Chapter I

RELIGIOUS TRENDS AND THOUGHTS

Medieval Indians lived an active spiritual life which was by a thousands ties connected to the real problems of society. The Indian thoughts of the middle ages were as contradictory, variegated and diversified as India itself. Any enquiry therefore into directions of the development of the Indian thoughts during the Mughals period would be of immense value and interest.

Crucial changes were going on in the 16th and 17th centuries in the attitude of the Indian mind towards the social problem of the time. Thus as objective and powerful tendency to create a strong centralized state gave rise to new political ideas and made it necessary to reconsider some traditional views on the role and significance of state power. A factor that could be of great significance was the socio-religious and cultural contact between Hindus and Muslims which had a bearing on every sphere of life.

The numerous religious reformist schools during medieval period of India having association with Hinduism, Islam and other religious communities, produced a variety of socio-ethic principles, mystical practices and cultural traditions.

Medieval India, it is argued, experienced a general wave of socio-religious protest something like Europe which experienced under influence of Calvin and Luther. Beginning from the south under the inspiration of the reformers, mystics and poets, a wave of reforms swept throughout India.¹
To take ‘religion’ as a subject of empirical inquiry and to begin investigating it as a human reality must have demanded not only great effort but also considerable courage. The confidence thereby put in man’s intellectual capacities was such that one of the major fields traditionally held to be ‘irrational’ was opened not only to philosophical inquiry but also to national research. And although the discussion on the rationality both of scholarly research and of the religious phenomenon, may still be going on, it is important to note that the frontiers of research were moved ahead and that, like nature and history, art and morality, religion too became susceptible of being studied.

**Hinduism**

In Mughal India especially in Akbar’s time, the general position of Hindus underwent a change. Akbar used to hold discussions with saints in order to ascertain the religious truth. His letter written to Philip XI of Spain thus speaks of his religious quest and liberal outlook towards all religions:

“As most men are fettered by the bonds of tradition and by initiating the ways followed by their father ancestors, relatives and acquaintances, every one continues, without investigating the arguments and reasons to follow the religion in which he was born and educated, thus excluding himself from the possibility of ascertaining the truth, which is the noblest aim of the Human intellect. Therefore, we associate at convenient reasons with learned men of all reasons and thus profit from their exquisite discourses and exalted aspirations”.

Akbar acquired the knowledge of *Hinduism* through Puzukhotam and Debi. He listened to *Vedas* and respected the Hindu saints. Dadu was one of them. It is said that he wished to attend Dadu’s Brahm Society and accept its teachings. In 1586 Akbar met Dadu and talked to him for forty days. Akbar was deeply
impressed by his devotion and even took his women folk to receive the saints blessings. Akbar along with Tansen visited Mirabai. He paid her homage and presented a necklace be made an offering at the lotus feet of Lord Krishna. The Emperor also went to see saints Surdas along with Tansen. It is said that Akbars relations with saints Jadrup initiated him into the doctrines of Vaishnavism. Akbar held the saint in a high esteem and whenever he passed by Ujjain, he paid a visit to Jadrup in his cave. He used to have religious discourses with the saint to satisfy his spiritual quest.

The Emperor conferred the title of ‘Goswami’ upon Vithaleshvara, who had impressed him with his learning and piety. In 1576-77 he visited the saint for religious discourses and gave him a gift of lands of Gokul. A farman was issued which stipulated these lands free from any taxes. Hamida Banu Akbar’s mother too issued Farmans in favour of the Saint. At Gokul, Vithaleshvara allowed Akbar the darshan of his beloved Shri Nathji. Akbar’s liberal approach in matters of religion was appreciated and acclaimed by saint Tulsidas also. Akbar advised Todarmal to be liberal in religious beliefs when the latter refused to eat anything before worshipping the idol which he lost.

Abul Fazl too had a high opinion of Hinduism and held the Kashmiri Brahmins in high esteem. He even rationalized and justified idol worship. Regarding Akbar’s religious liberalism Jahangir comments:

“But in his character one prominent feature was that every religion he seems to have entered, through life, into terms of unreserved concord and with the virtuous and enlightened of every sect and profession of faith, he did not scruple to associate, as opportunities occurred.”
Thus the gods of other religions were no stranger and were equally respected and revered by the believers of other religions. Akbar like a Hindu devotee, presented a golden umbrella to the shrine of the fire goddess of Jwalamukhi in the modern district of Kangra in Punjab. Akbar visited and spent sometime in Gorkhatri, a shrine of Jogis in Peshawar. He worshiped the Sun and had collected 1001 Sanskrit names of the sun and read them daily. He prostrated every morning in the worship of the Sun. He regarded fire as manifestation of God, and, 'a ray of His rays'. He had ordered that a fire-flame should be burning at a specified place in the royal fort for all twenty-four hours. The practice of everybody present standing up in row when the lamps were lit in the evening became a ceremonial in his court. He sent a copy of the Mahabharata and a list of the names of God to his son Murad to help him in his prayers. Abul Fazl writes in Ain-i-Akbari that an Emperor’s command the epics of other religions were read to him.

Akbar also issued two gold and one silver coins, known as Sia Ram coins (one gold coin is kept in British Museum and another in France). The silver coin is kept in Kala Bhavan at Kashi. One side of the coin mentions the year and the other has the pictures of Sita and Ramchandra. His reverence for Hindu gods won him the highest regard from the Brahmins who regarded him as Ram Krishna’s incarnation.

Akbar in a letter to Shah of Persia opined:

“The various religious communities are divine treasures entrusted to us by God. We must love them as such. It should be our firm faith that every religion is blessed by Him and our earliest endeavour to enjoy the bless of the ever-green garden of the universal toleration. The eternal king shower his
favourites on all men without distinction. King who are shadows of God should never give up this principle.  

In a letter, written to his son Murad Akbar emphasize his secular outlook, do not be offended by diversity of religion. Struggle hard to sit in the shade of peace with all.  

Like the emperor of Kashmir Zainul Abidin, Akbar also promulgated a decree, which declared that no person was to be interfered with on account of his religion. A strict action was taken against those who tried to impose their religious convictions upon others. Under one of his regulations Hindus who had become Muslims under pressure were allowed to return to the faith of their forefathers. His ministers were vigilant to ensure that the state should secular and stood for justice. When a Mughal official converted a Hindu temple into a Muslim schools, he was severely punished by Todarmal.  

The Hindus were made to feel that the emperor considered himself as much their protector as of any one else. In deference to the Hindu sentiments, he prohibited the slaughter of the cow. It was a crime punished by amputation. He prohibited the eating of beef and Himself abstained from beef, garlic and onions. In 1563 he abolished the tax on Hindu pilgrims at Mathura and other Holy places and in 1564 by Jaziya was abolished through out his dominions.  

In such a cordial environment diversity in spiritual matters led to the development of all faiths much to the annoyance of orthodox who were denied any special privileges and interference in the running of the state administration. A Sharif of Amul, who was expelled on account of his religious
views from every Muslim country found safe asylum in India where he was allowed to preach his own philosophical viewpoint. He wrote:

Hindustan is a wide country where there is an open field for all and no one interferes with another's business so that every can live just as he pleases.26

Disgruntled *Mullahs* made desperate attempts to dislodge the 'secular sovereign. He was condemned and characterized as 'Devil'. A mullah of Jaunpur urged a general revolt against, Akbar. The orthodox also made contacts with Akbar's brother Mirza Hakim, the ruler of Kabul and invited him to Hindustan in order to raise him to the throne. Though failed in their attempt, they never forgave him and went to the extent of denying him a burial according to Muslim rites.27

For all his respect for Hinduism, however, Akbar was averse to a few of its customs, especially *sati*, the burning of widows. Poets wrote verses expressing their horror as well as admiration for the self-immolation of Indian women as the highest expression of absolute love. Akbar also admired widows who wished to be cremated with their deceased husbands. However, in 1583 he ruled that no woman was to be compelled to commit sati.28

Jahangir, the son and successor of Akbar followed the path shown by his father. He respected Hinduism, held religious discourses with the Hindu saints, sought their guidance and visited the Hindu shrines.

Jahangir was deeply influenced by saint Jadrup whom he met with his father who took him to seek saints blessings. Such was the influence of Jadrup on Jahangir's that the latter not only released prince Khusrau from prison upon his intercession but often changed state laws to make them conform to Hindu
standards. Following the emperor many Muslims nobles visited the saint and sought his blessings. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan used to offer Sajda to Jadrup. The author of Dabistan-i-Mazhib himself met the saint and learnt from him the mantar Suraj (duan Aftab, worship of sun).²⁹

Jahangir continued Akbar’s practice of inviting Hindu scholars and philosophers to the court and held discussions with them. He was very keen to meet the Jogis and visited for the purpose the Gorkhatri near Peshawar which was an important centre of the jogis.³⁰ The emperor visited the temple of Goddess Durga at Kangra. When he visited Jwaramukhi temple, he gave order that the adjoining buildings should also be repaired and added to the temple.³¹ He visited several other important Hindu religious centers and gives descriptions of the temple of Brindaban, Hardwar and the lofty temples of Kashmir. His description of Hardwar that was visited according to Thomas Roe by over half a million of pilgrims every year is worth mentioning. He writes:

Hardwar is one of the most famous places of worship of Hindus and many Brahmans and rachises have chosen a corner of retirement in this place and worship God according to the rule of their religion. I gave alms in cash and goods to each of them according to their requirement.³²

Akbar’s policies continued during Jahangir’s reign. On once he was advised to impose Jaziya, he got furious. He was not content simply to repudiate the suggestion and rebuke the rash and selfish proposer of it, but punished by cutting his head for having “had the temerity to seek his own profit at the expense of his sovereigns reputation, the welfare of the community and good ordering of the state.”³³ Besides, he maintained previous orders of not
slaughtering animals twice a week, on Sunday and Thursday. This was strictly enforced. He used to visit the city in order to discover that meat was not being sold on the days of his visits. The Kotwal, the officer responsible for seeing that the royal orders were observed, was called for and flogged. So strict, however, was Jahangir in enforcing his injunctions that in the fourth year Eid fell on a Thursday, the sacrificial slaughter of animal was postponed to the following Friday.  

Following Jahangir, Shah Jahan and his son Prince Dara, too had liberal outlook in religious affairs. Shah Jahan honoured Pandit Jagannath with the title Pandit raja. The emperor reserved the right of giving final decision in religious matters and was daily blessed by Pandit Jagannath with the address as ‘Dillishwara be Jagdishwara’ (The Lord of Delhi is the Lord of Universe). Maurique states that in Orissa Peacocks, were not allowed to be killed during Shahjahan’s reign. Dara was a disciple of Baba Lal and patronized a number of Banaras Brahmans.

Goswami Narsimah Saraswati and pundit Jagannath were held in special favour.

Dara Shikoh made another attempt to bridge the chasm between the two great religious culture of the empire. The great dream of Dara’s life, which was shattered by his untimely death, was the brotherhood of all faiths and unity of mankind. For long he studied Sanskrit and along with her sister Jahanara read Hindu epics and Vedas with great ability. At his command many part of the Vedas were translated into Persian. He presented a stone railing to the temple of Kesho Rai at Mathura. He gave full liberty to Jai Singh, Raja of
Jaipur, to appointment the presiding priest at the temple of Brindaban built by Man Singh.\(^{38}\)

Dara’s study of Hinduism and Islam had convinced him that there was no difference between the two. In *Tariq at–al-Haqiqat Dara* he wrote:

“Thou art in the Kaaba as well as in the Somnath Temple. In the convenient as well as in the tavern, Thou art at the cup, the sage and the fool; The friend and the stranger. Thou art thyself the moth around the light of thine own, beauty.”\(^{39}\)

Dara’s approach towards Hinduism like his great grand father Akbar was that of a seeker of truth, in whose heart was burning passion for knowledge. In this quest for unity of God, he came to know that Hindu monotheists had given a clear exposition of the same, and so turning towards Hinduism he observed:

“Therefore I considered on what account is Hindustan conspicuous for monotheism, is so much discourse on Divine Unity and where fore in the exterior and interior practices of this most ancient sect of Hind, is their no disavowal of the Divine Unity and no apostasy against the Unitarians”.\(^{40}\)

Dara wrote in his work *Risala-Haq numa*: *ba-zer-i- but imanist pinhan* i.e. Faith lies hidden beneath the idol.\(^{41}\) He translated the Upanishads because he regarded them as Divine Secrets. In Dara Shikohs view, the upnishads were among the works alluded to by the Quran, which makes a number of reference to the fact that no race of people is ‘without The Book (Sura 17:16; 53:22; 57:25). His efforts to effect a rapprochement between Vedanta and Sufism were astutely titled *Majma al-Bahrain* (Confluence of the Two Seas).

Because of his liberal views, the forces of conservatism and reaction termed him as an apostate and a heretic.
Dara’s Majma-al Bahrain in which he made a comparative study of fundamentals of Islam and Hinduism annoyed the fundamentalists. But Dara convinced of his viewpoint as he was never cared for opponents. He and his wife like Akbar and Jahangir made their obeisance to the sun every morning and when the lamps were lightened in the evening, every member of their household stood up in reverence to the Goddess of Fire.\(^{42}\)

Even orthodox emperor Aurangzeb, who is known for demolition of temples held Hindu saints in respect and conferred Jagirs on the temples and the *pundits, maths* and *jogis*. While camping at the fort of Mandsaur, on his way to Deccan. About three hundred years have passed since Aurangzeb died yet up to this day the priests of many Hindu temples in India possess copies of royal farman which bestowed jagirs on temples under orders of Aurangzeb. The temple of Someshwarnath in Anail, near Allahabad and Jangamwari Shiva Temple at Banaras still have copies of Aurangzeb’s Farman.\(^{43}\) In 1659 to 1685 he issued farman in favour of Jangum Badali Shiva temple and great temples of Mahakateshwara Ujjain, Balaji temple Chitrakut, Umanand temple Gauhati and the Jain temple of Shtranjal and Abu. He gave land endowments to Hindu temples at Maheshwar Nath, Benaras, Mahshpur Multan and to the *maths* in the state of Marawar, in Rajasthan.\(^{44}\) It is also said that Aurangzeb issued an order by which a Jagir of ten villages in the Devasar *Pargana* (Kashmir) was given as present to Rishi Pir. He also conferred upon him the title of *Padshah-i-har-do-jahan*.\(^{45}\) Besides throughout his reign he continued to upheld strict enforcement of the prohibition against cow-slaughter.\(^{46}\)

Capt. Alexander Hamilton, in describing the conditions in Bengal, during the reign of Aurangzeb wrote:
There are above one hundred different sects.... But they never have any hot disputes about their doctrine or way of worship. Everyone is free to serve and worship God in his own way and persecutions for religion’s sake are not known among them".

Sikhism

Monotheism and a liberal approach towards other religion was a main feature of the teachings of Sikh Gurus. The religious system founded by Guru Nanak (1469-1539) came to be known as Sikhism because his followers were “the Sikhs” (disciples) of the Guru (Preceptor). It sprang from within Hinduism. Guru Nanak denounces the inegalitarian social system with its inbuilt discrimination, especially against the common people and women. He condemns administrative oppressions and corruptions, and the discriminatory policy of the contemporary Muslim rulers against their non-Muslim subjects. Because of his non-sectarian views Baba Nanak became extremely popular and his influence spread rapidly in the entire region. His bhakti drew nearer both the Hindus and Muslims.

Guru Nank was followed by 9 gurus: Angad (1539-52), Amar Das (1552-74), Ram Das (1574-81), Arjan (1581-1606), Hargovind (1606-44), Har Rai (1644-61), Har Krishn (1661-4), Teg Bahadur (1664-75) and Govind Singh (1675-1708). All the gurus were believed to be one in spirit. No one could be regarded as a guru without being installed or designated by a reigning guru. The office of guru was thus one, continuous and indivisible. The decision taken by a success or were as sacrosanct as the decisions taken by the founder. What was said and done by all the 10 guru’s constitutes the Sikh tradition.

The most obvious result of the movement was the Sikh community called the Sikh Panth. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Sikhs
had become conscious of their distinct identity and the Sikh Panth could even be seen as a kind of state within the Mughal empire.\(^{52}\)

This was one reason why the Mughal rulers started interfering with the affairs of the Sikhs. Guru Arjan was sentenced to death by an imperial order in 1606. Emperor Jahangir (1605-27) himself said that the Guru’s blessing the rebel prince Khusrau was the immediate cause.\(^{53}\) Jahangir imprisoned Guru Hargovind for some time in the fort of Gwalior, and under Shah Jahan (1628-58), commandants (faujdars) used armed force against him. Guru Hargobind abandoned Ramdaspur to reside at Kiratpur in the territory of a hill chief. Aurangzeb (1659-1707) interfered in the succession to the guruship and Guru Tegh Bahadur was executed in Delhi on his orders in 1675. At the same time, rival claimants to the Guruship (for example, Pirthi chand, the elder brother of Guru Arjan, and his line) were patronized by the Mughal emperors.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Sikhs, who were a peaceful sect to begin with, took to arms and very soon became a great menace to Mughal rule in the North-West. But even at that period many Sikh gurus emphasized that their struggle was not against Islam, but against the Mughal rule. The tenth Guru of Sikhs, Govind Singh, under whom the Khalsa movement acquired its most militant form insisted that ‘the temple and the mosque are the same, and it does not matter in what way a man worship God.’\(^{54}\) In his celebrated letter to Aurangzeb ‘Zafar Nama’ he accused the emperor of cruelty and fanaticism and of not believing in the Prophet and not respecting even Islam.\(^{55}\) There were many Muslims in Guru Gobinds armies. He was very friendly with a sufi preacher Pir Buddhu Shah when the Afghan mercenaries betrayed Guru
Gobind, the elderly Pir brought to the Sikh army his sons and disciples, who fought bravely to the end. When Guru Gobind's army was destroyed and he himself narrowly escaped death, some Muslim peasants risked their lives to give him shelter.\(^{56}\)

With a hundred year of Guru Govind Singh 'death' according to Khuswant Singh, the trend of reversion of Sikhism towards Hinduism continued in the succeeding generations.\(^{57}\)

**Jainism and Zorastrianism**

Mughals had good relations with both Jainism and Zorastrianism. Jain Gurus were held in high esteem, their institution got liberal grants and favours from the Mughal rulers. Vihayasena Suri, Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya made a profound impression upon Akbar and influenced his mode of life. In obedience to the teachings, Akbar almost wholly abstained from eating flesh, renounced his beloved sport of hunting, prohibited slaughter of animals earmarked days on which consumption of meat in any form was totally prohibited and ordered the release of the caged birds.\(^{58}\)

Akbar conferred the title of Jagadguru on Hari Vijaya Suri. The Advisvara temple on the sacred hill of Satrunjaya near Palitana in Kathiawar combines the praise of this teacher with that of his patron Akbar.\(^{59}\) Akbar issued Farmans to the Governors, Jagirdars and other official of the subhas of Agra, Lahore, Multan, Malwa, Gujarat, and Bengal, granting the request of Harivijaya Suri, the Acharya of the Jain Swetambara sect to hand over the control of the Kothis, temples, places of pilgrimage of the Jain Swetambara community throughout the empire. In the order it was also prohibited to kill the animals near these territories.\(^{60}\)
Jahanagir had many monks at his court and one of them called Siddhi Chandra was honoured with the titles of Nadir-i-Seamen and Khushfahami. The Emperor during his reign many Jain images was consecrated and in the inscriptions of some of them the name of Padshah Jahangir were also engraved. In the early sixteenth century, the emperor in accordance with the tenants of Jainism took a vow of not injuring any living creature. Shah jahan and Dara Shikoh also respected Jain Monks and their religious institutions.

Zoroastrianism too had an impact on the life and thinking of the Mughal rulers. Its influences reflected in the reverence of fire by Akbar. He adopted the Persian names for the months and days and celebrated the fourteen Persian festivals. He wore under his clothes the sacred shit and the girdle of the Parsees. He bestowed on the Parsee priest Dastur Maharajji Rana of Gujarat two hundred bighas of land as a free grant in perpetuity and in 1595 added further grant of a hundred bighas of land to his son Kaikubad. Mughal rulers, continued the royal celebrations of Nauroz festival of the Parsees.

Christianity

The Mughals from Akbar to Dara Shikoh were cordial towards Christian fathers. Akbar received the Gospel with reverence and sometimes took off his turban to show respect to the Christians sacred book and relics. Akbar used to visit the chapel and prostrated before the pictures of Jesus and Mary.

Akbar took many Europeans in his service. Among them there being many Catholics, they petitioned the King to permit their religious priests to
settle in Agra for the fact that without priests they could not exist. Akbar sent envoys to the city of Goa to obtain priests, where upon the Jesuit fathers came. For them he ordered the constructions of a Church in Agra. He entertained Jesuit Fathers at his court and also built a Church in the palace and there he often attended Christian worship. He gave the fathers permission to baptize all those who wished to become Christians, to open a school to teach Portuguese and to build a Church at Lahore, Canbay and Agra. In 1599 Lahore chapel was completed to which Akbar sent costly gold and silk clothes for its adornment. He also sent from his own collection a picture of Mary for the chapel. When the Church at Lahore was consecrated, the Mohammedan Viceroy of Lahore honoured the ceremony by his presence. Great crowds of the city thronged the chapel. Akbar went so far as to adopt the son of a Christian, Yaqub of Aleppo, who was also known as Mirza Iskandar, but did not convert him. The liberty of the rulers reflected when the fathers were allowed even to criticize Islam freely. A man who attempted to destroy the Church was imprisoned and was released only when the Fathers interceded for him. Besides, the Fathers were empowered to give refuge to those who had offended against the law as the Church had been declared a sanctuary by a royal decree.

Akbar's broader outlook led him to entrust the education of his son Murad to the care of Fathers. He charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel and to distribute among the Ulema. He often subscribed his letters with the sign of cross and as a symbol of appreciation of Christianity, he wore round his neck a cross and a locket containing the portraits of Jesus and Mary.
Jahangir too had great regards for the Jesuit and bestowed several gifts upon them and their Churches. He also provided them large sin to erect their religious places. In a Farman Jahangir granted to Christian six Bighas of land situated in Mauza Agra. He also gave them a house and a Church in Lahore officers were further ordered not to molest them for any tax and no abstraction should be caused during offering of their prayers. Fathers were allowed to take out a procession through the town of a dead body of a Portuguese who had died at Fatehpur Sikri with crucifiers and lighted tapers and to busy him with all publicity. He also permitted them to build a hospital and to establish a medical mission.

The emperor also wore round his neck a locket containing portrait of the Savior and the Virgin, marked his letters with the Christian symbols and even permitted the Fathers to convert the people if they liked. At Agra twenty baptism took place in 1606. Church processions with full catholic processions with ceremonial were allowed to parade the streets and cash allowances were paid from the treasury for church expenses and the support of the converts. But the most sensational of the conversions was the public baptism of Daniyal’s son and a grandson of the emperor in 1610.

The Princes clothes in Portugues costumes and wearing crosses of gold round their necks, proceeded on elephants from the palace to the Church through the streets packed with eager spectators. At the Church the princes were received with every sign of rejoicing and the bell was rung with such violence that it broke.

They were baptized and given new names of a European complexion. However, after some time, they gave up their new faith and returned to Islam.
Terry commented on Jahangirs religious state policy as, All religions are to be tolerated and their priest held in high esteem.\textsuperscript{74}

Dara had a secular approach in religious matters. Bernier wrote about Dara’s viewpoint regarding other religions as;

“Born a Mohammadan, he continued in the exercise of that religion; but although this publicly professing his adherence to the faith, Dara was in the private a Gentile with a Gentile and a Christian with a Christian.”\textsuperscript{75}

**Judaism**

Among the various religious groups who met at Akbar’s court in his “Ibadat-Khana”, or hall of worship (1578), the court historian Abul Fazl mentions not only “Sufis, Sunnis, Shias, Brahmans, Sabeans, Zoroastrians, Christians”, but also explicitly, Jews.\textsuperscript{76} The “House of Wisdom” shone resplendent with the light of holy minds – Sufis, doctors, preachers – Jains, Christians and Jews”. That Jews participated in this “parliament of religion” which was set up by Akbar is furthermore attested by the Jesuit father and traveler. A monserate who gives a description of the discussion in which Jews also actively took part.\textsuperscript{77} An even more detailed account of such disputation with Jews participating can be derived from the famous Persian book on comparative religions called “Dabistan”, which mirrors many of the events of Akbars time. The author of “Dabistan-i-Mazhaib” refers repeatedly to the presence of Jews and their active roles in the disputations. He mentions that “a Jew was present and participated in the discussion with a Sunni and a Shii”, and refers to another disputation in which he states “another day a Jew presented himself and Akbar placed the Christian in opposition to him for a religious
discussion". In another place we read "a learned philosopher came into the hall where Hindus were present, and three other learned men, a Muslim, a Christian, and a Jew. These were summoned and ranged in opposition to the learned philosopher...." And a discussion ensued in which the jew played an active role.\textsuperscript{78}

It was not only the presence of Jews at the court of Akbar which is attested by the sources, but also the existence of synagogues. Among the places of worship which are specifically listed in a royal decree of Akbar, as reported by his court historian, the Jewish place of worship, the synagogue, finds mention. The reference to a synagogue, "Kanisa"\textsuperscript{79} as a terminological contrast to "bi’a" (church) leaves no doubt that Akbar and his circle had a clear conception not only of the presence of individual Jews, but also of the existence of their house of worship. The existence of synagogues is also borne out by the English traveler, Sir Thomas Roe who, in a letter to "synagoags" in the Moghul empire.\textsuperscript{80} He was born in the first part of the seventeenth century and came from Kashan in Persian, a well known seat of an important Jewish community half-way between Teheran and Isfahan.

It is reported that when Sarmad moved from Hyderabad to Delhi, towards the end of the reign of Shah Jahan, Dara Shukoh had already learned of his fame. He therefore sought Sarmads company, paid him many marks of respect, visited him constantly, even introduced him to his father, the Mughal Emperor, and a close friendship developed between the two men. Dara Shukoh found in Sarmad his favourite and his friend, a person whose Sufic learnings and religious ideas appeared to him very strongly. It is said that "Dara kept
Sarmand company and enjoyed his discourses for a considerable period”. It is significant that in one of the letters which were exchanged between Dara Shikoh and Sarmad – the only one thus far preserved – Dara Shikoh addressed Sarmad as “my master and preceptor”.

In 1647 he moved from Tata to Hyderabad and in 1654 he went to Delhi, which was then the capital of the Moghul Emperor, Shahjahan. Sarmad has entered the annals of Persian literature as a composer of Persian sufic poetry, as the author of “Rubaiyat”. He is mentioned and quoted in the Persian literature of his time and became widely known and popular as one of the outstanding sufis in Moghul India. “Rubaiyyat”, always the typical vehicle of expression of sufis, also became for Sarmad, following the example of Umarkhayyam, the form in which he expounded his sufic philosophy and religious beliefs.

Akbar’s delight in religious disputations was paralleled by his passion for books, particularly for translations of the Holy Books of the various religions and of books of Greek, Arabic and Sanskrit literature. Anxious to have Arabic and Persian translations of the Holy Books of Judaism and Christianity in his collection, wrote a letter to Philip II of Spain, in the year 1581, in which among other matters he states:

It has been brought to our notice that the revealed books, such as the Pentateuch, the Gospel and Palms, have been translated into Arabic and Persian. Should there books, which are profitable to all, whether translated or not. Be procurable in your country, send them to me.

Whether this letter was answered and whether he received from Spain the requested books is not ascertainable, but this latter is an amazing document.
Despite the scantiness of information concerning the economic and cultural structure of these Jewish newcomers from Persia to Mughal India – be it Lahore, Agra, Kashmir or elsewhere – it is amongst them that we must look for those learned Persian – speaking Jews who participated in the discussions and disputations at the court of Akbar.

Forty years after Akbar, however, in the time of his grandson, Shahjahan, a jew appears on the scene in India who was destined to play a unique role and to assert considerable influence on the religious and intellectual life of India. This jew appears in Persian as well as in European sources under the name of Mohammad Said or Said Sarmad.

Far from being satisfied with the elimination of Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb also began to remove all those who were formerly associated with him and who were suspected of following the same heretical and unorthodox ideas. Among those who fell victims to that purge was Dara Shikoh’s close friend, Sarmad.

The dramatic circumstances of Sarmad’s execution in the year 1661 need not be discussed here. It is reported that an unrecedentedly huge crowd was present and that he was buried at the spot of his execution in the precincts of the great mosque in Delhi. It seems that the people who loved and admired Dara Shikoh transferred their love to Sarmad, the favourite of Dara Shikoh, and his tomb is even today visited and venerated by large crowds.

Political hostilities of the Mughal Empire

From the very inception of Muslim rule in India till the end of the Mughal Empire, there were frequent conflicts and wars between the rulers
either for the expansion or for the protection and preservation of their respective state boundaries. Hindu rulers fought with Hindu rulers and the Muslim with Muslim Kings but unfortunately the wars between the rulers belonging to different religions were given communal colours by the communalists of both the communities. These were projected as wars either for imposition or for the protection of the Faith. The real mundane motives were highlighted so as to divide the people on communal lines and to use their support in the name Jihad or Dharma.

Political hostilities led to oppression, torture and execution. Religion was later used to justify ordinance such actions. The rulers irrespective of their religion behaved in a similar manner when their power was challenged.

It would, therefore, be wrong to say that the Muslim rule was Islamic rule in India. The Muslim rulers never tried to Islamise the country’s administration. Either they followed the administrative pattern as they found it or introduced certain innovations in keeping with the indigenous requirements. P. Saran has convincingly argued in his ‘The Provincial Governments of the Mughals’ that two main factors influenced the growth of the Mughal local governments: (1) The aim and object of the sovereign, that is to say, the Mughal rulers ideal of government. (2) The existing institutions of the country when its administration fell to the lot of the Mughal rulers. About the grass roots level administration Saran observes:......almost all other affairs pertaining to religion, charities, public works and education, were left to private initiative, because the socio-economic system of the country was so deep rooted and worked so well in those days that it would have been unwise to interfere with
it. Thus while the Mughal rulers did not initiate any positive schemes of serving their rural subjects, they at least extended their full patronage to the time - honoured institutions which had long served the land and were still good for service.... Thus in a way the whole of the village local government became assimilated into the general administrative system so as to create a harmonious machinery in which no part seemed isolated or to suffer from neglect.  

The bulk of the people lived in villages and, as pointed out above, at this level the administrative machinery not only followed the local pattern inherited from the past but also left the grassroots officials undisturbed. Thus the self sufficient villages, where the mass of the Indian population lived, remained, by and large, unaffected by the political vicissitudes and the turbulence at the nerve center of power. Local Hindu chiefs, Zamindars, Rais, Thakurs and Chaudharis were instrumental in the revenue exactions for the central imperial authority. As long as they did this job well and paid the revenue to the imperial treasury, they were left undisturbed. Prof. Toynbee feels that even at the upper echelon the Brahmins played an important role in running the Muslim Empire. “Under all political regimes in India”, says Toynbee, “one of the prerogatives of the Brahmins had been to serve as minister of the state. They had played this part in the India World before playing it in the affiliated Hindu society. The Mughal’s Muslim fore-runners and the Mughals themselves in their turn had found it comvenient to follow the example of the Hindu states which they were supplanting. Brahmin ministers and minor officials in the service of Muslim rulers made this alien rule less odious to Hindus than it otherwise would have been.....”
From the fore going account it is reasonably clear that the Muslim rulers did not, to any appreciable degree, disturb the village autonomy where the majority of the people lived. However, the ruling classes (including both the Hindus as well as Muslims) extracted and lived off the surplus from the toiling peasantry. The imperial glory was based on the sweat and blood of the peasants. The ruling classes, however, had their own mutual contradictions. Our historians, more often than not, pre-occupy themselves with the conflicts and contradiction of ruling classes and project them as the conflict between Hindus and Muslims. Such an approach has, besides over simplifying the complex historical process, seen from the communalists eyes.

Though, Aurangzeb banned the construction of new temples but at the same time he also prohibited the Mughal officials in Banaras from interfering with or disturbing the Brahmans or any other Hindus who visited the temples.\textsuperscript{90} Besides all his regulations cannot be considered to be anti-Hindu in tone because many of the ordinances affected Muslims as well. He banned the celebrations of Moharram. The prohibition against music, for example, also applied to religious hymns sung on the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet. On Thursday nights lamps used to be lighted on the tombs of the saints. Aurangzeb discontinued it. Nauroz festival too was banned.\textsuperscript{91}

If Aurangzeb destroyed the temple he also destroyed Jama masjid of Golkonda. A puritan can never think of the destruction of his religious place but as said Aurangzeb used religion for his selfish interests in this case the purpose was to get the money hidden underneath the Mosque. The ruler of Golkonda, the famous Tanshah, after collecting revenue of the state, did not
pay his due to Delhi. In few years they were accumulated into crores. Tanashah buried the Khazana and erected a Masjid over it. When Aurangzeb came to know of it, he ordered the demolition of the mosque. The buried Khazana was seized and utilized for the benefit of the people.\textsuperscript{92} This shows that Aurangzeb did not make any distinction between a temple and a mosque, in the matter of judicial findings. He had no hatred for Hinduism or Hindu saints and did not justify the unjustified claim of the Muslim theologian against the Hindus. Munshi Siyan Rai of Batala, the famous historian of the time of Aurangzeb, mentions in the Khulastul-Twarikh, a village Dipavali where the tomb of Shah Shamsuddin Daryayi is situated: He writes:

\texttt{“Both Hindus and Muslims have a great faith on Shah Shamsuddin. But a Hindu name Deepali has proved superior to both Hindus and Muslim in his faith. After Shah Daryayis death Deepali was appointed the first trustee and keeper of the tomb with unanimous consent of both Hindus and Muslims although he was not Muslim by religion.... Some years ago the Mussalmans timed to get the Hindu keeper dismissed, so much so that the religious reasons were urged for this. But the Alamgiri Hakumat did not allow this agitation to succeed”}\textsuperscript{93}

This version of the historian Munshi Siyan Rai places Aurangzeb into different picture. Dow in his History of Hindustan, points out that Aurangzeb did not prosecute the adherents of others persuasions in the matter of religion. Elphinstone states that “not a single Hindu suffered death, imprisonment or loss of property for his religion or indeed, that any individual was ever questioned for the open exercise of the worship of his father”\textsuperscript{94} Norris, a British ambassador to India during 1699-1702, writes that there were no communal feelings or tension between the different religious bodies during
Aurangzeb reign. Besides not a single temple was demolished in Deccan where he spent the last twenty seven years of his reign. This, he used religion and religious leaders for his political ambitions that remained supermost in his life. His son Akbar too followed his fathers tactics. When the prince rebelled against his father, he got a fatwa from some Mullah that Aurangzeb was irreligious.

The destructive religious zeal of Aurangzeb was not applauded by all sections of the Muslim society. Even the Shah of Persia accused him of unmanliness. In a letter to Aurangzeb, he wrote: “You style yourselves a world conqueror while you have only conquered your father (and murdered) your brothers. You have failed in every undertaking requiring manliness”.

The Khalifa at Mecca, was also critical of Aurangzeb’s religious policy. According to J.T. Wheeler the religious policy followed in India by Aurangzeb was considered anti-Islamic by the Khalifa, who on this ground refused to receive an ambassador from the emperor. Shah Abas of Iran too, did not approve Aurangzeb’s fanaticism in the name of religion. He wrote him to struck coin upon a round of cheese: Aurangzeb brother-slayer, father-seizer. Aurangzeb thus used religion and religious leaders for his irreligious actions. He posed himself to be a pious Muslim but discarded the religious dictums if these did not suit his designs. The Ulema’s verdict was taken for public consumption but he did not allow them a share in shaping state policies. In a reply to a petition requesting the dismissal of non-Muslims from the posts, Aurangzeb pointed out: religion has no concern with secular business and in matters of this kind, bigotry should find no place” and after quoting the
Quranic text “To you your religion and to me my religion “stated that if the Petitioners requests were to be acceded to “We shall have to destroy all the Rajs and their subjects”.

Though Aurangzeb is known for his anti-Hindu stance yet it is also a fact that he not only won the war of succession but also maintained his rule with the co-operation of the Hindus. He firmly maintained the policy of allying with the Rajputs and other non-Muslim elements of Indian society. He gave Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh a higher position in Imperial affairs and the Imperial hierarchy than had been accord to any Hindu since the days of Man Singh. The number of Hindus in the nobility did not decline but actually increased after 1679. During Akbar’s time out of total 247 mansabdars 32 were Hindus. But in Aurangzeb’s time the number of Hindus increased to more than any Mughals rulers. We can easily understand this composition of the Hindu-Musalaman statistically through the book of Prof. Athar Ali.

Table 1: The Mughal Mansabdars during different period of the Mughal rule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Turanis</th>
<th>Iranis</th>
<th>Afghans</th>
<th>Indian Muslims</th>
<th>Other Muslims</th>
<th>Rajputs</th>
<th>Marathas</th>
<th>Other Hindu</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) 1595</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 1620</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) 1565</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) 1658-78</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average (a)(b)(c)(d)</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) 1679-1707</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average (e)</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even in his private life Aurangzeb had co-ordial relation with the Hindus. Prince Azam, Aurangzeb’s son was married to the daughter of Kirat Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. The princess was not converted to Islam and the Raja gave a rich dowry in the Hindu fashion at the time of her marriage.

Reimposition of jazia too not always spurred by religious zeal. More often there were economic motives as well. Economic and political reasons perhaps led Aurangzeb to reimpose jaziya. His predecessor Shah Jahan had spent great deal on pomp and show and had depleted state treasury. The same could not be matched by increased surplus from peasantry. Besides, Jaziya was not imposed upon the servants of the state.

When Aurangzeb reviewed his finance in the thirteenth year of his reign, he found the expenses had exceeded income during the preceding twelve years. Consequently a number of economic reforms were effected, including the retrenchment of many items in the expenditure of the Royal budget. The continuous wars in the Deccan too had badly strained the Royal treasury.

Another factor for the reimposition of the Jaziya was the growing unemployment among the clerical elements. So rampant was the unemployment that even the descendants of Shaikh Moinuddin Chisti, the patron saint of the Mughals, were living in poverty and want. By earmarking the proceeds of Jaziya or distribution in charity among the learned, the faqirs, the theologian etc. and further by providing that the new department of Jaziya, with its own treasury and seat of Amins, should be staffed predominantly by these sections, Aurangzeb offered a huge bribe to the orthodox clerical
elements. Through clerical influence Aurangzeb hoped to rally all sections of Muslims behind him. Besides, it was an outcome of a deepening political crisis. By the time Aurangzeb had ascended the throne, the political and religious conditions in India had gone under a great change, the Sikh in Punjab, the Bundelas in Central India and the Marathas in Deccan were busy acquiring political power under the guise of service to their respective faith Aurangzeb, in order to have the support of his community presented himself as the protector not only of the faith but also of their economic interests.

However, all were not happy with the imposition of Jaziya. A powerful section of the Muslim nobility including his own sister Jahanara and his son Akbar opposed its revival she visited her brother and begged him to reconsider an act of such devastating regression. She argued that ‘India represented an ocean sustaining the ship of the Mughal royal family; what emperor could tax the ship on which he sail? Predicting widespread rebellion, she ended by trying to throw herself at Aurangzeb’s feet. But Aurangzeb remained unmoved, he invoked justification of Muhammad and the Quran.

His son Akbar who had escaped to Persia wrote a letter to Aurangzeb criticizing the decision of Jaziya as:

“Your Majesty puts your trust in hypocrites wearing a huge turbans and accepted as theologians because they carry a Quran under the arm and hold a chaplet in their hand. Yet are these nothing but snares of hell, with their hypocritical exterior of piety. They gave false counsel and by their appearance misled the world. From this class of riffraff your Majesty has selected your councilors and countries. These are your guardian angles…. Men who are dealers in adulterated wares".
The religious plea taken by Aurangzeb also provided a similar slogan to such Hindu chiefs who were not serving under the Mughal Emperor. The conflict between Aurangzeb and Shivaji, like similar other conflicts between central monarch and provincial vassals, has been portrayed as a religious conflict. It was basically a struggle for power with no holds barred while lionizing of Shivaji by the Maratha historians is understandable fight as he did to fulfill Maratha aspirations and to achieve autonomy for them, it would be knave for a serious historians to be swayed by such prejudices. He has to objectively evaluate the character and nature of this conflict as also its genesis.

Shivaji undoubtedly fought for, in a way, liberation of the Maratha peasantry. He, this, became the symbol of their aspirations. “.....there is no doubt”, says Sardesai, “that in his approach to the people he introduced the idea of the unity of the Marathi speaking people as a political entity, for the achievement of Swaraj. The word Swaraj, which occurs in his letters and contemporary documents, was to be a Swaraj for Marathas, meaning the Marathi people”.\(^{108}\) Shivaji was a master strategist of guerrilla war. He challenged the might of Mughal empire with his small but highly compact and mobile army. The Maratha peasantry rallied round Shjivaji who symbolized their aspirations.\(^{109}\) However, he was not fighting in defence of Hindu religion. His use of epithet like Go-Brahmana Pratipalak or his slogan of Hindupad Padshai should not be misunderstood in this context. Such epithets or slogans were used by Shivaji not to rally round Hindus in defence of Hinduism against the onslaught of Islam but to establish his caste equation vis-à-vis other upper Hindu castes and thus to legitimise his rule.
As a matter of fact the germs of conflict lay elsewhere. The Mughals had traditionally given much more importance to alliance with the Rajputs than with the Marathas. Shivaji was aspiring for a status in the Mughal court which was higher not only to that granted to other Maratha sardars but also equal to that of Rajput sardars. Aurangzeb, within the framework of the system went furthest to accommodate the aspiration of the Shivaji. He was given autonomy in his area and was exempted from personnel service except in the Deccan – a privilege extended only to the Rana of Mewar, the most illustrious and the oldest ruling house in Rajputana. The mansab granted to Shivaji’s son was also not a low one, being equal to that held by the Rana of Mewar. But it was not likely to satisfy Shivaji since similar ranks had already been granted to a number of Maratha chiefs regarded by Shivaji as inferior to him in status and power.  

It was difficult to grant more than this to Shivaji as the Jagirdari system, as pointed out earlier, was undergoing deep crisis. Furthermore, for strategic reasons the Mughals did not like emergence of a powerful Maratha state sprawling across important trade route. Satish Chandra says:

Thus, the main differences between Shivaji and Mughals centred around the territory and mansab which was to be granted to Shivaji, and later, around the claim for ‘chauth and sardeshmukhi. For strategic and economic reasons, the Mughals were unwilling to see a powerful Maratha state arise on their southern border, on the flank of the vital trade route to the west coast. Financial stringency made it impossible to satisfy the ambition of Shivaji, except at the expense of the Deccan State.
Aurangzeb and Shivaji were not fighting for defense of their respective religions is also proved by the fact that both had chosen allies from the other religious groups respectively. While Aurangzeb army sent to fight, Shivaji the latter had the backing of the Muslim Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golcunda and others Muslim opposed to the Mughals Rule. Also, as Aurangzeb had to give grants to some Hindu temples despite his personal bigotry as a political expedient, Shivaji also had to show tolerance towards Muslims to win their support. There were in Aurangzebs employment some of Shivaji's relatives like his son-in-law Achalaji, one of his uncle Arjuji etc.\textsuperscript{112} Similarly there were some Muslims in Shivaji's army and navy had a good number of trusted and prominent Muslim Officers.\textsuperscript{113} In view of these facts it would be utterly wrong to project the conflict between Shivaji and Aurangzeb as religious conflict.

The foregoing discussion since to clarify that certain historians have not only misinterpreted our past history but have also over simplified it by singling out religion as the central motivating force. History, is far more complex and barring a few religion exceptions has hardly played the role of history maker. Apparently purely religious acts like demolition of temples or mosques too have for deeper motives other than those of religious. In fact in the final analysis important historical events are determined by number of complex factors like geopolitical, socio-economic, religio-political and several others. It is different thing that in a particular instance one or the other factor (and in some cases even religious factor) might play more decisive role than other factors. Thus each important historical event must be placed properly within totality of the situation.
Conversion to Islam in Mughal India

Religion here played a very great part in the evolution of human civilization and culture. They developed as a set of beliefs concerning the cause, nature and purpose of the universe and grew as an organized system of beliefs that bound people to become a close knit society. Very often the religions spread out from the lands of their origin.

Since around the middle of the 16th C, conversion to Islam in Mughal India has been carried out great extent through the activities of traveling merchants, medicants, Sufis, and Muslim popular preachers, as has been the case in parts of Indonesia and other areas of East Asia and Africa.

Although historian Mohammad Habib, S.M. Ikrim, and A.B.M. Habibullah were deeply conscious of the role of Islam as a revolutionary force confronting the caste - ridden social and legal structures of medieval India, they did not produce sufficient evidence to substantiate their general statements. Irfan Habib therefore remarks ‘there is no evidence of result from the Muslims upon the caste system; not even any revolt from within.114 Richard Maxwell Eaton totally rejects the theory of ‘social liberation’ on the ground that it is a ‘fallacy’ to read ‘the values of the present into the peoples or events of the past.115 He further asks in somewhat hubristic terms, if we are to assume that, before Muslim contact, ‘the untouchables of India possessed, as through they were familiar with the writings of jean – Jacques Rosesseau or Thomas Jefferson, some innate notion of the fundamental equality of all men denied them by a Brahmanical tyranny.116
On the other hand, Eaton is at pains to emphasize “self conscious adoption of Arab culture” as a ‘a central paradox’ of the reform process. His thesis about ‘adhesion’ and ‘reform’ actually points to the dichotomy between two constantly interacting forces which Annemarie Schimmel calls ‘mystico – syncretistic’ and prophetic separatistic. The underlying thesis is that it is not the so-called ‘formal Islam’ but the ‘aura of holiness’ acquired by the Sufis in the Hindu environment that attracted Indians. This idea characterizes work written under the influence of J. Spencer Trimingham.
Notes and References


3. VBQ., Jan 1928, p. 379.


7. Ibid. Also see Cultural History of Gujrat, by M.R. Majumdar, p.214.

8. Tulsidas, Dhoavali, Doha No. 5.

9. For detail see Mantakhab-ut-Tawarikh II by Abdul Qadir, p. 365.


11. Memoirs of Jahangir’s, trs. Major David Price, Rare Book, Delhi, 1904, p. 84.


15. Ibid. p. 184.

16. Ibid. p. 105 Also see Shelat, p. 264.

17. Ibid. p. 106.


27. Pradvin, *The Builders of Mughal Empire*, p. 156.
36. Gadon, *Dara Shikoh's Mystical Vision of Hindu – Muslim Synthesis*
38. *IHQ*, 1936, p. 30
44. *KBLJ*, No. 44, p. 40.
46. Sunderlal, p. cxii.
48. *Dabistan-i-mazahib*, n.d., p. 223. The author uses the term 'Nanak Panthis' as well as 'Guru Sikhan (the sikh of the Guru) for the followers of Guru) for the followers of Guru Nank and his successors. In Guru Nank *Japuji*, the term used for his followers is 'Sikh'.
64. *Ibid*.
68. S.M. Burke, p. 120.
69. *Ain-i Akbari*, p. 182
70. *Bias in Indian Historiography*, p. 369
78. *The Dabistan*, vol. 3, pp. 50, 69,70 and other passages. See also Vans Kennedy in *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, Vol. 2, p. 217, where the text of the disputation between a jew on one side, and Muslims, Zoroastrians and Christians, on the other is given.
83. Efforts have been made by the writer to collect all available reference to Sarmad in the contemporary Persian, Indian and European services. There are a large number of important sources still inaccessible in manuscripts throughout Indian libraries, which if one available may add considerably to our knowledge of Sarmad’s personality and views.

84. Cambridge History of India, vol. 4, p. 232 called Sarmad “the most notable victim” of the persecution by Aurangzeb of several holy men of liberal views.

85. Carr Stephens, The Archaeology and Monumental Remains in Delhi, 1876, p. 255. He was buried near the central Mosque where his tomb is until today a center of attraction and pilgrimage.


87. Ibid., p. 152.


93. Rajendra Prasad, India Divided, Hindi Kitab. Bombay 1946, p. 34.


98. Ibid., p. 131.

99. Z. Farukhi, Aurangzeb and His Times, Idara-i-Adbbiyat-i-Delhi, 1972, p. 120.


103. Ibid.


105. Ibid., 181.


107. Ibid., 173.

108. S.G. Sardesai, Shivaji Contours of Historical Evolution, Delhi, 1974, p. 11f.


110. See Jadunath Sarkar House of Shivaji 1940, p. 113, cf. Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, Delhi, Second ed., 1972, p. 2. XI.

111. Satish Chandra, ibid, p. XII-XIII.


118. Eaton’s view about the assimilation of Indian traditions by the Indian Muslims on the non-urban level and the preservation of Arab identity by the ‘Ulama’ lends weight to the Orientalist misconception which dramatized polarity between the so-called Great Tradition of the ‘Ulama’ and the Little Tradition of ‘Indian Islam’.


120. J.S. Trimmingham. *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971, p. 22. on the dichotomy between Islam and Sufism: ‘We have shown that Sufism could never be fully accommodated into the Islamic prophetic structure but was allowed to exist parallel to it, p. 143.