a Zimmi to whom life and property are grudgingly spared by the Commander of the Faithful but he must undergo political, social and economic disabilities including paying the Jiziyah (substitute money) i.e. the price of indulgence. "Fight those who do not profess the true faith till they pay Jiziyah with the hand in humility (Quran, x, 29). The opinion of some of the modern scholars that Jiziyah was 'commutation money paid for exemption from military service' is not borne out by historical evidence for it was as late as 10th May 1855 that "Jiziyah as a tax on the free exercise of religion was replaced by a tax for exemption from military service even in European Turkey". While there is no doubt that sometimes statesmanship and liberality or practical considerations triumphed over Islamic theology and


49 Like the Quran, Bible is also compilation of 'revelations' from God to Christ and other saints in parts, Jews and Christians are thus regarded sharers in Revelation.

the Muslim jurists prudently accepted the *faits accomplis* on the part of some Muslim rulers. Muhammad bin Qasim's decision in 712 A.D. to accord the Hindus of Sindh and Multan the status of *Zimmis* was confirmed as legal by the famous jurists Abu Hanifah. Under some of the exceptional rulers like Zainul Abedin of Kashmir and Akbar the Great when non-Muslims enjoyed toleration and security, there was all round progress and prosperity for the kingdom but 'such indulgence of infidelity was by its very nature precarious and exceptional'. It was a deviation from the Islamic obligation of 'chastising the infidels', as happened during the reign of Akbar. Hence the imploration of Hafiz often remained neglected. According to the Islamic theory the

53. Such has been the force of Islamic religious law and its hold on the minds of Muslims. Akbar's just and statesman-like reforms were repudiated by the orthodox section of the Muslim community. Even during the last days of Akbar's reign there was a movement of reaction in favour of Muslim Orthodoxy and abasement of Hinduism, under the leadership of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhandi who sought to restore Islamic State in the reign and practice. See A.L. Srivastava, *Akbar*, Vol. II, 2nd revised edition, Shivlal Agarwal & Co., Agra, 1973, pp. 12-13, 315-316.
54. Hafiz if you want to achieve your object, Be on terms of peace with all, high and low, Accost the Muslim with Allah, Allah and Greet the Hindu with Ram Ram."

king occupies the throne neither by hereditary succession nor by divine right; he is the elected captain of the militant body of Islam (Amir-ul-Muminin), the responsible first servant of the community (Jamait). Often for the stability of his own position, he must find response in Muslim soldiery on whose sword depends the king's position and power.

In a country like India with an overwhelming majority of non-Muslims it meant throwing political wisdom, justice, statesmanship and the true well being of the majority of subjects to winds.

Next came Sir Jadunath's hunt for original sources, other than those already known, for this no effort was stunted and no expense spared. He combed the archives and libraries of India and Europe helped by William Irvine, C.R.Wilson, Sir Edward Gait and M.Gobriel Ferrand. Among the Persian sources which he was the first to discover and make use of, the most conspicuous were the Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Muallah or the imperial gazettes of the Mughal

government, most of them belonging to the period of Aurangzeb and generally held to be the most important sources of information on the administrative, social and economic policies of the period. From the Jaipur State Archives he obtained the Areizro-faramin or the news letters which are petitions of the nobles and military officers to the kings and princes and also often orders and decisions passed on them. These are thus letters of the actors in the political drama of the 17th and early part of 18th century of which nearly 6 thousand, including more than a thousand from Aurangzeb himself came into the historian’s possession.

Another very valuable Persian source that he largely discovered and made use of were the Ragmat - correspondence of the emperors themselves and Maktubat or the correspondence of princes, governors, commanders, nobles and other home and


foreign dignitaries. These letters, apart from supplying first hand information on the political and administrative sphere also reflect the social, economic religious and moral aspects of the age. Besides such kind of letters being 'the very pulse of biography' shed light on the various personages of the period. Among the first group of letters, the historian's thrilling report of the discovery of Haft Anjuman is but one of the many incidents of his dogged quest for missing links for the history of Aurangzeb.

60 J.N. Sarkar in Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1933, pp. 288-302 refers to them under 5 arranged collections:

1. Adab-i-Alamgiri by Qabil Khan.
2.3 Kalimat-i-Tayyibat and Ahkam-i-Alamgiri by Inayetullah Khan.
5. Ahkam-i-Alamgiri imputed to Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur, Nimsha-i-Alamgir Shahi-

These illuminate only the beginning and the very end of the monarch's reign (leaving the intervening period of almost 42 years (1660-1702) dark, so far as this source of information is concerned.

61 Ibid., p. 288.
The Persian sources had naturally the pride of place, Persian having been the official language since the days of Akbar, but documents in the vernacular languages - the Assamese Duranis, the Marathi Bakhars, the Rajasthani and Gurmukhi chronicles were for the first time given 'due weightage'. The European travellers Tavernier, Bernier, Careri and Mamucci, who visited India during Aurangzeb's reign held their peculiar place of providing observations through foreign eyes - were neither overlooked nor over emphasized having been scrutinised against the evidences of other contemporary records.

The outcome of his life-long study and research of historical material on Aurangzeb found major forms in his 1:-

1. The India of Aurangzeb - Topography, Statistics and Roads 1901
3. Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays 1924
4. A Short History of Aurangzeb 1930
5. Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign 1933
6. Translated Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri (Bibliotheca Indica Series) 1947

Most of his works on Aurangzeb have gone through three to four editions and in every new edition he took great pains to utilize all the relevant information unearthed during the intervening period. The mind and the pen that took to Aurangzeb in 1692, did not rest till at least 1952, if not beyond it. 63

The India of Aurangzeb - Topography, Statistics and Roads is a comprehensive treatise on the 17th and early 18th century India. The title of the book, however, as its author remarked does not fully express its contents. 64 It gives an account not only of the topography, battlefields, statistics and roads, a very detailed comparison has also been instituted between the India of Akbar, and broadly speaking, the India of Aurangzeb. The revenues of the several provinces of the Mughal Empire have been given separately for 10 different periods from the time of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb. Based on a critical study of many contemporary Persian and other sources, some of which including Rai

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63 See for example, Preface to 3rd edition of Aurangzeb, Vol.III, where he not only mentions 6 new sources used but also analyses them, Preface to Vol.IV, November, 1929, Preface to Anecdotes of Aurangzeb, 3rd ed., 1949 and Preface to Vol.V (April 1952) in Orient Longman reprint, Calcutta, 1972, etc.

64 J.N. Sarkar, The India of Aurangzeb, Bose Brothers, Calcutta, 1901, Preface 1.
Chhatraman's Chahar-i-Gulshan (1720 A.D.) were translated for the first time. The India of Aurangzeb still remains the only work of its kind.

Next, Sir Jadunath turned to the history of Aurangzeb, the first volume of which deals with a critical account of the reign of Shahjahan and the early career of Aurangzeb as prince and governor. The second volume gives a graphic and critical account of the war of succession and the factors leading to Aurangzeb's success. Four years interval before the release of the third volume, was the period of analytical and rigorous study for the historian. The moral and religious regulations of Aurangzeb, Jihad and Jiziyah, temple destruction and Hindu reaction were highly controversial and inflammable topics. The juristic equanimity of the stern historian whose mission was to find 'nothing but the truth about the past' however, could not be disturbed by the torando of political passions or by any

65 Amlasa-at-Tavarikh (1695 A.D.), Dastur-al-Amal (1700 A.D.) were in manuscript forms which he supplemented by Abul Fazal's Ain-i-Akbari and the Jesuit missionary Tieffenthaler's Geographie de l'Industan (Barhoulli's French version). The figures given in Thomas 'Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire were supplemented and partly checked. The main roads of Mughal India were traced on the basis of Tavernier's Travels, Chahar-i-Gulshan and an old Indian Gazetteer of 1642.

66 See K.R. Ganungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 59. "The antinational Muslim Communism fanned by the sinister influence of British Imperialism was dreaming of a Muslim India by garbling history".

kind of consideration for or against the cause of nationalism. The third volume deals with the early measures of the reign and gives a critical analysis of the principles and policies of Aurangzeb's administration and the Islamic Church state in India. The fourth volume deals with the Deccan affairs and the subjugation of the States of Bijapur and Golconda, and the fall and tragic death of Shambhuji. The fifth volume continues the story of Aurangzeb's unsuccessful Maratha policy to his death and the disorder and confusion in northern India during Aurangzeb's absence of a quarter of a century. It also deals with the position of the English traders in India during the reigns, the important provinces of the empire, condition of the people. In the final chapter the historian falls into a 'pensive mood of philosophic contemplation' in light of the 'colossal failure' of the 'hero' of the tragedy.

In the meantime he had also translated Hamid-uddin's Abkam-i-Alamgiri which gives an insight into the ruler's character as perhaps no other contemporary work does. The essays included 'the daily life of Aurangzeb'.

67 A very interesting but incomplete work ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan, who was originally a servant of Aurangzeb's mother-in-law Nauras Banu, and who rose to be Faujdar of the Jalandar Doab, Qiladar of Raisin Fort (1677) and deputy governor of Malwa under Prince Muhammad Akbar. See Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, p. 209.
To meet the requirements of general readers for a condensed account of Aurangzeb, Sir Jadunath brought out A Short History of Aurangzeb in English as well as Hindi in which administration of Aurangzeb was also added. Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign deals with many interesting aspects of the monarch's reign including his education and his letters. His translation of Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri was a welcome addition for the reader and researcher on Aurangzeb, while 'A Biographical Dictionary of Aurangzeb's Reign' which is still lying in typed manuscript form in 'Sir J.N. Sarkar Collection' in the National Library, Calcutta, is a very handy, ready reference work regarding Aurangzeb's mid and later rule.

It is only after narrating practically the entire history of India from the later years of Shah Jahan's reign to the 'journey's end' (Khatam-us-safar) of the hero of the tragedy Aurangzeb that the historian took a panoramic

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68 Ascribed to Muhammad Saqi Mustain Khan, one of the official historiographers of Aurangzeb. After Aurangzeb's death Inayatullah Khan induced him to write a full history of the emperor's reign, the official annals of which (entitled Alamgir Namah) had been stopped at the end of the 16th year. To this fact we owe Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri 'the most complete and accurate guide to the events of this reign'. See Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, p. 203.
view of it. The 'native genius' of Akbar, the 'genial moderation' of Jahangir and the 'refined taste' of Shah Jahan made the Mughal empire famous for its peace, prosperity and 'culture' in the Islamic world; the magnificence of it all had 'dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles'. The accession of Aurangzib a trained administrator, an experienced general and a puritan in the simplicity and purity of his private life, seemed to promise at least undiminished prosperity, if not unprecedented glory, provided he was spared to rule long enough. Though he ruled for fifty years, the reign ended in a 'colossal failure'. Even before Aurangzib closed his eyes, there were unmistakable signs of the impending deterioration and dissolution of the empire. The reign had meant untold hardships and misery to the vast majority of his subjects and the resultant reaction. There was bankruptcy of finance as well as prestige, the administration broke down and the Imperial Government failed to maintain security, peace and order, the last justification of the existence of the Mughal Empire.

In the medieval world and perhaps nowhere more so than in India, the king with whom the kingdom was a 'sacred trust' was held responsible for the happiness and prosperity of his people. The land where 'benevolent
despotism' was a tradition, everything depended on the
ability, character and policy of the king. No wonder the
strange phenomenon of Aurangzib's reign attracted the
historian's attention to the emperor's character and his
policies.

Aurangzib had given ample evidence of personal
bravery and fearlessness when he faced a 'furious elephant
heroically at the age of fifteen to his eighty-seventh year
when he stood in the siege trenches before Wagintra. He
was besides a scholar of Persian and Arabic sacred literature,
borne out by his extensive correspondence and the apt quotat­
ions that embellish many of his letters. Even if the copies
of the Qur'an that he wrote with his own hand, be considered
'the mechanical industry of a zealot,' his devotion, in scanty
leisure to reading of classics like Nahayya (Ahmad-al-Muwayri),
the Ahiva-ul-ulum (Imam Ghazzali) and the Diwan-i-Saib (Mirza
Muhammad Ali Saib of Tabriz) indicate his scholastic pursuits.
To his enterprising spirit and patronage we owe the greatest
digest of Muslim law in India, that rightly bears his name,

69 J.N.Sarkar, A Short History of Aurangzib, pp. 386-387.
70 J.N.Sarkar, Aurangzib, Vols. I & II, p.6; A Short History
of Aurangzib, p. 386.
Of diplomacy 'he was a past master and could also overshadow others in any kind of intrigue or secret manipulations'. It was his tact, sagacity and humility that had made majority of nobles of Shah Jahan his friends despite the known fact of Dara being the favourite son. He was highly moral and

71 Printed in Calcutta in six volumes. For its composition, Alamgir-Nama 8086‘87, Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri, 530.

72 J.N.Sarkar, Aurangzeb, Vol. I & II, pp.122-135. His secret correspondence for winning Mir Jumla over and his dealings with the King of Golconda, also, pp.269-273. Murad’s arrest, for which J.N.Sarkar refers to Kambu 19 a, Ishwardas 31b-32b, Khafi Khan ii 38. In this respect, he seems to have met his match in Shivaji.

73 J.N.Sarkar, Anecdotes of Aurangzeb, p. 34. 'If Aurangzeb addressed Ali Mardan Khan as 'Man of good deeds', Sadasalla Khan was 'the Head of Humble Pupils' and Sayyid Miran of Barha 'the essence of the descendants of His Holiness', Sayyid of the Universe (i.e. Muhammad). These three and other nobles like Afsal Khan Mulla, Ata-ul-Mulk, because of their liking for Aurangzeb did every service required by friendship in guarding his interest in his absence. The failure of Shah Jahan’s advice to Dara against bad acts and words made him utter:

"If the blanket of man's fate has been woven black
Even the waters of Zimzim and Kausar cannot wash it white".
abstemious in his private life. The number of his wives fell short even of the Quranic permission of four. He was entirely free from the vices of his age, even of the innocent pleasures of royalty. The only delicacies he relished were the acid fruit, Corianda (Carissacarandas) and a sort of chewing gum, Khardali. He was a martinet whereas official discipline and court etiquette was concerned. 'If I suffer a single regulation to be violated, all of them will be disregarded' was his frequent remark. Efficacy in dress received a summary and practical rebuke when he cut off some inches of cloth from a courtier's cloak which fell below his ankles or when publically censured his eldest son for going to the mosque in a waist-coat (Nim-asdin) instead of being properly dressed for a serious work like prayer.

74 J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol.V, p.364. "Dilras Bani died in 1657, Nawab Bai was relegated to a retired life at Delhi after 1660; Aurangabadi seems to have stayed with him till her death in 1685, that left Udaipuri (married around 1660) the only companion, after Aurangabadi for the last half of his reign.

75 Ibid.

76 J.N. Sarkar, Anecdotes of Aurangzeb, pp.117-118.

In handling administration of the empire, he displayed prodigious working capacity. If we may believe the court historian, Aurangzib slept only three hours out of twenty four and for him there was 'no release from labour so long as a single breath of life remains'. Besides regularly holding daily courts (sometimes twice) and dispensing justice at Wednesday trials, he often wrote orders and letters with his own hand and the very language of official replies was his own, to which some of the European, travellers were admiring spectators.

That he retained to the last almost all his faculties unimpaired though he died in his 90th year, is testified by his contemporaries. His memory was wonderful. 'He never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had heard' with the exception of a slight deafness and a lameness of the right leg, the latter being due to his doctor's unskillful treatment of an accidental dislocation, all his physical powers retained their vigour to the end.

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79 The Italian Physician Gemelli Careri thus describes the Emperor giving public audience (21st March, 1695). 'I admired to see him endorse the petitions, with his own hand, without spectacles and by his cheerful smiling countenance seemed to be pleased with the employment', Churchill's Voyages, iv, 222, quoted in *Aurangzib*, Vol.V, pp.364-365.

Aurangzeb also retained with full vigour the orthodoxy and bigotry of a zealous follower of Islam as an individual and as an emperor from the beginning to the end. From the time when he claimed the throne as the Champion of Islam - "My pious aim is to uproot the bramble of idolatry and infidelity from the realm of Islam", 81 to January 1705 when he inquired whether the Hindu worship, which he had put down at Somnath early in his reign, had been revived due to slackness of local officers 82 and telling one of his generals to take his own time in destroying a certain famous temple of Deccan as 'It had no legs to walk away on', 83 there was no slackening of the zeal of an orthodox Islamic ruler. Aurangzeb would have made 'an excellent theologian' of orthodox Islam and in fact some of his Muslim contemporaries did call him 'the dervesh in the Purple' 84 and Alamgir sirda Pir or a miracle working saint. 85 The 'critical eminence'

83 Kalimat-i-Tevihat, 39a, Aurangzeb to Zulfiqar Khan and Mughal Khan, quoted in Appendix V, 'Temple Destruction by Aurangzeb', Vol. III, 188.
84 Ma-assir-i-Alamgiri, p.334.
of ruling over a 2/3 majority of non-Muslims, however, evidenced the miracle in his failure as a king, despite his many virtues, led to 'the blighting of his fame', misery of people, numerous rebellions and wars, which all became major contributions to the downfall of the empire. 86

Aurangzeb's Coronation Ordinances only gave an indication of things yet to come. 87 In all fairness to Aurangzeb, it must be admitted that some of his regulations were meant to promote general morality and not Islam, like Manucci tells about public women and dancing girls being ordered either to marry or leave the realm. Holi celebration was prohibited in the street because of the obscene songs and the money exortion from all people for bonfire that accompanied it. 88 It was clearly a police regulation, as was the order putting a step to Muharram processions after a

87 J.N.Sarkar, Aurangzeb, Vol. III, 53-60, refers to Alagvir-Nama, 366-392, Kirat-i-Ahmadi, 260, Storia ii 5-7, Khazir Khan ii 79 and Roqat No.2. These included forbidding the Kalima on coins lest it be touched by infidels, also the customary Mawroos rejoicings after the Persian fashion were forbidden and transferred to the month of Ramzan. A Censor of Morals (Muhatsib) was appointed to enforce the Prophet's laws and to put down practices forbidden by him. All the old mosques were repaired by order of Aurangzeb and 'made as new'.
deadly fight between rival processions at Burhanpur in January 1669. He also tried to prohibit Sati though the royal prohibition was seldom observed.

It was however, not his puritanical zeal but his anti-Hindu measures prompted by his zeal as a saviour and spreader of Islam that led to a great extent to his and his empire's undoing apart from causing the majority of his subjects political, economic and social degradation and harrassment. Beginning in 1645 with his Hindu temple destruction at Chintaman in Ahmedabad by killing a cow in it and then turning the building into a mosque, there was no looking back. Neither age nor experience of life softened his bigotry and it almost always went unchecked by political

89. Ibid. 60.

90. J.N. Sarkar in Vol.III, 60, quotes Mamucci, ii 97 and Dastur-ul-amli, the official manuals.


See also, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar 'Aurangzeb's Temple Destruction: Some New Aspects', The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Vol.XVI (1976-77), No.4, Calcutta, No.4, Calcutta, 216-225. 'He was certainly not alone in destroying temples but he was in a sense unique; A Firoz Shah, or a Sikandar Lodi or a Sikandar (of Kashmir) embarked on an iconoclastic policy earlier but even theirs was not so determined or unpopular as that of Aurangzib.'
or statesmanlike considerations leave aside any generosity or liberality of outlook. On April 9th, 1669, the emperor ordered the governors of all the provinces to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels and put down their teaching of religious practices. The second temple of Somnath, the Vishwanath temple of Benaras, the Keshav Rai temple of Mathura, temples at Amber, the Sitaramji temple at Soron, the temples at Khandela and Samula the grand temple of Udaipur, the temple of Someshwar in Western Mewar, the temples at Haidrabad, Ellora, Trimbakeshwar, Pandharpur, Jejure and many others were destroyed with all the zeal of a fanatic for whom putting an end to idol worship was a religious mission. Such was the magnitude of the above task that it had to be one of the chief duties of the Censor of Morals (Muhatsib). So large was the number of officers employed in the task of destruction of Hindu places of worship that a darocha or Director General had to be placed over them to guide their activity.


93 Ibid., pp.185-189, Appendix V refers to all the authorities and references to Aurangzib's temple destruction.

94 Ibid., p. 175.
Another major blow to non-Muslims was with the reimposition of Jizyah on 2nd April, 1679, in order, as the official historian records, "to spread the law of Islam and overthrow of infidel practices." The rates of taxation were fixed at 12, 24 and 48 dirhems or Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$, Rs. $6\frac{2}{3}$ and Rs. 13½ for the poor, middle and rich respectively. In violation of just cannons of taxation the Jizyah hit the poorest portion of the population hardest and "annually took away from the poor man the full value of one year's food as the price of religious indulgence". Besides all government officials were exempted from it, though they were the wealthiest members of their respective classes in society. Manucci too noticed, "Many Hindus who were unable to pay, turned Muhammadan, to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors. Aurangzib rejoices that by such exactions these

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95 In the 17th year of his reign (1693) a sanad was issued exempting the Christians (of Agra) and their Priests from the capitation tax. See Vol. III, p. 176.

96 *Ma-assir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 174.

97 It could never be less than Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ on a man, which was the money value of nine maunds of wheat flour at the average market price at the end of the 16th century (*Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 63), See Vol. III, pp.176-177.
Hindus would be forced into embracing the Faith. In levying the Jiziyah, Aurangzeb was deaf to the pleadings of people and political expediency alike.

Again 'in defiance of the laws of economics' Aurangzeb put his tariff on the basis of religious discrimination when by an ordinance issued on 10th April, 1660, the custom duty on all commodities brought in for sale was fixed at 2½ per cent of the value in case of Muslims and 5 per cent in that of Hindus and by a subsequent order, the emperor abolished it altogether on Muslims. Apart from the 'Political immorality of favouring one creed above all others' it also meant direct sacrifice of public revenue, which became greater still as the Hindus often passed off their goods as the property of Muslims in arrangement that suited the latter too, financially.

Yet another form of Aurangzeb's bigotry and of putting socio-economic pressure on unbelievers was the granting of rewards to converts, offering posts in public service.

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99 J.N. Sarkar, A Short History of Aurangzeb, p. 132, refers to the trampling of Hindus under elephants, ordered by Aurangzeb, when they were piteously crying for the withdrawal of Jiziyah, and their gathering obstructed way to Jama Mosque. A 'temperate and reasoned letter from Shivaji, appealing to Aurangzeb to think of the Common Father of Mankind, met with no success. See Aurangzeb, Vol. XIII, Appendix VI, 190-192.
money allowances, robes of honour, liberation from prison and succession to disputed property. Under Aurangzeb 'quarshoship' on condition of turning Muslim became a proverbial expression.

To further confirm the badge of inferiority on non-Muslims, all Hindus (March 1695) with the exception of Rajputs, were forbidden to ride Palkis, elephants, thoroughbred horses or to carry arms. Hindu fairs which were a combination of 'amusement, business and piety' and a source of huge market toll for the government were also put down.

Thus, Aurangzeb as a champion of Islam made the religion of all his subjects very much his business and the reference to his having said "What concern have I with anybody's faith? Let Jesus follow his own religion and Moses his own", has often been given out of context. If any

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103 J.N. Sarkar, Anecdotes of Aurangzeb, p. 125.

104 Ibid., 122-125, 'Sunni refuses to marry Shia's daughter'. When Ruhullah Khan, one of the Shia nobles of Aurangzeb, at the time of his death professed to have turned a Sunni and, having withdrawn from Shia practices and made it a part of his last will, that two of his daughters be married to Prince Muhammad Azam and Siadat Khan respectively. Aurangzeb was quick to detect the hypocrisy and stratagem behind it, refused the daughters of a Shia to be married to Sunnis and made the above statement in disgust.
thing it brings out that Aurangzib's bigotry was no less against Shias which found fuller expression in his annexation of the Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. Had Aurangzib made the above statement independent of any context and meant it, the history of his reign would have been very different. Aurangzib's open attacks on the non-muslims by all the forces of his government naturally produced great discontent among the persecuted majority. Some frantic attempts on Aurangzib's life failed, but the rebellion of Jats of Mathura, the Satnami rebellion, the militant opposition by Sikhs, the alienation of Rajputs and Aurangzib's deccan policy that became the 'ruining ulcer', were all in varying degrees the outcome of it.

Aurangzib perhaps became the ideal character for the Muslim section of his subjects, certainly to the orthodox ones, but as the historian concludes, "He may have made a good faqir, though he lacked the faqir's noblest quality, charity, but he was the worst ruler imaginable of

an empire composed of many creeds and races.\textsuperscript{107} The literal interpretation of the \textit{Quranic} law sets up the inherent antagonism between the Muslim ruler and the non-Muslim ruled which has in the end broken up every Islamic state with a composite population. Aurangzeb's rule was an illustration of the fact. Some other traits of his character only added to his and his empire's ruin. He utterly lacked "sympathy, imagination, breadth of vision, elasticity in the choice of means and that warmth of the heart which atones for a hundred faults of the head".\textsuperscript{108} Rebellion against a reigning father was the curse of the Mughal dynasty, but Aurangzeb's personal ambition rode over decency and established convention even of the Mughal dynasty. He threw a religious cloak over a war of plain ambition and imprisoned his father till the latter's death. It had not deceived Shah Jahan who in captivity commented with bitter sarcasm, when water supply to the emperor was cut off at Aurangzeb's orders. 'Thou, my son art a marvellous Mussalman'.\textsuperscript{109} Even if one makes allowance for

\textsuperscript{107}J.N.Sarkar, "Character of Aurangzeb", \textit{Apecdotes}, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{108}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 26-27.
some 'unintentional mishaps', regarding Shivaji's reception at Aurangzib's court, many were the reflections of Aurangzib's cold heart and narrow outlook. Instead of following a statesmanlike policy, he turned Shivaji into a more determined foe and regretted till his very end, not his policy but the negligence regarding 'escape of Shiva that became the cause of disgrace for long years'.

His 'cold intellectualism' and his suspicious nature 'chilled the love' even of his sons, daughters, generals and ministers, all turned into lifeless puppets. To common man he seemed 'above the joys and sorrows of mortals', who lived in the world but did not seem to be of it.

Politically, thus with all his virtues, Aurangzib was a tremendous failure. Even after making due allowance for the characteristic 'puritan concept of guilt and confession' or 'symptoms of the inherent disposition of him whose conscience was so sensitive at the age of ninety', Aurangzib at the end of his life appears to have been quite aware that his 'life long endeavour to govern India justly and strongly had ended in anarchy and disruption throughout the empire'.

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110 Aurangzib's Last Will, from India Office Library, Ms.1344, f 49p, quoted by J.N.Sarkar, Vol.V, 201-204.

111 Ibid., 190.

112 Ibid., 190.
Azam, Aurangzib expressed the remorse of a wasted effort and life. 'I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry. Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing'. The historian sounds liberal to his hero when he says, 'In vain did the last of the great Mughals struggle against invisible and inexorable fate', but as is obvious, for Sir Jadunath, fate was very closely identified with character.

For the historian however, 'the cause of the failure of his reign lay deeper than his character'. Aurangzib alone did not cause the fall of the empire, though he did nothing to avert it, rather unwittingly, hastened the destructive forces as he was 'a reactionary by instinct and no reforming statesman'.

Among the destructive forces were the true character and aim of the Mughal government, that had its

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114'The seeds that had been sown in the third stage of his (Aurangzib's) life, unnoticed and in ignorance of their fruits, began to sprout up in the fourth, and he had to gather their baneful harvest in the closing period of life', Vol.V, p.2, talking of Shivaji's escape, he says, "A friendly fate must have helped the lion hearted man of action", Shivaji and his times, pp. 140, 150.

contributions but could neither weld the people into a nation nor create an enduring state. The 'evil' was aggravated by the fact that the politically depressed class or official minority was a numerical majority - out numbering the dominant sect three to one. If "the barrenness of the Hindu intellect and meanness of spirit of the Hindu upper classes are the greatest condemnation of Muhammadan rule in India," the Muslims did not progress much either because of the peculiar position of the faithful who was 'an intellectual exotic' - in India but not of it. He dared not peril his soul by striking his roots deep into the land he had made his permanent home. The language (till well into 18th century) of the religion had to be Arabic and he must import traditions, language, cultural products from Persia and Arabia. Only a rationalist, like Akbar could argue how the regulations for the guidance of society and human conduct, framed in a far off age for nomadic people, could be binding on people of 16th and 17th century living in a social, political and economic environment that had nothing in common with Arabia.

117 Ibid.
The Indians of Mughal age, both Hindus and Muslims were stationary at best. A social solidarity like that of Muslims was unthinkable among Hindus - people divided into countless castes - they developed a general 'a low cunning and flattery as the only means of survival'. The moral decay of Muslims who had become a privileged class, prone to indolence and love of ease, leading to vice, was most noticeable among the nobility.

In a predominantly agricultural country where tillers of land provide the major source of national wealth, where ruin of peasants means ruin of non-agricultural classes too. *Pauvre Pauvres Pauvre royaume* is even truer of India than of France. The disorder and public insecurity during Aurangzeb's reign had a profound effect on both the classes. There was not only immediate financial drain caused by Aurangzeb's quarter of a century's constant warfare, it had long lasting effects on agriculture, trade, industry as well as administration ending in bankruptcy of the Mughal government.

118 Ibid.
121 Ibid., The Condition of the People, pp. 335-349.
The decay of medieval Indian civilization under Aurangzib was noticeable not only in fine arts\(^{122}\), decay of which was only one of the manifestations of it, but more so in the lower intellectual type of new generation. The growing pessimistic outlook of older generation reflected in the letters and anecdotes of the time as well as in the works of thoughtful historians bears witness to the moral and general decay. Aurangzib himself shook his head over the gloomy prospect of future and predicted a 'deluge' after his death.\(^{123}\) Sadullah's assurance 'No age is without men of ability, what is needed is a wise master to find them out, get his work done by them and never lend his ears to the whispers of selfish men against such officers',\(^{124}\) may have been true in its content, but such a wise policy was not followed in Aurangzib's later years and wholly discarded by his successors. Public service no longer was a sacred trust but 'a means of gratifying the apostate, the sycophant, the well groomed dandy, the great man's kin'.\(^{125}\)

\(^{122}\) Vol. I & II, p. 45.

\(^{123}\) Anecdotes, p. 11.

\(^{124}\) Ibid., also Ruggat, No. 46.

In the final chapter the historian falls into a pensive mood of contemplation over the tragedy of Aurangzib's reign, and emerges out with the 'vision and emphasis of a seer'.

'History when rightly read is a justification of providence, the revelation of a great purpose fulfilled in time'; and 'the failure of an ideal Muslim king like Aurangzib with all the advantages he possessed at his accession and his high moral training and character, is the clearest proof of the eternal truth that there cannot be a great or lasting empire without a great people and no people can be great unless they learn to form a compact nation with equal rights and opportunities for all... If India is ever to be the home of a nation... then both Hinduism and Islam must die and be born again. Each of these creeds must pass through a rigorous vigil and penance, each must be rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science'.

Sir Jadunath ended on a hopeful note that 'a rebirth' of Islam is not something inconceivable as has been proved in

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our own times by Mustafa Kamal Pasha in the greatest Muslim State of the world, where the constitution was secularised, polygamy was abolished, servile seclusion of women has ended and political equality has been granted to all creeds and Turkey has yet not ceased to be a land of Islam. Infact, the major challenge of the modern world is secularization. It is not possible to be an 'Islamic secularist' by orthodox standards and yet some Muslims believe that secularization is an inherent part of Modernization. The Islamic revivalists no doubt challenge the assumption and insist on the continuing validity of Islam in the context of modern history. The issues, as seen in the monarchies of Arabia to modernist adaptations of Turkey, Egypt and the recent revivalist Islamic turmoils in Libya and Iran, have perhaps still not resolved the dilemma. 


129 A conquering Islam had subjugated Hinduism, but when Muslim power was eroded by the British, Islam sought and achieved separation rather than submitting to the democratic rule of modern India and when the majority of Indian Muslims established the state of Pakistan, the Ulama spoke of the reinstitution of the Sharia as the State law. It is not surprising if we bear in mind the fact that orthodox Islam is inconsistent with other political ideologies and is but an 'either or affair'. See Raphael Israeli's 'Muslim Minorities under Non-Islamic Rule', Current History, April 1980, Vol.78, No.456, pp.159-164, 184.
One of the modern works published after Sir Jadunath Sarkar's magnum opus on Aurangzeb was Zahlruddin Faruki’s *Aurangzeb and His Times* (Delhi, 1935). An apologist for Aurangzeb mainly regarding the interpretation of his religious bigotry, 130 he has gone to the extent of defending the 'Immortal great man' that for a layman not aware of the historical evidence the conclusion could be that it was not 'Aurangzeb who persecuted the Hindus, rather the Hindus persecuted him.' 131 For Faruki Akbar was 'an apostate from Islam' and 'all rationalism had presumably taken leave of him'. 132 Jisivah was reimposed by an unwilling Aurangzeb at the theologian’s demand, though he did have

130 Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, “Survey of Indian Historiography - Medieval Period”, *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, 1963–64, Nos. I & II, 54; According to Dr. A.L. Srivastava, “Mr. Faruki is not a serious student of history and his work is by the unanimous consent of impartial historians a propaganda work”. See *Studies in Indian History*, p. 94.

131 “I have been working without any expert guidance and barring Prof. Muhammad Habib... who revised the proofs of the first two chapters, I have not received any appreciable help from any one acquainted with the subject”, Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 1935, Preface, also pp. 109, 117, 570–578.

financial consideration in mind. Aurangzeb's financial difficulties were mostly the result and not the cause of his religious policy. The purpose of the imposition of Jiziyah was 'to spread the law of Islam and overthrow the infidel practices', since the wars and disorder that were to lead the empire to bankruptcy were yet to start, still had there been genuine financial difficulties the total abolition of all excise duties from Muslims would be a mystery.

Aurangzeb's temple destruction has been dismissed as his reaction to provocation by the Hindus. The author has made much of the Banaras Farman overlooking Sir Jadunath Sarkar's published reply that the Farman had been issued during Aurangzeb's struggle with Shuja, just by way of a political strategy to win the co-operation


135 Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 132-134.

136 *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1911, p. 689.

137 Quoted in *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, p. 60.
and good will of Hindus for capturing Shuja and had nothing to do with his spirit of toleration which could not have been so fleeting during his long reign of fifty years.

For Faruki, Jadunath Sarkar's interpretation of Aurangzeb and Islam, "betrays an attitude of mind which is extremely uncharitable". Sir Jadunath could never be charitable when it meant compromising with facts whether it pleased a particular community or not, whether it served a motive or not. He could be as critical of the Sikhs and Marathas as of the evils of Hinduism. No wonder Smith applied the epithet 'Honest History' to his *Aurangzib* and as pointed out by C.C. Davis, who reviewed Jadunath Sarkar's *Downfall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, "Readers of

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140 J.N. Sarkar, Vol. V, pp.374-375, wrote of Hindu priesthood and gods - "We find the priesthood bringing their worshippers down to the lowest intellectual level by holding up to their adoration of a god who ... pursues amorous dalliances which a Nawab of Oudh might envy or a Qutbshah imitate in his own harem".

his (Sarkar's) account of atrocities committed by Marathas raiders in northern India would agree that the belief held in certain quarters that Sir Jadunath is biased against Muslim rulers is baseless.  

Whereas one would be very reluctant to agree to Farukl's imagined theory of 'Critics of Islam' that "A Musalman is like a maniac kept under control, constantly struggling to free himself in order to rush out with the sword in one hand and the Quran in the other to demand the recitation of the Islamic formula from every infidel in the street... ever ready to pull down the temple or the church in a paroxysm of rage... his life purpose accomplished, he pauses for effect and... marches straight to heaven"\(^{143}\), there is no denying that Aurangzeb's religious bigotry was his and his empire's major undoing and that Islam being 'not merely a creed but a total way of life' still faces the dilemma - to be secularist - a demand of modernization or to be Islamic - a demand of the revivalists of orthodox Islam - who believe in its continued validity. \(^{144}\)

\(^{142}\)Quoted in A.L. Srivastava's *Studies in Indian History*, p. 365.

\(^{143}\)Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 91.

A notable work, covering an important aspect of Aurangzeb's reign, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* by M. Athar Ali appeared in 1966. The author notes that during Aurangzeb's time when 'west was forging ahead in every field of life', Indian society was not only static but fast degenerating', hence the detailed study of the major elements of the structure of the Mughal empire. He describes the institutions and traditions that defined nobility's "organization, policies and the stresses and strains to which it was subjected on or to which it itself gave rise". The history of the nobility of the reign has been studied under two clearly marked divisions - the first from the time of his accession upto 1678 and the second from 1679 upto his death in 1707. He concludes "that even from the view point of the Mughal nobility itself, its chief fault was its failure to change and adapt itself to a new developing situation not only in India but in the whole world. Nothing can remain static and yet survive. Aurangzeb's attempt to give a new religious basis to the empire may indicate that he felt that a change was called for but the complete failure of this

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policy showed that religious revivalism could be no substitute for a thoroughgoing overhaul of the Mughal administrative system and political outlook”. 146

In the introduction to his work M. Athar Ali has referred to "many additional records that have become accessible since Sir Jadunath's time", but not specified any. Also the addition to the title of the historian's work on Aurangzib - 'mainly based on Persian sources' appears to have been taken too literally. 147 While its true that Sir Jadunath was the pioneer in collecting and sifting the Persian sources which naturally occupied a very significant place, Persian having been the official language of the day, but he was also the first one to give due importance to documents in the vernaculars - the Ahom Buranjis, the Marathi Bhakhars, the Rajasthani and Gurmukhi chronicles. He was one of the very few historians on Medieval India to have learnt both Portuguese and French, so as to make better use of the various European accounts of the period. As late

147 Ibid., pp. 4-5
as April 1952, he kept adding such accounts to his editions. Nevertheless, a major contribution of M. Athar Ali is his use of 'microscope' whereas Sir Jadunath had to apply the 'telescope' on the subject of nobility during the times of Aurangzeb.

In a biographical account of the wazirs who served Aurangzeb, *The Prime Ministers of Aurangzeb* (Allahabad, 1976), the author Laiq Ahmad observes, "The Mughal Emperor had hardly any desire to interfere with the religious susceptibilities of non-Muslims unless he smelt some political danger emanating from them" and again, "Jadunath Sarkar in his work on Aurangzeb has stressed the religious intolerance and his (Aurangzeb's) hatred of the Shias. But a close study of the history of his reign unfolds a different story".

There is no doubt that sometimes the narrow principle of narrow self interest operated for Aurangzeb too like when he made Rajputs exception to his prohibition

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148 See J.N. Sarkar’s Preface to second edition, Volume V (April 1952) — referring to fuller use of Francois Martin’s Memoire which had by then become available in three volumes in print, so he discarded Kaepplin’s summary of it.


for Hindus to 'ride Pakhis, elephants, thorough bred horses or to carry arms' or when he utilized the services of Shias, "his hatred of Hindus was equalled by his aversion for the Shias". Despite the fact that Shias supplied him with some of his best generals and wazirs like Muazzam Khan, Fasil Khan, Jafar Khan and Asad Khan. To him a Shia was a heretic (Rafizi) though he could not help Nurjahan and his own mother being Shias. He liked the naming of daggers as the Shia-slayers (Rafizi-Kush). Even the highest Shia officers like Ruhullah Khan played the hypocrite to please him and to gain their ends. Even over his aggressive conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda, Aurangzib drew the cloak of Sunni orthodoxy and was displeased at the Chief Qazi Shaikh-ul-Islam who tried to dissuade the emperor from these 'wars between the Muslims'. The Qazi resigned his post and left the court for good.

151 Khafi Khan, ii, 395, Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri, 30, 37.
153 Ibid., pp.14-15. In one of his letters Aurangzib quotes with admiration the story of a Sunni who escaped to Turkey after murdering a Shia and draws the moral "Whoever acts for truth and speaks up for truth is befriended by the True God".
In Anees Jahan Syed's *Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-Al-Lubab* (Bombay, 1977) methodology has come a long way since the days of *Auranqseb Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Calcutta, 1877) edited by John Dowson; distinct in the bibliography, index, footnotes as well as its running comparison of Khafi Khan with Sadiq Khan and Mamuri. Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab* is no doubt a very valuable source, having been a 'non-commissioned, non-official work' for more than a century, (1630-1732) done probably by 6 officer's who with the exception of Khafi Khan wished to remain anonymous.

Anees Jahan Syed has highlightened the economic aspect of Khafi Khan's account; the contemporary grim conditions of the peasantry and artisans, the 'misery of soldiers', 'the poverty of small Mansabdars, the virtual collapse of Mansabdari, specially during the later part of Aurangzeb's reign and refers to Khafi Khan who is equally critical of the dismissal of Hindu Peshkars, the discriminating customs duties, the regressive poll tax or...
Jiziyah 'an act of economic insanity - Aurangzeb considered it a part of religion'. Her conclusion on Aurangzeb that follows is his not being 'even a second rate genius of any sort', "A man of craft and guile, suspicious of every one", who thought it would be easier to obtain his ends by underhand means and that 'as an administrator and statesman Aurangzeb cannot be ranked among the outstanding figures like Sher Shah and Akbar'.

While examining Aurangzeb's religious policy Anees Jahan Syed observes, 'the text of the Jiziyah ordinance makes it clear that Aurangzeb was imposing a new tax based on the Sharia for the first time and not re-imposing a tax abolished by Akbar', that a letter which Jadunath Sarkar attributed to Shivaji, the statement is made that 'Jiziyah is unknown to the law of India' and concludes that 'since the term Jiziyah occurs in the literature of the Sultanate period, the historian (Sarkar) overlooked the ambiguity of the term' and that 'there is

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159 Anees Jahan Syed, Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-Al-Lubab, xxxii.
160 ibid., xxvi.
161 ibid., xxvii.
162 ibid., xxviii.
163 ibid., xxxii.
164 ibid., xxix.
obviously some error in the tradition Afif has recorded' (about Firoz Tughluk's imposition of Jiziyah that did not even exclude the Brahmins).

Whereas there are numerous conclusive evidences to prove that Jiziyah imposed on Hindus under an Islamic king right from the days of Muhammad bin Qasim. The letter referred does not say 'Jiziyah is unknown to the law of India', only calls it 'inexpedient' and refers to the three emperors (Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan) "who considered all men, high and low created by God." They too had the power of levying Jiziyah but they did not give place to bigotry... these (three) pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind". In view of Afif's special mention of the specific machinery of officers for collection of Jiziyah, the view that "Firoz Shah had not the machinery required to collect a poll

165 Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p. 248, Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1 1061, Barni's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 290, Elliot, i.476, Akbarnamah, ii 316, Rate and Manner of collection of Jiziyah, British Museum Ms. Or 1641, 63b-66b.


167 Ibid., p. 191.

tax from all the Hindus of his dominion,\textsuperscript{169} is unwarranted. It is possible however that under some of the Muslim kings, Jiziyah may have been realized along with the land tax Kharaj for practical purposes which has led not Jadunath Sarkar to 'overlook the ambiguity' rather made some of the historians and interpreters to see ambiguity of the term, when actually none existed, regarding imposition of Jiziyah.

Thus, while there has been welcome addition and some 'microscopic' studies relating to the reign of Aurangzeb, after the historians magnum opus, many of which Sir Jadunath much inspired and appreciated\textsuperscript{170}, his contribution on Aurangzeb still stands unsurpassed for its quantity as well as quality, as much for the scientific historiography as for the comprehensive treatment of the ruler and the reign.

The attempt on the part of some 'national' or 'civic' historians to present Aurangzeb in a 'new garb' is

\textsuperscript{169} Anees Jahan Syed, \textit{Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-Al-Lubab}, xxx.

\textsuperscript{170} See Jadunath Sarkar's Foreword to Jagdish Narayan Sarkar's \textit{The Life of Mir Jumla}, Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1931, "A book which will stand as the authoritative life of Mir Jumla and a worthy supplement - in some points a corrective also to my voluminous \textit{History of Aurangzeb}".
both highly ridiculous and a breach of honest history - in light of the numerous first hand contemporary accounts and sources, including Aurangzeb's own orders and letters, many of which were first brought to light by Sir Jadunath. Infact, "Sir Jadunath's main conclusions on Aurangzib's personality and character, his policy and achievements, are not likely to be modified by any fresh discovery of new material, unless it is of a revolutionary character.171

Sir Jadunath's 'wonderful accuracy' and his basic concept of unity of theme in history has made him immune to the common lot of historical writers. Presently, there is a lot of emphasis on economic interpretation of history. One has only to study his Economies of British India, Mughal Administration and India of Aurangzib to realize the importance he gave to this particular aspect, though Marxist approach had yet to catch on. For him however, if fate was identical with human effort and character, various policies owed their inception to the rulers who devised them, could improve upon them or let them deteriorate whereas the well being of the subjects was concerned. If tomorrow Herodotus', view that 'history be studied geographically', be the trend, Sir Jadunath's India of Aurangzib: Topography, Statistics and Roads (1901) would still be the only work on the subject of his chosen field.

171 A.L. Srivastava, Studies in Indian History, p. 95.