AURANGZEB AND HIS RELATIONS WITH NON-SUFI-SAINTS

Much has been written, on the religious policy of Aurangzeb and the debate is still going on. The main concern here is to analyse Aurangzeb’s attitude towards non-Muslim religious divines and religious institutions of the time. As he was a religious minded person, he paid much regard to the divines of different religions. Aurangzeb financially supported a large number of saints, priests and Bairagis etc, of various religions and sects. So the policy of patronizing religious divines commenced by Akbar, was continued during the reign of Aurangzeb.

The allegations of demolition of temples and persecution of Hindus by Aurangzeb are refuted strongly by so many scholars on the basis of contemporary records.¹

If we go through the contemporary sources and documents, they will reveal that the non-Muslim religious divines were not molested or persecuted and they were supported financially by the emperor. This reveals, that he was not a fanatic or bigoted emperor on the other hand, his farman to different non-sufi saints and various temples shows that he was inclined towards religious toleration.

The contemporary Jain literature praised Aurangzeb for religious freedom of his reign. A Jain Gujrati poet named Bhagwati Das in the Colophon of his work ‘Brahma Vilas’ written in 1755 V.S., says:

“Narapati tithan ye raje Auranga, Jakiajna bahe akhanda.
Iti bhit byape nahi koya, yaha upagara nripati kai hoya”

(i.e. Here rules the king Aurangzeb, whose orders are obeyed everywhere. Such is the grace of the king that no one has any kind of fear).

Another Jain poet Ramchandra in his work ‘Ram Vinod’ compiled in 1720 V.S. admires Aurangzeb as:

“Mardano our mahabali Aurangasahi naranda Tasa raja main harsha sun racho sastra ananda”

(i.e. king Aurangzeb is gallant and valiant. In his reign I composed this book with all joy and peace).

The religious tolerance of Aurangzeb is expressed by Jagat Rai, in the colophon of an author of Digambara sect, his work ‘Padmanandi Panchvisika’ dated 1722 V.S., writes-

“Raja Karai Sri Aurangasahi, jake nahi kisi parvahi na bhai bhita kachhu take raja, dharmi bhavijana padhana ke kaja”

(i.e.-Here rules the king Aurangzeb, who cares none. In his reign there is nothing for any religions minded people to fear about their studies).

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This is the testimony that every one during Aurangzeb’s reign free to practice his own religion. The translator of Mahabharat in Hindi, Sabal Singh Chauhan writes in the Shalya-Parva of Mahabharat that:

“Aurangshah Dilli Sultana
prabal pratap jagat sat jana.”

(i.e. Aurangzeb the Sultan at Delhi. His glory is known throughout the world).

The composite culture of the Mughal court, which was an important feature of Akbar’s reign, continued upto the period of Aurangzeb. The percentage of Rajput nobility was far more (i.e. 31.6%) during the reign of Aurangzeb as compared to the previous reigns (Shahjahan 22.4%). Bhushan and Virind, the Hindi poets were present at his court, and he used to listen their Hindi compositions.

4.1 Aurangzeb and the Goswamis of Jangambari Math of Benaras

Aurangzeb continued to patronize the Jangams of Benaras as his predecessors. By an order bearing the date 1071 A.H, (27 August 1660 A.D) on the reverse side, with the seal of an officer Inayatullah, Aurangzeb confirmed about 200 bighas of land as madad-i-maāsh to Jangams, which was previously granted by the farman of Akbar (dated 5 Rabi II
nd, 993 A.H/27 March 1585 A.D) and by the farman of

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4 See, M.Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, Oup, Delhi, 1997.
Jahangir in his 2\textsuperscript{nd} regnal year, and the \textit{nishan} of Prince Perwez of Jahangir’s 13\textsuperscript{th} regnal year (10 March 1618 A.D 10 March 1619 A.D).\(^6\)

It was during 1670 A.D, Arjun Mal Jangam of Benaras with his followers represented himself before emperor Aurangzeb and petitioned that a person named Nazir Beg resident of the same place, forcibly took position of the hawelis belonged to the Jangams. According to an order (‘\textit{hasbul-hukm}’) was issued to the Mutasaddis of the pargana Haweli-i-Muhammadabad urf (alias) Benaras, a dependency of Suba Allahabad, that the property of Jangams should be freed (i.e restored) according to Shara (Islamic law) and to dispossess Nazir Beg. The \textit{hasb ul hukm} bears the seal of Asad Kan Alamgirshahi with the date 1081 A.H Thursday 11\textsuperscript{th} May 1670 A.D, Saturday 29 April 1671 A.D.\(^7\) So, during Aurangzeb’s reign property rights of the people were protected.

During the 7\textsuperscript{th} regnal year, the Jangams appeared before an imperial officer Abu Jafar and brought the witnesses of the people, for their claim of the possession of land and that they were being alive. An order ‘\textit{hasbul-hukm}’ of Aurangzeb was issued with the invocation of \textit{Allahu Akbar} and bearing the seal of Badshah Alamgir on the top addressing the present officials of pargana haweli Chunadah, that 100 bighas of land was granted to the brotherhood of Jangams by the \textit{farman} of Shahjahan in his 2\textsuperscript{nd} regnal year.’ It was ordered that the above mentioned land was left in their (Jangams) possession and the officers should not interfere in any of their matters, so that they may remain in praying for the everlasting kingdom. It bears the date of 25\textsuperscript{th}

\(^7\)Ibid – Document No-XVI, p.33
Rabi II\textsuperscript{nd} 1075 A.H. of 8\textsuperscript{th} regnal year corresponding to Tuesday 4\textsuperscript{th} November 1664 A.D. The reverse side bears the seal of Abu Jafar, the murid (disciple) of Muhammad Aurangzeb Badshah Alamgir, and it is also mentioned on the reverse side that 178 bighas of land from pargana haveli Benaras is also assigned in their name (i.e Jangams). \textsuperscript{8}

**Another order of Aurangzeb for the Restoration of Property of Jangams**

During 1674 A.D, the Jangams presented themselves before the emperor Aurangzeb and submitted their case that the Jangams possessed a haweli at Benaras, the officers of Baitul Mal (imperial treasury), confiscated their property and charged rent on them, by the instigation of other worshippers and taken Rs. 500 as rent. Thus this became the cause of anxiety for Jangams. So, it was ordered to the Mutasaddis of Muhammadabad alias Benaras, by issuing a *hasb-ul-hukm*, that the officers should return Rs. 500, the rent of the haweli deposited in the treasury, to Arjun Mal, and the haweli be given back to him, and they (officers) should not interfere in the affairs of the haweli, so that, they (Jangams) may pray for the perpetuity of the Everlasting Dominion. The year of this order not given in the document (as it was not read due to some defects). The document bears the seal of Inayatullah (dated 1081 A.H/1670-71 A.D), Muhammad Zahid (1083 A.H/1672-73 A.D), Mufti Nur Allah (1083 A.H/1672-73 A.D), Sayyid Faiz Allah (1082 A.H/1671-72 A.D) and Muhammad Qasim Abd-al-Ghafur (1074 A.H/1663-64 A.D)\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid – Document No-XVII, p.p.34-35.
This document indicates that whenever the grantees were oppressed by the imperial officers, the Mughal administration came forward for their rescue and Aurangzeb by this order restored the property of Jangams and also paid back the money of rent which were extracted by the imperial officers.

4.2 Aurangzeb and the Jogis of Jakhbar

The Jogis of Jakhbar came into contact with Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan and received their favours. During the reign of Aurangzeb, Mahant Anand Nath was the head of Jakjbar gaddi. He came into contact with the emperor in early part of his reign. There is a personal letter of Aurangzeb written to Mahant Anand Nath in his 4th regnal year. The letter bearing the invocation *Hu-al-Ghani* on the top with the seal of Aurangzeb as ‘Shah Alamgir’ (dated 1661-62 A.D).

The letter was written with great respect to the Mahant by addressing him as Shiv Murat, Guru Anand Nath Jio. In this letter the emperor requested the Mahant to send some well-treated quick silver without any delay. The emperor also referred to a letter and two *tolahs* of quick silver sent by the Mahant earlier. The letter also suggests that, the emperor and the Jogi came into contact earlier. There is a document also, of early 1660 A.D. bearing the seal of Aurangzeb, it states that in the village Thar, Anand Nath hold fifteen ‘ghumaos’ of land by way of *madad-i-maāsh* and Aurangzeb increased that grant to twenty ghumaos. 10 So, the letter of Aurangzeb and his land grant to the Mahant of Jakhbar suggests that he paid much regard to the religions divines.

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4.3 Aurangzeb and Mahant Shri Mangal Das, a Leader of Khadi Bairagi saints

Emperor Aurangzeb, while his marching towards the Deccan, he encamped at the fort of Mandsaur in Malwa. During his stay there he came into contact with the Bairagi. The leader of Khaki Bairagi saints, Mahant Shri Mangal Das had along religious discourse on truth and devotion with the emperor. He was very much impressed and pleased with the saint and he issued a farman in his name to fix an annuity of Rs. 5 and conferred upon him so many gifts. The farman states, that all the Sardars, Rajas, Nawabs, chiefs, money lenders and traders are hereby informed that the emperor Alamgir on his way to Deccan war, encamped at the fort of Mandsaur has issued a royal injunction, referring to the stay of a team of Khaki Bairagi Saints on the bank of Raja Jasrat’s tank, near Qasba Dharampuri also known as Khilchipur.

The leader Shri Mangaldas Maharaj had a religious discourse with the emperor, who was very pleased to know that in his realm there was such a good place and such an angelic saint (like Mangaldas) upon whom he was pleased to fix an annuity of Rs. 5 from each Qasba and Mauza and gave him a royal farman and the same has been engraved on copper plate handed over respectfully to the honoured Mahant with a Khilat (robe of honour), a horse, a drum, a mace, a silver umbrella together with 200 dirhams. This is to be taken as royal injunction to be followed without demur, for ever. These religious property rights were invested to the Mahant without any
condition attached thereto. This was to be taken as a certificate of grant for future use also.  

### 4.4 Aurangzeb’s Relations with Jain Saints

Aurangzeb also paid much regard to the Jain saints of his time, who eulogizes his religions tolerance in their writings. Sanbhagya Vijaya, a jain saint compiled a chronicle ‘Prachin Tirtha Mala’ in 1750 V.S/1693 A.D, giving details of many saints, mentioning about his disciple Lal Vijaya. He says, that, “his disciple Lal Vijaya Ghani having the title of Pandit, went to Agra and met Aurangzeb, the king of Delhi. The virtuous king of Delhi gave him monastery (poshala) extensive in size meant for the Tapagachha sects of the Jains, and issued a farman to that effect, so that he may live there with all comforts.  

Another Jain saint Bhim Vijaya Suri came into contact with Aurangzeb, when he was at Ajmer during 1679. This jain saint having good relations with Asad Khan ‘the wazir,’ had an interview with the emperor and succeeded in obtaining a farman, for the relief of certain Jain monasteries (upasryas) at Ajmer, Merta, Sojat, Jaitrana and Jodhpur, which had been taken under Khalsa. The event is narrated in Pattawali Samuchchaya.  

**Aurangzeb’s farman to Jinchandra Suri a Jain Saint**

It was during the 27\textsuperscript{th} regnal year of Aurangzeb, that Jinchandra Suri, a Jain saint petitioned before the emperor, that some people were

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interfering in their religions activities on account of escheat. Ultimately a *farman* was issued in the name of Jinchandra. It was ordered in the *farman* to the jagirdars, faujdars, karoris and zamindars of the empire, that, as many parties of the Hindus have built many dwellings and houses in specific cities and towns of the empire and are given as charity to them. These (residents of the said dwellings i.e. Sadhus), while residing in them remain busy in praying for the perpetuation of this eternal empire.

But some people interfere with the conditions (of their life) on account of escheat. Now it is ordered to the effect that no one should cause hindrance in their activities on that account, because throughout the empire, the residential houses of the people are exempt from escheat and its collection is prohibited, an order is being issued that in case of the arising of such situation it must be regarded as a rule, that no one should on this account interfere in the activities of the said people from this date onwards. So that they may live in peace and tranquility in those houses and may pray for the perpetuation of this eternal empire and may not (be obliged to) come again to the court to ask for justice in this connection. This order should be treated as their strict responsibility. Written on the 19 Rabi II\textsuperscript{nd} of 27\textsuperscript{th} regnal year (i.e 1686 A.D). \textsuperscript{14}

### 4.5 Aurangzeb’s Farman for Bhagwant Gosain of Benaras

It was during 23\textsuperscript{rd} regnal year, that Raja Ram Singh represented to the court, that, his father had built a mansion in Mohalla Madho Rai

on the bank of Ganges at Benarases for his religious preceptor, Bhagwant Gosain, but certain persons had been harassing the Gosain.

Therefore, a royal farman was issued, directing the present and future officers, that no person shall in any way interfere or disturb the Gosain, so that he may continue with peace of mind to offer prayers for the continuance of our God-given empire. Consider this as urgent matter. The farman is dated 17th Rabi IInd 1091 A.H. 15

4.6 Aurangzeb’s farman of land grant to Ramjivan Gosain of Benaras

It was during 30th regnal year, dated 1098 A.H, that Aurangzeb issued a farman in the name of Ramjivan Gosain and his sons, granting land in Benaras. The farman states, that, as two plots of land measuring 588 daira, situated on the bank of the Ganges at the Beni Madho ghat in Benaras are lying vacant without any building and belong to Bait-ul-Mal (i.e. imperial treasury), we have therefore granted the same to Ramjivan Gosain and his son as inam, so that after building dwelling houses for the pious Brahmins and holy faqirs on the above mentioned plots, he should remain engaged in the contemplation of God and continue to offer prayers for the continuance of our God-gifted empire. It is, therefore incumbent on our illustrious sons, exalted ministers, noble umara, high officials, daroghas and present and future Kotwals, to follow this ordinance, and to permit the above mentioned plots to remain in the possession of the aforesaid person and his descendants from generation to generation,

and to consider him exempt from all dues and taxes and not to demand from him a new sanad every year.\textsuperscript{16}

\section*{4.7 Aurangzeb’s Farman to Sudaman Brahman, Pujari (Priest) of Umanand temple of Gawhati, Assam}

There is a \textit{farman} of Aurangzeb issued on 2 safar of 9\textsuperscript{th} regnal year, in favour of Sudaman Brahman, priest of Umanand temple of Gawhati, Assam. This priest, held a piece of land and income of some forest land granted by the rulers of Assam for their maintenance. So, Aurangzeb, after the occupation of the province of Assam, \textsuperscript{17} issued a \textit{farman} confirming the earlier land grant and income, in favour of the said temple and its Pujari.

The \textit{farman}, addressed to the officials, of patta Bangesar in the pargana of Pandu in the Sarkar of Dakhinkul, that 2 ½ \textit{bighas} of land out of village Sakara, the Jama of which was thirty rupees, settled on Sudaman and his son, the Pujari of Umanand, according to the orders of the previous rulers. And out of the aforesaid maintenance, Rs. 20 in cash out of the Mahsul (collections) of the said village, and the jungle land exclusive of the Jama from ‘\textit{Intakhali}’ village, being settled as the maintenance of the aforesaid grantee. So, it is incumbent upon them (the officers) to leave the cash and the land in possession of the above mentioned perpetually, permanently and for life time. On that they (grantees) may utilize them for their maintenance and ‘\textit{bhog}’ and engage themselves in prayers for the continuance of the kingdom to eternity. They should not allow any let or hindrance on account of

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid – p.250.  
\textsuperscript{17} Assam was conquered by Mirjumla in 1663 A.D. c.f. J.N. Sarkar. A Short History of Aurangzeb, Oreint Longman Ltd. Delhi, 1979, p.p.104-108.
revenue taxes and other cusses or demand a fresh Sanad. Considering this as binding upon them, they should not deviate from it. Written on 2nd Safar of 9th year of the accession of his Majesty. 18

4.8 Aurangzeb’s farman to Mahant Balak Das Nirvani of Balaji Temple at Chitrakoot

Chitrakoot is a great centre of pilgrimage in northern India. The famous temple of Balaji had derived the attention of emperor Aurangzeb who, in due recognition of the religious sanctity of the place, issued a farman in 1691 A.D, conferring a big grant on its Mahant Balak Das Nirvani. The grant comprises of eight villages as muafi and 330 bighas of land situated in Sarkar Kalinjar Suba of Allahabad, for the purpose of meeting the expenses of ‘Puja and bhog’ of Thankur Balaji. From the income of another pargana a daily allowance of one rupee has also been granted for the above purpose.

The farman with the invocation Allahu Akbar on the top, bearing the title and seal of the emperor, as farman of Abul Zafar Muhiuddin, Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Badshah Ghazi. The farman states, that eight villages in the paraganas from Sarkar Kalinjar, have been granted as muafi in favour of Mahant Balak Das Nirvani of chitrakoot for the purpose of meeting the expenses of puja and bhog of Thakur Balaji. The officials, present and future, shall treat the grant of the above villages conferred upon the aforesaid grantee in perpetuity and generation after generation. Further it has been enjoined that a daily allowance of one rupee (Re.1) be awarded to the grantee from the income of the other villages and a further grant

of 330 bighas of cultivable land has been conferred upon him, harvest after harvest, year after year. The grant of land referred to above shall be measured, demarcated and released in favour of the grantee without any change or alteration. No kind of imperial tax, whatsoever, shall be demanded. In this respect the imperial order shall not be called for renewal every year. Written on 19 Ramzan, 35th regnal year (6th June 1691 A.D).  

4.9 Aurangzeb and the Jogis of the Maths of Marwar

There are certain documents pertaining to the grants of Aurangzeb to the jogis of Marwar. The earliest document dated 7th of Rajab of 25th regnal year of 23rd July 1681 A.D, bearing the seal of Inayat Khan, written in Persian, states that Ganesh Bharati faqir has his watan in village Kharantiya (pargana Siwana) in Ilaqa (area)Jodhpur and that a group of faqirs reside with him. It is ordered that no one should bother this faqir, so that he may feel reassured, and pray for this kingdom.

Another document dated 14 Rajab of 24th Rajab of 24th regnal year of 31 July 1680 A.D states that Panth Bhartiya faqir has represented that he has lived for long in village Kharantiya that he supplies water etc to any traveller who passes that way and look after his comfort. However some persons seek to harm him. It is therefore ordered that no one shall bother him, and that he should remain settled where he is.

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There is another undated letter bearing the seal of Narayan Das Mansabdar written on behalf of Raja Sajan Singh. The letter addressed to one Mirdha, stating that he must have met Ganesh Bharati (the jogi) face to face: The letter also mentions that Ganesh Bharati feeds travellers and is worthy of offering prayers. The addressee is urged to deal kindly with Ganesh Bharati and further states that in case the emperor travels towards that side, he should appoint a few soldiers with him, so that soldiers of the army may not bother him (i.e Ganesh Bharati)\(^\text{20}\)

In another Hindi letter dated 14 Bedi Jeth 1730v.s. written on behalf of Maharaja Surajmal, states that, though Jodhpur has been made Khalsa, the swami should not be molested.\(^\text{21}\)

Another parwana bearing the seal of Inayat Khan, dated 6 Jamada II\(^\text{nd}\) of 30\(^\text{th}\) regnal year of 10\(^\text{th}\) May 1686, states that Panth Bharati etc. had for a long time been cultivating 100 pakka bighas of land, and spending money on providing food to travellers. The hasilat of the aforesaid land were therefore exempted according to the usual formula.

There are also the grants of Aurangzebs reign to Nath Panthi Jogis. The grant dated 7\(^\text{th}\) Safar of 33\(^\text{rd}\) regnal year of 1\(^\text{st}\) December 1688 was in the of Dharmanath (jogi), who is asked to pray for the empire. The Zamindars and jagirdars are directed not to demand the hasilat etc. from him.\(^\text{22}\)

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\(^\text{22}\) Ibid – p.407.
4.10 Aurangzeb’s grants to the Pujaris (preists) of Mahakaleshwar Temple of Ujjain

There are a large number of parwanas and sanads issued by subahdars of Malwa, between the 7th and 48th years of Aurangzeb’s reign, granting daily allowances and charities to a certain Brahmin family of Ujjain which was attached to the Mahakaleshwar temple, which is one of the most important Shavite temple of India. These parwanas and sanads reveals that Najabat Khan, the subadar of Malwa granted a daily allowance of threee Muradi Tankas to one Brahman named Kuka in the 17th regnal year, the same allowance was granted to his son Kanji, and it was increased to four annas by Habibullah al Hasani in the 19th regnal year.

The parwana of Najabat Khan in the name of Kuka Brahman

The parwana states, that, may it be known to the Mutasaddis of chabutra Kotwali, pargana Shahjahanpur, those at present and future, that Kuka Brahman has petitioned, that he has a big family and has no means of livelihood. Therefore, a daily allowance of 3 Muradi Tankas is fixed for him. This order shall come in effect from 20th Ziqada of 7th regnal year. This shall be paid to him out of the income f the said Chabutra, so that he may utilize it for his livelihood and may pray for the perpetuity of this eternal state. This was issued under the seal of Najabat Khan, follower (murid) of Badshah ‘Alamgir’ and is dated 21 Ziqada of 7th regnal year.23

**Parawan of Islam Khan to the son of Kuka Brahman**

The son of Kuka Brahman, Kanji, represented to the court, as his father died, so the allowance fixed for his father, now should be fixed for him. The parwana states, that may it be known to the Mutasaddis of Chabutra Kotwali in Darul Fatah Ujjain, of present and future, that Kanji, son of Kuka Brahman, has petitioned that under previous orders 3 Muradi Tankas were fixed as allowance for his father Kuka, who has now died, and prayed that the said allowance should be fixed as daily allowance from 20th Rajab (regnal) year 17th for Kanji, son of Kuka. This allowance shall be paid to him from the income of this mahal, so that he may utilize it as the means of his livelihood and pray for the perpetuity of the state. This bears the seal of Islm Khan bin Husain Ali, follower (murid) of Shah Alamgir.24

**Parwana of Khani Zaman to Kanji Brahman for the increment of his allowance**

Kanji Brahman presented himself to the court and petitioned that, as his family was very big and it was not possible for him to meet all his expenses within that allowance. So, a parwana was issued by Khan i Zaman, which state, that May it be known to the Mutasaddis of pargana Shahjahanpur, under the sarkar of Sarangpur of Subah Malwa, present and future, that Kanji, who had been receiving 3 Muradi Tankas from the income of Chabutra Kotwali of the said pargana, as daily allowance from old days, has now represented that his family is very big and it is not possible for him to meet all his expenses within that allowance. Therefore it is ordered that four annas which includes

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the original allowance as well as the increment, be paid to him daily as Sadqah (charity) on behalf of His Majesty from the said source, so that he may peacefully keep himself engaged in praying for the perpetuity of the eternal government of his Majesty. This was issued under the seal of Khan i Zaman slave (Banda) of Badshah Alamgir. This is undated Khan i Zaman was appointed subahdar of Malwa on 1st Rajab of 26 regnal year.  

**Parwana of Husain Ali, to Kanji Brahman**

This parwana states, that may it be known to the Mutasaddis of pargana Dhar, those at present and future, that Kanji Brahman has petitioned that he charity (Khairat). Therefore it is ordered that out of the amount collected at the harvest of Kharif 1083, this amount should be given to him, so that having met his expenses, he may keep himself engaged in praying for the perpetuity of the eternal state. This was issued under the seal of Husain Ali bin Islam Khan, follower (murid) of Shah Alamgir, and is dated the 2nd Rajab of 18th regnal year.  

**Parwana of Muhammad Sami to Murar and Kuka Brahman**

This parwana of 8th regnal year, states, that Murar Brahman and his elder brother Kuka have petitioned that they had been getting for the last 50 years, 50 dam i.e 1 Muradi Tanka annually from the income of chabutra kotwali for the services rendered to the worshippers of God (Bandgan-i-Ala Hazrat). Therefore, these lines are issued to the Mutasaddis of Chabutra Kotwali that according to the old procedure, the said amount be paid to the following men, so that  

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26 Ibid – Document No. XI, p.64.
they may utilize it for their livelihood and pray to God for the perpetuity of the state. This was issued under the seal of Muhammad Sami the slave (*Banda*) of Badshah Alamgir and is dated 8 Jamadi II\(^{nd}\) of 8\(^{th}\) regnal year. \(^{27}\)

### 4.11 Aurangzeb Relations with other Saints and Jogis

**Aurangzeb’s grant to Gharibnath Sanyasi and two Maths**

A parwana dated 9\(^{th}\) Muharram of 43\(^{rd}\) regnal year of Alamgir Badshah dated 7\(^{th}\) June 1699 A.D, for the grant of the Math Lohiar and Math Mondela, in the name of Gharibnath, a disciple of Harkaran Gosain, Sanyasi, as *Madad-i-maāsh*. \(^{28}\)

Another Parwana dated 21 Jamadi I, 1102A.H/18\(^{th}\) December 1695 A.D, in the name of Gharibnath Sanyasi disciple of Harkaran Sanyasi, ordering the release of the Math Mondela and Math Lohiar, in pargana Majhowra, as *madad-i-māash*. \(^{29}\)

**A Sanad in the name of Kishnu Das Bairagi**

*Sanad* dated 4\(^{th}\) Ramzan 1080 A.H/26\(^{th}\) January 1669 A.D, issued for the grant of the village Khandual Khurd, in pargana Haveli Rohtas in the name of Kishnu Das Bairagi for the expenses of the faqirs and needy persons. \(^{30}\)

\(^{27}\) Ibid – Document No. XI p.65


\(^{29}\) Ibid – Document No. 64, 31.

Parwana of Aurangzeb’s reign against the harassment of the saints, by the Zamindars

Parwana dated 25th Rabi ul sani of 43rd regnal year of Alamgir Badshah 21st October 1699 A.D, addressed to the Amil and Thanadars of pargana Dangsi, intimating, that in the villages Sarairathan and Ladavli, in pargana Dangsi, sacred ‘Asthans’ and places of saints exist. The Zamindars were, without any consideration keeping their camps causing harassment to the residents of those places. They should, therefore, put a stop to this practice and get their camps shifted to the old thana or some other places. 31

Sanad of land grant of Aurangzeb’s reign in the name of Pursautam and Pursuram Gir Sanyasi

Sanad dated the 22nd of Moharram, 17th regnal year of Alamgir Badshah, (9th May, 1673 A.D), for the release of 20, bighas of rent free land in the village Amarpur, in pargana Nanaur, in the names of Pursautam and Pursuram Gir Sanyasi, as madad-i-māash. 32

4.12 Aurangzeb and Goswamis of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan

There are a large number of documents of Aurangzeb’s reign pertaining to the land grant to the Goswamis and temples of Mathura and Vrindavan.

Parawana of Mukhtar Khan in the name of Roop Dharam Das Gosain and other Bairagis

Mukhtar Khan, the governor of Suba Akbarabad issued a parwana on 1st Shawwal 48th regnal year of Aurangzeb, bearing the seal and date 1121 A.H. The parwana addressed to the officials of pargan Islamabad alias Mathura, states that, it has come to the knowledge that Roop Dharam Das, one of the sons of Swami Birjanand has now resigned worldly life. When the village and pargana Brindaban was a jungle and did not have any settlement, he constructed a house and formulated the rules of headship regulations of his sect, that he should be unmarried and recluse. He should not demand any thing and remain recluse; and remain engaged in worshipping the most high (Samad). He should travel in Braj country. He should not ask for alms or stay else than in Braj country, and the Hindu Muslim ascetics who, are hungry and come to him should be entertained. The Zamindars of the pargana of Braj country, should pay one rupee annually per village in addition to the revenue for the maintenance of the group of bairagis, accompanying him. This amount should be paid half in kharif crop and half in Rabi crop.

Meanwhile Birjanand was appointed the successor of the sons of Roop Dharam Das by the consent of the Zamindars and the said amount was fixed as a sacrifice over the head of the emperor, as charity to the ascetics and the poor without any loss to the government revenues. They should deliver the stipulated amount at the time of realization of every crop each year for the maintenance, so that they may remain busy in prayer for perpetuity and permanence of the rule.
of the emperor. Strict care should be taken in this matter and disobedience should not be done.

On the reverse (Zimn), it is written that fixed endorsement in the name of Roop Dharam Das, one of the sons of Swami Birjanand, to the effect that all the jagirdars and zamindars of the following Mahals, should pay one rupee annually for each village in the parganas within the jurisdiction of Islamabad alias Mathura etc. in the environs of the capital Akbarabad. This payment should be in addition to the revenue.33

This document indicates that Mughal Administration during Aurangzeb’s reign was supporting financially, the religious divines of various religions and granting full religious freedom to them.

**Parwana of Jafar Seljuqi, by the order of emperor Aurangzeb, permitting the grazing of cows of Madan Mohan Temple**

This parwana of Jafar Seljuqi dated 13 Zil Hijj 1069 A.D, states that, it was ordered to the officials (mutasaddis) of pargana Mahaban, that as the priest of the temple (Devala) of Madan Mohan informed the emperor that the cows and cattle of that temple grazed free of tax in the villages of Bandrubi, Begumpur, Mansarovar and Piparyah, therefore, he ordered that they should be permitted to graze, as of old custom free of tax.34

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Parwana of Muhammad Ali by the order of Aurangzeb, confirming the grant of Shahjahan

This parwana, with the seal of Mohammad Ali as the Khanazad-i- Padshah Alangir, with illegible date, states that, Shahjahan in the 5th Ilahi year had assigned 80 Bighas and 9 Biswas land to Gosain Das in Mathura by way of madad-i-māash. He appealed now to the imperial court and received orders form the administration for its confirmation.  

Parwana of Itiqad Khan for the confirmation of previous grant

This parwana of Itiqad Khan dated 26 Zil Hijj of 41st regnal year, bearing his seal as Itiqad Khan the slave and Khanazad of emperor Aurangzeb, with the date of 37th regnal year. The parwana states, addressing to the officials (mutasaddis) of pargana Islamabad. As it reached the emperor that 89 Bigha and 9 Biswas of land from Rajpur village of the aforesaid pargana belonged to Gosain Das, the heir of Sri Chand. The emperor considering the facts had confirmed that land on him.  

Parwana of Bijay Singh by the order of Prince Azam

The Mughal princes also took keen interest in solving the disputes among the priests of the temples of Vrindavan. One Har Dutt, the pujari of Radha Raman temple, in 1706 A.D, complained to Prince Azam through his sevaks (servants) against Gobind Charan, pujari (priest) of Govind Dev Temple, for having occupied his land. The prince ordered the Nazim (governor) of Ajmer to send sazawal

36 Ibid – p. 113.
(enforcing officer) to examine the papers. Raja Bijay Singh secured suspension of this process by assurances of enquiry and justice. His officials were to see the papers and restore land if the complaint was found true.\textsuperscript{37}

So, a parwana was issued by Bijay Singh dated 1\textsuperscript{st} Moharram 1118 A.H with his seal as Bijay Singh, the slave of emperor Almagir and date of seal is 1112 A.H. The parwana addressed to Paras Ram and Sankhi Achin Das, states that Har Dutt son of Manindar Gosain, the pujari (priest) of Sri Radha Raman presented himself through his servants before prince Azam, and represented that the land possessed by him had been usurped by Gobind Charan Gosain, pujari of Thakur Gobind Deo. The order were issued that the Sazawal of governor of Suba Ajmer should verify the property documents and help the rightful claimant.\textsuperscript{38}

\textbf{4.13 Aurangzeb’s relations with Sikh Gurus}

\textbf{Guru Har Rai}

Guru Har Rai was at Kiratpur during the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan. Dara Shikoh, strong claimant for the Mughal throne, after the defeat at the hands of Aurangzeb fled towards Punjab. During his flight, he met Guru Har Rai and sought his blessing.\textsuperscript{39} So, the meeting of Dara and the Guru was reported to Aurangzeb, who had proclaimed himself as the emperor of India. It was reported that the Guru blessed Dara and assisted him in opposing the emperor. It was also complained that the Guru was preaching a

\textsuperscript{37} Irfan Habib, A Documentary History of Gosain’s of Chaitanya sect of Vrindava, op.cit. p.142.
\textsuperscript{39} Macauliff – op.cit. vol-IV, p.p. 301-302.
religion distinct for others and performed miracles an evidence of truth of his mission.\textsuperscript{40} Aurangzeb summoned the Guru by writing a letter that, the ancestors of both of us were friendly to each other, so I invited you to grant me a sight of thee.\textsuperscript{41} Guru Har Rai received emperor’s letter at Kiratpur. The Guru sent his son Ram Rai to Delhi. At Delhi Ram Rai had an interview with the emperor and Ram Rai satisfied him and his nobles by altering of the hymns of Guru Nanak.\textsuperscript{42} It is also said that Aurangzeb granted a piece of land, free of tax to Ram Rai around the area of Dehra Dun.\textsuperscript{43}

**Guru Har Kishan**

Gur Har Rai nominated his younger son Har Kishan as his successor before his death in 1661 A.D.\textsuperscript{44} It is said that Aurangzeb tried to meet Guru Har Kishan and sent Raja Jai Singh of Amber to escort the Guru to Delhi. But the Guru declined the invitation on the pretext that his brother Ram Rai was already with the emperor.\textsuperscript{45}

**Aurangzeb and Guru Tegh Bahadur**

Guru Tegh Bahadur was the son of Guru Hargobind and became the Guru after the death of Guru Har Kishan. He remained the head of his sect for fifteen years. He founded the city of Anandpur Sahib,\textsuperscript{46} and adopted the title of Sachha Padshah (true king)\textsuperscript{47} which was an indication of temporal as well as spiritual headship. It is said that,

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid – vol-IV p.304.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid – vol-IV p.306.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid – vol-IV, p.307-309.
\textsuperscript{43} J.S. Grewal, The Sikhs of the Punjab, Delhi, 1994, p.69.
\textsuperscript{44} Macauliff, vol-IV, op.cit, p.314.
\textsuperscript{47} J.D. Cunnigham, A History of the Sikhs, op.citp.59.
Guru Tegh Bahadur, during one of his journey came to Kashi (Banaras), Ram Singh, the son of Raja Jai Singh wrote a letter to the Guru and requested him to accompany with imperial army on the expedition to Kamrup (i.e. Assam). The Guru accepted the invitation and reached Kamrup with the army via Munghyr, Rajmahal and Malda. The Raja of Kamrup, gave up the idea of war with the imperialist on the advice of the Guru and patched a treaty.\footnote{R.R. Chaturvedi, Uttari Bharat Ki Sant Parampara, op.cit. p.324.}

According to Macauliff, he was invited by Aurangzeb to Delhi, and the emperor offered him to adopt his faith, and on his refusal, he was executed by the emperor’s orders. \footnote{Macauliff. Op.cit vol-IV, p.p.378,381,387.} But, that was not the case, as it is said that Guru Tegh Bahadur had relations with a saint named Adam Hafiz, who gave protection to miscreants and they also interfered in the matters of the government. Ultimately an imperial army was sent against them, they were defeated and imprisoned and the saint (Adam Hafiz) was banished from the place, and Guru Tegh Bahadur was brought to Delhi and son that charge of political nature he was ordered to be executed. It was during 1675 A.D.\footnote{Syed Ghulam Husain Khan-Siyar ul Mutakhirin, Eng. Trans. Haji Mustafa , Low Prince Publication, Delhi, 1990, vol-I, p.85.} Aurangzeb was not present at Delhi at the time of the Guru’s execution.\footnote{Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs (1469-1839), Oxford University Press, London, 1963, vol-I, p.74, f.n.26.}

**Aurangzeb and Guru Gobind Singh**

Guru Gobind Singh was the son and successor of Guru Tegh Bahadur. He was born at Patna during 1666 A.D.\footnote{Macaufliff op.cit. vol-IV, p.p.357-58.} He became the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs after the death of is father in 1675
A.D.A.D. Guru Gobind Singh reorganized the Sikhs under the banner of ‘Khalas’ (the pure). The followers of Khalsa having the common name of ‘Singh’ with five symbols, i.e Kesh (hair) Kangha (comb) Kara (a bracelet) Kirpan (dagger) for self defense and Kichcha (nekar). Now the Sikhs became a community with separate identity, and evolved a military organisation.\(^{53}\)

The Guru instructed his followers to send, horses, and arms as offering instead of other things. The Sikhs gathered around Guru Gobind Singh in large numbers at Anandpur and enlisted themselves in Guru’s army as their number increased considerably, they started plundering nearby villages for food and fodder. The hill chiefs were alarmed due to the growing power of the Guru and they considered the Guru as a threat to them. They ultimately approached the emperor for help as those hill chiefs were the vassals of the emperor.

Thus, combined forces of the Mughals and the vassal chiefs attacked Anandpur and be seized it. The Sikh fought bravely but pressed hard, the Guru was compelled to leave Anandpur, during his flight through a flooded steam he was attacked by some troops, ultimately the Guru reached chamkaur, but only after losing his two sons during the fight. Meanwhile his two younger sons were captured and taken to Sirhind, where they were put to death by the governor. Afterwards, Guru Gobind Singh wrote a long letter known as (Zafarnama) to Aurangzeb and complained about the misdeeds and distrustful behaviour of the emperors officers. Aurangzeb, it appears not interested in destroying the Guru. Aurangzeb, it is said sent a confidential messenger to Munim Khan, the governor of Lahore with a

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\(^{53}\) See Indu Bhushan Banerjee, Evolution of Khalsa, Calcutta, 1947, vol-II.
letter ordering the governor to conciliate the Guru and persuade him to meet the emperor. Guru Gobind Singh decided to meet Aurangzeb, set out for the Deccan in order to represent the actual state of affairs to the emperor. But on his way he heard the news of the death of Aurangzeb at Ahmadnagar on 3 March 1707 A.D.