CHAPTER II

COMPOSITION AND CHARACTER OF THE MUSLIM SOCIETY

The Racial composition

The Muslim community in Hindustan though it appeared to the superficial observer as a homogeneous unit, it was, in reality, composite and heterogeneous. The foreigners considered themselves a distinct unit as against the Indian converts. Consequently racial rivalries and wranglings are evident throughout the period and considerably weakened the administration where such rivalries had full scope to flourish.

The Persians

The Persians were equally skilled in the use of arms and the drudgery of book-keeping and finance. Even Aurangzeb, who was distrustful of this race, remarked: "No other nation is better than the Persians for acting as clerks (mutasaddi). And in war, too, from the age of the Emperor Humayun to the present time, none of this nation has turned his face away from the field, and their firm feet have never been shaken. Moreover, they have not once been guilty of disobedience or treachery to their master." Nearly all the Mir Bakhshis (pay-masters-general) of his reign were Persian by origin and enjoyed great reputation for their ability, polished manners and competence for office management. During this period the Iranians came

2. History of Aurangzeb. For the list of Mir Bakhshies of Aurangzeb reign, see III, p. 70; see also: Bernier, p. 10; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 177; Edward Terry, pp. 121, 149.
into political power and became king makers. Saiyad Abdullah Khan and his brother, Husain Ali Khan raised Farrukhsiyar to the throne and in the end deposed and murdered the emperor. After him they seated Rafi-ud-darajat on the throne and after his untimely death, they crowned Rafi-ud-Daula. Muhammad Shah also came to the throne by their help.

The Turanis

They claimed superior position over others as they belonged to the ruling race in India. Aurangzeb highly praised them in his last will. He says: "The Turani people have ever been soldiers. They are very expert in making charges, raids, night attacks and arrests...In every way you should confer favours on this race, because on many occasions these men can do the necessary service, when no other race can. The Turks, and Uzbegs were generally employed as state servants and were appointed to high posts.

The Afghans or Pathans

The origin of the word Pathan has been a subject of controversy among historians. Dr. Bell is of the opinion that, "The origin of the name Pathan, and the nationalities originally represented by it, carries us back to very early times. The term Pathan is not a native word at all. It is the Hindustani form of the word Pukhtun used by the Afridis. And Pukhtun is

1. For the activities of the Saiyad brothers see: Later Mughal I, pp. 388, 389, 390, 392 and 440.
the proper patronymic of the people inhabiting the country called Pukhtunkhwa, who speak the language called Pukhtun or Pukhto... In short, the Pakhtun or Pukhtun of today... is identical in race and position with the Pactiyan of Greek historians."

The relations of the Afghans and the Mughals were never friendly because of their having been displaced by the Mughals. Bernier remarks: "They mortally hate the Mogols by whom their fathers were dispossessed of great principalities, and driven to the mountains far from Dehli and Agra."

The Pathans generally served as soldiers, but some of them engaged in trade and grew prosperous. Forster remarks: "The Afghans conqueror's of Rohilcund, were a rapacious, bold and lawless race of men; and it should seem, that after they had established a government in India, they adopted the more effeminate vices of the south, and became intriguing, deceitful and treacherous. The Rohillas, especially the lower classes, were, with few exceptions, the only sect of Mahometans in India who exercised the profession of husbandry; and their improvements of various branches of agriculture, were amply recompensed by the abundance and superior quality of the production of Rohilcund."

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2. Bernier, p. 207.
The Pathans were given important commands by Aurangzeb in campaigns in the Dacca and for the first time the 'mangab' of Panj hazari (5,000) was bestowed upon Dilir Awan as a reward for his services against Shivaji. During the 18th century they played an important role in the country's politics, especially in Bengal and Northern India, "though they possessed no centre of political cohesion and no sound leadership."

Many Afghan chiefs succeeded in founding independent dynasties. Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla, established his authority in Moradabad, Bareilly, Aoula, Budaun, Bungar, Sambhal and Amroha. Najib-ud-Daula set himself in Dehli and was for ten years the virtual ruler there. He took possession of the Doab close to Shahjahanbad such as the mahals of Dasna, Meerut etc. and made his capital at Najibabad. After his death, his successor, Zabita Khan and Dondey Khan and other Rohilla chiefs divided the territories among themselves. Muhammad Khan Bangash, founded an independent dynasty in Farrukhabad and Aliverdi Awan in Bengal.

The Arabs

The Arabs came to India in search of employment. In Dehli, there was a Kohalla called Sara-i-Arab, where these people lived.

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1. For his career, see: Nawab Samann-ul, Ma'asir-ul-Imara (Text), II, pp. 42-56.
2. For details about his early career, see: Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, (Eng.Trans), III, pp. 232-236.
6. ibid, II, p. 464.
7. For details see: K.K. Datta, Ali Verdi and His times, (Calcutta, 1939).
They were great merchants, trading mostly in Arab horses.

**The Indian Muslims**

Besides these foreign elements by far the largest class was that of the Indian Muslims including the Kasmiris who were either converts or who after long residence in the country had lost their racial identity. One of the greatest defects of the Indian Muslims, according to Aurangzeb, was that they were ease-loving. A very important and influential section of the Indian people of foreign origin was that of the Saiyads particularly, the Barha group. Though the Saiyads were held in great esteem yet they were political suspects. Aurangzeb warned his sons thus: "But you should be extremely cautious in dealing with the Sayyids of Barha. Be not wanting in love for them at heart, but externally do not increase their rank, because a strong partner in the government soon wants to seize the kingship for himself. If you let them take the reins ever so little the result will be your own disgrace." The successors of Aurangzeb neglected the advice of their father and Bahadur Shah gladly accepted their services. In Delhi, there was a Mohalla, Saiyad known as Mohalla-i-Sadat-i-Barha.

**Shaikhzadas**

They claimed descent from the family of the Prophet Muhamma. They held lands and were employed in various capacities. They were very subtle of great intelligence, very litigious and

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great lawyers. Some became recluses and some by assumed piety and air of poverty lived on the credulity of the people.

The Baluchis

They lived mainly round about the city of Multan, and as far as the confines of Persia. They traded in camels, were expert camel-drivers, and controlled the carrying trade. They did not care for service as soldiers at the king's court. Some of chiefs, however, acted as governors and faujdars in the border region. They could place in the field fifteen thousand horses and as much infantry. Within their own country they were good soldiers, and they prevented Prince A'ubabar from invading the Mughul realm at the time when he was helped by Shah Abbas of Persia.

Chokkar

They inhabited the region on the other side of the Chunab river, extending as far as the Indus. They were good soldiers, and many of them were in imperial service. They were esteemed for their courage and at the court rose to be great nobles.

Mewatis or Meos

The word Mewati means a resident of the land of Mewat, the name of which has been derived from the Sanskrit word Mina-Vati, which means, abounding in fish. The Mewatis claim that they

2. ibid, II, pp. 454-455.
3. ibid, II, p. 455.
are Rajputs and are divided into thirteen clans and in fifty-two gotras. "The names of the Musalman sections illustrate the composite nature of the caste."

Major Powlett gives the following account of the Rajputana branch of the tribe. He writes: "The Meos are numerically the first race in the Alwar State, and the agricultural portion of them is considerably more than double any other class of cultivations except chamaris. They occupy about the half the territory, and the portion they dwell occupies the north and east... The Meos, for they no doubt are often included under the term Mewati, were, during the Muhammadan period of power, always notorious for their turbulence and predatory habits."

The Mewatis, later on, accepted Islam but their village deities are the same as those of the Hindus and they observe several Hindu festivals. The great saint of Mewat was born of Muhammadan parents but bore the Hindu name of Lal Das. He died about 1647 A.D. At present, though many Mewatis are Muslims, they are very ignorant about the tenets of Islam.

In the western Punjab Mr. J. Wilson writes: "Erect in their villages the standard of Sajjād Massaud. The erection of these is the privilege of a body of Shaikhs, who are known as mosque attendants (Mujawir) and have divided the Meo villages among

1. The Tribes and Castes, III, p. 488.
5. The Tribes and the Castes, III, p. 489.
them. Each man annually sets up a standard in each village of his own circle, receiving one rupee from the village for so doing, and appropriating all offerings made by the people. The usual offering is a sort of sweet meat made of bread crumbs, ghee and sugar, which is called malida, this is brought by the worshippers and put in the hand of the attendant Mujawir. He places it at the foot of the standing, reciting the blessing (alham-du-lillah) while the worshipper makes an obeisance. According to general Cunningham, the Mewatis paid great reverence to the local deities of the Hindus, such as Bhaiyya.

The Mewatis who live in the North-western Provinces and Oudh, "claim to have been originally jadons and members of other Rajput seats of Mewat, who were converted to Islam by Ala-ud-din Ghori. They are said to be immigrants from Alwar, Bhatpur, and Gurgaon. They follow the law of exogamy prevailing among the Hindu branch, but, in other respects, are regulated by the rules of Islam. They allow the widow marriage by the dharicha form. The betrothal is settled by the bride's father sending from one to five rupees by his barber and friends, this is laid in the lap of the boy in the presence of the assembled brethren, and by its acceptance the betrothal is confirmed. Their birth and death ceremonies are of the normal Muhammadan type."

2. The Tribes and Castes, III, p. 492.
Main occupations of the Muslims

The Muslim conquest of Hindustan in the initial stages was more or less a military occupation and later on colonization began on a fairly large scale and a sizeable Muslim community grew up. The increase in numbers was due to immigration, large scale conversion and procreation. Political and military upheavals in Central Asia and the rise of the Mongols in the beginning of the thirteenth century made the Turkish soldiers of fortune and their followers adopt India as their home. They, however, attempted to maintain an exclusive control over the exploitation of the country and non-Turks were kept out of the ranks of bureaucracy during the reigns of Iltutmish and Balban particularly. Consequently the newly converted Indian Muslims did not have their share in the government of the country and come into closer contact with the ruling class, while the Muslims coming in from outside India preferred service in the army or the civil administration, most of the converts continued to ply the trade or profession of their forefathers. The profession of arms was the most attractive and honourable profession. It satisfied religious zeal of the Muslims and also yielded handsome

1. William Hodges remarks: "The Mussalmans may be classed as entirely military, as a few of them exercise any other employment except collecting the revenues which under the Moorish governments have been always done by military force" Hodges' Travel, p. 34. Also see: Twining's Travel, p. 242. The contemporary Persian and Urdu literature of the 18th century is replete with references to this preference for the profession of arms which influenced the habits and thoughts of the Muslims of this period.
reward and assured social status. Quite a large number of people were engaged in foreign and inland trade.

The kings maintained large karkhanas where the most skilled artisans were employed. Bernier writes about the royal karkhana; thus: "In one hall embroiderers are busily employed...In another you see the gold smiths; in a third painters, in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors and shoemakers; in a sixth manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females..." These occupations were mostly hereditary. Bernier remarks: "The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of a gold smith becomes a gold smith and a physician of the city educates his son for a physician."

From contemporary literature we find the Muslims engaged in all sorts of professions and trades along with other Indians. There were amongst them, physicians, astronomers, astrologers, sooth-sayers, perfumers, surgeons, scribes, accountants, quris (reciters of the Qur'an), tailors, painters, gardeners, betel sellers, grain sellers, and other craftsmen and artisans such as iron-smiths, barbers, cooks, sarrafs, kitas-khaun (readers of books) butchers, weavers, bakers, shama-farosh (lamp sellers) vegetable sellers, kabab sellers, flower sellers, farrashas, carders of cotton, oil sellers and manufacturers, shoe-makers, water carriers, darners, washer-men, confectioners, fruit-sellers grass-cutters, potters, ghee-sellers, mirror-makers, carpenters, fire-works-makers, polishers, rearers of goats, box-makers.

1. Bernier's Travel, P. 359.
2. Bernier's Travel, p. 259.
grooms, gilders, dyers, jewelers, drapers, gram roasters, 
embroiders, goldsmiths and calligraphists. The calligraphists 
were highly patronised and in great demand. Besides, there 
were saddlers, architects, ilaga-bunds (gold lace makers) and 
calico-printers.

Amongst the most famous musicians noted for their skill 
at playing on instruments may be mentioned the names of Miyamat 
Khan, the harpist and his brother; Baqar, Hasan Khan Rubabi, 
harpist, Ghulam Muhammad, Tan Sen and Tan Sen, Qasim Ali, 
Shuja'T Khan, Saiyad Khan, Ghazi Ram Pakhawaji, Husain Khan, 
the Dholuk Nawaz, Tehna, Shahbaz Naqqal. The Mughal kings were 
keenly interested in instrumental music and patronised them by 
employing them in the palace. The Muslim mystics of Chishti 
Silsila were very much interested in Quwwali, which had become 
the most popular form of music amongst all classes of people. 
As a result of the popularity of sama, the Quwwals came to be 
much patronised. The kalwants, bhagats, bhanda, were employe

1. Tarikh-i-Shahir Khan, p. 112. For further information 
about the famous calligraphists of this period, see 
Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Haft Qalami Dihlvi, Tazkira-i- 
Khushnavisan, (Calcutta, 1910).

2. For the musicians at the court of Muhammad Shah, see: 
Tarikh-i-Shahir Khan, pp. 112-113. For the famous Quwwals 
of the time see: Dargah Quli Khan, Muragga-i-Dehli (Taj Pre 
Hyderabad) pp. 58, 61, 62, 69, 70, 71, also see Diwan Manjoor (MS) 
pp. 233.

3. Abdul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari (Text), III, Diwan Manjoor (MS), p. 

4. Ain-i-Akbari (Text), III, p. 112. A class of professional 
musical instrument players who played with Pakhawaj, rubab, 
and majeer. But they were camels and performed strange 
mimickeries. They performed at the night. Also see Muragga- 
Dehli, Taj was the chief of the Bhagat-Bas of Dehli, pp. 55 
Tarikh-i-Farrukh-Siyar (MS) p. 266. Also see Safar Nama, p. 36.

5. Ain-i-Akbari (Text), p. 112.
by the kings and nobleman and carried on a lucrative trade by public performances.

It is noteworthy that Bernier noticed during the last days of Shahjahan's reign that inter-marriages between different classes were in practice, prohibited. He writes: "No one marries but in his own trade or profession, and this custom is observed almost as rigidly by Mahometans as by the gentiles to whom it is expressly enjoined by their law. Many are the beautiful girls thus doomed to live singly, girls who might marry advantageously if their parents would connect them with a family less noble than their own."

Religious Sects

Islam had earlier broken up into several sects, but in India, it disintegrated further into sub-sects. The majority of the Muslims were Sunni, but the Indians converts to Islam did not shed their old social customs and rituals connected with birth, death or marriage. Some of them retained their un-Islamic practices, and formed themselves into new sects, which are peculiar to India and are not to be found elsewhere in the Muslim World. As early as the days of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji, we find sects following practices not sanctioned by the shari'at. Firoz Shah Tughluq tried his best to suppress such sects. The author of Dabistan-i-Mazahib, writing in the middle

1. Travels in the Mogul Empire, p. 259.
of the 17th century mentions a number of sects and gives their beliefs and practices. There was a complete degeneration of Islam as a religion in India during the period under study.

The Sunnis

The Sunnis are the followers of sunnah, i.e. (form, outline 'mode', usage) or the usages of the Prophet. Al-Baghdadi gives the following brief definition of a Sunni - "The approved view according to us is that the membership in the community of Islam is extended to every one who affirms the creation of the Universe, the Unity and Pre-existence of its Maker, and that He is just and wise, rejecting at the same time tashbih (anthropomorphism) and ta'til (divesting of attributes). He must acknowledge the prophecy of all His prophets and the veracity and apostolate of Muhammad to all mankind, and the perpetuation of His law; that every thing that is revealed to him is true and that the Qur'an is the source of all the precepts of His law. He must also recognise the duty of the five prayers in the direction of the Ka'ba, of the poor-rate, of the fast of Ramadan and of the pilgrimage to the house, which are required of the community as a whole. Whoever professes all of this is included within the people of community of Islam. After this he is to be observed; if he does not adulterate his faith with an abominable innovation which leads to heresy, than he is a Sunnite Unitarian." In politics the Sunnis believe that Khalif.

rights. They are chosen from among the believers and can claim no prerogatives. Their authority is conferred by the Muslim community and carries with it no qualification of infallibility. The Sunnis later confined the choice of a Khaifa to the Prophet tribe, the Qurash.\(^1\)

They acknowledge the first four Caliphs as the rightful successors of the Prophet, accept the six books of traditions and attach themselves to one of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence - Hanifi, Shafa'i, Maliki and Hanbali.\(^2\)\(^3\)\(^4\)\(^5\) They consider the Imam of those four great Imams binding upon them.

In Hindustan, the Sunnis of Hanafi school are in great majority.

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2. Born about 61/100 A.D. in Kufa and died in prison in the year 160/776 A.D. For details: Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden, 1953), pp. 7b, 10a.


6. Imam (literally 'agreeing upon') is one of the four usul and is defined as the agreement of the mujtahid's of the people (i.e., those who have a right, in virtue of knowledge, to form a judgment of their own, after the death of Muhammed in any age, on any matter of faith. As this agreement is not fixed by council or synod but is reached instinctively and automatically, its existence on any point is perceived only on looking back and seeing that such an agreement has actually called an Imam. Thus the agreement gradually fixed points which had been in dispute; and each point, when thus fixed, became an essential part of the faith and disbelief in it an act of unbelief. " Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden, B. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 157a-157b.

7. Travels in the Mogul Empire, p. 208; Compare with Ma'asir-i-Alemgiri (Eng. Trans.), p. 514.
The Shias

The term 'Shiah' meaning 'party' or 'following' has been applied to the partisans of the family of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, since the early days of Islam, when they first constituted themselves into a party and then a sect. The full name is 'Ahl-i-Bait', the followers of the Prophet's kindred. In the beginning, much more frequently the term Alide, a term which is primarily of political significance as referring to the claims of Ali's family to the Khilafat was used. The Shias constitute the next most important and numerous division amongst Muslims. For the Shias the Imams are infallible religious and political leaders. The Shias like the Sunnis were soon divided into sub-sects and most of the writers on sects and schisms in Islam differ as to the number of sub-sects. Ibn Hazm and Al-Baghdadi do not include the extreme sect, 'ghulat', amongst Shias.

The Shia Schism centres round the question of succession as to who should have succeeded the Prophet as the religious and temporal head of the Muslim community. It was the main controversial point on which the Muslims were split into two groups in its early stages.


2. Dabistan-i-Mazahib (Text), p. 270. "The points of faith in dispute among the Muslim are reducible to four heads, called the four basis or great fundamental articles. The first relates the attributes of God, and His Unity consistent there with; the second concerns the promises and threats, the third regards predestination and justice thereof; the fourth treats history and reason and also the mission of prophets, and the office of Imam. Over these knotty disputations Muslims are divided into different sects which may be classed under two principal heads - The orthodox and the heretical; the former called sunnis; the later shias", Vol. I, pp. 101-11, 324 Note (Text), p. 270.
Ibn Hamz gives the following definition of the word Shia. He writes: "He who agrees with the Shi'ites that Ali is the most excellent of men after the Prophet, and that he and his descendants after him are worthier of the Imamah than any one, is a Shi'ite, though he differs from them in all other matters regarding which Muslims are divided in their opinions." Ali is reckoned to be the first Imam; his partisans declare that though human force prevented him from enjoying temporal power, his spiritual dignity was the gift of God, and could not, therefore, be affected by the successive usurpations of Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman.

The Shi'as deny that the succession was open to election and as a result of this they reject and often denounce the first three Caliphs whom they regard as Usurpers. Their uncompromising attitude on the question of succession led to the formation of a political and religious group which widened the breach between themselves on the one hand and the Sunnis on the other. Disputations among the Shi'as themselves about the office of the Imam caused the party to split up into several sub-sect divisions - seven in number - each hostile to the other. During the

period under study, Shias were found in great numbers in northern India. They formed a very important group in the Mughal Court. Bernier (1656-1668) writes: "The majority of his courtiers, however, being Persians, are of the party known by the appellation of Chia, believers in the real succession of Aly."

**Sunni-Shia relations in the 18th century**

The relations of the Sunnis with the Shias had become strained during the period under review. After the death of Aurangzeb, the influence of the Shias became effective in politics of the time. As a result of this, the successor and eldest son of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah, became a Shia, and tried his best to popularise Shiaism. The Irani-Turani parties were not merely political parties but their religious and racial differences were largely responsible for their division into two hostile camps. When one party succeeded in capturing political power, it tried to displace the other party by all possible means.

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1. _Ashraai-i-Ashriya_ (MS), For the early settlement of the Shias in India and their gradual dominance in the power politics see F 63a.

2. _Travels in the Mogul Empire_, p. 209.


4. _Siyar-ul-Mutakhorin_, (Text), II, p. 381.

5. _Fall of the Mughal Empire_, I, p. 8.

6. _Imad-us-San'adat_ (MS), Fp. 86b, 87a.
The attitude of the Ulema towards the Shias

In general, the Sunni Ulema were very liberal and tolerant towards the Shias. A certain person asked for a Fatwa from Shah Wali-Ullah declaring the Shias as Kafirs. Shah Wali-Ullah did not agree to it. The man left the assembly saying, 'This man is a Shia.' In Fauz-ul-Harmain, Shah Wali-Ullah writes:

"When my heart and thinking power are left free, then both give high place to Hazarat Ali and both exhibit intense love for him. In Izalatul-Khafa he describes in detail the virtues and high attributes of the different Khilifas and their claim to Khilafat. He describes the virtues of Ali with a greater reverence than even the Shias. In Wasiyat nama, Shah Wali-Ullah enjoins the Sunnis to show as much respect to Hazarat Ali and his family as to the other three companions of the Prophet.

Shah Abdul Aziz speaks about a Rohilla Pathan, named Hafiz Aftab, who used to attend his lectures. One day Shah Sahib related the virtues and laudable qualities of Hazarat Ali. This annoyed the Rohilla and thinking Shah Sahib to be a Shia he stopped attending the classes. On the other hand, the Shias became very violent in propagating their faith and the Sunni Ulema had to suffer violent physical attacks by the fanatical Shias. Mirza Mazhar Jan Jana was killed by a Shia and

5. Malfuzat-Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlvi, p. 32.
the wrists of Shah Wali-Ullah were broken, when an attempt was made on the life of Shah Abdul Aziz.

Shah Kalim Ullah Jahanabadi wrote a book entitled "Radd-i-Rawafiz. Shah Wali-Ullah wrote Izalat-ul-Khafa-an-Khilafat-ul-Khulfa to remove the misunderstandings of the Shias about the question of succession and refuted the arguments of the Shias, with a view to calm the tension. Shah Abdul Aziz also wrote 'Ahsna-i-Ashariya with the same purpose.

The Attitude of the Sufis towards the Shias:

The mystics of 18th century in general, and the Chishti saints, in particular, were very liberal towards the Shias. They, without any contempt or rancour, enrolled them as disciple though the Shias maintained a hostile attitude towards them. Shah Abdul Aziz refers to this hostility. He says that hundreds of Hindus had embraced Islam but only a few Shias, like Wali Beg and one or two or three others, had enrolled themselves as his disciples. Shah Fakhr-ud-din Dehlvi did not show any hostility to the Shias, but treated them with kindness. The same man who had killed Mazhar Jan Jana, wanted to kill him, but he was so influenced by the personality of Shah Fakhr-ud-din that he gave up his ill-designs and repented. He had enrolled many Shias as his disciples. Once Shah Abdul Aziz objected to this practice. Shah Fakhr-ud-din replied: "By becoming a disciple, they give up the practice of denouncing the first three companions of the Prophet." As a result of his influence a large

1. Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht, p. 364. For further information in this respect see: Malfuzat-Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlvi, p. 54
3. ibid, p. 29.
number of the Shias had accepted the Sunni faith.

Due to the influence of Mirza Mazhar Jan Jana thousands of the Shias had accepted the Sunni faith. Consequently he was given the nick name of 'Sunni Tarash'. Mirza Mazhar had great respect for Hazrat Ali. Once it happened that Mazhar attended the Majlis-i-Marwasa. By chance, one man spoke disrespectfully of Hazrat Ali. He could not tolerate this. He jumped from his place, threw that man on the ground, sat on his chest and desired to stab him. The culprit said: "For the sake of Husain excuse me." Mazhar freed him. Shah Noor Muhammad, a Khalifa of Mazhar, had enrolled many Shias as his disciples.

Ismailis

This heretical group constitutes an important sub-division of the Shias. The author of Dabistan gives the following account of them. "As the Ismailities claimed to have been emancipated by their Gospel from the obligations to observe the moral and religious code of Islam, they were believed by their detractors to be capable of every kind of wickedness and dissolute antinomianism and are accused of permitting marriages within the prohibited degrees and practising incest in their private

3. ibid, p. 50. Also see for his attitude towards the Shias, pp. 51-53.
The Ismailis are still represented in India by a community called Khojas, who trace their origin to Sadr-ud-Din who some centuries ago made converts among the trading community in upper Sindh. The Agha Khan is the leader of this community. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the Khojas lived in Kathiawar and consisted mostly of Hindu converts to Islam through a saint named Saiyid Islam-ud-din whose tomb is situated at Karmath (9 miles outside Ahmadabad). "They paid idolatrous adoration to their spiritual guide, kissing his toes and heaping up gold and silver on his feet, while he sat in royal splendour behind a screen. They supported their spiritual guide by a regular voluntary tax of one tenth of their annual income."

Bohras

Abdullah, the first missionary of the Mustali Ismaili sect (known in India as Bohrahs) came to Cambay in 1067 A.D.


4. History of Aurangzeb, V, p. 434, also see 434-35. For a full account of the origin, customs and belief of the Khojas, see Bombay Gazetteer, IX, Pt. II, 36 ff.


The laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance etc. of the Bohras are opposed in several respects to those of the Sunnis. They have also cut down the five daily prayers, which are obligatory for all Mussalmans, practically to three. Both these two sects were persecuted by Aurangzeb.

Akbar's Din Illahi, also called Ta'uhid-i-Illahi (The Divine Monotheism) has been treated in the Dabistan as a sect of Islam under four heads. Firstly the appearance of Khalifat-ul-Allah, secondly, discussions on religions; thirdly, virtues of the stars, lastly, the code of this order or the sayings of Ashivani Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar.

The most important thing to be noted in this connection is that though this order had not become popular, it did not die with Akbar as was expected. Jehangir continued the tradition of his father and enrolled disciples (Chelas). Shah Jehan bestowed upon Adil Shah, Shabih (portrait or picture) and Abadname (dead of contract) with an impression of his five fingers (panj) on a request made by the later. Even in the days of Aurangzeb, a man from Bengal travelled all along the way on foot to his court to be enrolled as a chela. This sect might have existed during the period under review but we are not definite about it due to the lack of material.

2. For details see, Dabistan-i-Mazahib, (Shea and Troyer), Ill, Ch. X, p. 49 ff, Abul Fazl, Akbar Namah (Eng. Trans) Beveridge Calcutta, 1907-12, III, pp. 369-371.
4. Abdul Hamid Lahori, Badshahnama, ed. Kabiruddin Ahmad and
Abbasi sect.

The Muslim inhabitants of Sind traced their descent from Hazrat Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad. The sect was also called Litti. According to their belief, the touching of razor with the body was treated as forbidden (haram) and to that extent that they did not even trim their mustaches or shave their underarms or the head. This was probably due to the influence of the Sikhs.

The Madaris.

Shah Madar, according to the legend, was a converted Jew, born at Aleppo in the middle of the 11th century. He made his way to India and expelled a demon named Makan Deo from the spot where he himself is now buried. He is believed to be still alive within his tomb. His devotees are said to be secure against snakes and scorpions and to have power to cure those bitten by them. The Faqirs who are termed Madari, after the name of their patron saint, are wandering jugglers or mendicants and do not observe the ordinary Muslim prayers and are consequently regarded with disfavour by the orthodox. The Madaris like the Sanyasis, rub ashes on their body, drink bhang excessively and always sit before a fire. They put on fetters round their necks, keep black flags and wear black turbans. During the period under study, this cult was widely spread in northern India and a large number of pilgrims visit the founder's tomb till today. From

3. ibid, p. 70a.
every city Muslims go there with embroidered flags to pay their homage.

The Chillubdhaars.

The Chillubdhaars were the followers of Saiyad Ahmad Kabir. He was reputed to have possessed supernatural powers for curing the sick and removing their worldly afflictions. Elaborate arrangements were made for the sacrifice in the name of the Shaikh. The followers of Shaikh Ahmad Kabir lived on public charity and wandered city to city. Everyone of them carried a small tambourine and wore clothing of buff colours.

Be-qaid and Be-tarse.

Be-qais, that is to say, 'liberated' or without fatters and the be-tarse that is to say, 'fearless' were faqirs or mendicants who lived on alms. Manucci gives the following account of these sects. The Be-qais, "are very rude in manner, using great liberty in speech, fearing no one and paying no one respect whatever his rank, using much abusive language and scandalous words, or polite sayings, just as it pleases them. These men often enter boldly into the houses of great men, and if the door keepers stop them from going in, they apply to the whole family much abusive language, sparing neither master nor mistress.


2. For details see: Observations on the Mussulmans of India, II, pp. 315-318.
nor sons, nor grandchildren nor ancestors, coupling their names with the coarsest abuse. In spite of this the people of the house show no anger, but secure their departure by soft words, giving them some alms and begging their pardon. If the faqirs are allowed entrance, they march straight to where the master is and seat themselves close to him, although dirty, their feet all over mud, and clad in filthy rags. Without any deference or civility of speech, they take the tobacco pipe out of the master's mouth and place it in their own. With much respect the master returns thanks for this honour and secures the man's departure by some money. They are so contumacious and insolent that some times they are not satisfied with what they get, and it is necessary to give them all they demand, never do they beg you to give for the love of God, imagining they would anger God by asking alms in His name, alms being such a petty thing in comparison with the greatness of God. Every one tries to find a means of satisfying them without showing any hesitation, for fear of some curse. In addition, the people of Hindustan are very kindly and compassionate.

The be-tars were faqirs who asked for alms with a sharp knife in their hand. They would place themselves in front of a shop and begin to shout for alms to be given to them, pointing to the article which they wanted. When a shop-keeper refused to give a man what he asked for, he would wound himself on the arms or on the head or on the legs, and, taking the blood, throw it into the shop as a sign of his curse. Ordinarily those faqirs asked for alms at the shop of the baniyas who were very timid, and rather than see such wounds, they would give them what they asked for, usually some money.

Sakhi Sarwari cult

Sakhi Sarwar or Higha, is a famous Muhammadan shrine in the Dera Ghazi Khan district of West Punjab. The place takes its name from the saint Sakhi Sarwar or 'generous leader,' also known as Lakhdata, 'giver of Lakhs,' Lalawala, 'he of the rubies,' or 'Rohianwala,' 'he of the hills.' He is generally known by the title of Sultan, 'lord.' His real name was Saiyyad Ahmad. The exact date of his birth is unknown, but tradition places it between the 12th or the 16th century A.D. His life is a mass of legends describing the miracles which he worked. The place is visited by sick people who, in recognition of their recovery, hang small ornamented pillows on the walls, or, when cured of ophthalmia, offer, in performance of a vow, eyes made of gold or silver. Some childless people vow their first child to the saint, and on its birth take it to the shrine with a cord round its neck. Sacred pigeons, fed from the proceeds of an endowment, swarm the shrine. The marks of the finger of Ali, and the print of his foot are shown to visitors. Diseases, like hysteria, which are supposed to be the result of the action of spirits are said to be cured there. Huge cakes are offered at the tomb, on receipt of which the priests read the benediction (darud), return a portion of the offering and keep the remainder for themselves.

During the period under review the visitation to the shrine of the Sultan was very popular. During the month of Magh, (December-January) on Monday, the flags were raised at Sauli.

of Dehli and the devotees marched with embroidered flags towards
the Lachi jungle.

Jalaliyan.

They were the followers of Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Bukhari
(1307-1374 A.D.) a disciple of Bahawal Haq, the Suhrawardi saint
of Multan, whose shrine is at Uchh in the Bahawalpur state. The
Jalaliyan profess to be shias. As the Madariyas were sunnis,
these two sects reviled each other. The members of this sect do
not observe fasts and prayers and they never care for the precribed
practices of piety of the Sufis. They use bhang and are
said to be eaters of snakes and scorpions. When the adepts
among them chance to see a snake, they put it whole into their
mouth and swallow it up, saying that it was the fish of Ali.
While eating a scorpion they remark that it was the prawn of
Ali, and the worms were designated as the crabs of that holy
personage. Like the Madariyas, the Jalaliyan went about almost
naked even during the severest cold season. They sit before a
fire, like the Madariyas, but do not wear matted hair. They
frequently shave four parts of their body and lead a wandering
life. Dabistan states, "Their master (pir) looks every day for
a new connection with a woman, whenever he knows of a fine girl
among his disciples, he orders trumpets to be blown, goes on
horse-back, and betaking himself to their house, uses his own

1. Tarikh-i-Chahar Gulshan Muhammad Shahi (MS), p. 46b.
2. Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, pp. 193-371,
   (A new edition revised and enlarged by Henry George
   Veene, London, 1894).
3. Dabistan-i-Mazahib, (Text), p. 215. Also see: Janub-i-Islam,
   pp. 291-292.
discretion with the girl, whom he know and then takes to his own house but never marries."

**Masiriya sect.**

The followers of this sect were found in large numbers in the mountain region of Khurasan and later spread to the city of Khurasan. Some of them came to India during the reign of the emperor Muhammad Shah, as guests of Amir Khan. Some ignorant people who met them were told of a village Aab-i-Niyat in Khurasan and an Imam who had appointed, waqiya-Navis, in every town of Khurasan. The word Allah was used for Imam, Rasul for the deputy, and Gatheil for the reporters. They had nothing to do with shari'at, and did not offer the prescribed prayers, but offered prayers five times to the Imam. One of the articles of their faith was, that "God being tired of the worldly life orders the clouds to carry him to the sky for relaxation and again he comes down to the Earth." The second article of their faith was that Prophet Muhammad was sent by Ali. They did not believe in one life but in transmigration of soul. According to them the body is Heaven' that is worldly prosperity', and Hell stood for the body of one who is a pauper and indigent.

**Mahdavi sect.**

The famous Orientalist D.S. Margoliouth writes: "the Christians, the Jewish and the Islamic system, share the notion of an

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expected deliverer, who is to come and restore or adjust all things." This notion of the coming of such personage is attributed to the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad or of his companions. Great scholars like Ibn-i-Khaldun and Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan have expressed doubts to the genuineness of such traditions. Even then some ambitious people appeared and their claim was supported by people who were tired of dogmatic theology. Muhammad-al-Hanfia, a son of Ali, was the first in the history of Islam to be given the title of Mahdi, by the adventurer Mukhtar.

In India, during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughluq, in the 14th century A.D. a man in Dehli, Rukm by name, claimed to be the Mahdi. Besides him, Saiyad Muhammad of Jaunpur, Shaikh Abdullah Kiyazi and Shaikh Alai, also claimed to be Mahdi.

4. Futuhat-i-Firoz Shahi (Text), p. 3. The authors of Tarikh-i-Alfi (Maulana Ahmad and others), give an account of all those persons who claimed to be Mahdi in India.
5. Muntakhab-at-Tawarikh (Text), III, p. 45.
6. ibid, pp. 45-47.
In the 18th century, a derwesh, named, Shah Jamalullah, declared himself Naib Mahdi, in the town of Pali, which was situated in the Sarkar of Khairabad. A great number of people had joined him. One day the said derwesh with a cup of wine in hand, recited the darood. The Ulema and the Mashaikh and Afghans of Shahjahanpur were so infuriated that they drove away Shah Jamalullah from his house and razed it to the ground.

No details regarding the further activities of Shah Jamalullah are available.

Namud-wa-Namud sect.

Mir Muhammad Husain, a resident of Mashad, was a Saiyad. He came to Kabul when Amir Khan was the Subedar of that province. He was well versed in logic and Arabic language. Amir Khan's wife Sahibji had no child and she had adopted a girl, whose father was a Saiyad and was in the service of Amir Khan. Sahibji married that girl to the said Mir. As a result of this marriage the said Mir found an opportunity of coming in close contact with Amir Khan. He was later on appointed darogha of the royal perfume house. The Mir made Hadi Ali Khan, the son of Amir Khan, his disciple. After the death of his patron he came to Lahore, with perfumes from Peshawar to see Aurangzeb, but the later had died before his arrival. The Mir, sold the perfumes for sixty to seventy thousand rupees and turned a derwesh.

He compiled a book which he named Aqazah-Mugaddas and being a clever person, he used unfamiliar words in it and claimed to be the Begu-Kat and said that that position was midway, between Imamat and Nabuwat. Upto the 8th Imam, of the Shias

from Imam Raza, to Imam Semin Zamin, Imamat and Begu-kat were
corpedo to a single person. After that the position of Begu-kat
was bestowed upon him and Imamat on Imam Muhammad Taqi. He
further said, "I have nothing to do with any religion, and I am
the lighter of the lamp of every religion. I enjoy the divine
revelation." The day on which, he for the first time enjoyed the
divine revelation was known as roz-i-Jashan. On that day,
common people assembled at his residence and his followers made
offerings of perfumes and aloe-wood with banners. He then pro­
ceeded towards the hills, where the buildings of Deval Sani, were
situated in the Mohalla of washermen and grain roasters. Accord­
ing to his statement, he received the divine revelation for the
first time on those hills. Six days before the roz-i-jashan,
he used to observe a fast and did not speak to anyone. A partic­
cular day was called 'roz-i-rasulan' and on that day too, people
used to assemble. The said Mir gained so much popularity that
Farrukhsiyar personally went to see him at night. The Mir shut
the doors of his cell and after repeated requests of the Emperor
he opened the door. The emperor offered him a few thousand
rupees and ashrifis, which the later refused to accept. The
former became so much attached to him on this account that he
became his disciple. He gave the emperor, a copy of the Quran,
which he himself had compiled, and the later placed it on his
head as a token of respect. On this account, many people became
his disciples and the Mir openly propagated his doctrines.

2) Ibid, p. 448.
During the reign of Muhammad Shah the wazir, Muhammad Amin Khan determined to root out the evil of this heresy. The wazir ordered the arrest of the Mir, but the wazir fell ill and died and the Mir remained free. It was commonly believed that the death of the wazir was the result of the Mir’s spiritual powers. This further increased the popularity of the Mir. After the death of the Mir, his son, Numa Namud, succeeded his father. A quarrel took place between Doojebar and Numa Namud for the share of the property left by the Mir. In the end a reconciliation took place, but it resulted in the decrease of the influence of the order.

After the death of Numa Namud, Shah Paghar, became his successor. He used to visit the court of Muhammad Shah and had joined the group who was engaged in compiling *Ilhamat-i-Jawid*. After the death of Shah Paghar and the ruin of Shah Jahanbas, only a few members of that order remained who migrated to Bengal. There Miran, the father of Mir Jafar Ali Khan, the Nazim of Bengal, granted five rupees as daily allowance to that family. In 1194 A.H./1780 A.D. Numa Namudyar and a few ladies of the family were alive.

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