

CONTENTS

	Page No.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	
INTRODUCTION	1-19
1 AKBAR'S RELATIONS WITH NON SUFI-SAINTS	20-72
1.1 Akbar's Relations with Sikh Gurus	23
1.2 Akbar's Relations with the Saints of Pushtimarga	29
1.3 Akbar and Swami Haridas	43
1.4 Akbar's Nobles and their Relations with the Saints of Pushtimarga	44
1.5 Akbar and Dadu Dayal	48
1.6 Akbar's Relations with Jogis of Jakhbar	50
1.7 Akbar's Relations with Jain Saints	54
1.8 Akbar and Baba Bilas	61
1.9 Akbar and Jadrup Gosain	61
1.10 Akbar and the Goswamis of Chaitanya Sect	62
1.11 Akbar's Relations with Parsis (Zoroastarian)	67
1.12 Akbar's and the Goswamis of Jangam Bari Math of Benaras	69
1.13 Akbar's Grants to the Brahmans of Puskar	71
1.14 Akbar and Sant Das Gosain	72
2 JAHANGIR'S RELATIONS WITH NON-SUFI SAINTS	73-100
2.1 Jahangir's Relations with Sikh Gurus	76
2.2 Jahangir and Jadrup Gosain	80
2.3 Jahangir's Relations with Jain Saints	83
2.4 Jahangir and Jogis of Jakhbar	91

2.5	Jahangir's Relations with Gowamis of Jangambari Math of Benaras	94
2.6	Jahangir's Relations with the Priests of the Temples of Mathura and Vrindavan.	95
2.7	Jahangir's Grants to the Brahman of Pushkar	98
2.8	Jahangir's and Sanyasi Moti	100
3	SHAHJAHAN RELATIONS WITH NON-SUFI SAINTS	101-122
3.1	Shahjahan's Relations with the saints of Pushti Marga	105
3.2	Shahjahan's Relations with the Goswamis of Jangam Bari Math of Benaras	109
3.3	Shahjahan Relations with the Goswamis of Chaitanya Sect of Vrindavan and Mathura	113
3.4	Shahjahan and the Jogis of Jakhbar	117
3.5	Shahjahan's Relation with Sikh Guru's	118
3.6	Dara Shikoh and Guru Har Rai	120
3.7	Dara Shikoh and Baba Lal	121
4	AURANGZEB AND HIS RELATIONS WITH NON-SUFI SAINTS	123-149
4.1	Aurangzeb and the Goswamis of Jagambari Math of Benaras	125
4.2	Aurangzeb and the Jogis of Jakhbar	128
4.3	Aurangzeb and Mahant Shri Mangal Das, a Leader of Khaki Bairagi Saints	129
4.4	Aurangzeb's Relations with Jain Saints	130
4.5	Aurangzeb's Farman for Bhagwant Gosain of Benaras	
4.6	Aurangzeb's Farman of land grant to Ramjvan Gosain of Benaras	132

4.7	Aurangzeb's Farman to Sudaman Brahman Pujari of Umanand Temple of Gawahati, Assam	133
4.8	Aurangzeb's Farman to Mahant Balak Das Nirvani of Balaji Temple at Chitrakoot	134
4.9	Aurangzeb and the Jogis of the Maths of Marwar	135
4.10	Aurangzeb's Grants to the Pujaris (Priests) of Mahakaleshwar Temple of Ujjain	137
4.11	Aurangzeb's Relations with other Saints and Jogis	140
4.12	Aurangzeb and Goswamis of Chaitanya Sect of Vrindavan	141
4.13	Aurangzeb's Relations with Sikh Gurus	145

5	THE LATER MUGHALS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH NON-SUFI SAINTS	150-179
5.1	Bahadur Shah I	150
5.2	Jahandar Shah	156
5.3	Farrukh Siyar	156
5.4	Muhammad Shah	158
5.5	Ahmad Shah	169
5.6	Alamgir II	170
5.7	Shah Alam II	171
	CONCLUSION	180-183
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	184-196

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis entitled "Relations of the Mughal Emperors and the ruling elite with the non-Sufi Saints of India" submitted by Mr. Suhaib Qayyum for the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, under my supervision. This is the original work of the candidate worthy for submission.


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***IN THE NAME OF
ALLAH, THE MOST
BENEFICENT AND
MOST MERCIFUL***

INTRODUCTION

The present theme of research is of great interest for the scholars of Medieval India. In the present scenario, this theme is also of great importance for the cultural aspects and national issues. The Mughal period was an epoch in Indian history. It represents the legacy of a cultural synthesis in India. The adherents of different religious communities, people of different castes and diverse cultures present at the Mughal court played a vital role in the formation of a composite culture in India. The most important part in this cultural development was played by the saints of the time.

The Mughal emperors being secular in their religious attitude maintained good relations with both sufi saints and non-sufi (Bhakti) saints of the time. The ‘Sant Sahitya’ or the literature of Indian saints particularly the sectarian works of ‘Pushtimarga’ and ‘Radha Vallabha’ sect produced during 16th century, have admired the liberal ideas of the Mughal rulers and nobles and appreciated them for maintaining goodwill and amity with their non-Muslim subjects. The literature of Pushtimarga like, ‘*Chaurasi Vaishnavon Ki Varta*’ and ‘*Do Sau Bawan Vaishnavon Ki Varta*’ and ‘Bhaktamal’ etc. is very glaring as far as this aspect is concerned. During Mughal period all the sections of society practiced their religion without any restriction such a situation is reflected in the following lines as written by a 16th century writer.

“तिनके राज सबै सुख पावै ।

आप अपने धर्मन सब धयावै ॥

सब राजन को आज्ञा दीनी ।

देव स्थल की रचना कीनी ।¹

(In his Akbar's realm all people are happy. All people follow their own religious. He has issued an order to all governors to permit the construction of temples which have turned into abodes of saints, thus connecting the hearts of people with the lord of the Universe.)

All the religious divines and recluses belonging to different non-Muslim religious sects, whether Bhakti saints, jogis, Sanyasis, bairagis, priests and heads of different religious institutions are treated as *non sufi saints*. They came into contact with the Mughal emperors and enjoyed their patronage.

It is said that Babur came into contact with Guru Nanak and was impressed by his spirituality and piety and asked him for his blessing.² Humayun, having liberal outlook, is said to have made a grant of 300 acres of land in Mirzapur, for the maintenance of Jangambari Math of Benaras.³ The saints of Radha Vallabha sect were attached to Humayun and were admitted to imperial service.⁴

Objective

The objective of present research is to pursue a thorough study of the theme which will reveal the nature of the relations between the Mughal emperors and non-sufi saints. The project under study seeks to cover the changes that took place in society as a result of the influence

¹ Bagwat Mudit, Sri Rasik Ananyamal, ed. Lalita Prasad, Venu Prakashan, Brindaban, 1960, p.44.

² M.A. Macanliff, The Sikh Religion low Price. Pub. Delhi, 1993, vol-I, p.p. 109-121.

³ C.f.S.R. Sharma, The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, Munshiram Manohar Lal Publishers, Delhi, 1988, p.10

⁴ Bhagwat Mudit, Shri Rasik Ananyamal op. cit p22

made by non-sufi saints on the Mughal ruling class. It seeks to measure the extent of the impact on the religious policy of the Mughal emperors and their attitude and contribution towards the formation of a composite culture in India.

The Chapterisation of the thesis:

It has been divided into five chapters. A separate chapter has been devoted to each Mughal emperor, i.e Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb; fifth chapter is devoted to the later Mughal emperors. There are a large number, *farman*, *parwanas* and *Sanads*, pertaining to the grants and patronage of all the Mughal emperors, to the different non-Muslim religious institutions and non-Muslim religious divines. These documents are the testimony of the tolerant religious outlook of all the Mughal emperors.

The first chapter relates to Akbar's relations with Non-Sufi saints. Akbar attempted to assimilate every section of society at his court by adopting the policy of *Sulh-i-kul*. The cultural achievement of his reign were immense.

He maintained good relations with non-sufi saints of the time. Akbars relations with three Sikh Guru's namely Amar Das, Ram Das and Arjan Deo were very cordial. He granted land to Guru Amardas and paid visits to Guru Arjan Deo. The saints of Pushti Marga or Vallabhacharya sect, were benefited to a large extent by Akbar's patronage. Vithalnath, the head of Pushti Marga, received so many *farmans* and concession from Akbar, by his mother, and also by many other Mughal nobles. Akbar also came into contact with a large number saints who belonged to Pushtimarga, namely Surdas the saint

poet Khumbandas, Gangagawal, Bhagwandas, Nand Das the saint poet, Narain Das Lohana was in imperial service, Raja Prithvi Singh, saint poet, and Chaturbhuj Das Mishra, etc. Akbar also met Swami Hari Das of Sakhi Sampradaya. Akbar's nobles Man Singh, Birbal, Raja Todarmal and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Kahana also had good relations with the saints of pushtimarga. Surdas Madan Mohan a saint poet of Gaudiya Sampradaya was a revenue officer in imperial administration.]

One of the most famous non-sufi saint of 16th century was Dadu Dayal. He visited Fatehpur Sikri to meet Akbar and had religious discourse with him. The jogis of Jakhbar of Punjab received liberal grant from all the Mughal emperors. The Mahants of Jakhbar Gaddi met Akbar and received many land grants. Various jain saints regularly stayed at Akbar's court and won his confidence. They also took part in the discussion of Ibadat Khana. They received many grants and titles from him. Hiravijaya Suri, Bhanuchandra Upadhaya, Shantichandra, Vijayasena Suri, Nandvijaya etc. Akbar also visited Jadrup Gosain at Ujjain. Ganga Rishi, a saint of Kashmir visited Akbar's court. The saints of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan and the temples belonging to this sect were greatly patronized by Akbar. The Goswamis related to different temples of Vrindavan received large number of imperial grants. Akbar's nobles also granted lands to this sect.

The Parsi priests greatly influenced Akbar's ideas. Dastur Mehrji Rana and his son Kaikubad were invited to the court and received land grants from Akbar. The Goswamis of Jangambari Math

of Benaras also enjoyed Akbar's patronage and received so many grants. The Brahmans related to the sacred Pushkar Lake also received imperial grants. One of the saint Sant Das Gosain also received a piece of land from Akabr.

The Second Chapter is related to Jahangir's relations with non-sufi saints. Jahangir having a cosmopolitan nature and having religious bent of mind was always curious, of having the company of religious divines. jahangir's relations with Sikh Guru Arjan Deo were dictated with political exigencies though he had cordial relations with his son Guru Hargobind. Jadrup Gosain, lived during his reign also. Jahangir paid many visits to Jadrup at Ujjain and Mathura and was very impressed by his piety and knowledge of *Vedanta*. So many jain saints stayed at Mughal court during Jahangir's reign and received titles and grants of concession. The prominent jain saints at his court were, Siddhicahndra, Vijayadeva Suri, Vivekaharsha, Bhanuchandra etc. Chandar Nath, the Mahant of Jakhbar gaddi and other jogis of this sect received grants by Jahangir and his nobles, like Itmad ud daula.

The head of Jangambari Math, Arjun Jangam also attracted the attention of Jahangir from his princely days. They received many lands grants by the emperor. The Goswamis and temples of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan were immensely benefited by the imperial grants during Jahangir's reign and enjoyed the support of Mughal administration in solving their disputes.

The Brahmans of Pushkar lake also received, the whole village as *madad-i-maāsh* by Jahangir. The emperor also met Sanyasi Moti and had religious discourse with many other Jogis and Sanyasis.

The Third Chapter is related to Shahjahan and his relations with non-sufi saints. Shahjahan adopted the same policy of toleration towards different non-Muslim sects and did not attempt to reverse the policy of his father and grand father. His sons also had liberal religious out look towards different non-Muslim sects. Prince Murad Bakhsh granted daily allowance for lighting to the temple of Mahakaleshwara at Ujjain. Prince Dara Shikoh, having a religious bent of mind, always enjoyed the company of different non-Muslim religious divines. Shahjahan, like his predecessors, patronized the saints of *Pushtimarga* and also protected their property rights by issuing *farmans* from time to time and Dara Shikoh is Equally responsible in patronizing this sect. Girdhar, son of Vithal Rai received many land grants. The goswamis of Jangambari Math of Benaras also enjoyed imperial bounty during Shahjahan's period. He issued many *farmans* to this Math including the *farman* protecting the property of Jangams from imperial encroachment. The Goswamis and priests of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan and Mathura were granted large tracts of land by Shahjahan and they enjoyed liberty for sounding time gong, by an imperial *farman*.

The emperor also took keen interest in the management of temple of this sect and frequently issued orders to support them. The jogis of Jakhbar also benefited by Shahjahan's grants. Sikh Guru Hargobind, in the beginning had cordial relations with the emperor, but during later period, due to some misunderstanding he was engaged in constant armed struggle with him. Dara Shikoh during his flight after the defeat at Samugarh met Guru Har Rai and sought his

blessings. He also came into contact with a saint Baba Lal at Lahore and had long religious discourse with him.

The fourth chapter is related to Aurangzeb and his relations with non-sufi saints. He did not reverse the policy of his fore fathers, but retained the practice of patronizing different non-Muslim religious institutions and divines. The Jain literature of 17th century praised Aurangzeb for his religious toleration. The Goswamis of Jangambari Math at Benaras received large land grants by him. He at a time restored the property of Jangams by his orders. Aurangzeb's relations with Mahant Anand Nath of Jakhbar, were very cordial. The Emperor used to write him letters and asked for medicines prepared by the latter. Aurangzeb, while he was in the Deccan, met a Bairagi Mangal Das and had religious discourse with him and granted many gifts and a *farman* fixing an annuity of Rs. 5. The Jain saints, Bhim Vijaya Suri and Jina Chandra Suri met the emperor and received land grants. Bhagwant Das Gosain and Ramjivan Gosain of Benaras came into contact with Aurangzeb and received grants.

The priest Sudaman Brahman of Umanand temple of Gawhati in Assam also enjoyed imperial bounty and received land grants. The Mahant Balak Das Nirvani of Balaji temple at Chitrakoot received grant by Aurangzeb for the expenses of Puja and Bhog of Thakur Balaji. The jogis of the Maths of Malwa, Panth Bharti and other were also patronized by Aurangzeb. The emperor also granted daily allowances and charities to the priests of Mahakaleshwar Temple of Ujjain. There are many other *Sanyasis*, jogis and gajirs such as Gharibnath, Kishan Das *Bairagi*, Purushutam and Pursuram Sanyasi

etc. The Goswamis and temples of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan and Mathura also enjoyed Aurangzeb's patronage, who took keen interest in solving their disputes. His sons like Prince Azam also took interest in solving the disputes of this sect and restoring their property. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, Har Rai was the Guru of the Sikhs. The emperor invited Har Rai to his court, but the Guru sent his son there. Guru Har Kishan also did not respond to Aurangzeb's invitation. From the time of Guru Tegh Bahadur, relations between the Mughals and the Sikhs became hostile, and the last Guru, Gobind Singh who converted the Sikhs in a military organisation, was in constant armed struggle with the Mughals. The Guru tried to have an interview with the emperor in the Deccan, but he later died before the Guru could reach the Deccan.

The fifth chapter deals with later Mughals and their relations with non-sufi saints. During the time of Bahadur Shah I, Sikhs under the leadership of Banda Bahadur Bairagi, ravaged large part of the Punjab and fought many battles against the Mughals. He was captured with some of his followers during the time of Farrukhsiyar. Bahadur Shah I granted land to the Jakhbar jogis and also to the Goswamis of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan. Farrukh-siyar patronized Goswamis of Chaitanya sect, and also granted land to Tula Ram Bairagi in Arrah in Bihar. He also granted a village to Balnath faqir free of tax. Jahandar Shah also granted land to the Goswamis of Chaitanya sect.

Muhammad Shah also maintained good relations with non-sufi saints of his time. He was a man of cosmopolitan nature and having cultural tastes. The art of music during his time flourished to large

extent, and he patronized it. He abolished tax on pilgrims going to bath in Ganga. He issued a *farman* in the name of Mahanto Gosain, of Bengal and confirmed his priesthood. Muhammad Shah also patronized the Goswamis of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan and from time to time issued orders to support them financially. He issued order even to solve their mutual disputes. The Jakhbar Jogi Mahant Hira Nath also came into contact with Muhammad Shah, he and his noble Zakariya Khan issued orders in favour of this Mahant. The Goswamis of Jangambari Math of Benaras also enjoyed Muhammad Shah's support. There are large number of *parwanas* issued in support of different Sanyasis, Bairagis and Faqirs by Muhammad Shah, such as Deonath Sanyasi, Naranyan Nath Sanyasi, Gosain Balnath Faqir, Ramdas Faqir, Dharani Bharathi Faqir Sanyasi, Mehr Das Faqir Nanakshahi etc.

After Muhammad Shah, his son Ahmad Shah ascended the throne. He also had relations with non-Mulsim divines. He patronized Shaheb Das Bairagi, Meeti Ram Faqir and other Brahams etc.

Alamgir II also maintained relations with non-Muslim divines. He granted a village to Mahant Manoo Ram Faqir Nanakshahi.

Shah Alam II after proclaiming himself emperor, spent much part of his reign in exile. In those days of adversity, he patronized and granted financial support to a large number of Bairagis, Sanyasis, Faqirs, Goswamis etc. He issued *farman* in support of the Goswamis of Pushti Marga. He also granted land as *madad-i-maāsh* to a number of faqirs, Bairagis, such as Gosain Kewalnath, Gosain Badal Das Faqir, Kashi Dutt and Dewal Dutt Prohit, Bihari Das faqir, Gosain

Ramgir, Gosain Kirpa Ram, Nand Lal and Sita Ram Bairagi, Prem Das Bairagi, Ramchad Das Gosain Nanakshahi, Gosain Raghunath Das Bairagi, etc.

The Mugahl rulers, by and large, maintained cordial relations with non-Muslim saint of this country. But it was not a new feature of the religious policy pursued by the rulers here. They had continued the legacy of their predecessors, the sultans of the Delhi. The following brief survey of this feature will be sufficient to illustrate this point.

Muhammad bin Qasim, when he occupied Sind in 712 A.D, declared the non-Muslim as *Mushabah ba Ahl-i-kitab* those resembling the people of the book and gave them the status of *Zimmis*, so that they enjoyed freedom of worship and status at with the Muslims.⁵

This position given to non-Muslim was accepted by the majority of Muslim jurists and all the Sultans of Delhi. When sultan Shahabuddin Ghori annexed most of the parts of northern Indian, he continued to inscribe the figure of goddess 'Lakhsami' on his coins.⁶ Qutbuddin Aibek allowed the Rajput princes to rule over Delhi, Ajmer and Gwalior even after the conquest of those regions.⁷ During the reign of Jalaluddin Khalji, non-Muslims performed their religious rites without any restriction.⁸

Non-Muslims were admitted to important posts in the administration. Brij Tan was *kotwal* of Delhi during Jalaluddin Khalji

⁵ Ali bin Hamid Al Kufi, Chachnama, ed.U.N. Daudpota. Delhi 1939 p.209.

⁶ E.Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, London, 1871, p.172.

⁷ Hasan Nizami, Tajul Maasir, p.p.110-184.

⁸ Ziauddin Barani, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khan,.Calcutta, 1862 p.p.216-17.

and Hatya Paik was also an important officer of his time.⁹ Thakur Pheor's work on medieval temple architecture '*Vastusara*,' written during the reign of Alauddin Khalji, do not make any reference of state interference in the construction of the temples.¹⁰ Malik Naik Akhur Beg a non-Muslim was an important officer and the commander of the right wing of Alauddin's forces.¹¹ An inscription found at Ladna (Jodhpur), states that Alauddin had appointed a non-Muslim 'Sudharana' as his treasurer.¹² Alauddin's stern dealings with *Khuts*, *Muqqaddams* and Chaudharis were dictated by economic considerations. He also adopted a policy of compromise towards the rulers of the Deccan. When Rai Rama Deva of Deogir came to Delhi, Alauddin showered on him pearls and precious stones. He stayed at Delhi for six months. Alauddin presented to him one lakh gold tankas and conferred upon him the title of Rai Rayan and he also gave him the privilege to use coloured canopy. The district of Nausari in Gujarat was transferred to him as a gift.¹³

Alauddin also paid respect to non-Muslim religious divines. It is clear from the Jain records that Alauddin invited Acharya Mahasen to his court and had religious discussion with him. It is also said that the leader of Digambara sect, Purna Chandra suri commanded respect at his court.¹⁴ The Jain records also praise, Alauddin's governor of Gujarat, Alp Khan, for permitting the reconstruction of temples

⁹ Ibid – p.210.

¹⁰ V.S. Agarwal, A Note on Medieval Temple Architecture JUPHS, 1993.

¹¹ Barani, op.cit. p.320.

¹² Pandit Ram Karna, Ladna Inscription of Sudharana. The Journal of Indian History, 1936, p.183.

¹³ Mohammad Qasim Hindu Shah Ferishta, Trikh-i-Farishta, p.118.

¹⁴ K.M. Pannikar, A Survey of Indian History, 1936, p.131.

destroyed earlier. He also made a donation for a Jain temple.¹⁵ The non-Muslim traders were so rich and prosperous during Alauddin's period, that they advanced money to the nobles.¹⁶

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq patronized many Jain saints and scholars. Once a Jain monk Jaina Prabha Suri visited the court, where Sultan treated him with respect, made him to sit by his side and offered him many gifts, which he refused to accept. The Sultan impressed by him, issued a *farman* for the construction of a new rest house for the monk.¹⁷ Once the Sultan restored an image of Mahavira to Jina Prabha Suri, which was brought from Asinagar and kept in imperial store house at Delhi.¹⁸ He issued *farman* granting religious freedom to Jains.¹⁹ Similarly, according to Kalyan inscription of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq dated 1326 A.D. as Madhukeshwar temple and 'Shivalinga' was damaged during a rebellion, it was restored later on by the governor of Kalyan, Ahmad bin Ayaz, on the request of the trustees of the temple, with the orders that, 'Since the worship in the temple is a religious duty of the petitioners, they should follow it.' The installation ceremony of the deity was performed with great rejoicing.²⁰ Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq also participated in the festival of Holi.²¹

¹⁵ W.H. Siddiqui, Religious tolerance as gleaned from Medieval Inscriptions, Proceedings of Seminar on Medieval Inscription (1970) Aligarh, 1974 and Epigraphia Indica, vol-XXXII, part-IV, October, 1957, p.165.

¹⁶ Barani, op.cit. p.p.120, 164.

¹⁷ Kalipada Mitra, Historical references in Jain, IHC, 1941, p.p.296-97.

¹⁸ Ibid – p.299.

¹⁹ Ibid – p.300.

²⁰ P.B. Desai, Kalyana Inscription of Sultan Muhammad (Saka 1248) Epigraphia Indica, vol-XXXII, 1957-58.

²¹ Isami, Futuh us Salatin, ed, by A.S. Usha, University of Madras, 1948, p.515.

Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq also had good relations with the Jains. He honoured three eminent Jains namely Gunabhadra Suri, Munibhadra Suri and Mahendra Suri who was an astronomer and Mathematician.²²

Firoz Shah appointed Rajputs as his personal body guards and Rai Bhiru Bhatti, a relative of his mother was appointed the head of body guards.²³ According to Badauni, Firoz Shah appointed a Brahman as a teacher in a Muslim College.²⁴ The Sultan also appointed a special officer exclusively for the welfare of the non-Muslims, as is evidenced from a fragmentary Persian inscription discovered from Bihar Sharif.²⁵ There is Sanskrit inscription found at Rajgir, Patna, of the period of Firoz Shah Tughluq dated V.S. 1412/1355 A.D., refers to the erection of a temple of *Parsvanatha*. It bears the name of Firoz Shah as, 'Surtana Sahi Peroja.' A similar inscription bearing the name of Firoz Shah, dated V.S1421 / 1364 A.D was found at Alwar in Rajputana. And another was found at Gaya, Bihar. It was dated V.S 1429/1373 A.D.²⁶

The Lodi Sultans also adopted a liberal policy towards non-Muslims. Sultan Bahlol Lodi had friendly relations with many Raja's Viz-Rai Karna, Raja Kirti Singh and Man Singh of Gwalior.²⁷ Bahlol Lodi also supported Bir Singh, in suppression of a Lodi Afghan.²⁸ Similarly, during the reign of Sikander Lodi, Raja Man Singh Tomar

²² c.f. Agha Mehdi Husain, Tughluq Dynasty, p.323.

²³ Barani, op.cit. p.p.587-595.

²⁴ Abdul Qadir Badauni, Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh, vol-I, p.323.

²⁵ W.H. Siddiqui, op.cit. p.165.

²⁶ Appendix to Epigraphia Indica, vols-19-23, Delhi, 1983, p.100.

²⁷ c.f. A.B. Pandey, The first Afghan Empire in India, p.246.

²⁸ Ibid – p.246.

occupied a high position in his Darbar.²⁹ Sikandar Lodi is said to have granted maintenance land to a Jain saint, Jain Buji near Malesar in Bikarner.

Vikramaditya, son of Raja Man Singh, was given a high rank in the court of Ibrahim Lodi and was so loyal to the Sultan, that he died fighting along with him in the battle of Panipat in 1526 A.D.³⁰

Sher Shah built Sarais on the highway at a distance of four miles and separate quarters were built for Hindus and Muslim, where they could get beds and cooked food, prepared by Brahman and Muslim cooks separately and they were provided food according to their caste rules.³¹ Once Sher Shah impressed by the honesty of Brahmana granted an entire village to him.³²

Under Islam Shah Sur, Hemu, a petty official gradually rose to the dignity of a high grandee,³³ and as he had won many battles, Adil Shah Sur honoured him with the title of Raja Bikramajit.³⁴ Islam Shah Sur also patronized a non-Muslim poet Surdas, who frequently visited his court.³⁵

Development of Bhakti Movement in North India

The origin of Bhakti goes back to the Vedas, and its teachings were also expounded in '*Bhagawad Gita*.' Bhakti or faithful devotion

²⁹ c.f. K.S. Lal, Twilight of the Sultanate, p.193.

³⁰ Zahiruddin Babur, Baburnama, Eng. Trans. A.S.Beveridge, New Delhi, 1970, vol-2, p.477.

³¹ Elliot and Dawson, the History of India as told by Its own Historians, Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, vol-IV, p.p.417-18.

³² Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, ed. S.A. Rashid, Aligarh, 1954, p.p.138-39.

³³ Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1879, vol-I, p.337.

³⁴ Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, op.cit. p.196.

³⁵ Muhammad Khan bin Ismail, Afsana-i-iShahan, quoted by John Stratton Hawley, Three Bhakti Voices. Oxford University Press. N.Delhi, 2005, p.p.190-9.

to personal god, was considered as the means of attaining the goal of human life i.e salvation.³⁶ The earliest saints of Bhakti belonged to Tamil lands in South India, where the aspect of loving devotion to Shiva and Vishnu developed. These saints were the ardent devotees of Shiva and Vishnu known as Alvars (Vaisnava saints) and Adiyars (Saiva saints). They flourished between 7th and 12th centuries. These devotees of Siva and Vishun developed the cult of Bhakti.³⁷ Shankaracharya who hailed from south India during 9th century A.D, preached the idea of Maya (illusion) and according to him, the separation of God and the phenomenal world was due to ignorance, that the world was merely a phenomenon and not reality. It evolved out of the principle of Maya (illusion). The human ego is identical with God and His individuality is Maya. His reality is Brahman. He emphasized on knowledge of God i.e Isvara. Shankara established a logical monistic system, which later on lost its egalitarian character and was taken over by Brahmanas who treated the system for rituals and ceremonials and imposed caste restrictions.³⁸

It was the teacher of Ramaniya yamuna muni, who directed him to write a commentary on Brahma Sutras, to refute the theory of illusion or Maya and to establish the religion of Bhakti. Ramanuja was born during eleventh century near Madras.³⁹ He modified the situation and argued that the grace of God was more important than knowledge about him and according to him the path of Bhakti was open to all irrespective of caste. He enrolled disciples from all castes. He was the

³⁶ Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian culture, Allahbad 1936. p.p. 117-118.

³⁷ Ibid – p.87.

³⁸ Ibid – p.p.97-98.

³⁹ Ibid – p.99.

founder of the sect, *Shri Sampradaya*. The aim of Ramanuja's teaching was the refutation of Shankara's absolute monism and Mayawad and the establishment of Bhakti within the philosophy of Vedanta.⁴⁰ According to him the soul attains God by Bhakti. It first purifies itself by sacrifice and performance of duties and acquires concentration and meditation which lead to actual visualization of Bhakti.⁴¹

Another famous Bhakti saint was Ramananda, who was considered as a bridge between the movement of north and south. He was born at prayag (Allahabad) and later on became the disciple of Raghavananda who was associated with *Sri Sampradya* of Ramanuja.⁴² The most significant contribution of Ramananda was to open the path of Bhakti to all, without caste distinction. He preached worship of Rama as an incarnation of Vishnu. He enrolled disciples from all castes, including the people of low caste. His famous disciples were Kabir, Ravidas, Pipa, Saina, Raidas and Sadhana etc.⁴³

The most important Bhakti saints of 15th century were Kabir and Guru Nanak, they both were against caste distinctions, and unnecessary rituals and expounded the message of Hindi-Muslim unity.

Kabir was the son of a Brahman widow, born in Benaras during 15th century. He was brought up by a Muslim weaver Niru. He became the disciple of Ramananda, and preached the unity of God through

⁴⁰ Ibid – p.100.

⁴¹ Ibid – p.102.

⁴² Ibid – p.144.

⁴³ Ibid – p.145.

Bhakti, whom he calls by several names like such as Rama, Govind, Allah, Sain etc. Kabir strongly opposed and denounced idol worship, pilgrimages, rituals and bathing in holy rivers.⁴⁴ He married and led a life of a house holder. Kabir tried to bridge the gulf between Hindus and Muslim and according to him all religions were different roads to the same goal.⁴⁵ His followers were known as Kabir Panthis.⁴⁶ The mission Kabir was to preach a religion of love which would unite all castes and creeds.⁴⁷ Kabir's poems and sayings are collected in his *Bijak*.

Guru Nanak was another great Bhakti saint of North India. He was born in 1469 in the village of Talwandi in Punjab.⁴⁸ At the age of thirty seven years, he left his home and family for his first journey.⁴⁹ He wandered all over India and neighbouring countries⁵⁰ and during the span of his journey he preached his own ideas i.e the worship. He emphasized the unity of God. The mission of Nank, Tarachand remarks, was the unification of the Hindu and the Musalman and he realized that in order to heal the wounds of the society it was essential to end that conflict of religion.⁵¹ Guru Nanak was against the caste system and ritualism. He taught in the language of the people which was one of the reasons which determined the success of his mission.⁵²

⁴⁴ The *Bijak* of Kabir, Eng. Trans. by Ahmad Shah, Low Prince Pub. Delhi, 2002, p.p.5,7-8, 23-26,36.

⁴⁵ G.H. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*, Calcutta, 1953, p.36.

⁴⁶ For Kabir Panth, See, *Ibid*, p.p.66-68..

⁴⁷ Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam of Indian Culture*, op.cit. p.165.

⁴⁸ M.A.Macauliff, *The Sikh Religion*, vol-I, Low Price, Delhi, 1993, p.1.

⁴⁹ *Miharban Janam Sakhi*, in W.H. McLeod, *Sikh & Sikhism*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p.55.

⁵⁰ *Var of Bhai Gurdas*, *Ibid* – p.35.

⁵¹ Tarachand, op.cit p.168.

⁵² Yusuf Husain Khan, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture* Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1957, p.29

Another popular Bhakti saint of 16th century was Dadu Dayal who lived at Naraina in Rajputana. The followers of Dadu were called Dadu panthis. Dadu in his teachings talked about the oneness of God. He disregarded religious and caste distinctions, and tried to bring different religions at one platform.⁵³

Other prominent saints of 16th and 17th century were Maluk Das, Dadu's disciple Sundardas etc. They all preached universal brotherhood. Another important saint of 17th century was Baba Lal, with whom Dara Shikoh came into contact. He also preached for religious synthesis, and attempted to reconcile the followers of Islam and Hinduism.⁵⁴ Pran Nath, the founder of Pranami sect, lived in the later part of 17th century. His seat was at Panna. He was well versed in the sacred books of Islam. He attempted to propagate a faith which should combine the two religions. In his work '*Qulzum Sharif*,' he brought together texts from the *Quran* and the Vedas and tried to show, that they are in compatible one of his work is called '*Qayamat nama*,' in which he tried to reconcile Hindus and Muslims and said they have a common faith.⁵⁵

Sagun and Nirgun Bhakti

Sagun Bhakti relates to the worship of a deity with attributes i.e. the deity worshiped in some form like Rama Krishna, Radha etc. The saints propounded the sagun bhakti were Vallabhacharya, Chaitanya, Mira Bai, etc.

⁵³ See, W.G. ORR, A Sixteen Century Indian Mystic (Dadu) London, 1947.

⁵⁴ Tara Chand, op.cit .p.196.

⁵⁵ Ibid – p.p.198-99.

The Nirgun Bhakti relates to the worship of God without attributes i.e. the God worshiped as formless. The saints preached Nirgun Bhakti were Kabir, Guru Nanak, Dadu Dayal, Pran Nath etc.

AKBAR'S RELATIONS WITH NON-SUFI SAINTS

Akbar, infact, was the real founder of the Mughal empire, who established the roots of his dynasty so deep in India, that it lasted almost for three centuries. He achieved this feat by adopting a liberal religious policy. Akbar maintained cordial relations with all the sections of the society, irrespective of religion or caste. He showed this liberalism by marrying a Rajput princess (Raja Baharmal's daughter Man Bai) at the time of his first visit to Ajmer in 1526 A.D.¹ Later on, he married other Rajput princesses as well.² These Rajput princess in the royal palace enjoyed full liberty to practice their religion. They performed Havans within the imperial palace.³

Akbar treated the followers of every religion equally. In 1563, Akbar abolished pilgrimage-tax levied on Hindus at Mathura.⁴ In 1564, Akbar abolished, 'Jiziya', the tax levied on non-Muslims.⁵ In quest of knowledge of different religions, in 1575-76, Akbar constructed Ibadat Khana.⁶ In the beginning only Muslim jurists were invited for discussion,⁷ but later on, Akbar opened the Ibadat Khana for the learned of other religions, like-Sunni Shias, Brahmanas, Jati Sewara, Jews, Zoroastrians etc.⁸ Akbar also participated in the Hindu

¹ Abul Fazl-Akbarnama, ed. M Abdul Rahim, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1879, vol-II, p.p.155, 156, 157.

² Ibid – p.p.358-59, Eng. Trans. by H.Beveridge ESS :Pub. Delhi 1979, vol-II, p.p.518-19.

³ Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, ed. by Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1865, vol-II, p.261.

⁴ Abul Fazl-Akbarnama-vol-II, p.p. 189-90, Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.p. 294-95.

⁵ Ibid-vol-II, p.203 Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.316 .

⁶ Ibid - vol-III, p.112, Eng. Trans. Low Price Pub. Delhi, 1993, vol-III, p.157.

⁷ Nizamuddin Ahmad-Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Eng. Trans. by Rajendra Nath De., Low Price Pub. Delhi, 1992, vol-II, p.p.470-71.

⁸ Abul Fazl Akbarnama, op.cit. vol-III, p.p. 252-53, Eng. Trans. vol-III, p.p.365.

religious festivals like Shivratri, Diwali, Rakhi,⁹ and Dusshera,¹⁰ like Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq who participated in the Hindu festival of Holi.¹¹

A large number of Sanskrit books were translated into Persian by the orders of Akbar, like Mahabharata,¹² Ramayana,¹³ Kalila-wa-Dimna,¹⁴ Nal-o-Daman,¹⁵ Singhsan Battisi,¹⁶ etc. Akbar created a congenial environment at the Mughal Court for the assimilation of various religions and cultures. He maintained relations with the learned men of different religions. As, according to Abul Fazl, “The sages of different religions assembled at the court,”¹⁷ and according to Badaoni, “crowds of learned men from all nations and sages of various religions and sects came to the court and were honoured with conversations.”¹⁸ He converse with the Brahmins and jogis and enquired about their religion and practices.¹⁹

Akbar also prohibited cow slaughter²⁰ as this animal was considered sacred by the Hindus. He respected the sentiments of his people. Outside the town of Agra, Akbar built two places for feeding poor Hindus and Muslims; Dharampura and Khairpura, and a third

⁹ Badaoni, Eng. Trans. by Lowe, Delhi, 1973, vol-II, p.269.

¹⁰ Abul Fazl-Akbarnama, op.cit. Eng. Trans., vol-III, p.1245.

¹¹ Isami-Futuh-us-Salatin, ed. By A.S Usha, University of Madras, 1948 P.515.

¹² Badaoni, Eng. Trans., vol-II, p-329 and Nizamuddin Ahmad, Eng. Trans., vol-II, p-526.

¹³ Badaoni, Eng. Trans., vol-II, P-346.

¹⁴ Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Eng. Trans., Blockmann, LPP, Delhi, 2002, vol-I, 112.

¹⁵ Badaoni, op.cit. Eng. Trans., vol-II, p.410.

¹⁶ Ibid – Eng. Trans., by Wolseley Haig, Patna, 1973, vol-III, p-249.

¹⁷ Abul Fazl, op.cit. vol-III - P-273, Eng. Trans., vol-III, p.400.

¹⁸ Badaoni, op.cit. Eng. Trans., vol-II, p-263.

¹⁹ Ibid - vol-II, p.p.256-57, 324, Eng. Trans., vol-II, p.264,

²⁰ Ibid - vol-II p.261, Eng. Trans., vol-II, p.268.

place was built for jogis as jogipura.²¹ Akbar also issued coins bearing the symbol of Sawastika and figures of Rama and Sita.²²

Akbar tried to accommodate each and every section of the society within one fold. He raised Raja Man Singh of Amber to the top most position,²³ among the nobles and appointed Raja Todarmal as the finance minister (Diwan) of the realm.²⁴ Tansen and Ramdas were his court musicians,²⁵ and Daswanth, Basawan were among his court painters.²⁶

Raja Birbal²⁷ was one of Akbar's close friends and when Birbal was killed at north-west frontier, Akbar was shocked by this incident.²⁸ Akbar patronized so many Hindi poets; they were Narhari, Gang, Manohar, Holrai etc.²⁹ So an environment of religion tolerance had been created by Akbar in India. In this context, Terry remarks, that, "every man has liberty to profess his own religion."³⁰

Akbar maintained cordial relations with the non-sufi saints of the time, particularly his relations with the Bhakti saints of different schools, were very cordial. He also maintained good relations with Jains, Jogis and Zoroastrians etc.

²¹ Ibid - vol-II, p.324, Eng. Trans., vol-II, p.334.

²² See, Andrew Liddle, Coinage of Akbar, Kapoori Devi Charitable Trust, Gurgaon, 2005.

²³ Akbarnama, vol-II, Eng. Trans., p.244, (text-158).

²⁴ Ibid - vol-IIIrd Eng. Trans. P.P-861-62 (text-569).

²⁵ Ain-i-Akbari vol-I Eng. Trans. P-681.

²⁶ Ain-i-Akbari vol-I, Eng. Trans., p-114.

²⁷ Ain-i-Akbari Eng. Trans., vol-I, p.442.

²⁸ Badaoni, vol-II, p.340, Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.369.

²⁹ c.f. Dr. Sarju Prasad Agrawal, Akbari Darbar Key Hindi Kavi, Lucknow University, 1950 and Ramchandra Shukla-Hindi Sahitya Ka-Itihas. Nagri Pracharini Sabha-Banaras, 1940. p.p.199-216.

³⁰ Edward Terry in Early Travels in India. (1583-1619) ed. by William foster S. Chand & Co. Delhi, 1968 p.315.

1.1 Akbar's relations with Sikh Gurus

It is said that the first Mughal emperor Babur on his way to the conquest of India, came into contact with Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak was at Sayyidpur when Babur attacked the town, the inhabitants of the town were massacred and plundered and the lives of the Guru and his disciple Mardana were spared, but they were imprisoned.³¹ Impressed by Guru Nanak's some miraculous acts in prison Babur set him free and wanted to present some gifts to him, but the Guru accepted nothing, instead he requested Babur to release the prisoners. On the Guru's request Babur released the prisoners and restored their property.³² Later on Guru Nanak again visited Babur and song hymns composed by him.

“O God, fear of Thee is my bhang, my heart
its pouch, I am an intoxicated hermit.

My hands are the cup it is for a sight of Thee,
O God I hunger.”³³

Babur was very impressed with the Guru's hymns, and asked the Guru to accompany him for some time. At last Babur asked the Guru to be gracious to him. The Guru again requested Babur to set free all the prisoners of his country. Babur agreed on one condition that the Guru should promise to bless, that his empire should continue from generation to generation. The Guru said, that your empire shall remain for a time. And later on Babur freed all the prisoners.³⁴ The another of 'Dabistan-i-Mazahib says that being dissatisfied with the Afghans,

³¹ Macauliff, The Sikh Religion ; L.P.P. Delhi Reprint, 1993, vol-I, p.p. 109,111.

³² Ibid – vol-I, p.p. 113, 114.

³³ Ibid – vol-I, p.120.

³⁴ Ibid – vol-I, p.121.

Nanak called the Mughals into the country, so that Babur gained victory over Ibrahim Lodi.³⁵ But Babur in his memoirs, makes no mention of Guru Nanak and his meeting with him.³⁶ W.H. Mcleod, after analysing different Janam Sakhis (accounts of the life of Guru Nanak), suggests, that the meeting of Guru Nanak with Babur can not be ruled out as completely impossible; it certainly appears to be most likely.³⁷ Guru Anged was ther second Sikh Guru's³⁸ and he continued the mission of guru Nanak.

Humayun, during his flight from Hindustan, met Guru Augad at Lahore and sought his blessings. The Guru said to him that, after some time you would recover your kingdom. Later on when Humanyun regained his Indian empire, he was grateful to the Guru.³⁹

Akbar's relations with the Sikh Gurus were very cordial. Three Sikh Gurus were contemporary to Akbar – Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan Deo.

Akbar and Guru Amar Das: (1552-1574 A.D.)

During one of his visits to Lahore, Akbar decided to meet Guru Amar Das. At that time the Guru was at Govindwal. Akbar reached the Guru's residence to meet him, there he came to know that he could not meet the Guru, until he had to take the food of the Guru's 'langar,' (free kitchen) like other visitors. It is said that emperor Akbar sat with the ordinary people and ate with them. After this Akbar had a meeting

³⁵ Anonymous, Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Eng. Trans. Troyer & Shea, Khuda Bakhsh Oreintal Library, Patna 1993, p-249.

³⁶ Zahiruddin Babur, Baburnama, Eng. Trans. A.S. Beveridge-Low Price Pub. Delhi., 1989, p.461 f.n.3.

³⁷ W.H. Mcleod, Sikhs and Sikhism, Oxford University Press, 2003, p.138.

³⁸ . Macauliffe, vol – I, p. 187.

³⁹ Macauliffe, vol – II, p.p. 19, 20.

with Guru Amar Das. He was very much impressed with the Guru's spirituality, and wanted to grant some land in favour of the Guru, but the Guru refused to accept the grant and said that his trust was in God. But Akbar insisted, and granted the land in favour of Guru's daughter Bibi Bhani. After wards, the Guru gave a dress of honour to Akbar.⁴⁰

Once the Brahmins of Govindwal complained to Akbar, that Guru Amar Das abandoned the religious and social customs of the Hindus and abolished caste distinctions. After hearing the complaint against the Guru, Akbar decided to invite the Guru at his court. Guru Amardas in compliance with the emperors invitation, sent his son-in-law, Bhai Jetha, to represent him⁴¹ Akbar received Bahi Jetha warmly and asked about the Guru's health. Now the Brahmans and Khattris came to the court and repeated their charges. They said, that the Guru was trying to divert the people from the old faith and this, might have led to political disturbance in the country.⁴² Akbar called Bhai Jetha to reply against the charges. Jetha replied by and repeating his compositions-

“God name is God's treasure; clasp it to thy,
heart under the Guru's instruction.”
Be the slave of God's slave; subdue pride and
evil passion'.⁴³

On hearing Jetha's compositions and his learning, the Brahmans and Khattris were astonished and they were ashamed. Then Akbar gave his decision and said, that there was no hostility to Hinduism in that

⁴⁰ Macauliffe – vol-II, p.p. 97, 98.

⁴¹ Macauliffe – vol-II, p.p. 104, 105, 106.

⁴² Ibid – vol-II, p. 106.

⁴³ Ibid – vol-II, p. 107.

man and in his compositions, they (Brahmins and Khattris) were enemies of truth and were only causing needless annoyance. The Brahmans and Khattris departed from the court with shame.⁴⁴ Afterwards, Akbar, through Bhai Jetha, conveyed his request to Guru Amardas, to make a pilgrimage to the Ganges, in order to divert the wrath of the Hindus. He further added, that no tax would be levied on Guru's party during his journey. The Guru in compliance with Akbar's suggestion, set out for Haridwar.⁴⁵ During the last days of his life, Guru Amar Das appointed his son in law, Bhai Jetha, as his successor with the title of Guru Ram Das.⁴⁶

Guru Ramdas (1574-1581)

He dug a reservoir on the piece of land which was granted by Akbar, to his wife Bibi Bhani, later on this reservoir was known as Amritsar.⁴⁷ Akbar respected Guru Ramdas & held him in high esteem.

Akbar and Guru Arjan Dev (1581-1606)

Guru Ram Das during his life time, appointed his youngest son, 'Arjan,' as his successor. The credit for the compilation of 'Adi Granth' (The sacred book of the Sikhs) goes to Guru Arjan. On account of his appointment as Guru, Arjan Dev's elder brother, Prithia became jealous.⁴⁸ He always tried to humiliate the Guru. Prithia induced the Qazis and pandits, to complain to emperor Akbar, that Guru Arjan had compiled a book in which the Muslim prophets and

⁴⁴ Ibid – vol-II, p. 108.

⁴⁵ Ibid – vol-II, p. 108, 109.

⁴⁶ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs. S. Chand & Co. Delhi, 1955, p. 45

⁴⁷ Ibid – p.45, and Melcom-Skeitch of The Sikhs. Asian Educational services, N. Delhi-1986. p.29.

⁴⁸ Macauliff, vol-III, p.p. 1-2, 28.

leaders and the Hindu gods were spoken with contempt.⁴⁹ At that time Akbar was in Punjab. Diwan Chandu Shah (another enemy of Guru Arjun) placed the complaint before Akbar on his arrivals at Gurdaspur. Akbar ordered that Guru Arjun and his *granth* should be produced before him. The Guru instead of going himself, sent Bhai Budha and Bhai Gur Das to the Mughal court. The first hymn of the *granth* read before Akbar was Guru Arjun's own Composition-

"From earth and light God made the world the
sky earth trees and water are Gods creation"⁵⁰

The Qazis and Pandits say that this hymn was specially selected for the emperor. Now the emperor turned over its pages of the *granth* himself and pointing to a particular page and asked Gur Das to read it. It was the hymn, "O servant of God the inscrutable,"

Akbar was very much pleased. But Chandra Shah said that Gurdas had repeated this from memory. Than Chandu brought a man Sahib Dayal who knew Gur mukhi the language in which the *granth* was written. Now Chandu turned over the pages of the *granth* and asked the man to read it. The hymn was,

"Thou fastenest as stone to they neck, And
seest not God who dwelleth in the heart."⁵¹

After hearing this hymn Akbar was very much impressed by the teachings of the *granth* and displeased with Guru enemies. He gave his decision that, except love and devotion to God, I so far found neither praise nor blame of any one in this *granth*. It is a volume

⁴⁹ Macauliff vol-III, p. 81

⁵⁰ Ibid vol-III - p. 81

⁵¹ Ibid vol-III - p. 82

worthy of reverence. Akbar then made an offering of fifty one gold Muhars to the *granth* and gave dresses of honour to Bhai Budha and Bhai Gur Das and another dress for Guru Arjun, and promised to visit the Guru on his return journey from Lahore.⁵²

Later on Akbar paid a visit to Guru Arjun at Govindwal⁵³. He asked the Guru, instruction for him, the Guru instructed him, that “the welfare and happiness of monarchs depend on cherishing their subject and doing justices. The monarch, whose subject is happy, shall himself be happy in this life, and in the next obtain praise, glory and honour.”⁵⁴ There was a severe famine in the Punjab in that particular year, so in compliment to the Guru, Akbar remitted the revenues of the Punjab for that year.⁵⁵

It is said that, Birbal on account of Guru Arjan’s daily increasing popularity, bore grudge against him. On his way to north west frontier to fight Yusufzais, Birbal sent his men to collect tax in Amritsar. His agents went to Guru Arjan and asked for tax, but the Guru said he had no money and the government never imposed a fine on Guru’s house. The agents convey the message to Birbal who became furious. But due to imperial orders he had to proceed to accompany the imperial forces fighting against Yusufzais. He said, that, if they would not pay the tax, he will severely punished them on

⁵² Ibid - vol-III, p. 83

⁵³ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*,. Eng. Trans. Beveridge vol-III, p.1115

⁵⁴ Macauliffe, vol-III, p.p. 83, 84.

⁵⁵ Ibid - vol-III, p.84.

his return.⁵⁶ But Birbal was never destined to return and was died, fighting against the rebels.⁵⁷

1.2 Akbar's Relations with the Saints of Pushtimarga

Vallabhacharya the founder of Pushti-marga was born in 1479 at Banaras. He was the son of a Telugu Brahman Lakshman Bhatt.⁵⁸ Vallabha received good education in Sanskrit.⁵⁹ At a young age, Vallabha traveled throughout India and visited many shrines. In south India, his paternal home country, Vallabha stayed at the court of Krishna Devaraya and received the title of Acharya.⁶⁰ After wards Vallabhacharya returned to Brindavan. He went to Braj and established an image of Sri Nathji on the sacred hill called Govardhan Parvata in 1520⁶¹. Here Vallabhacharya introduced the worship of Balgopala (Krishna) and began to propound his doctrines of Pushtimarga.⁶²

This Pushti-marga, or the way of divine grace, came out from the doctrines of Vishnu-Swami, a learned man specially in Vedas.⁶³ The Pushti-marga, according to its founder Vallabhacharya, was a method by which one could win God's grace and attain the object of his life, through bhakti, which leads to salvation.⁶⁴ He says that bhakti is given by God and it comes by his grace, through the system

⁵⁶ Ibid - vol-III, p.15-17.

⁵⁷ Badaoni, Eng. Trans., vol-II, p.340.

⁵⁸ Goswami Jadunathji, Vallabha Digvijaya, trans. by Purushottum Sharma Chaturvedi, Published by Nathdawat Vidhavidhag, 1975.

⁵⁹ Din Dayal Gupta, Ashtachhap Aur Vallbha Sampradaya, Hindi Sahitya sammelan. Prayag, 1970. vol-I, p.70

⁶⁰ Ibid – p.70.

⁶¹ Ibid – p.71.

⁶² H.H Wilson – Religious Sects of the Hindus, London 1958, p. 69.

⁶³ Ibid - p.69.

⁶⁴ R.C. Majumdar (ed) The Delhi Sultanate, Bombay 1960, p.p. 558-59.

of Pushti.⁶⁵ The followers of Vallabha Sampradaya or Pushti-marga, worshipped Krishna and his mistress Radha. Vallabhacharya wrote many books in Sanskrit on the philosophy of Bhakti. He died at Banaras in 1530, at the age of 52 years.⁶⁶

After the death of Vallabhacharya his son Gopinath became the head of Pushti-marga and after the death of Gopinath, Vallabha's second son, (the most celebrated of the sect), Vithalnath became the head of the sect.⁶⁷ Vithalnath was also called by the name Gosainji. Vithalnath was born in (Samvat 1572) at Chunar when Vallabha was on his religious journey. Vithalnath received his primary education at Adel⁶⁸. Vithalnath was a learned man like his father and wrote many books. He also made so many journeys to western India.⁶⁹ About 1571, Vithalnath permanently settled down at Gokul.⁷⁰ He had a large number of disciples, from many classes including Brahmans, Banias etc.⁷¹ He had a large family and had seven sons by his two wives.⁷² Vithalnath died in Samvat 1642 at Goverdhan.

Vithalnath had cordial relations with Akbar. It is said that Akbar invited Vithalnath to his court and discussion with him on religion. The emperor was much impressed with his religious learning and piety. Akbar was so pleased with him, that he requested Vithalnath to ask for a gift. Vithalnath asked for Gokul as inam land. Akbar made a grant in the name of Vithalnath by a *farman* dated, 13 September

⁶⁵ J.N. Farquhar; An outline of the Religious Literature of India, Delhi 1989, p.313.

⁶⁶ Ibid – p.313.

⁶⁷ Din Dayal Gupta, Ashtchhap Dur Vallabha Sampradaya; p.75.

⁶⁸ Din Dayal, op.cit. p.75.

⁶⁹ Ibid – p.p.77-78.

⁷⁰ Din Dayal Gupta, Ashtchhap Dur Vallabha Sampradaya; p.75-78. Kanthamani Shastri-Kankrauli Ka Itihas Vidha Vibhag, Kankrauli, Samvat, 1996 (1939 A.D.)

⁷¹ Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics ed. by James Hastings. Vol-XII, New York. 1954, p. 581.

⁷² F.S. Growse, Mathura, District Memoir, 1883, p.284

1577A.D. It was directed in the *farman* to the officials of Mathura, that the lands granted to Vithalnath was free from any tax and the recipient should not be molested in future. ⁷³ Four year later, Akbar issued another *farman* dated 9 March 1581, in favour of Vithalnath, allowing permission to graze his cows in Jagir and Khalsa lands. ⁷⁴

Few months later, on 8th October 1581, Akbar's mother Hamida Banu Begum issued a *farman* in the name of Vithalnath, for grazing his cows in *jagir* or *khalsa* lands in the Pargana of Mahaban in the Sarkar of Agra. ⁷⁵ The *farman* issued by Akbar and his mother Hamida Bano Begum in favour of Vithalnath are the testimony, that the Gosian, commanded considerable respect in the imperial family. In 1583 A.D. Akbar granted in perpetuity the village of Jatipura, tax free to Vithalnath, for the temple of Govardhan Nath. ⁷⁶ In these *farmans* Vithalnath was addressed as the prayer-offerer, well wisher of the empire. This shows that he was held in high esteem by the emperor. It may be, by the influence of Vithalnath, that Akbar forbade the killing of peacocks in the parganas of Mathura, Mangotah, and od, in the Sarkar of Agra by a *farman* dated 26 May, 1593 A.D. issued from Lahore. ⁷⁷ By another firman of 26 May 1593 A.D, Akbar confirmed the grant of Mowza of Gokal and the Guzar-Ghat ⁷⁸ (ford of Jamuna) in the pargna of Mahaban, free from all types of lives, to Vithalnath in

⁷³ K.M. Jhaveri - Imperial Farmans (1577 to 1805 A.D.) Bombay 1928, Farman No-Ist Eng. trans.

⁷⁴ Ibid – Farman No II-nd Eng. trans.

⁷⁵ Ibid – Farman No III-rd Eng. trans.

⁷⁶ Ibid – Farman No IV-A Eng. trans.

⁷⁷ Ibid – Farman No II-nd (Eng. trans).

⁷⁸ Bathing place on a river side.

perpetuity, for the expenses of Thakurdwar (Idol temple).⁷⁹ In these *farmans* Vithalnath, addressed as Vithalrai or vithaldas etc.

There are eight principal saint poets of Pushti-marga, four were the disciples of Vallabhacharya, the most important among them was Surdas etc. and four were the disciples of his son and successor Vithalnath. They were collectively known as ‘Ashta-chhap’, literally means, the eight seals i.e. they received Vithalnath’s recognition. They produced religious poetry in praise of Krishna. They used local dialects of Hindi called Braj.⁸⁰ These saint poets with their compositions spread the message of Pushti-marga far and wide.

Akbar and Surdas

Surdas was one of the famous saint poets of Vallabha Sampradaya. He was famous by his great and voluminous work called Sursagar (Sur’s ocean) containing more than one lakh verses or ‘Padas’ attributed to Krishna. Surdas’s life and his meeting with Akbar is narrated in ‘Chaurasi Vaishnavon Ki Varta’. (conversation of eight four Vaishnavas).

According to the ‘Varta’, Surdas was born in a village, four miles away from Delhi. He was the son of a poor Sarasvat Brahmin.⁸¹ Surdas composed poetry in praise of Krishna and sing his poems with his melodious voice. His compositions become very famous among the peoples.⁸² At the age of eighteen years Surdas moved to ‘gaughat’ (bathing place at the bank of river Jamuna) which was situated

⁷⁹ K.M. Jhaveri, Imperial Farmans, op.cit. farman no. V, Eng. Trans.

⁸⁰ J.N. Farquahr, op.cit, p. 316.

⁸¹ Hari Ray Paranit – Chaurasi Vaishnavon Ki Varta, ed. by Dawarika Das Parikh, Kankrauli, 1960-p. 379.

⁸² Ibid - p. 381.

between Mathura and Agra. Here a large number of peoples came to him and became his followers, and at this place Surdas came into contact with Vallabhacharya and became his disciple.⁸³ Peoples sing Surdas's 'Padas' (poems) all over. Once, Akbar's Court musician Tansen, Sang one of the 'Pada' of Surdas. After listening Surdas's 'pada' Akbar was eager to meet the composer poet and inquired about him. Tansen informed Akbar that the composer of this Pada is Surdas living at Braj.

Some days later, Akbar came to Agra from Delhi and directed his messengers to gather information about Surdas. Akbar sent his men to bring Surdas to his Court. When Surdas arrived the Court, Akbar honoured him greatly. The emperor ask Surdas that he had composed plenty of poems for Vishnu, now he wanted to listen something⁸⁴ Surdas recited a poem in 'Rag Bilawal' Akbar was very pleased with this couplet.⁸⁵ Then the emperor want to test Surdas and asked him that, he had a large kingdom and every one sang his praise, if he would sing in his praise, he would give him a lot of money and what ever he want.⁸⁶ But Surdas recited a poem in praise of Krishna,⁸⁷ expressing that he (Surdas) did not know any one other than his lord. Akbar was very impressed by Surdas's compositions and piety. Then the emperor offered Surdas, four villages and some cash as present,

⁸³ Ibid – P. 382.

⁸⁴ Ibid – P. 392.

⁸⁵ Ibid – P. 392.

⁸⁶ But A.L. Srivastava, says that, atleast Akbar was not the man to have asked Surdas or any other to sing his praises. Akbar the Great, Vol-III Agra, 1973, F.n. 16 P. 86.

⁸⁷ Chaurasi Vaishnavou Ki Karta, P. 393.

but Surdas refused to accept it and request the emperor not to meet him again in future.⁸⁸

After arriving to Agra, Akbar ordered for the collection of Surdas's 'padas' and announced that, who ever brought Surdas's padas, was given rupees and gold mohars as reward. He got translated the collection of these 'Padas', into Persian.⁸⁹ Once a Pandit Kavishvar brought a couplet (Pada) saying that it was composed made by Surdas, but Akbar says that, the Pandit had stolen this couplet only for money, this was not the couplet of Surdas. Then the Pandit asked Akbar how did you came to know that the couplet was not of Surdas. Then Akbar tested the couplet of Surdas by dipping it into the water but the couplet of Surdas was not drowned and the couplet of Pandit Kavishvar drowned into the water.⁹⁰

J.S. Hawley says that this trail by water of the composition of Surdas by Akbar shows that Akbar was the sponsor of the first critical edition of the 'Sursagar'.⁹¹

Akbar and Khumbandas (1468-1583 A.D.)

Khumbandas was another important saint poet of Pushti Marga. He was the disciple of Vallabhacharya and belonged to the category of 'Ashta-chhap'. Khumbandas was a farmer, lived in a village, named 'Jamunavta' near Mathura.⁹² With his melodious voice, he sang poems in praise of Krishna.⁹³ His compositions became very famous and

⁸⁸ Ibid – P. 394.

⁸⁹ Ibid – P. 394-95.

⁹⁰ Ibid – P. 395.

⁹¹ John Stratton Hawley – Three Bhakti Voices – oxford University Press 2005 (f.n. 26) P. 371).

⁹² Chaurasi Vaishnavon Ki Varta P. 447

⁹³ Ibid P. 450

people used to sing his poems, everywhere. One of the Kalawant (singer) sang the poem of Khumbandas in presence of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri.⁹⁴ After listening the poem (pada) Akbar desired to meet the composer poet, and inquired about him. The Kalawant told the emperor that the composer of this ‘Pada’ was Khumbandas, who lived in a village near Govardhan. Then Akbar sent his men with a palanquin and horses, to bring Khumbandas to Fatehpur Sikri. The imperial servants reached Khumbandas and conveyed the emperor’s order. Khumbandas accompanied them unwillingly (as appears from the varta) and reached Fatehpur Sikri on foot rather than on palanquin,⁹⁵ and presented himself before Akbar. Akbar requested Khumbandas, “baba Sahib you have composed plenty of poems for Vishnu, I want to listen something from your mouth, please sing any one of the poems (Vishnu Pada).”⁹⁶ At first Khumbandas felt uncomfortable to sing on the order of emperor. Then he composed extempore a new poem and sang it in Rag Sarang:

“भक्तन कौ कहां सिकरी सो काम ।
 आवत जात पन्हैया टूटी बिसर गयो हरिनाम ॥
 जाको मुख देखेहुख उपजे ताको करनाखियो पृनाम।
 कुंभन दास लाल गिरि घर बिनु यह सब झूठौ घाम ॥⁹⁷

(What the devotees have to do with Fatehpur Sikri. By visiting the place my foot were damaged and I forget the remembrance of God’s name.

I have to salute those whom one would even to dislike to see.

⁹⁴ Ibid p. 456

⁹⁵ Ibid p. 457-58

⁹⁶ Ibid p. 458

⁹⁷ Ibid p. 459

Khumbandas says that all other places have no importance except the place where Krishna is beholden).

According to Varta, after listening this poem of Khumbandas, Akbar was displeased by heart and thought that if he was a greedy man than he sang in his praise but he (Khumbandas) was only related to his god and nothing to do with the emperor. At last Akbar requested Khumbandas, “Baba Sahib give me any order which I may comply with.” Khumbandas expressed his disgust and said to Akbar, “Don’t invite me again in future.” Then Akbar bade him farewell.⁹⁸ This meeting took place during 1581⁹⁹ A.D.

Akbar and Surdas Madan Mohan

Surdas Madan Mohan was also a Vaishnava saint poet. He was belong to the Gaudiya Sampradaya propounded by Chaitanya. The period of his poetry was, most probably between 1590 to 1600. V.S.¹⁰⁰

He was associated with Mughal government. His life is narrated by Nabhadass in his celebrated work *Bhaktamal* (Garland of Devotees). According to *Bhaktamal*, the original name of Surdas was ‘Surajdhavaj’ but in poetry, he was famous by his name Surdas Madan Mohan. He was very perfect in singing and poetry. He attributed his songs to Radha & Krishna, and was capable of singing ‘Nauras’ in many ways. His poems spread everywhere.¹⁰¹ Surdas Madan Mohan was appointed as the revenue officer (Amin) of Tehsil of Sandila by the emperor of Delhi (i.e. Akbar). It is said in the varta of sandila, that

⁹⁸ Ibid – P. 459

⁹⁹ Din Dayal Gupta, *Ashtachhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya*. Op.cit. vol-I. p. 244.

¹⁰⁰ Ram Chandra Shukla, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas Varanasi*, 1940, P.P. 180-81.

¹⁰¹ Goswami Nabadassji, *Shri Bhaktamal*, Tej Kumar; Book Depot (Pvt) Ltd. Lucknow, 1977, p.p. 746-47.

the revenue of thirteen lakh rupees of district Sandila was given away by Surdas Madan Mohan for the feeding of *sadhus* (mystics). When the imperial agents arrived from Delhi, to collect the revenue, Surdas sent stones in the boxes instead of coins and a written couplet (Pada) of his own, with each box:-

“तेरह लाख सँडीले उपजे।
सब साधुन मिली के गटके।
सुरदास मदन मोहन वृन्दावन को सटके”॥¹⁰²

(Thirteen lakhs (of revenue) of Sandila, eaten by sadhus, Surdas Madan Mohan went to Brundavan).

When the boxes reached Delhi and were opened before the emperor, there was only stones and that written couplet. When the couplet was read, the emperor smiled with surprise.¹⁰³ Surdas Madan Mohan ran away from Sandila at midnight and came to Brindavan. Akbar sent his messengers to bring Surdas from Brindavan with these words, “You fed the amount of revenue to the saints, I am very happy, now come back to the court.” But Surdas replied, “I have devoted my body for Brindavan, so don’t call me back.”

Thus, the emperor accepted his excuse, but his finance minister, Todar Mal, by saying that, Surdas had destroyed the wealth of the state, got him arrested. He imprisoned Surdas and gave him under the charge of a cruel jail superintendent named ‘Dastum’. Dastum tortured Surdas severely. Then, Surdas sent a stanza to Akbar. “O king Akbar please protect me from cruel Dastum”. Ultimately, Akbar was very

¹⁰² Ibid – p. 749

¹⁰³ Ibid – p. 749

pleased by this line, and ordered for the release of Surdas from prison and gave him permission to go to Brindavan.¹⁰⁴

In Nabhadās's Bhakamal, there are references of other saints, who came into contact with Akbar.

Gangagwal

His period (1635- V.S.)¹⁰⁵ He was a native of Braj. His name is also given by Mishra bandhu Vinod. Once Akbar came to Brindavan and expressed his desire to listen music, and asked for a good singer. People presented Gangagwal before the emperor. Gangagwal with another singer sang the songs in sweet voice, The emperor being very happy, requested Gangagwal to accompany him to the capital, but Gangagwal refused and said that, "I do not want to live any where except Braj." But he was forcibly dragged with the emperor to Delhi. Later, on the request of Raja of Patamnagar, the emperor freed him.¹⁰⁶

Bhagwandas

(1615 V.S.)¹⁰⁷ He lived at Mathura during this period. Once the emperor (Akbar) said. "There are so many people here, wore 'mala' (beads) and applied Vermilion (Tilak) on their forehead, I want to test, who was the true devotee of God." So, in order to test the faith of the people, he announced that, who ever, wore a 'mala' and applied 'Tilak' on his forehead, shall be killed. So, people in fear of death, gave up wearing mala and Tilak. But Bhagwandas with his true faith in god, wore a 'mala' and applied 'Tilak' on his fore head, appeared

¹⁰⁴ Ibid – p. 750-51

¹⁰⁵ Mishra Bandhu, Mishra bandhu Vinod, Lucknow, 1972 Par I & II, p.p. 193-94.

¹⁰⁶ Nabhadās, Bhaktamal, p.p. 858-59.

¹⁰⁷ Mishra Bandhu, op.cit. Par I & II, p.p.193-94.

before the emperor. The emperor felt pleased at heart, but showed his anger, asked Bhagwandas, why did he not obeyed his order.

Bhagwandas replied that in their religion there was a belief, that who ever died, wearing a mala and Talak would go to the God's dwelling, so, for this reason I adopted these things. The emperor was very impressed by the devotion and deep faith of Bhagwandas and asked him about any of his wishes. Then Bhagwandas said, "I want to live in Mathura for ever." Then the emperor granted the ministry of Mathura to him for life time. Bhagwandas lived at Mathura till death. He has built a temple named Shri Hari Devji near Goverdhan.¹⁰⁸

Nand Das

Nand Das, another Ashtchhap poet, also came into contact with Akbar. It is said that he was the younger brother of the famous saint poet Tulsidas.¹⁰⁹ He sang his compositions in praise of Krishna. His compositions also became very famous among the people. Once emperor Akbar with Birbal visited Mathura. On one night Tansen sang a hymn (Pada) of Nand Das in the presence of Akbar. Akbar asked Birbal about the composer poet, and ordered to bring Nand Das to his presence.¹¹⁰

When Nand Das came to Akbar's camp, he paid him respect and asked him the meaning of his composition (pada) which was sung by Tansen. But Nand Das referred to one of Akbar's wife Rupmanjari, (who was also a disciple of Goswami Vithalnath), that he would the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid – p. 905.

¹⁰⁹ Hari Ray Pranit, *Dau Sau Bawan Vaishnavon Ki Varta* ed, Dawarika Das Parikh, Kankrauli, 1953, vol-III, p.256

¹¹⁰ Ibid – p. 278.

meaning of that hymn to her. When the emperor went inside and asked her the meaning, she instead of replying to the emperor's question died and fell on the spot. And when the emperor came out, to Nand Das, the latter also had died on the spot.¹¹¹ After wards when the news of Nand Das's death was brought to Vithalnath, he said that he and Rupmanjari were the true devotees, who were not ready to reveal their religion (Dharma) to any one.¹¹²

Naraindas Lohana

Naraindas Lohana was a disciple of Vallabhacharya. He was born in the village of Lohana at Thatta.¹¹³ He held the post of *Diwan* in imperial service. Once the emperor (Akbar) in anger imprisoned Naraindas, and imposed a fine of five lakh of rupees on him, and ordered that the fine should be paid in the installments of five thousand rupees daily. And if the fine was not paid on a particular day, then he was punished with 500 lashes.¹¹⁴ One day two Vaishnava Brahmins of Adel visited Thatta, in order to seek help from Naraindas for the marriage of their daughter. They met him in the prison, and asked him for help. Naraindas in order to help them, gave five thousand rupees to the Brahmins, which were brought from his house for the payment of the fine. On that day the emperor asked his treasurer about the rupees of fine of Naraindas. The treasurer told the emperor that packets of rupees of fine are not received yet. The emperor in anger ordered, Naraindas to be presented before him

¹¹¹ Ibid - p. 279.

¹¹² Ibid - p. 280.

¹¹³ Chaurasi Vaishnavon Ki Varta, op.cit. p.p. 288-89.

¹¹⁴ Ibid - p. 290.

immediately.¹¹⁵ When Nariandas was brought before the emperor, he asked about the rupees and said, “Speak truth, otherwise your skin will be torn-off with lashes.” Than Naraindas replied, that “I have given the rupees to vaishnava Brahmins for the marriage of their daughter, so I have decided to face five hundred lashes, today as fine.” The emperor was very impressed by Naraindas’s sacrifice and pardoned him, and reinstated him on his previous post of Diwan.¹¹⁶

Raja Prithvi Singh (Saint poet)

He was the son of Raja Kalyan Singh or Kalyan Mal of Bikaner.¹¹⁷ Kalyanmal was a friend of Bayram Khan,¹¹⁸ his name is included in the list of grandees, given by Abul Fazl.¹¹⁹ Prithivi Singh was a disciple of Goswami Vithalnath. He was extremely devoted to his deity Shri Thakurji. He was a Hindi poet and had written the books, ‘*Rukmanibel*’ and ‘*Shyamalata*’.¹²⁰ He was in the service of emperor Akbar, and his period of poetry was around 1617 V.S.¹²¹ Once emperor Akbar called him at Delhi and was very impressed by his devotion to his Guru.

The emperor sent him to Kabul on a campaign. Prithvi Singh thought that, I have destined to die at Mathura, but with hesitation, he went to Kabul and in a few days he won all the battles there and hurriedly came back to Mathura in two days and died there. When

¹¹⁵ Ibid - p. 291.

¹¹⁶ Ibid - p. 292.

¹¹⁷ Dau Sau Bawan Vaishnavon Ki Varta, op.cit. part-III, p. 249.

¹¹⁸ Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Eng. Trans. Op.cit. part-I, p.331.

¹¹⁹ Ibid - p. 448.

¹²⁰ Dau Sau Bawan Vaishnavon Ki Varta, op.cit. part-III, p. 251.

¹²¹ Nabhadass, Bhaktamal, op.cit. p. 800-801.

Akbar got the news of his death and was very depressed.¹²² This event is also narrated in Bhaktamal.¹²³

Prithivi Raj was the same poet of Akbar's Court who prevented Rana Pratap, from acknowledging Mughal suzerainty. He sent a poem to Rana Pratap through a letter, to instigate his patriotism.¹²⁴

Few lines of that poem are as follows:

हिन्दू पति परतात पति रारवी हिन्दवान की ।
सहे बिपति संताप सत्य सतथ करि आपणी ॥
सह गाँवडिए साथ एकण बाड़े बाड़िया ;
राण न मानी नाय ताण प्रताप सी ॥
सोयो सो संसार असुर पलीलै उपरै ;
जागे जगदातार पोहरे राण प्रताप सी ॥¹²⁵

Chaturbhuj Das Mishra

He was the son of a Saraswat Brahmin and was given a good education from childhood and studied Gita, grammar etc. He came to Agra and first came under the service of Birbal and after wards became the servant of emperor Akbar.¹²⁶ He became a learned Pandit of Akbar's court and was very dear to the emperor; whenever the emperor asked him anything, he responded immediatly. The emperor was very happy with chaturbhuj Das.¹²⁷ He was paid a salary of one thousand rupees per month. Once Chaturbhuj Das went to Mathura and became the disciple of Gosain Vithalnath, and started living at Gopalpur in the devotion of the diety Shri Goverdhan Nathji, and did not come back to the Court. Then the emperor sent a letter to

¹²² Dan San Bawan Vaishnavon Ki Varta Part III, p. 249.

¹²³ Ibid - p. 249.

¹²⁴ James Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajisthan, vol-I, New Delhi 2001, p.289.

¹²⁵ Mishra Bandhu Vinod, I & II, p. 160.

¹²⁶ Dau Sau Bawan Vaishnavon Ki Varta, op.citPart III, p. 331.

¹²⁷ Ibid – p. 331.

Chaturbhurj Das to call him.¹²⁸ Chaturbhurj Das, in reply, sent a letter with these lines –

जाको मन नंदनदंन सो लाय्यो नीको ।

सुख संपति की कहां लगी बरनों जग लागत फिको ॥

(The one, who attached his heart with Nandnandan i.e the dwelling of Krishna. He left all happiness and property and no attraction remained him in this world.)

When the emperor received his letter and read these lines, he said, “for the person, no attraction remained in this world, how, I can be attractive for him.”¹²⁹

1.3 Akbar and Swami Haridas

Swami Haridas, the founder of Haridasi or Sakhi Sampradaya, was born in the village of Hardaspur near Kol¹³⁰ (modern Aligarh). He was a brahmin by caste.¹³¹

He was contemporary of *Ashta Chhap* poets.¹³² Tansen, the celebrated signer of Akbar’s court was his disciple and he learnt singing under his tutorship. The period of his poetry was between 1600 to 1617 V.S.¹³³ His music and singing was very famous far and wide. Once emperor Akbar in disguise of a Sadhu (mendicant) along with Tansen, Visited Swami Haridas to listen his songs at Nidhivan in Braindavan. When Tansen requested Haridas to sing, he refused.

¹²⁸ Ibid – p. 332.

¹²⁹ Ibid – p. 333

¹³⁰ S.Growse, Mathura, A District Memoir, Allahabad 1883, p. 219.

¹³¹ Mishrabandhu Vinod, Part Ist p. 152.

¹³² Din Dayal Gupta, *Ashta Chhap Aur Vallabha Sampradaya*, Part-Ist P. 68 And Nabhadadas, *Bhaktamal*, p.68.

¹³³ Ram Chandra Shukla, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas*, p. 180 and Mishra Bandhu Vinod, Part-I, p. 159.

Tansen started singing and he deliberately sang a song in a wrong way. Then Swami Haridas in order to rectify the error, sang the song in the right way. In this way Akbar became fortunate to listen Swami Haridas's song.¹³⁴ After wards Akbar placed some gift for Swami Haridas as a reward, but he refused to accept it.¹³⁵ In Nabhadass's Bhaktamal, it is mentioned that the incident of Akbar's meeting with Swami Haridas took place between 1611 to 1662 V.S.¹³⁶

1.4 Akbar's Nobles and their Relation with the Saints of Pushtimarga-

Raja Man Singh and Khumbandas

Once Raja Man Singh came to Agra after a campaign, and after meeting with the emperor Akbar, he prepared to go back to his home country. He decided to visit Mathura at first. So, he came to Mathura and went to see many temples at Virindavan.¹³⁷ Then he came to Goplapur to see the temple of Goverdhanthji, there he saw Khumbandas singing his compositions (Pada) before the deity.¹³⁸ Man Singh after coming to his camp, inquired about the man who was singing before Goverdhan Nathji. Some one told him that he was Khumbandas, the saint poet.¹³⁹

On the next day, Man Singh visited Khumbandas on his field.¹⁴⁰ Then after conversation with him, Raja wanted to present a purse of one thousand gold muhars (coins) to Khumbandas, but he did not

¹³⁴ Mishra Bandhu Vinod, op.cit. p.152.

¹³⁵ Ramchandra Shukla, Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas, op.cit. p.180.

¹³⁶ Nabhadass, Bhaktamal, op.cit. p. 603.

¹³⁷ Chaurasi Vaishnavon Ki Varta, op.cit. p. 460

¹³⁸ Ibid – p. 461

¹³⁹ Ibid – p. 462.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid – p. 463.

accept it and said, “I am nothing to do with this money. I have farming and this is enough for my livelihood.” Then the Raja requested him, that if he wanted, a village would be granted to him.¹⁴¹ Khumbandas replied that he was not a Brahmin and he did not want his grant. Man Singh asked him, who was his Modi (the Shopkeeper from where he purchased, his daily needs). Khumbandas told that his modi were these two trees, from where he got his daily needs (i.e. its fruits and flowers), in both summer and winter.

So, Man Singh was very much impressed by his piety and sacrifice of worldly things. Raja requested him to give him any order so that he might carry out his will Khumbandas told him, not to try to meet him again in future.”¹⁴²

Birbal’s relations with Vithalnath and others

Birbal, one of the trusted nobles of emperor Akbar, was also in close contact with Vithalnath. His relations with Girdharji, one of the sons of Vithalnath were very intimate Birbal helped Vithalnath and his followers in taking over the possession of the shrine of Shri Nathji on Goverdhana hill. Emperor Akbar was also involved in this matter.¹⁴³

Once a father and son, disciples of Vithalnath, who were the collectors of revenue in the imperial service, were, on some mistake, charged a fine of twenty thousand rupees by the emperor Akbar, and Raja Todar Mal imprisoned both of them on this charge.¹⁴⁴ When this news reached Vithalnath, he sent one of his trusted men to Birbal, in

¹⁴¹Ibid – P. 464.

¹⁴²Ibid – P. 465.

¹⁴³Chaurasi Vaisnavon Ki Varta , P. 505.

¹⁴⁴Dau San Bawan Vaishnavon Ki Varta, Part-Ist P. 201.

order to get freedom for his two disciples from the prison.¹⁴⁵ When Birbal came to know about this, he carried twenty thousand rupees from his own pocket and placed before Raja Toder Mal and said, that these rupees were sent by Gosainji as the money of fine, to free these Kayesthas (i.e. his disciples). Toder Mal who was also a disciple of Vithalnath, requested the emperor to free these men, and remitted the fine. The emperor accepted the request of Toder Mal and ordered, those father and son to be freed, and appointed them on the collection of revenue of another pargana.¹⁴⁶

Daughter of Birbal

She was also a disciple of Goswami Vithalnath. Once, Akbar asked Birbal, “How can one achieved Gods blessings,” but Birbal was unable to satisfy the emperor by his answer. Birbal told that problem to her daughter, she suggested he should go to Gosainji and ask him about that.¹⁴⁷ Birbal visited Vithalnath and said all the matter to him. Vithalnath told Birbal to send the emperor to Gokul and he would answer his question.¹⁴⁸ Birbal came back to Agra and conveyed it to the emperor. Next day, the emperor visited Gokul alone and asked his question Vithalnath answered the question to the satisfaction after emperor. He was very pleased by his answer and requested Vithalnath to ask for a gift. Vithalnath asked for a swift horse.¹⁴⁹ The emperor after returning to Agra, ordered Raja Toder Mal to send a fine horse to Vithalnath.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵Ibid – Part –I, p. 203.

¹⁴⁶Ibid – p. 206.

¹⁴⁷Dau Sau Bawan Vaishnavon Ki Varta, op.cit Part-I, p.514.

¹⁴⁸Ibid – p. 515.

¹⁴⁹Ibid – p. 516.

¹⁵⁰Ibid – P. 517.

Raja Toder Mal and Vithalnath:

Raja Toder Mal, Akbar's finance minister, also respected Vithalnath. He also helped him in taking possession of the temple of Shrinathji on Goverdhan hill.¹⁵¹ During his stay at Gokul in (1629 V.S.) Raja Toder Mal paid a visit to Vithalnath.

When in 1576 A.D. Toder Mal alongwith Khan-i-Jahan was deputed by Akbar to lead an expedition against the rebels of Bihar and Bengal,¹⁵² he at first visited Vithalnath at Gokul, for his blessings. Vithalnath gave him a "Pitamber (a sacred piece of cloth), which Toder Mal tied on his head, before he started his journey to Bihar.¹⁵³

Abdur Rahim Khani Khanan:

There is an order of Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, dated 1st Dec. 1588 (11, Moharram A.H. 997) in which it was ordered to the officers of pargana Savi, that they should not prohibit the grazing of cows and oxen belonging to govardhan temple and not levy any charges on the lands, as the village was given in grant.¹⁵⁴

This indicates that Abdur Rahim Khani Khanan also came into contact with Vithalnath and other saints of Pubhtimarga. It is a well known fact that he was also a famous Hindi poet. Abdur Rahman Khani Khanan had friendship with famous poet saint Tulsidas and they each exchanged letters between them.¹⁵⁵ In spite of being a Muslim, he composed poems in praise of Rama and Krishna.

¹⁵¹Chaurasi Vaishnavon Ki Varta, op.cit. p. 506.

¹⁵²Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, vol III, P.P. 181-183 Eng. Trans. Beveridge, p.p. 252-255.

¹⁵³K.M. Jhaveri, Imperial Farmans, Biography of Vithaleshvara, (Back portion).

¹⁵⁴Ibid - Farman no. III-A.

¹⁵⁵Ram Chandra Shukla, Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas, op.cit. p.p. 2123-220, 128-29.

तै रहीम मन आपनो कीनो चारु चकोर ;
निसिबासर लाग्यो रहै कृष्णचंद्र की ओर ।¹⁵⁶

1.5 Akbar and Dadu Dayal:

Dadu, one of the famous saints of 16th century, also came into contact with Akbar. According to *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, he was a contemporary of Akbar.¹⁵⁷ He was born in 1544. A.D. at Ahmadabad.¹⁵⁸ He belonged to the caste of cotton carder of Muslim community and his original name was Dawood, which was later on changed as Dadu.¹⁵⁹

Dadu traveled most of the parts of the country, including, varanasi, Bihar, Bengal etc. After returning from his journey, Dadu settled down at Sambhar and later on at Amber, from these places Dadu started to propagate the doctrines of Bhakti. He became popular from Sambhar. A large number of people started visiting Dadu, to discuss religious issues.¹⁶⁰ The followers of Dadu were called as Dadupanthis. The centre of the sect of Dadupanthis was at Naraina in Rajasthan. Dadu also composed his sayings, which were collected as '*Dadu Dayal Ki Bani.*' Like Kabir, Dadu also rejected religions difference and caste prejudices. He wanted to bring people of different castes and religions at one platform.

¹⁵⁶Mishra Bandhu Vinod, Part I-II, p. 188.

¹⁵⁷Anonymous, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* Eng. Trans. op.cit. p. 253.

¹⁵⁸Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian culture*, op.cit. p.147.

¹⁵⁹Parshuram Chaturvedi, *Uttari Bharat Ki Sant Parampara*, Allahabad, 1951, p. 490.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid* –p.p. 495-98.

Dadu preached the oneness of God and rejected idolatory.

एकै अल्लह राम है । समरथ साई सोई ॥

मैदेके पकवान सब । खाना होई सो होई ॥¹⁶¹

His teachings were full of Divine love.

इस्क अलाह की जाती है । इस्क अलह का अंग ॥

इस्क अलाह आजूद है । इस्क अलह का रंग ॥¹⁶²

Dadu's popularity reached Akbar as he was always keen to meet religious divines of different religions so, he sent his men to invite Dadu at Fatehpur Sikri.

Akbar's meeting with Dadu was narrated by his disciple Jan Gopal, in Dadu's biography, 'Dadu Janm Lila Parichey'. In this context, Jan Gopal says,

जन्म कथा स्वामी की गाई । मिथ्या माने नर्क पराई ॥

झूठा वचन एक नहिं आख्या । जैसा सुना सु तैसा भाख्या ॥¹⁶³

(In telling the life story of my preceptor, I narrated truth only and there is no untruth in it, I have narrated, what I have heard)

The meeting was arranged through the efforts of Raja Bhagwandas of Ambar. When Dadu reached Fatehpur Sikri with his seven disciples, he was welcomed by Raja Bhagwandas, Raja Birbal and Abul Fazl.

¹⁶¹Dadu Dayal Ki Bani, ed. Chandrika Tripathi, Vedic Yantralya, Ajmer, 1909, सुमिरन की अंग p.15.

¹⁶²Ibid – बिरह के अंग, P. 36.

¹⁶³Jan Gopal, Dadu Janm Lila Parichey, Mangal Press, Jaipur, 1949, p.09.

This meeting took place around 1584 A.D. during Akbar's stay at Fatehpur Sikri.¹⁶⁴ Akbar's meeting with Dadu, also described, in 'Sarbandi' of Rajjabdas, one of Dadu's disciple.

अकबर साह बुलाईया । गुर दाद कौ आप।

सांच झुठ ब्योरो हुवौ । तब रहो नांव प्रताप।¹⁶⁵

(King Akbar Shah invited Guru Dadu himself Discussion held on truth and untruth, than superiority of Almighty was established)

It is also said that their discussion on religious issues continued for about forty days.¹⁶⁶ Dadu remained as a guest at Birbal's house, he visited ladies apartments also, on Raja's request, and the ladies of Birbal's house were delighted to meet him. After wards, Akbar bade him fare-well and requested Dadu to accept some gifts, but he refused.¹⁶⁷

1.6 Akbar's Relations with the Jogis of Jakhbar

Jogis are the Brahmin ascetics, followers of the yoga system and who devote themselves to the yoga practices, as laid down in the rules of the system.¹⁶⁸ The practice consists chiefly of long continued suppression of respiration of inhaling and exhaling the breath in a particular manner of sitting in eighty four different postures.¹⁶⁹ They worshipped 'shiva' as their deity. The most important of the yogi sects are Nathpanthis, and the followers of Nathpanth were called

¹⁶⁴ Ibid - p. 56.

¹⁶⁵ The Sarbangi of Rajabdas, ed. S. Iraqi Granthayan, Aligarh, 1985, hymn. No. 6 p. 247.

¹⁶⁶ P.R. Chaturvedi, Uttari Bharat Ki Sant Parampara, op.cit. p. 498.

¹⁶⁷ Dadu Janmlila Parichay, p.60.

¹⁶⁸ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Op.cit. V-12, p.833.

¹⁶⁹ H.H.Wilson, The Religious Sects of the Hindus, op.cit. p. 116.

Kanphata Yogis.¹⁷⁰ They were so called from their peculiar custom of slitting their ears and inserting huge ear rings in the holes. They are also known as Gorakhnathis and Gorakhpantis from their founder Gorakhnath.¹⁷¹

Gorakhnath was an ascetic who established the *Nathyogi* sect in northern India, who traveled from Assam to Peshawar and from Kashmir and Nepal to Maharashtra and far south, and established the centres at many places for the propagation of Nathpanth or Kanphata sect.¹⁷² Gorakhnath was a saint poet of religious literature. He wrote many books in Sanskrit, the most important among them were, *Gorakhsataka*, *Yogsidhanta* etc. *Gorakhbani* is the collection of his composition.¹⁷³

The Kanphata yogis are spread all over India. They have no caste prejudices and freely eat flesh, except beef and pork and also used opium. They bury their dead.¹⁷⁴ They generally believed to be sooth-sayers and sorcerers, and have the power of protecting and curing the children from evil eye. Those who live by begging smear their bodies with ashes and wear a waist cloth. The most important characteristics of Kanphata Yogis, are the huge ear rings, which they wear in their slit ears. These ear rings are generally made of agate, horn or glass, and are conferred on them at the time of initiation.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Dr. Ram Kumar Verma, Hindi Sahitya Ka Alochnatmak Itihas First Pub. 1938, Third ed. Allahabad, 1954, p. 109.

¹⁷¹ Encyclopedia of Religion & Ethics. V-12, p.834.

¹⁷² P.R. Chaturvedi, Uttari Bharat Ki Sant Parampara, p. p. 57,58.

¹⁷³ Ram Kumar Verma, Hindi Sahitya Ka Alochnatmak Itihas, p. 109.

¹⁷⁴ Encyclopedia of Religion & Ethics. Vol.-12, p. 834.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid – p. 835.

The Jogis of Jakhbar

They belonged to the sect of Kanphata Yogis.¹⁷⁶ The village of Jakhbar is situated at the north-western end of Gurdaspur district of the Punjab. Inside the village is the shrine of Jakh, and the houses for jogis.¹⁷⁷ The Jakhbar Gaddi was founded by Udant Nath, also referred to as Pir Bhau Nath. The history of Jakhbar gaddi begins suddenly with the second half of 16th century.

According to the legends at Jakhbar, Udant Nath had miraculous power to fly through space, and he brought a pitcher full of water from the Ganges every day for his guru's bathing. Once through his occult power, he miraculously transferred a 'ber' tree from Mecca to this place to satisfy the sudden craving of emperor Akbar. These events may be the cause of relationship between Akbar and Udant Nath. At Jakhbar one can hear a number of stories that tell the deep reverence in which Udant Nath was held by Akbar.

The first grant appears to have been made in name of Udant Nath, by Akbar in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571) of 200 bighas of land. This first grant, was a small village of Bhoa, where Udant Nath lived. But this grant proved to be ill-fated, as it was situated near the bank of river Ravi, and was submerged under water after the occurrence of a flood.¹⁷⁸

The *farman* issued by Akbar on November 11th, A.D. 1581 (14th Shawwal 989 A.H.) in the name of jogi Udant Nath by way of inam. There is also, the reference of the previous grant made on (25th

¹⁷⁶ B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, -The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, Shimla, 1967, p. 4.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid – p. 1, 2.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid – p.p. 6,7.

Jamadi-ul-awwal, A.H. 979), Oct. 15, 1571 A.D. of 200 bighas of land, in the name of Udant Nath. As 50 bighas of land by a previous grant was submerged under water, so another 50 bighas of land in lieu of that, was granted to him. There is also the reference of the presence of Udant Nath, at the imperial Court on November 2, 1581 A.D. (5th Shawwal 989 A.H.).¹⁷⁹

Akbar further granted him 100 bighas of land in the 41st regnal year by way of *madad-i-maash*. This was the period, when Akbar ordered, for an investigation of the grants of *madad-i-maash* land, but the case of Jakhbar jogis was reconsidered, and on the proposal of Abul Fazl 78 bighas of land, granted to the jogi Udant nath & others in the old Mahal on the recommendation of Miran Sadr-i-Jahan, the *Sadr-us-Sudur*.¹⁸⁰

There was an order to the present and future, Hakims, Āmils, Karoris and jagirdars of those Mahals, that they should not molest the grantee on account of different imperial imposts. On the reverse side of the farman, there are seals of ---Khan, dated A.D. 1584-85 (A.H. 993), kokah Mirza Khan, the murid of Akbar Padshah, A.D. 1592-93 (A.H. 1001), Nazr Ali, son of Hussain on 24th day of Bahman, (41th regnal year), and, the slave Kamal uddin Hussain, dated 17 Bahman of 41 regnal year.¹⁸¹

The information in the farman indicates that Abdul Fazl Mirza Aziz Kokah and Miran Sadr Jahan also came into contact with Udant

¹⁷⁹ Ibid – p.p. 49,50,51,52.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid – p. 60.

¹⁸¹ Ibid – p. 63.

Nath, and they all held him in high esteem as the recommendations of Abul Fazl and Miran Sadri Jahan Suggests.

1.7 Akbar's Relations with Jain Saints

Abul Fazl, while discussing the dignitaries of various religions assembled at 'Ibadat Khana' (house of worship) for taking part in religious debate, referred to Jain,¹⁸² as Jati¹⁸³ and Saira¹⁸⁴ (i.e. Svetambara). The names of Jaina monks, attached to the Mughal Court are given by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Abari*, in the list of learned men of the age. They are, Hirji Sur (i.e. Hiravijaya Suri)¹⁸⁵ at no. 16, in the first category among those who understand the mysteries of both the worlds. Bijaya Sen Sur (Vijayasena Suri) at no. 139 and Bhanu Chand at no. 140, in the 5th Category, of those who understand sciences, resting on testimony.¹⁸⁶

Hira Vijaya Suri at Akbar's Court

Hira Vijaya Suri was the Supreme leader of 'Tapa gaccha' branch of Svetambara sect. He was born at the ancient town of Palanpur of Gujarat. His father died when he was still a child. Under the discipleship of Vijayadeva Suri, he received the status of an 'acharya' in 1554. In 1556 he succeeded his master and became the head of the Jain community.¹⁸⁷ As Akbar was always eager to meet the high personalities of different religions, so once he enquired his nobles who had returned from Gujarat, whether they had seen, any of the saint, who was austere, free from all desires, dispassionate, and

¹⁸² Abul Fazl, *Akbaruama*, op.cit. vol-III, p. 53, Eng. Trans. p.365.

¹⁸³ *Ain –Akbari*, op.cit. vol-III, Eng. Trans. p. 205.

¹⁸⁴ *Akbarnama*, op.cit. vol-I, p. 53, Eng. Trans. p.147.

¹⁸⁵ *Ain-Akbari*, op.cit. vol.- I p. 608.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid* – p. 617.

¹⁸⁷ M.S. Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1957 Vol-II, p. 229.

who had subdued his senses. They replied that a Jaina priest named Hira Vijaya Suri, possessed all these qualities. Akbar sent a *farman* to Shahabuddin Khan, the Governar of Gujarat, asking him to request the jaina monk to visit Agra to meet him.¹⁸⁸

Hira Vijaya Suri accepted the imperial invitation and reached Agra during the summer of 1582. Akbar received the jain acharya warmly and was very impressed by his discourse on different aspects of religion. Akbar, then offered the acharya a number of Sanskrit books, and requested him, to ask anything he request. Suri asked the emperor to prohibit the slaughter of animals during the 8 days of Paryusana festival.¹⁸⁹ So, Akbar issued a *farman* in this connection dated 6th June 1584 A.D. (7th Jamadius Sani 992 A.H.) to the effect that his officials in Malwa, should not to allow the slaughter of animals during 12 days of the month Bhadon, i.e. the Jaina festival of Paryusana (which was held by gains as sacred) in the cities where the Jains resided.¹⁹⁰ It also appears from the inscription at Satrunjaya near Palitana in Gujarat, that by the persuasion of Hiravijaya Suri, Akbar issued an edict in 1582-83 A.D. (V.S. 1639), forbidding the slaughter of animal for six month, and to abolish the confiscation of the property of the deceased persons, the ‘Sujiya’ tax and ‘sulk’, (jiziya tax and levy), to set free the captives of near, snared brids and animals, and to present Satrunjaya hill, to the Jains and to establish a

¹⁸⁸ Siddhi Chandra Upadhaya, Bhanu Chandra Charita ed. by Mohan lal Dalichand Desai, Pub. Singhi Jain Granthmal, Ahmadabad. Culcutta, 1941, p. 25.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid – P. 26.

¹⁹⁰ J. Malcom. A Memour of Central India & Malwa, London, 1832, vol-II, p.164 and Bhann Chandra Charita, Appendix II, p.p. 77-78.

Jain library.¹⁹¹ It is also said that Akbar conferred the title of Jagad Guru (world leader) on Hiravijaya Suri.¹⁹²

After four years of his stay at the Mughal Court, Hiravijaya Suri took leave from the emperor and went back to Gujarat in 1558, leaving behind his pupil Shantichandra at the Court.¹⁹³

Shantichandra

He wrote a panegyric on emperor Akbar, in Sanskrit with the title of '*Krparasa-kosa*' (treasury of the merciful deeds of the emperor). He frequently recited the verses of this work in the presence of Akbar. Shantichandra left for Gujarat in 1587 A.D., and left Bhanuchandra at the Mughal Court.¹⁹⁴

Suri sent one of his most prominent and learned pupils, Bhanuchandra to the Mughal Court.¹⁹⁵ He reached the Mughal Court, when Akbar was at Lahore in 1586.¹⁹⁶ Bhanuchandra was a learned man and had mastery over jaina scriptures. He was regarded as the crowning jewel of 'Tapa gaccha.' His personality and knowledge impressed Akbar profoundly.¹⁹⁷ Akbar requested him to visit the Court everyday. Abul Fazl was deeply attached with him, as the monk taught him philosophy.¹⁹⁸ During his stay at the court, Bhanuchandra, distinguished himself for his extra ordinary intellectual attainments. He composed a commentary on one thousand names of the Sun, which

¹⁹¹ G. Buhler, Epigraphia Indica, .vol-II, Delhi 1970. Klatt No. 58, Verse, 14-24, p. 38.

¹⁹² c.f., V.A. Smith, Akbar-The Great Mogul, S.Chand & Co. Ltd., Delhi, 1966. p. 119

¹⁹³ Bhannchudra Charita, op.cit. p. 27.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid – p. 8.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid – p. 27.

¹⁹⁶ M.S. Commissariat, op.cit. p. 233.

¹⁹⁷ Bhanuchandra charita, op.cit. p. 27.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid – p. 28.

Akbar repeated with him, when he entered the court every day.¹⁹⁹ Badaoni also tells us about this practice of Akbar.²⁰⁰

When news arrived from Gujarat, of the victory of Mirza Aziz Koka, over the army of Jam Satrasal,²⁰¹ Akbar was much delighted, and offered a ‘purnapatra’ (a box filled with costly items), to Bhanuchandra, but he instead of accepting the gift, requested the emperor to release the prisoners of war in Saurashtra. Akbar accepted his request and issued an order to this effect to the officials of Gujarat.²⁰²

There was no halting place for Jain monks in the city of Lahore. As Bhanuchandra used to visit the court daily, one day he was very late to reach the court, the emperor asked him the reason of his being late. He replied, that his residence was far from the court, so, he came late. Ultimately, Akbar granted a piece of land (within the Lahore fort). A magnificent temple was built there together with living rooms for the monks.²⁰³ Akbar impressed by Bhanuchandra’s knowledge and simplicity, bestowed the title ‘Upadhaya,’ on him, by the confirmation of Hiravijaya Suri.²⁰⁴ During Akbar’s second visit to Kashmir in 1592, Bhanuchandra also accompanied him, there he pleased the emperor to abolish the tax levied on pilgrims on Satrunjaya hill. Akbar accepting the request, issued a *farman* to this effect, to the governor of Gujarat, that no tax should be levied on any

¹⁹⁹ Ibid – p. 89.

²⁰⁰ Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh, op.cit. Eng. Trans, vol-II, p. 332.

²⁰¹ Akbarnama, op.cit. Vol-III, p.p. 593-95, Eng. Trans 902-906.

²⁰² Bhanuchand charita, op.cit. p. 30.

²⁰³ Ibid – p. 30.

²⁰⁴ Ibid – p.33.

member of jain community visiting Satrunjaya.²⁰⁵ The firman issued on the date 28th Muharram 999 A.H. (1591 A.D.), ordering the governor to pay respect to Hiravijaya Suri and other jains, and allowed their temples to be repaired and rebuilt.²⁰⁶ Once Akbar asked from a leading jain, named Durjansalya, whom Hiravijaya Suri had appointed as his successor. He replied, that, vijayasena Suri, a great ascetic was appointed as successor. So, Akbar, invited him at the Court.²⁰⁷ Vajayasena Suri,²⁰⁸ in response to the royal order, reached the Mughal court at Lahore on 31st May 1593 along with his disciples. He was received by Abul Fazl and Bhanuchandra. He visited Akbar many times. On one occasion, his disciple Nandvijaya performed 8 avdhans (attending 8 things at a time). Akbar was highly impressed, and conferred on Nandvijaya, the title of *Khushfaham* (a man of sharp intellect).²⁰⁹

Some people complained the emperor that Jains did not believe in God. So, Akbar called upon vijayasena Suri, and a debate was held at the court, in which Suri, ceiting the jaina scriptures, proved that the charge against the Jainas, was baseless.²¹⁰ According to an inscription of Palitana in Gujarat, Vijaya Sena Suri also persuaded, Akbar to prohibit the cow slaughter and to repeal the law of confiscating the property of the persons who had died issueless, and also prohibit the capture of war prisoners.²¹¹ When the title of ‘Upadhaya’ was

²⁰⁵ Ibid – P.P. 34, 35.

²⁰⁶ Ibid – Appendix – II, P.P. 78, 79.

²⁰⁷ Ibid – P. 38.

²⁰⁸ Vijaya Sena Sura was born in 1548 in Marwar and become a charya in 1572 at Ahmadabad. Under his leadership, jains doctrines spread rapidly and a number of temples were erected (M.S. Commisariat. Opat. P. 236, f.n.-18).

²⁰⁹ Bhanuchand charita, P. 38.

²¹⁰ Ibid – P. 10.

²¹¹ G. Buhler, Jain Inscriptions from Satrunjaya, Epigraphia Indica, op.cit, vol-II, p. 38.

conferred on Bhanu Chandra, by Vijayasena Suri, on the request of Akbar, the ceremony was celebrated with great rejoicing and Abul Fazl personally gave horses, coconut and silver coins in charity.²¹² Vijayasena Suri left the Mughal Court in 1596 A.D. leaving his pupils nand Vijaya at the Court.²¹³ Once, Hiravijaya Suri sent two of his learned pupils, Bhavachandra and Siddhichandra to the Mughal court. Siddhichandra was a handsome man and had a profound knowledge of Sanskrit. He performed 108 *Avadhanas* (attending 108 things at a time). Akbar, being very impressed by his marvelous feat of memory, conferred on him the title of ‘*Khushfaham*’ (a man of sharp intellect).²¹⁴ When Hira Vijaya Suri died in September 1595. A.D., at Una in Saurashtra, Akbar granted a piece of land for the erection of a stupa, where the jain monk was cremated.²¹⁵

In 1597, Akbar started for the third visit to Kashmir.²¹⁶ In this journey, Bhanu Chandra and Siddhi Chandra, also accompanied the emperor.²¹⁷ In Kashmir, during one of the hunting expeditions, Akbar was seriously wounded, as the horn of an antelope, had got penetrated deep in his thigh.²¹⁸ During these days of his illness, only Abul Fazl and Bhanuchandra, enjoyed full confidence of the emperor and were allowed to visit him.²¹⁹ After his recovery from the illness, Akbar gave 500 cows in charity meant for distribution at various halting places of the jaina monks.²²⁰ In Saurashtra, Mirza Khurram, son of Mirza Aziz

²¹² Bhanuchandra Charita, p. 10.

²¹³ Ibid – p. 10.

²¹⁴ Ibid – p. 40.

²¹⁵ Ibid – p. 41 and (f.n. 58)..

²¹⁶ Akbarnama, op.cit. Vol-III, p. 1082-83.

²¹⁷ Ibid – p. 10.

²¹⁸ Akbarnama, op.cit. vol-III, p. 1061-1063.

²¹⁹ Bhannuchandra Charita, op.cit. p. 42.

²²⁰ Ibid – p. 42.

Koka was appointed the faujdar of Junagarh in 1600-1601. There was a threat of demolition of a Jain temple at Mount Satrunjaya. Vijayasen Suri sent a letter to Siddhi Chandra. Siddhichandra, through his personal influence, persuaded Akbar, and got a *farman* for the protection of the temple.²²¹

Akbar also came into contact with the Jain monks of Kharatara gaccha (another branch of Svetambara jains). It is stated in an inscription on Satrunjaya, that Jainachandra Suri of this branch, received the title of ‘*yogapradhan*’ from Akbar and obtained a *fairman*, to the effect that not a single living being should be killed during 8 days in that region.²²² He also received a new *farman* prohibiting animal slaughter, during 7 days of Purysana festival.²²³ Another Jain monk of this branch (i.e. Kharatara gaccha), Jainasimha Suri Alias Mansingh, also persuaded, emperor Akbar to stop killing of aquatic animals for a year, and also obtained a *farman*, to prohibit animal slaughter in Srinagar, Golkunda, Ghazni and other countries.²²⁴

When Salim (later Jahangir) revolted in 1601, and appointed his viceroy in Gujarat, difficulties arose in connection with the order (issued previously by Akbar) prohibiting animals slaughter and abolishing pilgrimage taxes. Siddichandra receiving the news, brought these happenings to the emperor’s knowledge. So, Akbar issued a *farman* in 1601, with the Nishan of Prince Salim confirming the earlier order in favour of the jains.²²⁵

²²¹ Ibid – p. 46.

²²² Epigraphia Indica, op.cit, vol-II. No. 24, P. 37.

²²³ Bhanuchandra charita, op.cit. Appendix-II, p.p. 10, 81-82.

²²⁴ Epigraphia Indica, vol-II, No. 25, p. 37.

²²⁵ Bhanuchandracharita, op.cit. p.p. 46, 47 and Appendix, p.p. 79-81.

1.8 Akbar and Baba Bilas

It was in the beginning of 959 A.H. (end of December 1551 A.D.) that Akbar was sent to Ghazni by his father Humayun.²²⁶ As Abul Fazl says, at that time there was a hermit Baba Bilas in Ghazni. He lived in a cell, with continuous spiritual meditation, and ardent eagerness to know God. Akbar frequently used to visit the hermitage of Baba Bilas and seek his blessings. On one of his visit, Baba Bilas, blessed Akbar for a long life, and also congratulated him for his future kingship.²²⁷ Abul Fazl included Baba Bilas, in the second category of learned men at Number 26, who understood the mysteries of the heart.²²⁸

Akbar's visit to the shrine of Balnath Jogi

It was during the 26th regnal year, in (989 A.H.) March 1581, A.D. Akbar visited Punjab.²²⁹ During this journey, Akbar visited the shrine of Balnath jogi, situated on a high mountain near Rohtas. This was the place of prayer of Balnath Jogi, who was considered as the younger brother of Ramchandra. He selected this place to subdue his passions.²³⁰

1.9 Akbar and Jadrup Gosain

Abul Fazl, in the Ain-i-Akbari included Jadup, in the second category at number 36, of those who understand the mysteries of the heart.²³¹ Gosain Jadrup, according to the *Dabistan-iMazahib*, was the son of a wealthy Brahman jeweller of Gujarat. Jadrup, involved in the deep worship of God left his parents wife and children and became a

²²⁶ Akbarnama op.cit vol- III p. 322. Eng. Trans., p.596.

²²⁷ Ibid – p. 322, Eng. Trans. p. 597.

²²⁸ Ain-i-akbari, op.cit. vol-I, Eng. Trans., p. 608.

²²⁹ Akbarnama., op.cit vol-III, p. 347, Eng. Trans., p. 510.

²³⁰ Ibid– p. 350, Eng. Trans. p.p. 513-514.

²³¹ Ain-i-Akbar, op.cit. vol– I, Eng. Trans., p. 609.

sanyasi i.e. hermit. He gained great reputation in holding of his breath.²³²

Jahangir informs us, that Akbar, came into contact with Jadrup Gosain at Ujjain, on his return journey to the Capital of Agra, after the annexation of Khandesh in 1601.²³³ (The detailed account on Jadrup, will be in subsequent chapter on Jahangir).

Akbar and Ganga Rishi

In the 42nd regnal year, i.e. during 1597 A.D a saint from Kashmir, named Ganga Rishi came to the court on the invitation of Akbar. He was received by Akbar warmly and he had discussion with him.²³⁴

1.10 Akbar and the Goswamis of Chaitanya Sect

Chaitany and his Sampradaya

Chaitanya was the founder of another school of Krishna bhakti (i.e. Gaudiya Sampradaya) Chaitanya was born in 1485 A.D. in the town of Navadip in the district of Nadia of Bengal, in a Brahman family.²³⁵ He was given education in Sanskrit, grammar and logic.²³⁶ He took the profession of a teacher at a young age, and as a scholar he surpassed other pandits of the place.²³⁷

²³² Anonymous, Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Nawal Kishore, Kanpur, 1904, p. 185.

²³³ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.176 Eng. Trans. Rogers & Beveridge, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, N. Delhi, 1978, part-I, p.p. 356-57.

²³⁴ Akbarnama, op.cit. vol-III, Eng. Trans. p. 1092.

²³⁵ Krishnadas Kaviraj, Chaitanya Charitamrita Eng. Trans by J.N. Sarkar, Chaitanya's life and teachings Calcutta, 1932, introduction, p IX.

²³⁶ Ibid – p. X.

²³⁷ Ibid – p. X.

Chaitanya married twice. At the age of 24 years, Chaitanya took Sannyas, (renounced the world) and left his home.²³⁸ He traveled all over the country including Orissa, South. India, Vrandavan etc.²³⁹ Chaitanya stayed at Puri, which he made his permanent residence. He died in 1533 A.D. at the age of 48 years.²⁴⁰ Chaitanya throughout his mendicant life preached the love of Krishna, the only way of salvation, through *bhakti*. He was believed himself to be incarnation of Krishna, in whom the divinity manifested him self in order to save the world by preaching the true faith.²⁴¹ Chaitanya left six of his disciples at Vrindavan to carry on his mission. Most prominent among them were Advaita, Nityananda, and Rup Gaswami, Sanatan and Jiv Goswami.

These two, Rup and Sanatan and their nephew Jiv, were great Sanskrit scholars, and they wrote many philosophical and devotional works and commentaries in Sanskrit.²⁴² The credit of the establishment of modern Vrandavan and its development into the centre of Gaudiya Vaishnavism goes to these Goswamis, i.e. Rup and Sanatan.²⁴³ The temples were built there, in Samvat 1617, i.e. 1590 A.D. under the direction of these two gurus.²⁴⁴

Relations with Akbar

The Goswamis of Chaitanya sect also attracted the attention of emperor Akbar. It is stated in Nabhadass's *Bhaktamal*, that the

²³⁸ Ibid – p. X.

²³⁹ Ibid – p. XIII.

²⁴⁰ Ibid – p. XIII.

²⁴¹ Encyclopedia of Religion & Ethics, op.cit. vol-3, p. 334.

²⁴² Chaitanya Charitamrita, op.cit. p. XIV.

²⁴³ Growse, Mathura, A District Memoir, op.cit. p. 50.

²⁴⁴ Ibid – p. 224.

popularity of Jiv Goswami's learning and piety also reached Akbar. So, he invited Goswami to Agra for discussion on religion. On the request of Akbar Jiv Goswami ordered the emperor to build a library at Virindavan in which the religious scriptures like Vedas, Puranas, Smriti, Shastras were preserved. In compliance of the monks, order, Akbar built a library there.²⁴⁵

This Jiv Goswami²⁴⁶ in 1568, Todar Mal, reported to emperor Akbar, that Jiv Gosain was poor worshipful man.²⁴⁷ So, a *farman* was issued on the representation of Todar Mal, in favour of Jiv Gosain. The *farman* is dated 14 Rabi II, 976 A.H. 16 October 1568 A.D. The *farman* stated, that "Jiv Gosain, a poor man praying for His Majesty, needed to be protected in his right of management of the two temples of Madan Mohan Gobind Rai (Gobind Dev). He was assured by the *farman* of such protection, and further, of the right of claim offerings, at the temples and to transfer or will away such right."²⁴⁸

Akbar made a large number of land grants, in the name of the priests of the temples of Mathura and Virindavan. In 1565 A.D/972 A.H. Akbar issued a *farman* of 200 bighas of land in the village of Virindavan, as 'inam' (revenue free gift), in the name of Gopal Das the servant of Madan Mohan Temple.²⁴⁹ This grant was made on the recommendation of Raja Bhar Mal Kacchwaha, ruler of Amer. This is stated on the reserve side of the *farman* of 1565 A.D/972 A.H.²⁵⁰ In

²⁴⁵ Nabhadass, Bhaktamal, op.cit. p. 612.

²⁴⁶ Irfan Habib, A Documentary History of the Gosains of The Chaitanya Sect at Virindavan in Govindadeva, A Dialogue in Stone, ed. by Margaret, H. Case. N. Delhi, 1996, p. 144.

²⁴⁷ Ibid – p.144.

²⁴⁸ T. Mukherjee and Irfan Habib, Akbar and the Temples of Mathura and its Environs. I.H.C. Panjim, 1987, p. 236.

²⁴⁹ Irfan Habib, A Documentary History of Gosain's of Chartanya Sect. op.cit. p.140.

²⁵⁰ T. Mukherjee and Irfan Habib, op.cit., p. 236.

1584 April-May A.D/Rabi II 992 A.H, Gopal Das received 100 bighas of land in village Rajapura (near Virandavan), as *Khairat* (charity) from Raja Todar Mal. He was described in the parwana as servant of ‘devala’ (temple) of Sri Madan Mohan.²⁵¹

In 1576 A.D, Akbar issued a *farman* of 30 bighas of land in pargana Mahaban, in the name of Bhagwan Das son of Gopal.²⁵²

During 1568-69 A.D/976 A.D, Akbar issued a *farman* to Madhav Ray or Madha Bengali, granting 100 bighas of land in village Rajapura.²⁵³

On 9th October 1575A.D/4 Rajab 983A.H, Akbar granted, 70 bighas of land in the name of chain Gopal, on the recommendation of Shahbaz Khan, the *Mir Bakhshi*, in the village Lomakangar in *pargana* Mathura.²⁵⁴ Soon afterwards, on the report of Shahbaz Khan, a *farman* was issued by Akbar, in Shawwal 983 A.H/January 1576, conferring, grants of 320 *bighas* of land on five persons.

The grants were located in villages Dosaj and Dholera. These grants were for five temples, namely Madan Mohan, Gobind Rai, Gopinath, Radha Ballabh and Nandnandan.²⁵⁵

On the 16 January 1580 A.D/28 Ziqada 987 A.H. on the report of Raja Birbal, Akbar issued a *farman*, granting 100 bighas of land to Ramdas in village Gatoli, *pargana* Sahar. By 1580 A.D. seven temples

²⁵¹ Ibid – p.p. 235-36.

²⁵² Irfan Habib – A Documentary History of Gasains, op.cit. p. 134.

²⁵³ Ibid – p. 150.

²⁵⁴ T. Mukharji & Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.237.

²⁵⁵ Ibid – p. 238.

of Mathura had become beneficiaries of Imperial grants of tax-free lands.²⁵⁶

In 1598, Akbar ordered Abul Fazl, to enquire into the merits of the different temples of Mathura, Vrindaban, Govardhan, Nandgram, etc. and propose what grant would be appropriate for each temple. Abul Fazl was assigned the assistance of four Brahmins, namely Bhattacharya, Chintamani Bhat, Upendra Misra and Bhat Pandit, who were supposed to have special knowledge about Mathura.²⁵⁷

These proposals were put before Akbar on 15 August 1598. The proposals put to Akbar were made in three categories, presumably high, medium and low scheme. Akbar accepted the medium level scheme. The proposals were in two parts. The first part dealt with the existing grants.²⁵⁸ The second part consisted of additional grants, proposed for twenty eight other temples. The total grant proposed was 500 *bighas Ilahi*, half in cultivated land and half in waste.

The temples were finally put into seven groups, and separate *farmans* were prepared for each group. All *farmans* were issued on 4th Shahriwar 43/25 August 1598A.D. while the *farman* to the group of Govind dev temple was issued on 19 Shahriwar 43/9 September 1598 A.D.²⁵⁹ The document shows, that, the *farmans*, as having been prepared on the report (ba-risala) of Azam Khan (Akbari) foster brother, of Mirza Aziz Koka) than the *Vakil* (the minister highest in status), at the court, and during the *chauki* (watch) of one of Akbar's

²⁵⁶ Ibid – p. 238.

²⁵⁷ Ibid – p.239.

²⁵⁸ Ibid – p. 239.

²⁵⁹ Ibid – p. 240.

favourite officers Ramdas Kachhwaha. One document contains Azam Khan's seal and also bears the seal of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan.²⁶⁰

Akbar's grand noble, Raja Man Singh also, rebuilt the Govinda Dev temple of Vrindaban in 1590 A.D. There is an inscription on the temple bearing the date, etc.²⁶¹

1.11 Akbar's Relations with the Parsis (Zoroastarians)

Abdul Qadir Badaoni, in his *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, has referred to the presence of Parsis at Akbar's court. Since, the main object of their worship is fire, so in this context, during 986 A.H./1578 A.D. he says, "ire worshippers also had come from Navasari in Gujarat and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them, the religious terms and sites of the Parsis and ordered, Abul Fazl to make arrangements that the sacred fire should be kept burning at the court day and night, according to the customs of "ancient Persian kings, in whose fire temples it had been continually brining." ²⁶²

Abul Fazl, in Akbarnama, while discussing the inmates of Ibadat Khana, beside the presence of other religions divines, referred to Zoroastarians, who also joined the assembly and took part in religious discussion.²⁶³ As the influence of Parsis on Akbar was considerable, n

²⁶⁰ Ibid – p. 241.

²⁶¹ Growse, Mathura a District Memoir, p.p. 241-50.

²⁶² Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Mutakhab-ul-Tanlarikh, vol-II, p.261, Eng.trans. by Lowe, vol-pp.268-69.

²⁶³ Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, vol-III, p. 253, Eng. Trans. By vol-III, p. 365.

the year 988 A.H/1580-81 A.D, along with fourteen other festivals, he also introduced the festival of Parsis at the Court.²⁶⁴

In this context, Abul Fazl also says that, when His Majesty (Akbar) was informed of the feast of Jamshed and the festivals of Parsee priests, he adopted them and followed the custom of ancient Parsees, and greatest among them was Naurz, or new year feast.²⁶⁵

One of the prominent and learned Parsi priest, Dastur Meherji Rana, visited the Mughal Court at the invitation of Akbar and taught him, the Parsi doctrines.

Akbar granted a piece of 200 *bighas* of land to Meherji Rana, in Navasari, Gujarat. The original farman does not exist. Later on Akbar granted 100 *bighas* of land, to his son Dastur Kaikobad, with the continuation of previous grant to his father.²⁶⁶

The first *farman* of Akbar to Meherji Rana's son, Dastur Kaikobad, was issued on, 10 Isfandarmuz, 40th Ilahi year (regal year) corresponding to 14th February 1596 A.D. The *farman* states, that 300 *bighas* of land, measured by Ilahi gaz, together with palm and date trees etc, situated in the town of Navasari of Sarkar, Surat, has been conferred upon Parsi Kaikobad, son of Mahyar, as *madad-i-māash*. It has been endorsed in the *risala* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl. It bears the seal of Akbar on the top.²⁶⁷

In 48th regal year, 2 Mihr, corresponding to 15 September 1603A.D, by the second *farman* Akbar granted 300 *bighas* of land to

²⁶⁴ Badaoni, op.cit. vol-II, p306, Eng. Trans., vol-II, p.316.

²⁶⁵ Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, vol-I, Eng. Trans. by Blochmann, p.276.

²⁶⁶ J.J.Modi, The Parsis at the court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana, Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.

²⁶⁷ Ibid – p.93.

Dastur Kaikobad son of Mahyar, in the town of Navasari, Sarkar Surat. It bears the seal of Akbar on the top. ²⁶⁸ A third document, a *perwanchah*, relating to the grant of land by virtue of the two farmans. It was the order of Khan-i-Khanan Mirza Khan Bahadur Sipah Salar. It is dated, 1st Irfandarmuz, 48th Ilahiyear, corresponding to 9th February 1604 A.D. ²⁶⁹ Akbar of Kirman from Persia for helping Mir Jamaluddin (the compiler) in the preparation of a great lexicon. This dictionary was completed in the reign of Jahangir in 1608 with the title, *Farhang-i-Jahangiri*. ²⁷⁰

The author of *Dabirtan-i-Mazahib*, informansus that, Akbar also invited to his court, a distinguished Parsi sage, Dastur Azar Kaivan, the head of the Yazdanian sect of Persia. Who, later on settled at Patna. ²⁷¹

1.12 Akbar and the Goswamis of Jangam Bari Math of Benaras

The Goswamis of Jangam Bari Math of Benaras belonged to the Shaivite sect of south India. This sect had various Shiva Temples at benaras, Arial, Piryag and Gaya. Since its foundation during sixth century A.D., this ancient Math has been enjoying imperial grants and favours. The oldest document of land grant to this math was made by a Hindu Raja, Jainanad Deo, ruler of Kashi in V.S. 631/574 A.D. of 800 paces of land in favour of its head priest Malik Arjun Jangam. ²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Ibid – p.119.

²⁶⁹ Ibid – p.119.

²⁷⁰ Ibid – p. 134.

²⁷¹ Dabistan-i-Mazahib-op.cit. p.7.

²⁷² Jalaluddin, Some Important Farmans and Sanads of Medieval period in the institutions of U.P., in Studies in Islam vol-XI, No. 1, January 1978, p.46.

Malik Arjun Jangam was the title of the head priest of this Math.²⁷³ This Math attracted the attention of emperor Akbar during 1566 A.D. Akbar issued a *farman* dated 973 A.H./1565-66 A.D. granting 480 *bighas* of land in the name of Arjun Jangam the head priest. The *farman* of Akbar, addressed to the *diwans*, *amils*, *chaudhris* and *qaungoes* of Sarkar Haveli Benaras, confirms Arjun Jangam in possession of 480 *bighas of cultivated* land previously held by him as *madad-i-māash* in the *mahal* of aforesaid Sarkar. It asks the addressees to hand over possession of the land to the grantee and instructs them not to demand *mal-o-jihat*, *ikhrājat* and the *awārizāt* like *qunlugha* and *peshkash*. It bears the *sarnama* Huwal Ghani on the top and seal 971 A.H.²⁷⁴

It was reported to Akbar that Jangam priests were harassed by the local people of Prayag and Arial. So, Akbar issued a *farman* dated Zilqada 982 A.H./February-March 1575 A.D., ordering the *gumashtās* of Hakim and Shiqdar and *Mutasaddis* of *Qasba* Prayag and Arial, that Rajpur Dev and associates of jangam, residents of this *Qasba*, owned two *gumbads*, one in Prayag and other in Arial, in addition to a garden. They have submitted that some of the inhabitants of that place were harassing them. It is ordered that the addressees (officials) should take necessary action, so that miscreants do not disturb them (grantees).²⁷⁵

There is another document related to Jangams, which is undated. It contains an inquiry made by Mughal officials, pertaining to the *madad-i-māash* grants. This document, was most probably issued

²⁷³ Ibid – p. 47.

²⁷⁴ S.A.I. Tirmizi, Mughal Documents (1526-1627), Manohar, Delhi, 1989, p. 49.

²⁷⁵ Ibid – p. 53.

some times after 1578 A.D. when Akbar ordered the investigation of 'Aima' land, ²⁷⁶ by a *farman* of 27 Rabi II 986 A.H./3 July 1578 A.D. ²⁷⁷

This document certifies that 178, *bighas* of land was in possession of Malik Arjun Jangam of Benaras. In all the Sanads the name, Malik Arjun is written. Now when Rai Baruna Karori was investigating the holdings of 'aima', he was very much surprised to find that in all the documents of the earlier rulers and that of the officers of the emperor, the name Malik Arjun Jangam was mentioned.

The body of Jangams explained that in their sect, the elder, who became the successor of Arjun, being Mutawalli, was called Malik Arjun, who collected all the offerings of the Badshah (saint) and other gains from different quarters and distributed them among the sect. As the Qazi, the Mufti, the citizens and the followers have testified that they (officers) had left the above mentioned land in possession of Malik Arjun Jangam, according to the instructions of the *farman* these few lines have been written as testimony, so that it may be relied upon. It bears as illegible seal and the surname *Huwal Akbar*.²⁷⁸

1.13 Akbar's Grant to the Pushkar Lake

Pushkar was regarded as one of the most sacred lake in India,²⁷⁹ of ritual bathing and an established place of prayer of Hindus,²⁸⁰ situated in Rajasthan.

²⁷⁶ Aamma, (Muslim) revenue grantees, C.F. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, N.Delhi, 2008, p.342 & f.n.5.

²⁷⁷ S.A.I.Tirmizi, *op.cit.* – p. 46.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid* – p. 61.

²⁷⁹ James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol-I, N. Delhi, 2001, p. 662.

²⁸⁰ Tuzuk, Eng. Trans. vol-I, p.254.

Akbar recognized its sanctity and when he was returning from Ajmer during 1570 A.D, he issued a *farman* dated *Ramzan* 977 A.H/ February 1570, in favour of the residents of Pushkar, ordering his officials, *Hukkam*, *Jagirdars*, not to interfere and not to cause any hindrance and let the residents (of the place) to perform their work easily.²⁸¹ (i.e. in their worship).

1.14 Akbar and Sant Das Gosain

There is a *Sanad* issued in the name of Sant Das Gosain dated 15th Phagun 1641 V.S/1585 A.D of the reign of Akbar, granting one Kita gachh, in the village of Ekda, Tappa Bhagwan, Pargana Powakhali, from Raja Mukund Ram Sen with his seal.²⁸²

²⁸¹ Abdul Bari Mani, *Asnad-ud-Sanadidd*, Ajmer 1952, p.139.

²⁸² K.K.Datta, *Some Farmans, Sanads and Parwanas (1578-1802 A.D)*, State Central Records Office, Political Department, Bihar, Patna, 1962. Doc. No. 352, p.81.

JAHANGIR'S RELATION WITH NON-SUFI SAINTS

Jahangir was a man of cosmopolitan nature. He was a learned scholar and proficient in many languages. In Persian literature he surpassed his contemporaries. Like his great grand father, Babur, he wrote his autobiography in Persian. He was a naturalist and simultaneously was a student of comparative study of religions. In his Memoirs, he wrote extensively about the beliefs and customs of the Hindus.¹ Like his father, he was liberal in his religious outlook. He was the son of a Rajput princess, Man Bai, the daughter of Raja Bharamal Kachhwaha of Amber.² He celebrated the festivals of Hindus and Parsees.

Jahangir in his Memoirs, informs about the Hindu festivals, celebrated at this court with great éclat and rejoicing. He celebrated the festival of Rakhi, and ordered the Hindu Amirs and heads of the castes to bind '*rakhi*' on his arms.³ He also celebrated the '*Diwali*' festival, and took part in gambling with his attendants, which continued for three nights.⁴ The festival of 'Holi',⁵ and 'Dussehra', were duly celebrated at the court. There is a Painting of Jahangir by Govardhan (C.1615-25 A.D) playing *Holi*, Festival).⁶ On the day of Dussehra, decorated horses and elephants were brought before Jahangir as per the custom.⁷

¹ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, edited by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Aligarh, 1864, p.p.119-20. Eng. Trans, by Rogers & Beveridge, Low Pirce Publications Delhi, 2006. vol-II, p.p.244, 45, 46, (Hence forth-Tuzuk)

² Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, Eng. Trans, by H. Beveridge Low Price Publications, Delhi-1993, vol-II, p.p.503, 504.

³ Tuzuk, op.cit. p.120, Eng. Trans, vol-I, p.246.

⁴ Ibid – p. 131, Eng. Trans, vol-I, p.268.

⁵ Ibid – p.120, Eng. Trans. vol-I, p.245.

⁶ Amina Okada, Imperial Mughal Painters, Indian Miniatures from 16th and 17th century. Flammarion. Paris, 1992, p.191.

⁷ Tuzuk, p.225, Eng. Trans., vol-II, p.p.38, 100, 176.

There was a custom among the Hindus, that, every year on the day of death anniversary of their fathers and dear ones, they prepared food and brought perfumes, and invited learned men in an assembly to commemorate the occasion. So, when the death anniversary of Akbar coincided with this custom of Hindus, Jahangir also performed the ceremony according to this custom and sent his son Prince Khurram to the tomb of Akbar for the arrangement of such an assembly and gave 10,000 rupees for distribution among the needy.⁸

During the 15th regnal year, i.e. 1620 A.D., when Jahangir was in Kashmir, The Festival of 'Vethtarwah' took place. This festival was celebrated to commemorate the discovery of river 'Jhelam'. It was celebrated in the Muslim month of 'Shawwal'. Every year on the night, the inhabitants (Brahmans) of the place, lit the lamps on the banks of the river, according to the ancient custom. Jahangir went to see the festival in a boat and admired it.⁹

Jahangir also had belief in astrology. Jotik Ray was one of the skilled and trusted astrologers at his court.¹⁰ Jahangir having so much confidence in astrologers, that without consulting them, he will not undertake any journey nor do anything.¹¹

According to Sir Thomas Roe, Jahangir consulted with Brahmin astrologers before Khurram's departure to Deccan.¹²

Jahangir having a passion and eagerness to know about different religions, frequently visited religious divines and sometimes invited

⁸ Ibid – p.120, Eng. Trans. vol-I, p.p.246-47.

⁹ Ibid – p.p.311, Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.p.167-68.

¹⁰ Ibid – p.p.303, 307, 329, Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.p.152, 160, 203, 215,235.

¹¹ Edward Terry, Early Travels in India, (1583-1619) edited, William Foster, S. Chand & Company Ltd. New Delhi, 1968, p.310.

¹² Embassy of Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19, ed. William Foster, Asian Publishers, Jalandhar, 1993, p.171.

them to his court for religious discourse Jesuit Fathers visited his court for religious discussion.¹³

So, people of different religions, castes and belonged to different countries were presented at Jahangir's court, and every one was free to practice his own religion. According to Edward Terry who visited India (1616-19 A.D) during Jahangir's time, said that every one had liberty to profess his own religion freely.¹⁴ He further says that all religions were tolerated and their priests were in good esteem.¹⁵ According to Pietro Della Valle, Hindus and Muslims lived peacefully together in Jahangir's India and had equal opportunities in civil and military service.¹⁶

Jahangir regarded the sentiments of non-Muslims so much so, that he appointed Sri Kant Kashmiri as the 'Qazi' (judge) of the Hindus, in order to solve their disputes according to their religion.¹⁷ During 16th regnal year (1621-22 A.D.) when Kangra was annexed, Jahangir went to see the temple of Durga.¹⁸ In the 14th regnal year, i.e. in 1619, A.D. when Jahangir visited Mathura, he went to see the temples at Brindavan.¹⁹

During 1621 A.D, Jahangir on his way to Jammu and Kangra, halted at Haridwar, situated on the bank of river Ganga. He described the place as, "one of the most famous places of worship of the

¹³ Jahangir and the Jesuits, Tans, by C.H. Payne, George Routledge & Sons Ltd., London, 1930, p.p. 49-57.

¹⁴ Edward Terry, Early Travels in India, op.cit. p.315.

¹⁵ Ibid – p.331.

¹⁶ The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India. ed. Edward Gray, Asian Educational services, New Delhi, 1991, vol-I, p.p.30,127.

¹⁷ M.Athar Ali, Mughal India Studies in Polity Ideas, Society & Culture, Oup, Delhi, 2006, p. 193.

¹⁸ Tuzuk, op.cit., Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.p.224-25.

¹⁹ Tuzuk– p.279, Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.p.103,104.

Hindus". He gave in charity, money and goods to those Brahmans engaged in worship there.²⁰

In order to respect the sentiments of Hindus, Jahangir prohibited the cow slaughter in his empire. This ban on cow slaughter was observed by many English travellers in Gujarat and Cambay.²¹

So, Jahangir having tolerant attitude towards other religions and maintained relations with religious divines, saints and recluses of various sects and religious organisations.

2.1 Jahangir's Relations with Sikh Gurus

Jahangir and Guru Arjan Dev

Guru Arjan's relations with Akbar were very cordial and once Akbar visited him at Govindwal. After the death of Akbar, when Jahangir ascended the throne, his eldest son, Khusrau revolted and fled towards Punjab.²² Pursued by the imperial army, he was captured on the bank of Chenab.²³ During the course of his flight, Khusrau met Guru Arjan and sought his blessing.²⁴ He visited the Guru. At Tara-Taran and begged for his hospitality. Guru observed Khusrau's evil plight, and gave him five thousand rupees for his expenses.²⁵ Guru Arjan's elder brother, Prithia bore enmity against him and Chandu Shah, diwan of Lahore, also became his enemy because the Guru had

²⁰ Ibid – p.337, Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.218.

²¹ Nicholas Downton-in-Purchas his Pilgrims-by Samuel Purchase B.D. Glasgow, 1906, vol-IV, p.p.219-20, and The English Factories in India 1622-23, ed. W.Foster, Oxford 1908, p.110. The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India, op.cit. part-I, p.71..

²² Tuzuk - p.p.23,24, Eng. Trans. vol-I, p.p.67-68.

²³ Ibid – p.32, Eng. Trans. vol-I, p.p.67-68.

²⁴ Ibid – p.34, Eng. Trans. vol-I, p.72.

²⁵ M.A. Macauliff, The Sikh Religion, Low Price Publication, Delhi, 1993, vil-III, p.85, (Hence forth Macauliff).

not betrothed his son Har Gobind to his daughter.²⁶ Both Prithia and Chandu joined hands and planned to destroy the Guru.²⁷ After Prithia's death, his son, Mihrban took advantage of Guru's meeting with Khusrau, and informed this incident to the Emperor Jahangir through Chandu and conveyed, that the Guru promised Khusrau, that he would become the emperor.²⁸ The *qazis* and *pandits* also took this incident as a favourable opportunity to turn the tables against the Guru by charging that he had compiled a book which was against the teachings of Islam and Hinduism. Chandu Shah induced Jahangir to summon The Guru to his presence.²⁹

When Guru Arjan presented himself before Jahangir at Lahore, the Emperor asked him, why did he bless the rebel Khusrau and gave him monetary support. The Guru replied that he treated every one equally, as Khusrau visited his in a poor condition, so on the ground of humanity, he (Guru) helped him and also for the reason that he was the grandson of emperor Akbar, who always favoured and respected Guru's house.³⁰ Jahangir was unmoved by the Guru's truthfulness, imposed a fine of two lakh rupees on him. He also asked the Guru for some alteration in the Granth Sahib. But the Guru refused to pay fine as it was improper to impose a fine on religious divines, but fine was meant for thieves, robbers and adulterers, he also refused to alter even a line from the Granth.³¹ Then he was imprisoned, at Lahore fort where he severely tortured. One day the Guru with his five Sikhs went

²⁶ Ibid – p.p.75,80.

²⁷ Ibid – p.87.

²⁸ Ibid – p.p.89,90.

²⁹ Ibid – p.90.

³⁰ Ibid – p.p. 90,91.

³¹ Ibid – p.p.91,92.

to take bath in the Ravi river, after bath Guru gave up his life due to severe wounds.³²

According to Jesuit account, Guru Arjan was subjected for punishment due to the fact that he congratulated Khusrau during his revolt, and fine of a hundred thousand *crusadoes* (Rs. 250,000) was imposed on him. He faced miseries by those who, formerly paid him reverence.³³

According to *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* Jahangir called Arjanmal on account of his having offered prayers for the king's son Khusrau. After Khusrau's capture, the king ordered the imprisonment of Arjanmal and wanted to extort a large sum of money from him.³⁴ As a result, the Guru was imprisoned and put under the charge of Chandu. The Guru was subjected to severe tortures by his enemies, and at last he died on June 1606 A.D. as the tortures were unbearable for him.³⁵

According to Melcom, his (Guru Arjan) martyrdom was caused by the active hatred of a rival Hindu zealot, Danichand Kashtriya whose writings, he refused to admit into the *Adi Granth*.³⁶ So, this is evident from the above sources that Guru Arjan was imprisoned on political grounds, rather than religious, and Jahangir was not solely responsible for his death, but it was Guru's enemies who were responsible for the rigorous tortures inflicted upon him, which resulted into his death.

³² P.R.Chaturvedi, *Uttari Bharat Ki Sant Parampara*, op.cit. p.315.

³³ *Jahangir & the Jesuits*, op.cit, p.p.11-12.

³⁴ *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, p.234, Eng.Trans. by Troyer & Shea, p.p.272-73.

³⁵ Macanliff, vol-III p.92,93,100.

³⁶ Melcom, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1986, p.32.

Jahangir and Guru Har Gobind

After Guru Arjan's death, his son Har Gobind became the 6th Guru. From the very beginning he adopted the style of a soldier. He raised an army and started sitting on a throne.³⁷ He converted a race of peaceful enthusiasts into an intrepid band of soldiers.³⁸ He was invited by Jahangir to his court, on account of a complaint, made by Chandu Shah.³⁹

It was 1612 A.D. when, Guru Gobind Singh reached Delhi and was received by Jahangir with respect.⁴⁰ The emperor was very much impressed by the Guru's personality and his religion knowledge. They frequently went out for hunting and on one occasion the emperor was saved by the Guru from a tiger.⁴¹

It is stated in '*Dabistan-i-Mazahib*' that on account of the fine imposed on his father Guru Arjan, Har Gobind was imprisoned at Gwalior by Jahangir and was released after twelve years.⁴² But according to Macauliff, once emperor Jahangir suffered a severe illness. His astrologer, advised him, that if a religious person, like Guru Har Gobind was sent to Gwalior fort, his health would be restored. So, in compliance with the emperor's wish, the Guru went to Gwalior fort and remained there as a prisoner.⁴³ Afterwards by the

³⁷ Macauliff, op.cit. vol-IV, p.p.2,4,5.

³⁸ Melcom, Sketch, op.cit,p.p.33,36.

³⁹ Macauliff, vol-IV, p.11.

⁴⁰ Ibid – p.p.14,15.

⁴¹ Ibid – p.p.17,18.

⁴² Dabistan-i-Mazahib,op.cit. p.234, Eng.Trans. p.p.273-74.

⁴³ Macauliff – p.p.14,15.

efforts of Wazir Khan, (an influential noble) the Guru was released from the prison.⁴⁴

Later on, friendship developed between them and Chandu, the Guru's enemy was also punished.⁴⁵ When Jahangir started his journey towards Kashmir, he was accompanied by the Guru. On the way they encamped near Amritsar and spent a night at Tarn-Taran. Nur Jahan with other ladies went to meet the Guru's mother.⁴⁶ Jahangir remained a few days with the Guru and then started his journey towards Lahore.⁴⁷

2.2 Jahangir and Jadrup Gosain

According to '*Dabistan-i-Mazahib*', Jadrup Gosain, belonged to the group of '*Dhandari*' sanyasis (mendicants). He was the son of a wealthy jeweller Brahman of Gujarat.⁴⁸ At the age of 22 years, he left his parents and family and became a *sanyasi*.⁴⁹ He was well versed and had an excellent knowledge of the science of Vedanta, the science of '*tasawwuf*' (Sufism).⁵⁰ According to Mutamad Khan, Jadrup had expounded the concepts of Muslim. Mysticism with his own mysticism.⁵¹

During 1617 A.D. when Jahangir was passing through Ujjain, he went to meet Jadrup Gosain who lived near the corner of a jungle. Jhangir mentions in his Memoirs, that the popularity of Jadrup's austere life reached him, and at first he wanted to invite him at Agra,

⁴⁴ Ibid – p.p.27,28.

⁴⁵ Ibid – p.p.28,29.

⁴⁶ Ibid – p.p.31,32,33.

⁴⁷ Ibid – p.34.

⁴⁸ *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, op.cit.p.p. 184-85..

⁴⁹ *Tuzuk*, op.cit. Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.52.

⁵⁰ Ibid – p.15. Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.356.

⁵¹ Mutamad Khan, *Iqbalnam-i-Jahangiri*, vol-III, p.p.95-96..

but gave up the idea out of regard for him. So when Jahangir was passing through Ujjain in his eleventh regnal year, he could not desist himself to meet the *sannyasi*. He walked on foot for some distance to reach his abode. His residence was a hole on the side of a hill.⁵²

Jahangir described at length the size of his cell in which he passed his day and night, and about his meagre diet. Jahangir spend six ‘gharis’ with him, and discussed the science of ‘*vedanta*.’ Jahangir was impressed by the way Jadrup, used to speak.⁵³ After three days, Jahangir again visited Jadrup and spent much time with him.⁵⁴ Sir Thomas Roe, also gave reference of Jahangir’s meeting with Jadrup at Ujjain during 1617 A.D.⁵⁵

In his thirteenth regnal year i.e. in 1618 A.D. when Jahangir was coming from Ahmadabad, and the royal cavalcade halted near Ujjain, he again visited Jadrup twice, and on the second visit Jadrup told him about his early life.⁵⁶

It was in the fourteenth regnal year (1619-20 A.D), of Jahangir, that Jadrup shifted his residence from Ujjain to Mathura.⁵⁷ At Mathura Jahangir visited Jadrup twice, and describes his daily life, that he wore only a half ‘*gaz*’ of cotton and lived naked during winter, summer and rainy season and had an earthen ware to drink water. His cell was so congested that he moved in it with great difficulty.⁵⁸ When Jahngir

⁵² Tuzuk, op.cit.Eng. Trans. vol-I, p.355.

⁵³ Ibid – op.cit. Eng. Trans. vol-I, p. 356.

⁵⁴ Ibid – op.cit. Eng. Trans. vol-I, p. 359.

⁵⁵ The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, op.cit. p. 343.

⁵⁶ Tuzuk, op.cit. Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.p. 49,52.

⁵⁷ Ibid – op.cit. Eng. Trans. vol-II, p. 104.

⁵⁸ Ibid – Eng. Trans. vol-I, p. 105.

was about to depart from Mathura, he again visited Jadrup to say good bye and felt heavy at heart when departing from him.⁵⁹

On one of the visit, Jadrup, said to Jahangir that in the ‘*Vedas*’, it was written that the weight of a ‘*seer*’, was 36 ‘*dams*’ and it would be better, if it was fixed at 36 ‘*dams*’. So, on the suggestion of Jadrup and regard for him, Jahangir ordered, that throughout his empire, the weight of a ‘*seer*’ should be 36 *dams* instead of 30 *dams*.⁶⁰

We are told by the author of *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir*, that Mirza Aziz Koka, the father in law of Jahangir’s son Khusrau, (as Khusrau was in prison since 1606 due to his revolt) secretly visited Jadrup and requested him to use his influence for the release of Khusrau. So, on the recommendation of Jadrup Gosain, Jahangir ordered the release Khusrau.⁶¹

It is interestingly enough, that Jahangir mentions Khusrau’s release immediately after his meeting with Jadrup at Mathura.⁶² But there is no mention in the Memoirs of any conversation of Jahangir with Jadrup with regard to Khusrau’s release.

Hakim Beg, the *jagirdar* of Mathura and brother-in-law of Nurjahan, beat Jadrup Gosain, with lashes on some pretext. When Jahangir came to know about the incident, he dismissed Hakim Beg.⁶³ Afterwards, Hakim Beg was never admitted to imperial service again.⁶⁴ Jahangir’s regard for Jadrup is also attested by ‘*Dabistan-i-*

⁵⁹ Ibid – Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.116.

⁶⁰ Ibid –Eng. Trans. vol-II, p. 108.

⁶¹ Iqbal nama-i-Jahangiri, op.cit, vol-III, 129-30.

⁶² Tuzuk –Eng. Trans. vol-II, p. 107.

⁶³ Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, ed. By Dr. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1961, Part-II p.288, Eng.Trans. by Z.A. Desai Sandeep Prakash, N.Delhi, 2003, part-II, p.101.

⁶⁴ Shahnawaz Khan, Maasirul Umara,-1, p.p.573-76.

Mazahib.⁶⁵ Mughal nobles like Hakim Kamran Shirazi used to visit Jadrup Gosain when he was at Banaras. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana so much respected Jadrup, that he used to offer ‘*Sijda*’ (salutation by prostrating) to him.⁶⁶ Mutamad Khan, the author of *Iqbal nama-i-Jahangiri*, wrote a ‘*masnawi*’ in praise of Jadrup and describes the small cell in which he lived. He also describes his very little diet and his freedom from worldly desires and ambitions.⁶⁷

Mughal painters also took notice of Jadrup. There are a few paintings of his meeting with Jahangir in his cell.

2.3 Jahangir’s Relations with Jain Saints

There were so many Jain religious divines at the time of Akbar, and with the accession of Jahangir, they continued to stay at Mughal court and enjoyed royal favour. Bhanu Chandra Upadhaya, who stayed continuously for about 23 years at the court, at this time, secured Jahangir’s permission to depart for Gujarat with his disciple Siddhi Chandra.⁶⁸

Soon after his accession, Jahangir issued a *farman* in favour of the Jains, on the representation of Bhanu Chandra and Siddhichandra. The *farman* dated 14th Shahrivar of Ilahi year 50, 1605 A.D. confirming the *farman* of Akbar prohibiting animal slaughter during six months in a year.

Farman of Abul Mazaffar Sultan Shah Salim Ghazi. The *farman* was addressed to the *Mutasaddis* of *Sarkar* Surat. It states that in

⁶⁵ Dabistan-i-Mazahib, op.cit.p.186.

⁶⁶ Ibid – p.186.

⁶⁷ Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri. op.cit. III, p.p.97-98.

⁶⁸ Siddhichandra Upadhaya, Bhanuchandra Charita ed. By Mohanlal Dali Chand Desai, Pub. Singhi Jain Granthamala, Ahmedabad, 1941, p.47, (Hence forth Bhanuchandra Charita).

representation of the Jain leaders Bhanuchandra and Siddhichandra (the holder of the title of *Khushfaham*), the *jiziya* and poll tax imposed on the Jain visiting mount Satrunjaya, and slaughter of animals namely – cows, she buffaloes, he buffaloes and bullocks, killing of other animal on specified days etc., was abolished by ‘*Ala Hazrat*’ (Akbar). We have also prohibited slaughter of animals, confiscation of property of deceased persons and captives in war.

The officers should carry out our orders and should not deviate against it. The *farman* also states that Vijaya Sena Suri and Vijayadeva Suri and also Bhanuchandra and Siddhichandra who are there (in Gujarat) should be properly attended and looked after. The farman also directed that in the *pargana* of Una, there were foot steps of their teacher Hiraji (Hira Vijaya Suri), is located it is also free from all taxes.⁶⁹

So, it is clear from the above *farman* that Jahangir from the beginning of his reign, paid much regard to the Jain saints and granted them each and every possible concession regarding their religion and their places of worship.

Jahangir and Man Singh Sewara

Jain Acarya Jina Chandra Suri who was held in high esteem by Akbar and stayed at Mughal Court during 1592 A.D., at Lahore,⁷⁰ his favourite disciple Man Singh accompanied Akbar to Kashmir in 1592. After returning to Lahore Akbar conferred the title of ‘yoga pradhan’ on Jina Chandra Suri, and title of ‘*acharya*’ on Man Singh and his

⁶⁹ Ibid – Appendix-II p.p.82,83

⁷⁰ Ibid – p.p.10,11

name was changed to Jina Simha Suri.⁷¹ Under Jahangir they enjoyed similar favours. When Khusrau revolted, Ray Singh of Bikaner asked Man Singh about the prospects of Jahangir's reign. Man Singh prophesied that reign would last only two years.⁷² Ray Singh taking into account Man Singh's prophecy, revolted and retired to his home country.⁷³

So, Jahangir was annoyed by Man Singh in particular due to his false prophecy and by Jain community of Sewras in general. So in a fit of rage, he ordered that the Sewras should be expelled from his empire.⁷⁴ Soon after, the order was withdrawn and not implemented.

It appears from the epigraphic record, from an inscription dated V.S. 1675 (1619 A.D.) on the hill of Satrunjaya, that Jina Chandra Suri appeased the angry Jahangir and protected the Sadhus basinhed by him. It is also stated in the inscription (no.25) that Jina Simha Suri (Man Singh Sewra) received the title of 'yogapradhan' (supreme in the age), from Jahangir.⁷⁵

As Jahangir states, the cause of Man Singh's death was the excessive fear of the emperor, and he took poison on his way to the court.⁷⁶ While in 'Bhanuchandracharita, it is stated, that Man Singh died a natural death of Medta on '13 of *Pose* 1674 V.S. (i.e. in 1618 A.D.), while going to see the emperor who had invited him to the court.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Ibid – p.11.

⁷² Ibid – Eng.Trans. vol-I, p.p.437-38.

⁷³ Ibid –Eng.Trans. vol-I, p.76.

⁷⁴ Ibid – Eng.Trans. vol-I, p.p.438.

⁷⁵ G.Buhler, Jaina inscriptions from Satrumjaya, Epigraphia Indica, Delhi, 1970, vol-II, p.37.

⁷⁶ Tuzuk – Eng.Trans. vol-I, p.p.438.

⁷⁷ Bhanuchandracharita, p.20.

Jahangir and Vijayadeva Suri

During the stay at Mandu,⁷⁸ Jahangir heard about a Jain ascetic Vijaya Deva Suri, who practiced severe austerities. He invited him to the court. Vijayadeva Suri in compliance with the emperor's orders, reached Mandu, on 2 November 1617 A.D. Jahangir was very impressed by his religious knowledge and had discussion with him on the austerities taken by the Jain. The emperor conferred on him the title of '*Jahangir mahatapa*' (a great austere man recognised by Jahangir). Jahangir also allowed him to return to his residence from the court, in a procession with the playing of royal band.⁷⁹ During 1618 A.D. Jahngir issued a *farman* dated 19 Shaban 1027 A.H./1st August 1618 A.D. It was in the form of a sealed letter written to Vijayadeva Suri in a friendly way, asking him to pray for the permanence of his empire.⁸⁰

Vivekaharsha

He was an active Jain leader of 'Tapagachha'. He persuaded, Raja of cutch to favour the jains and installed an idol in a village of Cutch. He also secured royal orders for prohibiting animal slaughter and for the release of war captives from the kings of Konkan and Burhanshah of Ahmadnagar. During Jahangir's reign, Vivekaharsha, installed many Jain idols at Agra in 1611 A.D.⁸¹

In 1608, Vivekahrsha and Parmananda had presented themselves before the emperor and submitted a representation on behalf of

⁷⁸ Tuzuk, op.cit. Eng. Trans. vol-I, p.378.

⁷⁹ Bhanuchandra, op.cit. p.p.20,21

⁸⁰ Ibid –Appendix-II, p.91.

⁸¹ Ibid – p.20, f.n.-9.

Vijayasena Suri, Vijayadeva Suri and ‘*Khushfahm*’ Nandvijay, for the protection of their temples and ‘dharamsalas’ in every town and place.

Therefore, Jahangir issued a *farman* in his 3rd regnal year, in the month of ‘*yar*’ in 1608 A.D. The *farman* was in the name of Vivekaharsha and Parmananda. It was ordered to his governors and official in Gujarat, that no one should enter into the ‘*Dharmashalas* and temple of this community without permission. And no objection should be made to their being repaired and rebuilt and the jains were also allowed to visit (*Tirtha*) Satrunjaya, free from taxes. Further, it was also ordered to prohibit animal slaughter on certain specified dates. Hunting, fishing and catching of birds were also prohibited on these days.⁸²

During 1610 A.D. Vivekharsha, Parmanand and Udaiharsha, the disciples of Vijaysena Suri, Vijayadeva Suri and Nandvijaya, the holder of the title of ‘*Khushfaham*’ of *Tapa sect*, had submitted a request, that during the holy days of ‘Paryushana’ festival of the Jains, in the month of Bhadarva, there should be no slaughter of animals in any part of His Majesty’s dominions. This request was granted, and Jahangir issued a *farman* dated 26th of *Farwardin* of the 5th regnal year, 1610 A.D. ordering the governors, *Diwans*, officers of civil affairs, Jagirdars and tax gatherers in the empire, not to permit killing of animals, in any of the slaughter houses, during the twelve days of the jain festival every year.⁸³

⁸² Ibid – Appendix-II, p.p.83-84.

⁸³ Ibid – Appendix-II, p.85.

These two *farman* (1608-1610) were announced by Jahangir in the open court in the presence of Raja Ramdas Kachhwaha.⁸⁴

Bhanuchandra and Siddhichandra

During 1609-11 A.D when Jahangir Quli Khan was the deputy governor of Gujarat behalf of his father Mirza Aziz Koka,⁸⁵ a farman was issued to the governor, to send Bhanuchandra and Siddhichandra to Agra to meet the emperor. They both reached Agra and waited upon the emperor and were greeted with much respect and hospitality by him.⁸⁶

Siddhichandra who was a young and handsome ascetic visited the royal court daily on the request of the emperor, who listened to his sermons and was highly impressed.⁸⁷

As Siddhichandra was a handsome youth of only 25 years of age, so once Jahangir asked him, why was he indulging in such severe austerities and this young age was meant for the pleasures of life. So the emperor asked him that he should marry and adopt the life of a householder. But Siddhichandra rejected the emperor's suggestions with valid arguments. Upon this the emperor was highly annoyed by him and ordered that he should marry and become a house holder and should abandon the life of an ascetic, otherwise he would be trampled to death by dreadful elephant.

When a furious elephant brought, Siddhichandra stood firm and declared that would not deviate from his principles. Then, after wards

⁸⁴ Ibid – p.20, f.n.-19.

⁸⁵ Tuzuk, op.cit. Eng. Trans vol-I. p.153.

⁸⁶ Bhanuchandra charita, p.p.51,52.

⁸⁷ Ibid – p.52.

he was ordered by the emperor to retire into a forest as a punishment for disobedience of his orders. Siddhichandra in compliance, left the court and the emperor issued a *farman* that all the hermits in his empire should retire into the forests.⁸⁸

Later on, Jahangir observed the sorrow of Bhanuchandra due to the separation of his favourite pupil Siddhichandra. So, he issued a *farman* authorizing the return of Siddhichandra to the court. Siddhichandra received the *farman* at Malpura near Jaipur and came back to the court and was restored to favour.⁸⁹

On the request of Siddhichandra, Jahangir also issued a *farman* allowing all the monks, who retired into the forests by his orders, to go any where they liked. This happened in 1613 A.D.⁹⁰

During 1615 A.D., when Jahangir's court was at Ajmer,⁹¹ one Chandu Sanghavi of Agra, presented himself before the emperor and offered a valuable ring set with a precious stone and requested that the Bighas of land might be granted to him in the village of Akbarpur, near Cambay, for the purpose of building a temple and putting up a garden and a memorial in honour of the deceased Jain acharya, Vijayasena Suri.

So on the request of Chandu Sanghavi, Jahangir issued a *farman* dated 17 Rajab 1024 A.H./ corresponding to 17th I *Asfandarmuz-Ilahi* month in the 10th year of accession i.e. 1615 A.D. The *farman* stated that land measuring ten *bighas* situated in the village Muhammadpur

⁸⁸ Ibid – p.p.52-57.

⁸⁹ Ibid – p.58.

⁹⁰ Ibid – p.59.

⁹¹ Jahangir stayed at Ajmer for 3 years from November 1613 to November, 1616 A.D., Tuzuk, op.cit. Eng Trans., vol-I, p.340

(Akbarpur) in the chorasi *pargana* near Khambhayat was granted in *jagir* as *Madad-a-Māash* permanently to Chandu Sanghavi as per the under mentioned terms, so that he might make use of the income for its crops every year for his expenses and he might continue to pray for the permanence of the eternal empire. The present officers were also ordred that the land was made free from all taxes.⁹²

During February 1616 A.D. when Jahangir was, still at Ajmer, Jain ‘yatis’, Vivekasharsha and Jayananad, the disciples of Vijayadeva Suri and Nandvijaya, presented themselves before the emperor and begged for a *farman* in favour of the Jain community, who were virtuous and had no other business except worship and adoration of God.

So, Jahangir issued a *farman* dated 2nd Amardad in the 11th year of accession, July 1616 A.D. In the *farman* it was ordered to the officers, *jagirdars* and *mutasaddis* of the empire, that they should not interfere with or obstruct in any way the practices of this (jain) community, and should allow them to attend to their worship and devotion and the adoration of God in perfect peace of mind. So that they may continue to pray for the permanence and glory of the eternal empire. They (officers) should not go against and deviate from this order.⁹³

⁹² Bhanuchandra Charita, op.cit. appendix-II, p.p.86-87.

⁹³ Ibid - p.88.

2.4 Jahangir and the Jogis of Jakhbar

The *jogis* of Jakhbar also came into contact with Jahangir. He issued two farmans granting land to these *jogis* in Punjab for their maintenance.

The head of Jakhbar Gaddi Chandar Nath to whom Akbar granted land in 1578 A.D had died during Jahangir's reign. His disciples, notably Bhandar Nath, approached Jahangir, in order to request the emperor, for the confirmation of *madad-i-māash* grant on them. Jahangir accepted Bhandar Nath's request and issued a farman.⁹⁴

Jahangir issued his first farman granting 10 bigha of land in the name of jogi Bhandar Nath, on the date 30 Tir Ilahi 1st/14Rabi Ist, 1015 A.H./10 July 1606 A.D. This is an original *farman* of Jahangir under his imperial seal. It was ordered to the *hukkam, Ummal, jagirdars* and *karoris* of *pargana kathnah, Sarkar Punjab*, that 10 *bighas* of land, situated in 'Mauza' Naroli Sanga, pargana Kathnah, tappa Parol Sarkar Punjab had been granted to Chandar Nath jogi as *madad-i-māash* and entered in the *daftar* on 29 Shaban 986A.H./31 October 1578 A.D. The grantee, having died, his *chela* (disciple) Bhandar Nath and others waited on the emperor and appraised him of the facts. Consequently orders were issued to the effect that the said land should be granted to Bhandar Nath as *madad-i-māash* from the beginning of Kharif. The officials were accordingly instructed to measure and consolidate the land and hand over its possession to the grantees. It is further ordered that the grantees might not be bothered

⁹⁴ B.N.Goswamy and J.S. Goswal, Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, p. 27.

fro imposts. (i.e. the land was tax free). The officials should not demand from him fresh *farman* or *parwancha* every year.

It bore the invocation ‘*Allah u Akbar*’ and *tughra* in red ink and lineal seal of Jahangir on the top and on the reverse was an endorsement giving details of the grant.⁹⁵

Second Farman of Jahangir

This farman of Jahangir confirms a *madad-i-māash* grant of 200 *bighas* of land by the measure of *gaz-i-Ilahi* to the jogi Surat Nath in the *pargana* Pathan. This Surat Nath, of Jakhbar approached emperor Jahangir, to represent that the land which he had been holding by way of *madad-i-māash* had been submerged under water due to the excessive flooding (of the Ravi river). Jahangir accepted his request and issued orders for the grant of land to Surat Nath. The farman is silent about the exact palce of the land to be handed over to the grantee.⁹⁶

Jahangir issued a *farman* dated 17 Azar (Ilahi I / 8 Shaban 1015 A.H/29 November 1606 A.D. This is an original *farman* of Jahangir. The *Sarnamah*, the seal and the *tughra* are exactly the same as previous farman, issued in the same year. The farman addressed to the *hukkam*, *Ummal*, *Jagirdars* and *Karoris* of the *pargana* Pathan, Sarkar Punjab. It states that 200 *bighas* of land measured by *Gaz-i-Ilahi*, situated in the said *pargana*, had been granted to Surat Nath jogi by way of *madad-i-māash*. The grantee now waited on the emperor and submitted that the land in question remained submerged under water

⁹⁵ Ibid – farman, III, p.p.79-86.

⁹⁶ Ibid – p.28.

due to frequency of flood. The imperial orders were hereby issued to the effect that he might be granted waste land in lieu thereof in the same *mahal* or elsewhere from the beginning of *Kharif* as *maded-i-māash*.

The officials were thereof, ordered to measure and consolidate the land and deliver possession there of to the grantee and different taxes might not be demanded from him. Nor should he, be asked to produce a renewed *farman* or *parwancha* every year. It bore the invocation of '*Allahu-Akbar*' and seal and *tughra* of Jahangir on the top.⁹⁷

A Parwancha of Itmad ud daula

Itamad ud daula was appointed *wazir* of the empire, by Jahangir towards the end of 6th regal year.⁹⁸ (i.e beginning of 1612 A.D.).

This *parwanch* issued by Itmad-ud-daula in the 9th regnal year of Jahangir (1614 A.D.). It refers to a *farman* issued by Jahangir in the same year, by which 200 bighas of land was granted to the disciples of Surat Nath, who by now died. Only one disciple Than Nath is mentioned by name. The *farman* (referred in this *parwancha*) not to be found in *Jakhbar* collection. As a new Mahant had succeeded to the gaddi of *Jakhbar*, and he as well as his *Gurubhais*, needed a confirmation of the grant.⁹⁹

This *parwancha* of Itmad-ud-daula, dated 27 Tir Ilahi 9/10 Jamada IInd 1023 A.H/8 July 1614 A.D. was addressed to the *gumashtas* of *jagirdars* and *Karoris* of *pargana* Pathan. It stated that

⁹⁷ Ibid – *Farman*, IV, p.p.95-99.

⁹⁸ *Tuzuk*, op.cit. Eng. Trans, vol-I, p.200.

⁹⁹ *Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, op.cit. p.p.30-31.

200 *bighas* of land situated in the pargana had been granted to Surat Nath who had now died. The same grant was now-bestowed upon Tan Nath and other jogis, *chelas* of the deceased *jogi* as *madad-i-māash* from the beginning of *Kharif*. The addressees should measure and consolidate the land and deliver its possession to the grantees. It bears the invocation ‘*Allah-hu-Akbar* and the seal of Itmad ud daula on the top.¹⁰⁰

2.5 Jahangir’s Relations with Gaswami’s of Jangambari Math of Benaras

Jahangir came into contact with Jangamas, when he was in revolt against his father during 45th regnal year of Akbar i.e in 1600 A.D. at Allahabad.¹⁰¹ He made Allahabad his imperial seat and acted as an independent ruler. During this period he issued a *farman* to Malik Arjunmal Jangam with the seal of Sultan Salim.

The *farman* dated *Mihr Ilahi* 45 R.Y/September, October 1600 A.D. It was addressed to the *āmils*, *jagirdars* and *karosis* of *pargana* Haveli Banaras, confirming 178 bighas of land as *madad-i-māash* in favour of Malik Arjunmal Jangam. It was also ordered to the officials that the grant was exempt from all types of taxes. It bears the seal of sultan Salim on the top.¹⁰²

It also appears from a document that the property rights of the Jangamas were also protected by the Mughal government. A *Hasbulkukm*, (order), dated 13 Ramzan, 1027 A.H/4 September 1618 A.D. It was ordered to the mutarddis of *pargana* Muhammadabad alias

¹⁰⁰ Ibid – Document-VI, p.p.106,107,108.

¹⁰¹ c.f. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir Allahabad, 1962, p.p.42-71.

¹⁰² M.A.Ansari, Administrative Documents of Mughal India, Delhi, 1984, p.p.19-20.

Benaras, Suba Allahabad, that they should know that Arjun Mal Jangam and other, inhabitants of *qasba* Benaras, have stated that they owned a building in the said *qasba* and that a person named Nazir Beg, resident of the same place, had been interfering with the said building for a long time without any justification. The officials concerned were therefore ordered to look into the matter at once, and to see that Nazir Beg does not interfere with the building in any way. It is also added, that the building should be restored to the owners, if seized by him (Nazir Beg). There is a seal of Asad Khan on the right hand margin. ¹⁰³

2.6 Jahangir's Relation with the Priests of the Temples of Mathura and Vrindaban

Akbar made a large number of land grants to the temples and Goswamis of chaitanaya sect at Mathura and Vrindaban. Jahangir, after his accession continued these grants. In his 14th regnal year, when he was coming from Agra, after visiting Akbar's tomb, his imperial camp was pitched outside Mathura. During his stay at Mathura, he went to see the temples of Vrindaban, built by Rajput nobles during Akbar's time. ¹⁰⁴

Jahangir's farman to Jadunath, the sevak (servant) of Thakur Dwara

This *farman* dated, 1st Isfandarmuz of 6th regnal year, i.e. 19th February 1612 A.D, granting 10 bighas of cultivable waste land in the

¹⁰³ S.A.I.Tirmizi, Mughal Documents, op.cit. p. 106.

¹⁰⁴ Tuzuk – Eng. Trans, vol-II, p.p. 103,104.

village sonrakh of paragana Sahar, in the name of Jadunath, the Brahman, sevak of Thakur Dwara, resident of Vrindaban.¹⁰⁵

Jahangir's, Farman to Brindaban Das and Nand Lal

The *farman* dated 29 *Isfandarmuz* of 6th regnal year i.e 19 March 1612 A.D., granting 50 *bighas* of land in the name of Brindaban Das and Nand Lal, sons of Chitr, in the village Satoda, in pargana Sahar. This grant was also confirmed by the subsequent parwanas one of Sadr, dated 14th *urdibishisht* of 7th regnal year of 14th May 1612 A.D and by another parwana of Itimad ud Daula, dated 9 *Urdibihisht* of 7th regnal year, of 29th May 1612 A.D.¹⁰⁶

Jahangir's Farman to Kamdev Acharaj

In 1612 A.D, Jahangir issued a *farman granting* 24 *bighas* of land from the village Sonrakh, in pargana Sahar, in the name of Kamdev Acharaj along with his sons.¹⁰⁷

Jahangir's Farman to Narayandas

In 1612 A.D, Jahngir made another grant of 12 *bighas* of land to Narayan Das alongwith his sons.¹⁰⁸

Jahangir's Farman to Ragunath Brahman, Sevak of Bhoj Sundar Temple

On 28 *Urdibihist* of 8th regnal year i.e 28th April 1613 A.D, Jahangir granted 15 *bighas* of cultivable waste land, tax free, to

¹⁰⁵ T.Mukherjee and Irfan Habib, *The Mughal Admisnitration and the Temples of Virindavan During the Reigns of Jahngir and Shahjahan*, IHC, Dharwad, 1988, p.293 (No.4)

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid* – p. 294 (No.6).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid* – p. 288, (1.4 a), and Irfan Habib – *A Documentary .History of the Gosains of the chaitanya sect op.cit., p.144.*

¹⁰⁸ IHC 1988, p.288 [1.4(b)].

Ragunath Brahman sevak of Thakurbhoj Sundar Temple in the village Baithi Buzurg in pargana Sahar.¹⁰⁹

Jahangir's Farman to Swamidas Brahman

Jahangir issued a *farman* dated 14th Amurdad of 8th regnal year/18 Jumada II 1022 A.H/ 5 August 1613 A.D, granting 20 *bighas* of land exempted from tax in *pargana* Katgar, Sarkar Udambar Tanda in Bengal, in the name of Swamidas son of Kishandas Brahman who was the resident of village Jogner, pargana Katgar.¹¹⁰

Jahangir's Farman to Srichand Sevak of Madan Mohan Temple

During 1613 A.D, Srichand presented himself before Jahngir, to request for the confirmation of Todar Mal's grant of 100 *bighas* of land (by the measurement of bamboo rod) made in 1584 A.D to Gopal Das, the Sevak of Madan Mohan temple. The request of Srichand was accepted, and Jahngir converted Todar Mal's grant into an imperial grant, by issuing a *farman* dated 14th Aban of 8th regnal year/6th November 1613 A.D granting, (originally 100 *bighas* of land in the name of Gopal Das now died) 89 *bighas* and 9 *biswas* of land by Gaz-i-Ilahi, in village Rajpur, *pargana* Mathura, in the name of Srichand, the successor of Gopal Das, and Sevak of Madan Mohan Temple.¹¹¹

Jahangir's farman to Shyam Krishan

On 27th *Urdibihist* of 10th regnal year/ 10 Rabi II 1024 A.H/18th May 1615 A.D, Jahangir issued a *farman* granting 15 *bighas* of cultivable waste land, tax-free in the village Baithi Buzurg, pargana

¹⁰⁹ Ibid – p. 294, (No.7) and Documentary History, p.153.

¹¹⁰ IHC, op.cit. 1988, p.294 (No.8) & Documentary History, p.158.

¹¹¹ IHC1988, p.294 (No.9) & Documentary History, p.157.

Sahar to Shyam Krishan with children, who was a resident of that village.¹¹²

Parwana of Raja Man Singh of Amber to Govind Dev Temple

The Rajput rulers of Amber built and patronized so many temples at Brindaban. Raja Man Singh of Amber, one of the highest grandees of the Mughal empire during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir built the temple of Govinda deva, during Akbar's time and continued to patronized the temple and its servants.¹¹³ There is a parwana of Man Singh dated 23rd Zilhijj 1016 A.H/9th April 1608 A.D, ordering a daily payment of one '*ashrafi*' (*muhr*) and 1 rupee, 9 *muhri*, of which one *ashrafi* or Rs. 8, were to be spent on Govind-deva temple and rupee.1 was for its sevak Haridas. The previous payment was Rs. 5 daily for the temple alone.¹¹⁴

Parvana of Itibar Khan for the Temple of Govind Dev

Itibar Khan, one of Jahangir's noble, issued a parwana dated 7 Rajab 1017 A.H/ 18 October 1608 A.D, ordering the officials for the protection of land granted by Akbar's *farman* of 4 Shahriwar 43 Ilahi year, to the temples of Gobind Rai (Govind Dev), Akrur, Krishan Rai Jalori and Radha Rawan, in the villages of Dosiach (95 bighas) and Dholera (40 bighas), total 135 bighas of land.¹¹⁵

2.7 Jahangir's Grants to the Brahmans of Pushkar

According to Jahangir during his visit to Pushkar, that it is one of the established praying places of the Hindus, situated at a distance

¹¹² Ibid – p. 294 (No.11), & Documentary History, p.157.

¹¹³ F.S. Growse, Mathura, a District Memoir, 1882, p.p.243-244.

¹¹⁴ IHC 1988, p.293 (No.2).

¹¹⁵ Ibid – p. 293 (No.3).

of three 'Kos' from Ajmer. There were so many old and new temples, called 'Deohara' (Idol temple) were situated around that tank. ¹¹⁶ Jahangir stayed at Ajmer for 3 years from November 1613 A.D to November 1616 A.D. ¹¹⁷ During his stay at Ajmer, he paid many visits to Pushkar lake.

The original tribe of Pushkar was the Pokharna Brahmans, who excavated this sacred tank. ¹¹⁸ The Brahmans claimed to have a copper plate grant of land from a Parihara prince. ¹¹⁹

Jahangir also recognized its sanctity and granted the whole village to the Brahmans of Pushkar. He issued a farman dated 4th Khurdad, 9 Ilahi / 15 Rabi II 1023 A.H/1614 A.D, on the representation of his trusted noble, Ani Rai Singh Dalan, granting the village of Pushkar the 'Zunnardars' (Brahmans) of the place in *inam*. ¹²⁰

As the grant was made for the two groups of Brahmans, but they were not agreed on the division of the land and ultimately the grant was cancelled within two years. Another *farman* was issued by Jahangir of the same effect, granting land from harvest to harvest and year to year to the Brahmans of Pushkar. The date and year of the *farman* is missing, only the month of *Khurdad* is given. ¹²¹ Jahangir issued another *farman* to Puskar Brahmans in 1617 A.D, lying down some conditions.

¹¹⁶ Tuzuk, op.cit. Eng. Trans, vol-I, p. 254.

¹¹⁷ Ibid –Eng. Trans, vol-I, p.340.

¹¹⁸ James, Tod, Anuals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, N.Delhi 2001, vol-II, p.262.

¹¹⁹ Ibid – vol-I, p. 663.

¹²⁰ Abdul Bari Mani, Asnad us Sanadid, Ajmer 1952, p.140.

¹²¹ Ibid – p. 141.

The farman dated 2 Khurdad, Ilahi 12 / 16 Jumada Ist 1026 A.H/13 May 1617 A.D. It was addressed to the officials and states that he (Jahangir) had learnt that mauza ‘Phukkar’ was inhabited by two ‘*qaums*’ of Zunnardars and the said village was granted to both of them. As there was a dispute between them regarding its division, the grant was cancelled. It is now ordered that the Hindu pilgrims performing pilgrimage to Phukkar will be at liberty to choose their ‘*Purohit*’ from either of the two *qaums* and what ever they gave separately to each of the two sects, it would be the duty of each sect to divide them among themselves and if the alms were made to both the sects collectively, every shareholder should get his share fixed for him. Further, they were advised to avoid any sort of quarrel or dispute in the said village on the issue of grazing cows. If they repeat their misconduct, they would be considered guilty and would be imprisoned in the fort. It is also ordered that mauza ‘Pushkar’, Pargana Haveli Ajmer, is regranted as *madad-i-māash* from the beginning of *Ilanlil* to the Zunnardars of ‘Pushkar.’ Orders them (addressees) to give possession of the said village to the grantees and not to demand any *cess*. Nor should they asked them to produce renewed farman and a parwancha every year. It bears the invocation ‘Allahu Akhar, a square seal and a tughra of Jahangir on the top.’¹²²

2.8 Jahangir and Sanyasi Moti

Jahangir when returning from Kangra during 1621-22 A.D, came to know that there was a sanyasi named Moti in the neighbourhood who renounced the world Jahangir invited him to his presence and converse with him on religion.¹²³

¹²² Ibid – p.p. 142-145.

¹²³ Tuzuk, op.cit, Eng. Trans. vol-II, p.p.226-27.

SHAHJAHAN'S RELATIONS WITH NON-SUFI SAINTS

Shahjahan, son of Jahangir, was born to a Rajput princess Jagat Gosain daughter of Mota Raja Udai Singh of Marwar in 1592.¹ From his childhood, he was very close to his grand father Akbar² and inherited his broad and liberal outlook. The Mughal court during Shahjahan's reign was the meeting place of the adherents of different religions and cultures. There were a large number of Hindi poets present at the Mughal court, who were patronized by Shahjahan. One of the prominent Hindi scholar and poet was '*Jagannath Pandit*. He was patronized by both Jahangir and Shahjahan and was a close friend of Asaf Khan and Dara Shikoh. He was honoured with the title of *Mahakavirai* by Shahjahan. Once Shahjahan pleased by his rhetoric poem, ordered that he be weighed against with silver.³ He eulogized Shahjahan in the following verses.

दिल्ली श्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनो रथान
पूरयितु समर्थः।
अन्यैर्नृपालैः परिदीयमानः शाकायवा
स्यालवरणाय वा स्यात् ॥

(i.e either the Lord of Delhi or the Lord of the Universe is alone capable of fulfilling desires. What is given by other kings may suffice only for buying pots, herbs or salt).

Jagannath also translated Arabic work *Almagist*, on astronomy, into Sanskrit, with the title, '*Siddhantasara Kauslubha*,' during Shajahan's

¹ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Eng. Trans, Part-I, p.19.

² Ibid – Eng. Trans. part-I, p.20.

³ D.N. Marshall, Mughals in India – A Bibliographical Survey, Asia Publishing House, New York, 1967, p.215.

period.⁴ One of the poet was Kavindra charya Saraswati, a learned scholar of Sanskrit was a respectable person at the Court. He wrote so many books in Sanskrit for Dara Shikoh. Shahjahan conferred upon him the title of ‘*Sarvavidhyandhana*’ and also granted for him a pension. This Kavindracharya led a delegation of the Pandits of Benaras, to Shahjahan’s court in order to seek the abolition of pilgrimage tax on Hindus visiting their scared places of worship. He addressed the emperor in a very flattering language, that ultimately softened the heart of the emperor, and he ordered the abolition of pilgrimage tax on Hindus.⁵ Another Hindi poet patronized by Shahjahan was Sundar Das Brahman of Gawalior. He was also given the title of Kavi Rai by Shahjahan.⁶ Another Hindi poet Chnitamani was associated with Shahjahan’s court.⁷

Dara Shikoh was the most liberal figure of the time. He was himself a profound scholar of Persian and Sanskrit and patronized many Sanskrit scholars as well. Dara translated ‘*Bhangwad Gita*’ into Persian. He also translated fifty two ‘*Upanishads*’ into Persian with the title of ‘*Sirr-i-Akbar*’ (The Great Secret) in 1657 A.D.⁸

Dara also attempted to bring the followers of Islam and Hinduism by writing an important treatise entitled ‘*Majma-ul-Bharain*’ (intermingling of two seas), around 1656.⁹ Many Sanskrit works were also translated under Dara’s patronage. His Munshi Banwali Das, translated, the famous philosophical drama, ‘*Prabodh Chandrodaya*’ into Persian

⁴ c.f. K.R. Qanungo, Dara Shikoh, Calcutta, 1952, p.275.

⁵ D.N. Marshal, Mughals in India, op.cit. p.247.

⁶ Mishra Bandhu, Mishra Bandhu Vinod, Luchnow, 1972, vol-II, p.p.457-55.

⁷ Ibid – vol-II, p.457-59.

⁸ Bikramajit Hasrat, Dara Shikuh, Life and works, Munshiram Manoharlal, N.Delhi, 1982, p.p.254-287.

⁹ Ibid – p.p. 216-232.

with the title '*Gulzar-i-Hal*'. Har Karan translated the '*Ramayan*' into Persian.¹⁰ *Joga Vashishta* was also rendered into Persian with the title of *Tarjuma-i-Joga Vashishta* in 1656 A.D, and Dara Shikoh himself wrote its introduction.¹¹ Dara used to wear a ring with the word 'Prabhu' in Hindi, inscribed on it.¹² He had good relations with the non-sufi-saints and Hindu ascetics of the time.

Shahjahan's court Historians Abdul Hamid Lahori in *Badshahnama*¹³ and Inayat Khan in *Shahjahannama* in laudatory tone describes that there were 70 or 76 temples which were demolished at Benaras by the command of the emperor, but such reports were based on exaggeration and were to impress the orthodox section of the Muslim. If these allegations of temple desecration against Shahjahan are analysed minutely, it appears from the contemporary documents pertaining to the grants of Shahjahan to the temples and their priests, that Shahjahan displayed full-hearted tolerance towards his non-Muslim subjects.

Shahjahan's sons also displayed utmost religious tolerance. The priest of Mahakaleshwara temple at Ujjain, Deva Narain petitioned to the imperial court to provide 'ghee' or butter for burning Nandandeep' at the said temple. Prince Murad Bakhsh by his '*nishan*' of 5 Shawwal 1061 A.H/21 September 1655 A.D ordered that provides four '*Akbari seer*' of 'ghee' should be provided daily for the lighting Nandandeep

¹⁰ c.f. Banarsi Prasad Saxena, History of Shahjahan of Dihli, Allahabad, 1958, p.257.

¹¹ Bikramajit Hasrat, op.cit. p.p.233-238.

¹² C.f. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Calcutta, 1912, vol-I, p.p.298-99.

¹³ Abdul Hamid Lahori, Badshahnama, Calcutta, 1867, vol-I, p.452.

of the said temple.¹⁴ Similarly, Prince Dara Shikoh presented a stone railway to the temple of Keshav Rai at Mathura.

It was reported to the court during 1648 A.D, Prince Aurangzeb occupied a temple that belonged to Shanti Das Jawhari and it got converted it into a Masjid by constructing a Mihrab, when he was in Gujarat. Mulla Abdul Hakim represented to the emperor that a building by reason of its being the property of another person, could not be considered as a mosque according to Islamic law. Ultimately a '*Nishan*' was issued by Dara Shikoh dated, 21 Jumada II 1058 A.H/13 July, 1648 A.D, purporting the imperial orders.

It stated that the building belonged to Shanti Das and that because of its being Mehrabi, no obstruction should be caused to the above mentioned person (Shanti Das) and that the Mihrab should be removed and the said building be restored to him (Shanti Das). The royal orders were issued to the effect that the Mihrab, which the Prince (above referred) had constructed, may be retained and a wall be built close to the mihrab between the temple and mihrab to serve as a screen. The Nishan ordered that since the emperor has granted the said temple to Shanti Das, he should be left in possession of it as usual and he may worship there according to his creed in any way he likes and no one should cause any obstruction or hindrance to him in this regard. It bears the tughra of Shahjahan in addition to the tughra and seal of Prince Dara Shikoh.¹⁵

¹⁴ Jnanchandra, Aurangzeb and Hindu Temples. Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society. Vol-V, part-I, Jan. 1957.

¹⁵ S.A.I. Tirmizi, Mughal Documents (1628-1659) N. Delhi, 1995, vol-II, p.89.

There is also ‘*nishan*’ of Dara Shikoh dated Jamadi II 1069/February 1659 A.D granting the whole Pushkar village as *madad-i-māash* to the Brahmans of Pushkar for their maintenance.¹⁶

3.1 Shahjahan’s Relations with the Saints of Pushti Marga

Vithalrai, one of the most celebrated saint of Pushtimarga, who received so many land grants by Akbar was died in 1585 A.D. His successors maintained relations with the Mughal emperors and received so many land grants. Shahjahan after accession to the throne, continued the land grants and concession given by Akbar to the house of Vithalrai. During Shahjahan’s time Vithalrai had already died, but the *farmans* were issued in his name with the phrase, ‘generation to generation.’ This indicates that though the *farmans* of Shahjahan were issued in the name of Vithalrai, after his death they were valid for his descendents also.¹⁷

Shahjahan’s farmans to the successors of Vithal Rai

During the year 1633 A.D, a petition was made to Shahjahan, that Goswami Vithalrai Tikayat of Govardhan Nath resident of Gokul purchased lands from *Zamindars* in *Mowzah* Jatipura alias Gopalpur for the construction of buildings, cowsheds, workshops and gardens for the God Govardhan Nath.

So, a *farman* was issued by Shahjahan, dated 17th day of 6th regnal year, 29th September 1633 A.D/A.H-1043/V.S. 1690; granting land in Mowzah Jatipura Gopalpur for Goswami Vithalrai Tikayat and

¹⁶ Asnad us Sanadid op.cit. p.203-204.

¹⁷ Din Dayal Gupta, Ashtchhap Aur Vallabh Sampradaya, Hindi Saitya Samaylan, Prayag, 1970, p.78.

for the expenses of Thakurdwar (temple) free from all taxes and also exempted from payment of dues, from descendent to descendent. It was ordered to the governors and revenue collectors and jagirdars, present and future that they should allow the land in his possession from descendents to descendents and should not demand any kind of tax, and should not ask for renewed *farman* and parwancha every year. There are four seals on the *farman* one of Bhagwandas, second of Badan Das, third of Musawi Khan and fourth of Afzal Khan.¹⁸

Shahjahan issued another *farman* immediately after ten days of the issue of the first *farman*. This *farman* was issued on the date of 18 October 1633A.D/A.H 1043/V.S. 1690. This *farman* states that the Mowzah of Gokul in parganah Mahaban has been granted, free of tax from ancient times to the children (grandsons) of Vithalrai Goswami for the expenses of Thakurdawar (temple). It was ordered to all the civil officers and *jagirdars* present and future, to allow that *Mowzah* in their possession and also consider it (land) free from the payment of all type of taxes and not to demand a new order; so that the said Goswami (who from ancient times was prayer offerer for the good fortune of the eternal kingdom, may remain engaged himself in praying for the good of the perpetuity of the United Kingdom. There are four seals of imperial officers namely Bhagwandas, Badan Das, Musawi Khan and Afzal Khan and Sayyid Tahawwar Ali.¹⁹

Shahjahan issued another *farman* in his 17th regnal year, corresponding to 1643 A.D/A.H. 1053 with the seal of Dara Shikoh. This *farman* was issued to protect the rights and property of Vithalrai.

¹⁸ K.M. Jhaveri, Imperial Farmans, op.cit. Farman No. VI.

¹⁹ Ibid – Farman No. VII.

The *farman* states that Vithalrai, son of Dikshit Damodar was one of the prayer offerer of the eternity allied kingdom, resident of Gokul and had his property and cattle there. It was ordered (to the officials) that no one should molest or disturb him, so that he (Vithalrai) may engage himself in offering of prayers for the perpetuity of the eternity allied kingdom. It was further ordered, that the mischief makers of these places, should not molest him in respect of his property.²⁰

Shahjahan's Farman to Girdhar, son of Vithalrai

After the death of Goswami Vithalnath (Vithalrai) his third son 'Girdharji' became the head acharya (pontiff) of the sect of Vallabha Sampradaya, though his fourth son Gokulnath, who was a very learned person in religious scriptures, was the chief propounder of the message of *Pushtimarga*, after Vithalnath.²¹

This *farman* of Shahjahan with the seal of Dara Shikoh was in the name of Girdharji. The *farman* dated 27th of Rajab 1068 A.H, 20th April 1658 A.D, V.S.1714. The *farman* states that the Mowzah of Gokul, in the pargana of Mahaban, has been wholly granted by way of *madad-i-māash* to Girdhar son of Vithalrai, sevak (worshipper) of the Takurdwar (idol temple) of Gokulnath, and after his death (the grant continued) in possession and occupation of his descendents and other heirs. The officers ordered that he was not to be troubled and molested with the demand of Various prohibited taxes.²²

²⁰ Ibid – Farman No. VIII

²¹ Din Dayal Gupta, *Ashtchhap Aur Vallabh Sampradaya*, op.cit, part-I, p.80..

²² K.M. Jhaveri, *Imperial FARmans*. Op.cit. farman No. XIII.

Shahjahan's farman to the temple of Govardhan Nath

It was represented to Shahjahan that the cows of Govardhan temple, situated in the village Gopalpur went for grazing on the lands in the village of Bachha Gam. Consequently a *farman* was issued protecting the grazing rights of the cows belonging to the temple of Govardhan Nath. The *farman* dated 8 Jamadi IInd 1068 A.H/32nd of regnal year corresponding to 3rd of March 1658 A.D. The *farman* contain seal of Dara Shikoh along with Shahjahan. It was ordered in the *farman* to the civil officers, 'present and future' of the place, that the cows belonging to the temple of Govardhan Nath in village Gopalpur go for grazing in the villages Bachha Gam and Bachha. So, whatever the number of cows belonging to that temple, that go for grazing, should not be molested or prohibited and there should be no demand of grazing fees.²³

Parwana of Ishaq Azam Khan

During Shahjahan's period the economic interests of Goswami Vithalrai and his followers were protected. In this regard a parwana was issued by Ishaq Azam Khan, officer of Shahjahan to the effect that the right of collection of the taxes (or receipt of perquisites of weighers) from the Mandvi (market place) of Gokul of parganah Mahaban, were confirmed for the workers (men) of Goswami Vithalrai, as per the practice of olden times. The *farman* is dated 10th Shabanul Muazzam, A.H. 1056, corresponding to Friday 11th of September A.D. 1646, V.S 1703.²⁴

²³ Ibid - Farman No. XII.

²⁴ Ibid – Farman No. IX.

Parwana of Mukramat Khan in the name of Girdharlal the eldest son of Vithalrtai

This parwana is also of the same nature as the previous one issued by Azam Khan. It was dated 10th of Safar 1057 A.H, 20th Elahi year of the accession corresponding to 7th of March 1647 A.D, V.S. 1704. According to this parwana, it was ordered to the civil officers and revenue collectors, that the grain market (mandi) of Mowzah Gokul in pargana Mahabn has been granted to Girdharlal. So, it was allowed, to remain in his possession and they should not molest or trouble him in any way.²⁵

3.2 Shahjahan's relations with the Goswamis of Jangambari Math of Benaras

After his accession to the throne Shahjahan maintained relationship with the Goswamis of Shaivite Math of Banaras and retained all the previous land grants made to this sect by his father Jahangir and grandfather Akbar.

Shahjahan's farmans to Malik Arjun Jangam, the head priest of the Math-

In his second regnal year Shahjahan issued a *farman* in the name of Janjams confirming the previous grant of Sultan Parwez. The *farman* having the seal of Shahjahan dated 1138 A.H corresponding to 16 January 1629 A.D to 5 January 1630 A.D. The *farman* states that 178 bighas of land in pargana Banaras has been allotted as *madad-i-māash* to the Jangams, according to the nishan of Sultan Parwez. It is ordered to the present hakims,

²⁵ Ibid – Farman, No. X.

ummal jagirdars and karoris, leave the aforesaid land in their possession and not demand the cesses and should not trouble them in any way. On the reverse side of the *farman* there is a certificate Shar-us-sundur Mooswi Khan confirming the grant.²⁶

Another *farman* of Shahjahan having the same contents and the same date. It is stated in the *farman*, that according to the *farman* of (late) Majesty (Arsah-Ashyani Akbar) and the *nishan* of Sultan Parwez, about 178 bighas of land from the parganah of Banaras, has been granted in the *madad-i-māash* for the brotherhood of Jangams. So, according to this *farman* dated 9th Amardad-i-Ilahi, of the 2nd regnal year 16 January 1629 to 5th January 1630 A.D the above mentioned land from earlier times, is being left in the possession and occupation of them (Jangams). No alteration is permitted in this respect (in the *farman*), so they (Jangams) use its income as their livelihood and continued to be the perpetual prayer offerers of the grand domnious. This *farman* has on the top the title of Shahjahan, ‘*Sahib-i-Qiran-i-Sani*’ and have the seal of Afzal Khan.²⁷

During Shahjahan’s period the property rights of different religious communities were protected. There is an order of Shahjahan’s officer Shukrullah, entitled Afzal Khan, ordering the officials Jagirdars and karoris of the parganah, Hawaeli Benaras. A person named Lala Naik, petitioned that Malik Arjun Jangam and others residents of the city are the prayer offerers for the exalted kingdom, so they should not be oppressed, tyrannised and should not

²⁶ M.A. Ansari, Administrative Documents of Mughal India, Delhi, 1984, Document, No.VIII, p.p.23-24.
Hence forth Administrative documents.

²⁷ Ibid – document. No IX, p.25.

be caused any type of injury. If any body caused harm to them, he would face dire consequences. This order written in the 5th regnal year of Shahjahan dated, 5th December 1631 A.D to 3rd December 1632 A.D, having the seal of Shukrullah entitled Afzal Khan.²⁸

Shahjahan's officers also were keenly interested in giving confirmation and concessions to different religious divines and organizations. His officer Shujaat Khan confirmed the grants of the emperor. An order of Shujaat Khan having his seal, with the invocation Allahu-Akbar and Shahjahan's title Sahib-i-Qirani Sani on the top dated Zulqadah 1043 A.H/Friday 28 June 1633 to Monday, 16 June 1634 A.D. informed the officers of pargana Hawali sarkar Chunadah, that 100 bighas of land in accordance with the (previous) exalted *farman* have been given in the *madad-i-māash* to the Jangams from the said pargana. So, the above mentioned land should be left in their possession. The officers, should not demand any kind of tax, so they may engaged themselves in praying for the perpetuity of the everlasting kingdom.²⁹

Another *farman* of Shahjahan, stating that, according to the exalted *farman* of Hazarat *Sahib-i-Qiran-i-Sani* (Shahjahan), dated 9th *Amardad-i-Ilahi* 2nd regnal year (or four), about 178 bighas of land, measured in Illahigaz, has been granted in the *madad-i- māash* of the brotherhood of the Jangams from the parganah haweli Banaras situated in the sarkar of the same name, Subah of Allahabad. As they showed their '*sanads*', order was issued that for charity of his majesty

²⁸ Ibid – Document, No. X, p.26.

²⁹ Ibid – Document, No.XI, p.27.

the above mentioned land be confirmed. The officials of the parganah should leave it (the land) in their (Jangam's) possession, so that they may engage themselves in praying for the perpetuity of the everlasting dominions. The date of writing of the *farman* is given, 15th Jamadi 1st 1044 A.H. Two dates are given by M.A. Ansari in his Persian copy of the *farman* and in English translation. The first one is 16 January 1629 A.D to 5th February 1630 A.D and the second one is 15 Jamadi 1st 1044 A.H corresponding 27 October 1634 A.D. ³⁰

Another *farman* of Shahjahan issued in the 7th regnal year, dated 25 Rabi 1st 1044 A.H. This *farman* also contain two dates – 23rd Novemebr 1633 A.D to 11 November 1634 A.D. and 1044 A.H/ 17 June 1634 A.D- 6th June 1635 A.D. This *farman* was issued for the confirmation of Shahjahan's grant of 178 bighas of land as *madad-i-maāsh*, bestowed on Jangams in his 2nd regnal year. By the present *farman* the officials of jagirdars, karoris and mutasaddis of pargnah Haweli Benaras, were informed that the above mentioned land be left in their possession.

It is also mentioned in the *farman* that the Jangams came and produced reliable evidence that the same persons are still alive and in possession of the land. It is also instructed to the officers that they should not be given any trouble, so that they should continue in praying for the perpetuity of the everlasting dominion. ³¹

³⁰ Ibid – Document, No.XII, p.28.

³¹ Ibid – Document, No.XIII, p.29.

3.3 Shahjahan's relations with the Goswamis of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan and Mathura

As we have seen that Akbar and Jahangir granted land and financial support to the religious divines and priests of the temples of Mathura and Vrindavan. Shahjahan carried on this policy of his father and grand father and continued to maintain relationship, and confirmed the grants and concession to the Goswamis of Mathura and Vrindavan and also protected their rights and privileges of management of the temples. The *farman* of Shahjahan and parwana's of his officials to the temples, priests and devotees of Vrindavan and Mathura, depict that, to what extent the Mughal administration reached in granting its support and protecting their right to worship, in their own fashion, and to manage the temple affairs themselves.

Shahjahan's Farman to Gosain Das, Sevak (servant) of Madan Mohan Temple

It was Shahjahan's first *farman*, in the 5th regnal year, of his in the name of a person related to the temple of Vrindavan. By this *farman* Shahjahan confirmed, Jahangir's grant (previously it was Todarmal's grant) to the temple. Shahjahan permitted this grant to pass in entirety from the previous Sevak Srichand, (now dead) to his successor, Gosaindas.³²

So, this *farman* of Shahjahan, dated 5 Azur 5th regnal year corresponding to 26 November 1632 A.D. The *farman* states, the grant of 89 bighas and 9 biswas of land in village Rajpur of pargana

³² T. Mukerji and Irfan Habibn, The Mughal Administration and the temples of Vrindavan During the Reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan. I.H.C. Dharwad, 1988, p.289.

Mathura, in the name of Gosaindas the successor of Srichand, (now dead), Sevak of Madan Mohan temple, exempted from tax.³³

Shahjahan's Farman to the temple of Gobind Rai

This *farman* is dated 1st Amurdad of 6th regnal year corresponding to 24th July 1633 A.D. The *farman* states the transfer of tax exempted grant of 135 bighas of land to temples of Gobind Rai and others. The grant was originally made by Akbar's *farman* of 4th Shahriwar of 43 Ilahi year to Raja Jai Singh as 'inam' on the same terms as the original grant 95 bighas of land in village Dosaich and 40 bighas in village of Dholera, because, as the emperor observed, that "it is not the rule (hukm) to (make the grants) in the name of temples."³⁴

Shahjahan's farman to the temple of Madan Mohan, allowing the sounding of time gong

This *farman* of Shahjahan issued on the 4th Azur month of 7th regnal year of 29 November 1634 A.D, with the invocation of Allahu Akbar and his square seal and tughra of the top. The *farman* thus, states, "It has been represented to his sacred Majesty that in the temple (devala) of Madan Mohan, situated in village Brindaban, pargana Mathura, Suba Akbarabad (Agra), a large body of God-worshipping Hindu mendicants are engaged in divine worship according to their own religion and custom." For the practising of the rites of divine worship in the said temple, a time-gong (*gharial*) was

³³ Ibid – Calender No.16, p.295 and also Irfan Habib, A Documentary History of the Gowains of the Chaitanya Sect at Vrindavan in Govindadeva, A dialogue in stone ed. by M.H. Case, N.Delhi 1996, p.p.141-42.

³⁴ Irfan Habib & T.Mukherji. op.cit. Calender No-17, p.295.

in use for the purpose of knowing the passage of hours and the time of night and day.

For some time as a result of the interference and prohibition of officials, this (sounding of gong) has been in abeyance. As a result, the proper timings of the acts of devotion and divine worship, owing to lack of sounding of hours of night and day cannot be maintained. (The devotees) are hopeful that the time-gong be permitted in accordance with past practice. Therefore the world-subduing, sun-illuminating, sky-reaching order has been issued to the effect that no one should obstruct the sounding of the time gong in the said temple. Officials, present and future, should strive for the continuance and fulfillment of this order, ensure that the time-gong is in use in the said temple, and not obstruct it for any reason. They are not to practice delay in carrying out what has been ordered.³⁵ This *farman* of Shahjahan is a fuller testimony of his utmost tolerance and granting freedom of worship to his non-Muslim subjects.

Shahjahan's Farman to Kishandas devotee; entrusting management of Madan Mohan and Govinda Dev Temple

This is Shahjahan's *farman* (not extant) issued in 1644 A.D. in the 8th regnal year. The *farman*, states that, since Akbar had entrusted the *adhikara* of Madan Mohan and Govinda Dev temple (*devala*) at Vrindavan to Jiv Gosain, and he in his lifetime had given it to his *murid* (disciple) Kishan Das, it is ordered that the latter should fulfill the same office, and none, should interfere in it.³⁶ This *farman* is

³⁵ Irfan Habib and T. Mukherji, *op.cit.* Calender. No.21, p.p. 295-96, and Appendix, p.299.

³⁶ A Documentary History, *op.cit.*, p.148.

referred to in Islam Khan's parwana of 14th Ramzan, of 14th November 1644, of 18th regnal year. This parwana states that Kishan Das, devotee (Mutaqid) of Jiv Gowain, should have the management (adhikar) of the temples (devala) of Bindraban.³⁷

So, this *farman* of Shahjahan and parwana of Islam Khan clearly indicates that the Mughal emperor and his officials were keenly interested in affairs of management of the temples of Vrindavan and were always ready in giving them full assistance and protection.

Whenever any dispute arose between the devotees of the temples, Mughal administration took keen interest to settle the affairs. There is a statement of settlement of dispute under the Qazi's seal, of Mathura, dated 11 Jumada IInd 1064 A.H/29th April 1654 A.D. A person named Gauranga Bengali (in Vrindavan) lodged a complaint with the faujdar, Shaikh Abdun Nabi that Damodardas Radhaballabhi had seized tress belonging to the seat of "Kishan Chaitan (chaitanya) who was our Guru". Consequently two mediators being appointed and a division of trees was made between the two parties. Settlement was agreed to by both.³⁸

Parwana of Dara Shikoh's officer for the exemption of cattle tax

As all the grants made to the Goswamis of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan were exempted from the payment of tax, the tax on grazing of cattle of the temples was also remitted. There is a parwana of Dara Shikoh's official Daud Khan of the same nature, when Mathura was in the jagir of Dara Shikoh. The parwana of Daud Khan dated 9 Rabi IInd

³⁷ Irfan Habib & T.Mukherji, op.cit. Calender, No.30, p.297.

³⁸ Ibid – Calender. No. 239, p.298.

of 31st regnal year of 14th January 1658 A.D. It was addressed to the officials of pargana Mahaban. The *pujaris* (priests) of Gobind Dev temple had represented to prince Dara Shikoh that under the previous *jagirdars* they were exempted from the cattle tax (gau-shumari), but in the preceding year the Prince's officials in Mahabnan exacted the tax as well as subjected the gardeners of the gardens or orchards of the said temples, to begar (forced labour). Since the complainants deserve concession, the 'gau-shumari' is remitted and the gardeners were not to be subjected to begar.³⁹

3.4 Shahjahan and the Jogis of Jakhbar

The jogis of Jakbar were in constant touch with the Mughal government. Than Nath and Bhau Nath, the head jogis of Jakhbar gaddi, presented themselves at the Mughal court, the jogis appears to be harassed in some way by the agents of *jagirdars*, so they approached the emperor to plead their case.⁴⁰ So, Musawi Khan the Sadr sent strict orders to his officers in this regard.

Parwana of Musawi Khan to the Jogis of Jakhbar

Musawi Khan was appointed 'Sadr' in 1636-37 A.D.⁴¹ He issued a parwanah in 5th regnal year, which also referred to the Shahjahan's *farman* issued in the 12th regnal year. It Granted 200 bighas of land to the jogis. The parwana had the invocation of Allahu Akbar on the top and the seal of Musawi Khan with a verse from the *Holy Quran*. The parwana was addressed to the present and future *jagirdars* and karoris

³⁹ Ibid – Calender, No. 44, p.298.

⁴⁰ B.N. Goswamy & J.S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar* Simla, 1967, Introduction, p.p.31-32.

⁴¹ Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, op.cit. vol-I, part (b) p.267 & M.Athar Ali, *the Apparatus of Empire*, Oxford University Press, 1985, No. 51362, p.138.

of the pargana Pathan. It states, that, “Whereas in accordance with the exalted and auspicious *farman* of the emperor (Shahjahan) issued on the 12th day of Farwardin Ilahi of the 12th regnal year, 200 bighas of land in the village Narot, within the administrative jurisdiction of the above mentioned parganah, had been in conferment by way of *madad-i-māash* upon the jogis, Than Nath, Bhau Nath and others. Now they presented themselves before. His Majesty (the emperor) and the truth of their just claims has become manifest. On that account, the abovementioned land in the old mahal remains verily in conferment upon them by way of *madad-i-māash*, and in their possession, according to the former practice. It is therefore being ordered that having handed over the abovementioned land to them (the jogis), and any thing should not be demanded from them, so, that they may remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the everlasting dominion. Taking every care in this matter, (the officials) should do nothing contrary to the commands. Written on the auspicious 15th regnal year, of *Rabi-ul-awwal* 1052 A.H, corresponding to 1642 A.D.⁴²

3.5 Shahjahan’s Relation with Sikh Gurus

Shahjahan and Guru Hargobind

The author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, was a close friend of Guru Hargobind he narrates that, Guru Hargobin had seven hundred horses in his stables and 300 experienced horsemen and 60 musketeers were always in his service and among them a group of persons occupied

⁴² B.N. Goswamy & J.S. Grewal, op.cit. p.p.115-116.

themselves in trade, service and work on his behalf.⁴³ So, Hargobind collected a standing army and under his the Guruship transformed into one, spiritual as well as temporal leadership.

According to '*Dabistan-i-Mazahib*,' after the death of Jahangir in 1627 A.D. Guru Hargobind remained in attendance on his majesty Shahjahan and for some he was in the service of Yar Khan the Eunuch, the faujdar of Punjab.⁴⁴

Once Shahjahan went on hunting from Lahore. The hunting party was in the direction of Amritsar, Guru Hargobind at the same time engaged in hunting at the same place. Both the hunting parties inadvertently approached each other, but without meeting. The emperor had a white hawk which was sent to him as a gift by the king of Persia. As the emperor was returning to Lahore, he let flow his hawk in the pursuit of a duck, and also sent his huntsmen and some troops to follow the hawk.⁴⁵ The emperor's hawk flew in the direction of the Guru's party and they caught it. When the emperor's huntsmen reached there and demanded the hawk, the Sikhs refused to give it back.⁴⁶ The imperial huntsmen complained the conduct of the Sikhs to the emperor. As a result, Shahjahan ordered one of his commander Mukhlis Khan to lead an army against the Sikhs. A battle was fought between the Mughal army and the Sikhs, in which Mukhlis Khan was killed.⁴⁷ According to *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*. He (Guru Hargobind) had a battle with the imperial forces sent against him by his Majesty

⁴³ Anonymous, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow 1904, p.p.235-36, Eng.Trans. by . Shea & Troyer Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Patna, 1993, p.277.

⁴⁴ Ibid – p.234, Eng. Trans. 274.

⁴⁵ Macauliff, *The Sikh Religion*, op.cit, vol-IV, p.79.

⁴⁶ Ibid - vol_IV, p.80.

⁴⁷ Ibid – vol-IV, p.p.85-93.

Shahjahan. The guru's baggage and goods were plundered, and he left Ramdaspur and went to Kartarpur.⁴⁸

A disciple of Guru Hargobind, named 'Sadh,' brought three horses and camels from Iraq to present them to the Guru, during 1643-44 A.D. (1053 A.H). When he reached 'Gorband' a place of Kabul province, the horses and camels were seized by an officer incharge Khalil Beg.⁴⁹ But in the account of Macauliff, it is narrated that two 'masands' Bakhtmal and Tarachand, brought two horses from Kabul for the Guru. But the horses were forcibly seized by the emperors officials and presented to him.⁵⁰ The Guru's servant Biddhichand stolen the horses.⁵¹ Upon this the emperor sent an army under the command of Lala Beg and a battle was fought which lasted for 18 hours.⁵²

Another battle was fought at Kartarpur between the Guru and imperial forces, in which, Payinda Khan was killed.⁵³

So, it is clear from the above analysis, that the relations between Shahjahan and Guru Hargobind were not harmonious, and it was a prelude of the hostility between the Mughals and the Sikhs.

3.6 Dara Shikoh and Guru Har Rai

Guru Hargobind in his life time nominated his grandson, Har Rai as his successor. After becoming the Guru Har Rai stayed at

⁴⁸ Dabistan-i-Mazahib, op.cit. p.p.234-35, Eng. Trans, p.275.

⁴⁹ Ibid – p.75 & Khalil Begas officer incharge, op.cit M.Athar Ali, p184, No. 2902.

⁵⁰ Macauliff, op.cit., vol-IV, p.p.155-156.

⁵¹ Ibid –p.p.169-178.

⁵² Ibid –p.p.179 – 186, Eng. Trans, p.275.

⁵³ Dabistan, op.cit. p.235, Eng. Trans. p275, and Macauliff, vol-IV, p.p.203-212.

Kiratpur for one year during 1056 A.H/1645-46 A.D.⁵⁴ After his defeat at Samugarh in 1658 A.D, during the war of succession, Dara Shikoh wandered from place to place. In that critical situation, he decided to visit Guru Har Rai for spiritual assistance. So he sent a letter to the Guru for his favour.⁵⁵ The Prince went to Kiratpur but at that time the Guru was at Khadur.⁵⁶ Ultimately he had an interview on the bank of the Bias river. On this occasion, Dara made large offerings to the Guru. They had a long discourse on different aspects of spirituality. Dara requested the Guru to pray for his success.⁵⁷ It is also that Guru Har Rai supported Dara with a large force. But on the pretext of collecting more troops he left Dara.⁵⁸

3.7 Dara Shikoh and Baba Lal

Saint Babalal, the founder of Baba Lalis sect, was born, according to his followers at Kushpur or Qasur near Lahore in 1590 A.D.⁵⁹ But according to Wilson, and Grierson, he was a Khattri by caste, was born in Malwa and had finally settled at Lahore. He had become a disciple of Chetan Swami.⁶⁰ Like Kabir and Dadu, Baba Lal found a monotheistic religion based on Sufism and Bhakti movement. The doctrine of incarnation was not accepted by him, but his teachings were based on eternal love for Almighty God.⁶¹

⁵⁴ Dabistan, op.cit. p.237, Eng. Trans., p.282.

⁵⁵ Macauliff – vol-IV, p.301.

⁵⁶ Ibid –p.301.

⁵⁷ Ibid –p.302.

⁵⁸ Sujan Rai Bjamdari, Khulasatut, Tawarikh, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p.58.

⁵⁹ P.R. Chaturvedi, Uttari Bharat Ki Sant Parampara, Prayag, 1951, p.524.

⁶⁰ H.H. Wilson, Religious Sects of The Hindus, Calcutta, 1958, p.193 & G.A.Grierson, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed, by James Hastings, New York 195, vol-2, p.308.

⁶¹ Encyclopedia of Religion & Ethics, vol-2, p.308.

According to Dara Shikoh, Baba Lal was a *mundiya* (a shaven headed monk) and belonged to the order of Kabir panthis.⁶² As Dara Shikoh was a person of mystic bent of mind, he was always eager to meet the religious divines of Sufi and Bhakti order. It was during 1653 A.D, when Dara Shikoh was returning from his unsuccessful expedition of Qandahar. He halted at Lahore, and came into contact with Baba Lal. The meeting between Dara and Baba Lal took place at the house of Dara's Munshi Rai Chandrabhan Brahman. There discussion on different aspects of religion and mysticism took place between them, and the discourse continued for a few days.⁶³ The discussion between the two was mainly on characteristics of ascetic life, different aspects of Hindu mythology and nature of the human soul, on burial and cremation and on idol worship.⁶⁴ The whole discussion and the events of the meeting was recorded into Persian by Rai Chandrabhan Brahmin in a book entitled as 'Nadirul Nukat.'⁶⁵

⁶² Hasnat-ul-Arifin as quoted by Bikramajit Hasrat-Dara Shikoh, Life & Works, N.Delhi, 1982, p.242.

⁶³ Quoted from, K.R.Qanungo, Dara Shikoh, Calcutta, 1952, p.p.241-243.

⁶⁴ Bikramajit, Hasrat, op.cit. p.247.

⁶⁵ H.H. Wilson, op.cit. p.194.

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.

¹ (i) Dr. Om Prakash Prasad, Aurangzeb, Ek Nai Drishti khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna, 1998.
(ii) Khursheed Mustafa Rizvi, Tarikh Ki Suchhaiyyan, Aurangzeb Aur Tipu Sultan, Educational Publishing House, Delhi, 2001.
(iii) Satish Chandra, Tiziyah and the state in India during the 17th Century, Journal of The Economic and Social History of the Qrient-XII, London, 1969.
(iv) M.Ifzalur Rehman Khan, Aurangzeb and the Hindus, Islamic culture, vol-LXIV, No-4, October, 1990.
(v) M. Athar Ali, The Religions Environment Under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, Mughal India, OUP, Delhi, 2006

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 bhiti byape nahi koya, yaha upagara nripati kai
hoya”

(i.e. Here rules the king Aurangzeb, whose orders are obeyed every where. 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”²

(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).

² Jhan Chandra, Alamgir's Tolerance in the light of contemporary Jain literature, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, October, 1958, vol-VI-Part IV, p.p.271-272.

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.”³

(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%).⁴ Bhushan and Virind, the Hindi poets were present at his court, and he used to listen their Hindi compositions.⁵

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 IInd, 993 A.H/27 March 1585 A.D) and by the *farman* of

³ Jhan Chandra, Freedom of worship for the Hindus under Alamgir, JPHS, January 1958, vol-VI, part 1st p.125.

⁴ See, M.Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, Oup, Delhi, 1997.

⁵ Pandit Chandra Bali Pandey, Mughal Badshahoun Ki Hindi, Nagri Pricharini Sabha, Kashi (Benaras) V.S. 1997/1937, p.42.

Jahangir in his 2nd regnal year, and the *nishan* of Prince Perwez of Jahangir's 13th 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 (*'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 *hasb ul hukm* bears the seal of Asad Kan Alamgirshahi with the date 1081 A.H Thursday 11th 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 7th 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 *'hasb ul hukm'* of Aurangzeb was issued with the invocation of *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 *farman* of Shahjahan in his 2nd 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 25th

⁶ M.A. Ansari, Administrative Documents of Mughal India. Op.cit. Document No-XV, p.p.31-32.

⁷ Ibid – Document No-XVI, p.33

Rabi IInd 1075 A.H. of 8th regnal year corresponding to Tuesday 4th 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).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 haveli 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 haveli deposited in the treasury, to Arjun Mal, and the haveli be given back to him, and they (officers) should not interfere in the affairs of the haveli, 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)⁹

⁸ Ibid – Document No-XVII, p.p.34-35.

⁹ Ibid – Document, No-XVII, p.p.36-37.

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.

¹⁰ B.N. Goswami & J.S. Grewal, Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, op.cit. p.p.32-33, 121-122.

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 Mandasaur 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 Mandasaur 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. ¹¹

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. ¹²

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. ¹³

Aurangzeb's farman to Jinchandra Suri a Jain Saint

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

¹¹ S.K.Bhatt, Two Persian Documents Relating to the Religions Policy of the Mughals: A Parwanah of Aurangzeb and a parwanah of Muhammad Shah, Indian History Congress, 1975, p.p. 358-360.

¹² Jnan Chandra, Alamgir's Tolerance in the light of contemporary Jain Literature, Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, October, 1958, vol-VI, part IV, p.p.269-270, henceforth -JPHS.

¹³ Ibid -p.270.

interfering in their religious 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 IInd of 27th regnal year (i.e. 1686 A.D).¹⁴

4.5 Aurangzeb's Farman for Bhagwant Gosain of Benaras

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

¹⁴ Jnanchandra, Alamgir's Attitude Towards Non-Muslim Institutions. JPHS, January, 1959. vol-VII, part-I, p.p.36-39.

on the bank of Ganges at Benaras 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 descendents from generation to generation,

¹⁵ Jnan Chandra , Aurangzib and Hindu Temple, JPHS, January 1957, vol-V, part-I, p.p.248-249.

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

4.7 Aurangzeb's Farman to Sudaman Brahman, Pujari (Priest) of Umanand temple of Gawhati, Assam

There is a *farman* of Aurangzeb issued on 2 safar of 9th 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,¹⁷ issued a *farman* confirming the earlier land grant and income, in favour of the said temple and its Pujari.

The *farman*, addressed to the officials, of patta Bangesar in the pargana of Pandu in the Sarkar of Dakhinkul, that 2 ½ *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 '*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 '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

¹⁶ Ibid – p.250.

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

¹⁸ Jananchandra, Aurangzeb and Hindu Temples, JPHS, Jan. 1957, vol-V, part-I, p.251.

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).¹⁹

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.

¹⁹ Jalaluddin, Some Important Farmans and Sanads of Medieval period in the Institutions of U.P. Studies in Islam, January 1978, vol-XI, No.1, p.p.44-46.

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)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.²¹

Another parwana bearing the seal of Inayat Khan, dated 6 Jamada IInd of 30th regnal year of 10th 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 7th Safar of 33rd regnal year of 1st 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.²²

²⁰ Satish Chandra, some religions Grants of Aurangzeb to Maths in the state of Marwar, Indian History congress, Jabalpur, 1970, vol-I, p.405.

²¹ Ibid – p.406.

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

²³ Jhan Chandra, Alamgir's Grants to Hindu Pujaris, JPHS, January 1958, vol-VI, part-Ist, Doc.No.I, p.57.

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

²⁴ Ibid – Document No. II p.p.57-58.

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.²⁵

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 orderd 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.²⁶

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

²⁵ Ibid – Document No. VII, p.p.60-61.

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 IInd of 8th regnal year.²⁷

4.11 Aurangzeb Relations with other Saints and Jogis

Aurangzeb's grant to Gharibnath Sanyasi and two Maths

A parwana dated 9th Muharram of 43rd regnal year of Alamgir Badshah dated 7th 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/18th 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 4th Ramzan 1080 A.H/26th 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

²⁸ K.K. Datta, Some Firman, Sanads and Parawan s (1578-1802 A.D). State Central Records office, Bihar, Patna, 1962 Document, No. 60, p.30

²⁹ Ibid – Document No. 64, 31.

³⁰ Ibid – Document No.330, p.77.

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.

³¹ Ibid – Document No. II p.p.57-58.

³² Ibid – Document No. II p.p.57-58.

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

³³ R.A. Alavi, Twenty documents on the temples of Vrindavan and their Priest during the reign of Aurangzeb, Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (North Eastern Hill University) January-June , 1998, vol-I, No.1, p.p.108-109.

³⁴ Ibid – p.p.110-111.

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 Alamgir, 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 from the administration for its confirmation.³⁵

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.³⁶

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*

³⁵ Ibid – p.112.

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.³⁷

So, a parwana was issued by Bijay Singh dated 1st 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.³⁸

4.13 Aurangzeb's relations with Sikh Gurus

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.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

³⁷ Irfan Habib, A Documentary History of Gosain's of Chaitanya sect of Vrindava, op.cit. p.142.

³⁸ R.A Alavi, Twenty Documents on the Temples of Vrindavan and their Priest during the reign Aurangzeb. Op.cit, p.115.

³⁹ Macauliff – op.cit. vol-IV, p.p. 301-302.

religion distinct for others and performed miracles an evidence of truth of his mission.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.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 inter view with the emperor and Ram Rai satisfied him and his nobles by altering of the hymns of Guru Nanak.⁴² It is also said that Aurangzeb granted a piece of land, free of tax to Ram Rai around the area of Dehra Dun.⁴³

Guru Har Kishan

Gur Har Rai nominated his younger son Har Kishan as his successor before his death in 1661 A.D.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.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,⁴⁶ and adopted the title of Sachha Padshah (true king)⁴⁷ which was an indication of temporal as well as spiritual headship. It is said that,

⁴⁰ Ibid – vol-IV p.304.

⁴¹ Ibid – vol-IV p.306.

⁴² Ibid – vol-IV, p.307-309.

⁴³ J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Delhi, 1994, p.69.

⁴⁴ Macauliff, vol-IV, op.cit, p.314.

⁴⁵ Ibid – vol-IV, p. p.318-323.

⁴⁶ Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasatut-Tawarikh*, portions translated by Iqbal Husain-in *Sikh History from Persian sources* ed. J.S. Grewal & Irfan Habib, Tulika N. Delhi, 2007, p.92.

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.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹ 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 on that charge of political nature he was ordered to be executed. It was during 1675 A.D.⁵⁰ Aurangzeb was not present at Delhi at the time of the Guru's execution.⁵¹

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.⁵² He became the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs after the death of his father in 1675

⁴⁸ R.R. Chaturvedi, *Uttari Bharat Ki Sant Parampara*, op.cit. p.324.

⁴⁹ Macauliff. Op.cit vol-IV, p.p.378,381,387.

⁵⁰ Syed Ghulam Husain Khan-Siyar ul Mutakhirin, Eng. Trans. Haji Mustafa , Low Prince Publication, Delhi, 1990, vol-I, p.85.

⁵¹ Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs (1469-1839)*, Oxford University Press, London, 1963, vol-I, p.74, f.n.26.

⁵² Macauliff op.cit. vol-IV, p.p.357-58.

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 he seized it. The Sikh fought bravely but pressed hard, the Guru was compelled to leave Anandpur, during his flight through a flooded stream 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. After wards, Guru Gobind Singh wrote a long letter known as (*Zafarnama*) to Aurangzeb and complained about the misdeeds and distrustful behaviour of the emperor's 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

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.

THE LATER MUGHALS – THEIR RELATION WITH NON-SUFI SAINTS

The history of later Mughal emperors is also of much interest. Though the signs of decline had started to appear after the death of Aurangzeb yet the Mughal authority was all powerful from Kashmir upto the far south. The later Mughal emperors from Bahadur Shah, to Muhammad Shah tried to main the Mughal authority. The cultural institutions at the Mughal court by and large still existed. The later Mughals adopted a policy of reconciliation compromise and toleration towards their subjects. They maintained relations with the religious divines of the time and also patronized most of them by granting revenue free land grants and other concessions.

5.1 Bahadur Shah Ist

Bahadur Shah was a man of high cultural tastes. It is said that Bahadur Shah also used to compose poems in Hindi.¹ He was fond of music. When a Dutch embassy visited the court, he asked Dutch musicians to perform. Three Dutch musicians played violin, harp and hautboy at night.²

Bahadur Shah and Guru Gobind Singh

Guru Gobind Singh was not able to meet Aurangzeb, due to the latter's sudden demise. So, after wards he tried to maintain good relationship with the new emperor. It is said that when Bahadur Shah

¹ Mughal Badshahon Ki Hindi, op.cit. p.58.

² c.f.w. Irvine, Later Mughals.op.cit. p.153.

marched from Peshawar towards Agra to contest the throne, Guru Gobind Singh waited on him with Munim Khan the Wazir, at Lahore³

According to Bhim Sen, when Bahadur Shah, Ist after his victory over Prince Azam occupied the throne at Akbarabad (Agra) he (Guru Gobind Singh) obtained a good fortune of presenting himself before him.⁴

In another version, it is said that the Guru paid a visit to Agra to report to the emperor, the misconduct of Wazir Khan, faujdar of Sirhind. The emperor welcomed the Guru and gifted him a jeweled scarf and presents worth of rupees. 60,000 rupees.⁵ He was also given a robe of honour and a medallion of precious stones.⁶ The Guru joined the imperial army at Jajau, where Bahadur Shah defeated his brother Azam Shah. After wards he accompanies the emperor to the Deccan. While his stay at Nander on the bank of Godawri. He was stabbed to death by a Pathan.⁷

Bahadur Shah and Banda Bahadur

Banda Bahadur was a Bairagi, his real name was Madho Das, and he was born about 1670 A.D, at Rajauri in Punch (Kashmir)⁸ He became famous for his spirituality & miraculous powers. He went for pilgrimage to the Deccan, where he came into contact with Guru

³ Mirza Mohammad, Ibrat nama, in Sikh History from Persian Sources. Op.cit. p.133.

⁴ Bhim Sen, Nuskhai Dilkusha, trans. by Irfan Habib, in Sikh History from Persian sources. Op.cit. p.105.

⁵ Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, p.p.94-95.

⁶ Reports from Bahadur Shah court, 1707-10 Eng. Trans. by Irfan Habib in Sikh History from Persian Sources, op.cit. p.106.

⁷ Macauliffe. The Sikh religion, op cit. vol VI.p 241.

⁸ Ibid , p. 237

Gobind Singh and became his disciple.⁹ It is said that Gobind Singh induced Banda Bahadur to organize the Sikhs and to fight the Mughals for their cause in the Punjab,¹⁰ So, a large number of Sikhs assembled around him. Banda with a large number of his followers ravaged the township of Sadhaura and a large number villages and towns, later on in a fierce battle in May 1710 A.D, the faujdar of Sirhind Wazir Khan killed and Mughals were defeated. Banda accumulated a large amount of wealth from the inhabitants of the town, and the beautiful town of Sirlind was sacked and burnt. They also devastated other town and villages, including Saharanpur, Thaneswar and parganas of Jallundhar doab.¹¹

During November 1710 A.D, Bahadur Shah himself marched against Banda Bahadur and in the beginning of December 1710 A.D, the imperial army stormed Lohgarh where Banda and his followers took refuge. After a hotly contested battle the fort was reduced but Banda succeeded in escaping at night.¹² After Bahadur Shah's death and due to the confusion of war of succession among the sons of Bahadur Shah, Banda, took advantage of this recovered Sadhura and Lohgarh in 1712 AD, and built a fort named Guraspur near Lohgarh.

Farrukhsiyar soon after his accession to the throne ordered the governor of Lahore Abdus Samad Khan to suppress the revolt of Banda Bahadur.¹³ As a result during April 15, 1715 A.D, the imperial forces besieged Gurdaspur, and pressed hard by the imperialists

⁹ Ibid – p. 237

¹⁰ Khushwant Singh, a History of the Sikhs (1469-1839), London 1963. vol-1 p.p.101-103.

¹¹ Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, Tazkiratu's Salatin-i-chaghata, Eng. Trans. by S.A. Nadeem Rizavi in Sikh History from Persian Sources op.cit. p.p.17-150.

¹² Ibid – p.p.147-150.

¹³ Mohammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, Tazhirat us Salalin-i-Chagta, in Sikh History from Persian sources, op.cit. p.152.

Banda soon compelled to surrender unconditionally. So, it was during December 1715 A.D, when Farrukh Siyar celebrating his victory over Jahandar Shah that the news of the capture of Banda Bahadur reached the imperial court at Delhi. ¹⁴ Banda with his seven hundred followers was sent to Delhi as prisoner and executed in 1716AD.¹⁵

Bahadur Shah and the Jogis of Jakhbar

Like his predecessors, Bahadur Shah also took much interest in the granting land to religious divines. In his third regnal year, the madad-i-māash grant, which was resumed during the 9th regnal year of Aurangzeb, was completely restored to them. So, two hundred bighas of land was granted to the jogis of Jakhbar namely Than Nath, Bhau Nath and Hira Nath, as *madad-i-maāsh*, in conferment from olden times. The pargana of Pathan at that time was included in the jagir of Prince Muhammad Ibrahim; the grandson of Bahadur Shah.

So, a Sanad was issued on behalf of Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim, by an officer Faiz under the seal of Khanah-zad of Shah Alam Padshah Muhammad Ghazi dated 1112 A.H/1710 A.D. It was ordered to the amils of the pargana Pathan of the province of Punjab that in accordance with the exalted *farman* of the emperor, the parwanas of the diwani (officials) and the Sanads of the Jagirdars and the hakims, 200 bighas of land in the village Narnot, by way of *madad-i-maāsh* from olden times was added to the jogis of Than Nath, Bhau Nath, Hira Nath and others.

¹⁴ Ibid – p.p.152-153.

¹⁵ Sayed Ghulam Husain Khan, *Siyar ul Mutakhhirin*, Eng. Trans. Haji Mustufa, Low Prince Publishing, Delhi, 1990, vol-I, p.p.81-91 and Khafi Khan, *Kutakhab ul Lubab*, Eng. Trans. by Majida Bano, in *Sikh History from Persian sources*, op.cit. p.p.157-159.

Therefore, it is therefore ordered that regarding the aforesaid land as in conferment upon the jogis, they (officers) should refrain from molesting them on account of all the forbidden taxes, so that they remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the everlasting Dominion.¹⁶ In the actual copy of this *Sanad*, the date is torn, and the exact year is not unknown.

In the Jakhbar collection there is another document in the Jakhbar collection of Bahadur Shah's reign. It is an incomplete document with the seal of Qazi Hayat. It is dated 1122 A.H/1710 A.D. It states, that, in accordance with the exalted *farman* of the 'Arsh-Ashiyani emperor (Akbar), 200 bighas of land in the village Narnot, within the jurisdiction of the pargna Pathan had been in conferment by way of *madad-i-maāsh* upon the jogis Kanchan Nath and others. Accordingly, till the end of the 15th year of the reign of the *Khuld-Makani* emperor (Aurangzeb), that land remained in the possession and usage of the aforesaid jogis and his followers.

In the 16th year, Hira Nath and his followers went towards Hindustan.¹⁷ This document is torn from this place, so it is not possible to get further information, but it is suggested that the jogis might have gone to the Mughal court to represent the case of the establishment after the grant had been resumed.

¹⁶ B.N. goswamy & J.S. grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakbar*, op.cit. Document No. XI, p.p.147-148.

¹⁷ *Ibid* – Document No. p.p.153-154.

Bahadur Shah and the Goswamis of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan

During Bahadur Shah's reign also, the Mughal administration took keen interest in solving the disputes of servants and priests of the temples of Vrindavan and tried to redress their grievances.

Parwana of Sher Dil Khan, the Naib Faujdar of Mathura

Kunj Das the Vakil of kishan Priya brought a *hasbul hukm* the with seal of Rustam Dil Khan referring to his representation that his client Kishan Priya's house (haveli) had been occupied by Nand Kishor and Bindraban, bairagis, that they were expelled on the strength of Mukhtar Khan's parwana and the house was returned to her, but now Gobind Charan and Nand Kishor have occupied the house again with the help of Raja Jai Singh's officials.

The emperor, therefore ordered enquiry and redressal. Sher Dil Khan in company with the qazi and the news reporters (Sawanih-nigar and waqa-i-nigar) investigated the matter and found truth in Kunj Das's statements. Gobind Charan and Nand Kishor are to be evicted, and Kishan Priya installed. The Parwana is dated 26 December 1707 A.D. i.e the first regnal year of Bahadur Shah's reign.¹⁸ Another fresh Hasbul hukm issued on 30 December 1707 A.D, states that emperor (Bahadur Shah) ordered enquiry and redressal on the petition of Nand Kishore etc, in which it was complained that Kunj Das, resident of Vrindavan had forcibly, destroyed Nand Kishor's haveli and possessed himself Rs. 2000.¹⁹

¹⁸A Documentary History of Gosain's of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan, op.cit. p.149.

¹⁹ Ibid – p.149.

5.2 Jahandar Shah

He always took part in non-Muslim religious festivals. On the occasion of 'Dashehra' festival he used to see the burning of the effigy of Rawan, and the festival of 'Basant' was regularly celebrated at his court.²⁰ Jahandar Shah also used to compose Hindi Poem with the pen name of 'Mauj.'

“कोन जाने री मन की बात विरानी।

भली बुरी बात है जापे वोही वहिचानी॥²¹

Jahandar Shah, it is said was always eager to have company of religions divines. It is said that he used to visit religious mendicants and kissed their feet.²² His reign was barely of one year. We have a parwana pertaining to the reign of Jahandar Shah; Parwana of the official Asaf ud Daula, dated 1712 A.D, for solving a property dispute between a woman Kishan Priya and Brajanand and Braj Lal, who belonged to chaitanya sect. The parwana is in the collection of the documents from Radha Damodar temple at Vrindavan.²³

5.3 Farrukh Siyar

Though Farrukh Siyar's reign was of difficulties for him and he faced hostilities from Sayyid borthers. During his first regnal year he abolished Jiziya.²⁴ Despite his political difficulties Farrukh Siyar maintained relations with non-Muslim religious divines and supported them financially.

²⁰ Z.U. Malik, The Reign of Muhammad Shah, Bombay, 1977, p.352.

²¹ Mughal Badshahon Ki Hindi, op.cit, p.59.

²² W. Irvine, vol-I, op.cit. p.241.

²³ A Document History of Gosains Chaitanya Sect, op.cit. p.147.

²⁴ Ibid – vol-I, p.338.

Sanad of Farrukh Siyar in the name of Tula Ram Bairagi

On Zulqada of his 5th regnal year i.e. on 9th June 1716 A.D, Farrukh Siyar granted 15 bighas of rent free land as madad-i-māash in the name of Tula Ram Bairagi in Mahal Sakaddi in Pargana Arrah in Bihar. It bears the seal of Khan i Zaman Khan etc. ²⁵

Farrukh Siyar's Parwana in the name of Balnath Faqir

In his 6th regnal year on 15th Shawwal i.e 22nd September 1716 A.D, Farrukh Siyar granted a whole village Rampurchand free of tax, in the name of Balnath faqir in pargana Bara, Sarkar Saran in Bihar. ²⁶

Farrukh Siyar and the Goswamis of Chaitanya Sect of Vrindavan

Farrukh Siyar's nobles like Sayyid Abdullah Khan Barha also took keen interest in patronizing non-muslim religious divines. In the 7th regnal year of Farrukh Siyar i.e 1718 A.D, Sayyid Abdullah Khan continued a grant of 50 bighas of land and two wells in the name of Swami Gopal Das, Gosain as madad-i-māash, by a sanad of Kesari Singh in the village Seoni pargana Khandela. ²⁷

There is another parwana of Sayyid Abdullah Khan of 2nd regnal year of Farrukh Siyar i.e 1713 A.D. It is related to solving a dispute over the custody of Raja Jai Singh's grant of land, haveli and gardens at Vrindavan between Brajanand and Gopinath, of GovindaDeva temple. ²⁸

²⁵ K.K. Datta, Some firmans, Sanads and Parwanas, op.cit, Document No. 211, p.57.

²⁶ Ibid – Document No. 101, p.37.

²⁷ A Documentary History of Gosain's of Chaitanya Sect, op.cit, p.p.139-140.

²⁸ Ibid – p.141.

Another document related to Madan Mohan temple, a chaknama, of 7th regnal year of Farrukh Siyar i.e 1817, regarding the demarcation of 101 bighas of land, granted as madad-i-māash in Basawar by Raja Jai Singh, in the name of Harcharan Das Gosain. It is ordered that the land be demarcated and handed over to the said person. ²⁹

Another document of 6th regnal year of Farrukh Siyar 1129 A.H/ 1717 A.D. this is a certificate issued by Shamsuddin Husain of continuation of grant of 89 bighas and 9 biswas of land in pargama Mathura. It was in the name of Kishor das Gosain S/o Bansi S/o Gosain Das Sevak (servent) of Madan Mohan temple.

So these documents suggested that emperor Farrukh Siyar and his nobles were whole heartedly supported the cause of the priest and other person related to the temples of Mathura and Vrindawan and there was no indication of any types of religious prejudice in these documents.

5.4 Muhammad Shah and his relation with Non-Sufi Saints

Though Mughal empire started disintegrating during Muhammad Shahs period, it retain its identify as a platform of Composite culture in India. He ruled for about 30 years. He abolished Jiziya for ever the instance of Raja Jai Singh in his first regnal year.³⁰ He was a great patron of art and culture. The art of music developed, and new trends in music were innovated at his court like ‘Khayal’ and ‘Tappa’ and he himself composed music.³¹ The festival of Holi was celebrated at the court and he himself took

²⁹ Ibid – p.142.

³⁰ Ibid – vol-II, p.103.

³¹ c.f.Zahiruddin Malik, The Reign of Muhammad Shah, Bombay, 1977, p.402.

part in it. There is also a painting of Muhammad Shah playing Holi ³²

Muhammad Shah also composed Hindi poems. His famous composition was '*Barah masa*'.³³ The art of painting which was flourished uptill ShahJahan's period, was revived during Muhammad Shah's period. There are a large number of fine miniatures of his reign. ³⁴

Muhammad Shah was as tolerant as his predecessors and maintained relation with non-Muslim religious divines. Muhammad Shah also patronized so many religions institutions and non-Muslim shrines and financially supported a large number of non-Muslim religious personalities.

Muhammad Shah abolished the pilgrimage tax levied on Non-Muslim, for bathing in the Ganges. In his 13th regnal year (1143-44 A.H) he issued a parwana through the governor of Allahabad, Mubarizul Mulk Sarbuland Khan Bahadur Dilawar Jang, which states that the tax levid on the Hindu pilgrims for bathing in the Ganges has now been intentionally abolished and this tax should not be collected from any one in any condition. ³⁵

Farman of Muhammad Shah to Shyamanandi Mahanto Gossain Brindabananda of Gopiballavpur

The Vaishnav Gosains of Gopiballavpur (in Midnapur district of West Bengal) enjoyed great influence and command over a large

³² After The Great Mughals Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th Centuries.ed.Barbara Schmitz , Marg. pub. Mumbai 2002.p.28.

³³ Mishra Bandhu, Mishr Bandhu Vinod, op.cit, part I & II, p.323.

³⁴ After The Great Mughals Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th Centuries, op.cit.

³⁵ S.K. Bhatt, Two Persian Documents Relating to the Religious Policy of the Mughals,. IHC, 1975, p.p.360-61.

number of their followers. The Mughal emperors endowed them with enormous land grants and other privileges for the maintenance of temples and propagation of their faith. The *farman* of Muhammad Shah, dated 1733 A.D, confirmed the succession of Mahanta Brindabandananda to the priesthood of Qasba Gopiballavpur, attached to the province of Orissa. It was ordered that all His Majesty's present and future servants should be paid as before by the Zamindars and Adhikaris of Zilas and Mahals belonging to that province of Orissa and Bengal and also dues from the capital for the maintenance of temple 'Deva Seve' and service to saints and fakirs on condition that he should pray to God for the prosperity of His Majesty's empire for ever.³⁶

Muhammad Shah and the Goswamis of Chaitanya Sect of Vrindavan

Muhammad Shah and his nobles supported the Goswamis of this sect by granting revenue free land and the administration always cooperated in solving their mutual disputes.

Parwana of Qamruddin Khan to Baidnath Brahman the Mendicant

During the 18th regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e. in 1736, Baidnath who was related to Madan Mohan Temple petitioned to the court that, since he and his fellow mendicants were day and night engaged in the worship of God, and other mendicants who were entertained by them had no means of livelihood, Rs. 1/- might be

³⁶ B.P. Das, On an important late Mughal Farman and Religious Toleration, Proc. Of Indian History Congress Jabalpur, 1970, vol-I, p.446.

levied on each village in pargana Sahar for their benefit, in the same way as Rs. 1/- and annas had been levied annually on each village in pargana Batala for the benefit of Ghutam Qadiri etc, was verified, and the prayer of the mendicants was granted.³⁷

During 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e in 1724 A.D, the grant of 30 bighas of land in village of Dharma, pargana Mahavana, continued in the name of Gopal (Das Gosain).³⁸

Parwanas of Izzat Khan Muhammad Hayat and Raja Jai Singh to Gopi Raman

In 1720 A.D, Gopi Raman complained against Nathu Ram, a Brahman of Mathura, that he was trying to seize the land and built a walled enclosure on the land, which, Gopi Raman had inherited from Jiv Gosain at Aritha / Radhakund. So, in order to solve the dispute among these priests, two parwana by Izzat Khan, and Muhammad Hayat were issued in the 2nd regnal year of Muhammad Shah to the effect of solving disputes. In 1721, A.D another parwana was issued by Burhanul Mulk, on the complaint of Gopi Raman, against the intruders into his land at Aritha/Radhakunda.

During 1725 A.D, a grant of 50 bighas of land was conferred upon him, so he (Gopi Raman) describing himself as the son of Damodar Raman, promises to pay Rs. 30/- to Qazi Nur Muhammad to procure Sanad of imperial grant of 50 bighas of land.

³⁷ Irfan Habib, A Documentary History of Gosains of Chaitanya Sect of Vrindavan, op.cit. p.134.

³⁸ Ibid – p.140.

Another parwana of Raja Jai Singh Sawai of 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah ordering for the restoration of a 'Kunja' of Gopi Raman, and the eviction of Nand Kishor. ³⁹

Parwana of Raja Jai Singh for Kishan Charan

In 1732, i.e in the 14th regnal year of Muhammad Shah's reign Jai Singh issued a parwana confirming the grant of 435 bighas and 9 biswas of land held by Gosain Kishan Charan etc, adhikaris (managers) of Madan Mohan Temple at Vrindavan. ⁴⁰

Ram Jivan Gosain (adhikari of Gopinath Temple). He had a grant of 76 bighas and 2 biswas of land in village Rajapura near Vrindavan, originally held by Madho. It was now transferred to him by a parwana of 1st regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e. 1719 A.D, and the same grant verified as being in his possession by a parwanan of Ray Rajan in the 4th regnal year i.e 1722 A.D. ⁴¹ There are so many other document relating to disputes, and the judgement of Qazi Iftikharuddin. During 1739 A.D, Ram Kishan Gosain was entrusted the temple, by a parwana of Raja Jai Singh Sawai. ⁴²

Muhammad Shah and the Jogis of Jakhbar

The jogis of Jakhbar also attracted the attention of Muhammad Shah. He granted amounts in charity and land to these jogis for their religious organization.

At first, there is a '*yad-dasht*' with the seal of Adina Beg Khan servant of Padshah Ghazi Muhammad Shah, dated 1141 A.H/1728-29

³⁹ Ibid – p.141.

⁴⁰ Ibid – p.146.

⁴¹ Ibid – p.154.

⁴² Ibid – p.155.

A.D. it states that the '*faslanah*' (allowance on every harvest) devoted to religious purposes by the entire panchayat of the bazar of the qasbah Muhiuddinpur⁴³ in the name of Gosain Hira Nath, the jogi of Jakhbar. Every body having a shop shall continue to pay one tunkah-i-Alamgiri,⁴⁴ and no one should object or resist written on the 25th of the Ramzan-ul-Mubarak of the 14th regnal year.⁴⁵

Chaknama of 14th regnal year of Muhammad Shah in favour of Mahant Hira Nath

From this document it appears that 25 bighas of revenue free land by way of *madad-i-maāsh* was in possession of Udant Nath and Surat Nath in the pargana Domal in the province of Punjab from the time of Akbar and Jahangir. Its demarcation took place at the time of Muhammad Shah. It states that, with the concurrence of the Chaudharies and qanungos and the willingness of the proprietors, the land was duly measured and demarcated with its limits, in the village Jangial and else where. It has been handed over to Guru Hira Nath. So, that he may remain occupied with prayers for the permanence of the conquering dynasty, and sustain himself, harvest after harvest and year after year with the produce of that land. The date given on the seals is 114 A.H/1713-32 A.D.⁴⁶

Sanad of Zakariya Khan in the name of Jogi Hira Nath

This *Sanad* was issued by Zakariya Khan, the governor of Punjab in the 17th regnal year of Muhammad Shah and it refers to the

⁴³ A small town near Gurdaspur district and eight miles from Jakhbar.

⁴⁴ A Mughal coin.

⁴⁵ The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, op.cit. Document No.XIII, p.p. 159.

⁴⁶ Ibid – Document No. XIV. p.p.163-34.

lands and other possessions of Mahant Hira Nath, at Narnot and other places, by various authentic *farman* and sanads. All these possessions of Hira Nath were confirmed by the order of Zakariya Khan.

This *Sanad*, was issued with the seal of Zakariya Khan, as servant of Padshah Ghazi Muhammad Shah, dated 1138 A.H/1725-26 A.D. It was addressed to the present and future Thanadars of parganah Pathan, in the province of Punjab. It is stated, that the Jogi Hira Nath was a holy recluse and in accordance with mandatory *farman* and the Sanads of former amils, the *madad-i-māash* land and other possession in the village of Narnot and elsewhere were conferred on him. It was ordered that all the abovementioned, lands being rightfully belonged to him. They (officers) should refrain from molesting the jogi, so that he may remain occupied with praying for the everlasting Dominion. It was written on the 19th of Ramzan of 17th regnal year.⁴⁷

This document suggests that the Mughals continued their consideration for these jogis inspite of political disturbance on that part of the empire.

Muhammad Shah and Arjun Jangam, the Goswami of Jangambari Math of Benaras

The Mughal administration during this period keenly interested in protecting the property rights of different religious divines. This is suggested by this order of Muhammad Shah. The order issued on 10th of Jamadi 1st, 30th regnal year of Muhammad Shah.

⁴⁷ Ibid – Document No. XV, p.p.173-177.

It was conveyed to the emperor that the faqir (mendicant) Arjun Jangam, since years past, had purchased a piece of land situated at the back of Ram Sagar Tank in the pargana of Gaya. The inhabitants of the place did not allow him to occupy it. Therefore, it was ordered that the land had been purchased by Arjun Mal Jangam, and nobody under any pretext or reason, should hinder or interfere. The officers of the region were required to see it that he and the other members of the Brotherhood, (Jangams) should be allowed to occupy the above mentioned land as they would do in ordinary times.⁴⁸

Parwanas during the reign of Muhammad Shah to different Sanyasis and Bairagis, Deonath Sanyasi

This parwana dated 9th Ziqada of 26th regnal year, i.e 14 December 1743 A.D of Muhammad Shah Badshah, for the release of the entire village namely Baku lahar, etc. in pargana Majhowa, in the name of Deonath Sanyasi as *madad-i-maāsh*, with the seal of Abdur Rahim Khan.⁴⁹

Naryan Nath Sanyasi

This parwana dated the 1st Ziqada of 17th regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e 25th March 1743 A.D with the seal of Alivardi Khan is for the release of Math Lohiar and Math Mondela, in the name of Narayan Nath Sanyasi, son of Gharibnath Sanyasi as *madad-i-maāsh*.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Administrative Documents of Mughal India, op.cit. Document No. XX, p.39.

⁴⁹ K.K. Datta, some Firmans, Sanads and Parwanas op.cit. Document No. 53, p.29.

⁵⁰ Ibid – Document No. 63, p.31.

Gosain Balnath Faqir

Parwana dated 25th Ziqad, 16th regnal year of Mohammad Shah Badshah, i.e 29th April 1733 A.D. (with illegible seal), granting exemption from payment of revenue and other demands, relating to the village Rampurchand, in pargana Bara, Sarkar Saran in favour of Balnath Faqir. ⁵¹

Madho Ram Faqir

A Sanad dated 1st Rabi ul Awwal, 1133 A.H, 31 December 1720 A.D. (with illegible seal) for the grant of 237 bighas of rent-free land in the village Sleempur in pargana Goa, in the name of Madho Ram Faqir in Exchange of the sum of Rs. 101, granted to him previously, as Khairat. ⁵²

Seo Ram, son of Aney Ram Faqir

This Sanad dated the 1st Jamadius Sani, 1st regnal year of Muhammad Shah, 10th April 1719 A.D. with the seals of Nawab Ali Vardi Khan and others, for the grant of the village, Noornagar in Pargana Arrah, in the name of Seo Ram, son of Aney Ram faqir as *madad-i-maāsh* and also for the expenses of the needy and fiqir. ⁵³

Kant Gowal, grandson of Maluk Das Bairagi

Sanad of 28th regnal year of Muhammad Shah, dated 15th Muharram, 17th January 1745 A.D. with the seal of Vizier Mamalik-Qamruddin Khan settling the village Birpur Alias Kishnupur in

⁵¹ Ibid – Document No. 99, p.37.

⁵² Ibid – Document No. 121, p.41.

⁵³ Ibid – Document No. 238, p.62.

pargana Behia in the name of Kant Gowal, grandson of Malook Das Bairagi as Madad-i-māash.⁵⁴

Gur Pershad Deo Ram Faqir

Gur Pershad Deo Ram Faqir complained that undue interference was made by the Amils in holding possession of a land in Gachh Bairgachhi Taluqa Tappa Shahnagar, in pargana Surajpur, granted previously for his expenses. Accordingly, a parwana was issued dated 4th Ramzan, 14th regnal year of Muhammad Shah's reign, i.e 19th February 1732 A.D, (with illegible seal) addressed to Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim and it was directed that proper investigation should be made in the matter and the grievance of the faqir redressed.⁵⁵

Ramdass Faqir

Sanad dated 10th of Muharram of 17th regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e 29th September 1724 A.D, (with illegible seals) for the grant of 45 bighas of rent free land in the village Musapur, in pargana, Dharampur, Sarkar Farrukhabad, Subah Bihar, in the name of Ramdas faqir as madad-i-māash and for the expenses of the needy.⁵⁶

Dharani Bharathi, Faqir Sanyasi

Parwana dated 21st Rabiul Awwal, of 13th year of Muhammad Shah's reign i.e 23rd November 1730 A.D, (with illegible seal) addressed to Makund Ram for release of land in the villages of Chak

⁵⁴ Ibid – Document No.253, p.64.

⁵⁵ Ibid – Document No. XV, p.p.173-177.

⁵⁶ Ibid – Document No. XV, p.p.173-177.

Barani and Barah Kona, in pargana Dharampur, in the name of Dharani Bharathi, faqir Sanyasi, as *Madad-i-maāsh*.⁵⁷

Gosain Bharath Das

Sanad dated 15th Jamadi us Sani 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah's reign, i.e. 18th February 1725 A.D (with illegible seals), for the grant of the village Bishnupur Gopal, Pargana Bisara, Sarkar Hajipur in the name of Gosain Barath Das as Sarshikan.⁵⁸

Gosain Jagannath Das Bairagi

The Parwana dated 21st Moharram, 29th regnal year of Muhammad Shah 2nd February 1745 A.D, with the seal of Nawab Zainuddin Ahmad Khan, for the renewal of the previous *Sanad* for the grant of the village Bisambhar-patti, in pargana Marwah, Sarkar Tirhut, Subah Bihar, with exemption from payment of revenues, taxes and other demands etc. in the name of Gosain Jagannath Das Bairagi as Khairat.⁵⁹

Mehr Das Faqir Nanakshahi

Sanad dated, 11 Ramzan, 3rd regnal year of Muhammad Shah, i.e 25th June 1721 A.D with the seal of Muhammad Qasim, for the grant of daily allowance of one *anna*, in pargana Naupur, Sarkar Tirhut, in the name of Mehr Das Faqir Nanakshahi, for the expenses of Sangat.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ibid – Document No. 372, p.85.

⁵⁸ Ibid – Document No. 456, p.101.

⁵⁹ Ibid – Document No. 532, p.116.

⁶⁰ Ibid – Document No. 600, p.129.

Muhammad Shah and swami Shiv Narayana

Swami Shiv Narayana established his sect Shin Narayani order, in about 1734 A.D. He preached the worship of absolute God (Para Brahma). Muhammad shah was so influenced by the teachings of this sect that he become the disciple of Swami Shiv Narayana and frequently visited him.⁶¹

5.5 Ahmad Shah (1748-1754 A.D)

It appears from some parwanas and sanads issued by him to non-Muslim religious divines, that he was liberal and tolerant towards his subjects.

Ahmad Shah's Parwana to Saheb Das Bairagi

A parwana dated 2nd Safar, 6th March 1744 A.D, with the seal of Raja Ram Narain, pertaining to the seal of Ahmad Shah. Parwana was issued for the revival of the previous *Sanads* and release of the village Jamla Parsa, in pargana Babra, Sarkar Tirhut, in the name of Saheb Das Bairagi, as Bishunprit.⁶²

A Parwana in the name of Meeti Ram Bairagi

This parwana dated 15th Shaban of the 5th regnal year of Ahmad Shah Badshah, i.e 17th June 1752 A.D, with the seal of Muhammad Safi Khan Bahadur, issued for the renewal of the previous Sanad and release of the rent free village namely Rampur, in pargana Naupur, Sarkar Tirhut in the name of Meeti Ram Bairagi as *madad-i-maāsh*.⁶³

⁶¹ Tarachand, op.cit. p.206.

⁶² K. K. Datta, Some Farmans, Sanads and .Parwanas, op.cit. Document, No. 444, p.99

⁶³ Ibid – Document No. 543, p.118.

A Parwana in the name of Bodhi Pathak, Brahman

This parwana dated 1st Shawwal, 2nd regnal year of Ahmad Shah Badshah, i.e 3rd September 1749 A.D (with illegible seal), issued for renewing the previous Sanad for the grant and release of the village Saraiya Bali, Taluqa Prem Narain in pargana Rathi Sarkar Hajipur, Subah Bihar in the name of Bodhi Pathak, Brahman as Khairat. ⁶⁴

Sanad of Ahmad Shah in the name of Kojanand Brahmin

This Sanad issued by Ahmad Shah dated 5th Rajab of his 6th regnal year, with the seal of Raja Janki Ram, for the grant of the village Kumhral, in pargana Barial of Sarkar Tirhut, with the exemption of payment of revenue and other demands in the name of Kojanand Brahmin for his livelihood as Bishunprit. ⁶⁵

5.6 Alamgir IInd (1754-1759)

We have a parwana of his reign, of grant of land to a religious divine.

Parwana of Alamgir II to Gosain Mahanth Manoo Ram, Faqir Nanakshahi

This parwana dated 15th Jamadiul Awwal, of the reign of Alamgir IInd, i.e 31st January, 1757 A.D, with the seal of Raja Ram Narain. It was issued for the revival of the previous *Sanads* and release of the village Bishunpur Maniari Asli Ma Dhakhili, in chakla

⁶⁴ Ibid – Document No. 565, p.123.

⁶⁵ Ibid – Document, No. 440, p.98.

Nai, in pargana Bisara, in the name of Gosain Mahanth Manoo Ram Faqir Nanakshahi, as Sarshikan.⁶⁶

5.7 Shah Alam IInd

He also maintained relation with non-Muslim religious divines. Having an aesthetic sense, he also composed Hindi verses:

अब तुम जागो क्यों न मोरे मीत
पियवा हमारी पृीत तुम सन लगी ॥
नींद के माते 'साह आलम' सुरज नुमा
भवनुमा सगरी रैन रगं रस पागी ॥⁶⁷

Shah Alam II and his relations with the Goswamis of Pushtimarga

Shah Alam's Farman in the name of Goswamis Murlidhar

This *farman* of emperor Shah Alam IInd indicates, that inspite of political instability in the country and despite his insecure position and lack of finances, his act of generosity even to non-Muslim religious divines, deserve appreciation that he considered the case of Goswamis of Pushtimarga, as genuine and supported them with granting land, like his predecessors.

The *farman* issued by Shah Alam in his 10th regnal year dated 1182 A.H/7th October 1786 A.D, granting Mouzah Rasalpur Alias Gokul in the pargana of Mahaban in the Sarkar of Islamabad (Mathura), in the Suba of Akbarabad (Agra), has been given by way of *inam al Tamgha*, to Goswami Murlidhar, (knower of religions truth, and acquainted with true knowledge) and his children, tax free. So, it is ordered that all the grandees, Princes, governors and

⁶⁶ Some Farmans Sanads Parwanas, op.cit. Document, No. 410, p.92.

⁶⁷ A Comprehensive History of India op.cit. vol-9, p.p.57-61.

officers, jagirdars etc. present and future should considered this order till eternity and in perpetuity and they should allow the abovementioned Mowzah, to remain in his possession from generation to generation, eternally and forever. It is exempted from payment of all civil levies and imperial taxes and the grantee should not be molested and troubled on account of tribute or presents. On the top of the *farman* there is invocation and seal of Shah Alam dated 1164 A.H.⁶⁸

Another Farman of Shah Alam to Gosain Murlidhar of 13th regnal year

This *farman* issued in the 13th regnal year of Shah Alam i.e Wednesday, 25th September 1771 A.D. It states that the village of Gopalpur alias Jatipur, connected with Goverdhan, situated in the Pargana of Sahar in the Sarkar of Islamabad in the Suba of Akbarabad, has been bestowed as Al Tamgha and ma'afi (tax free) grant, on Gosain Murlidhar and his children. It is ordered to all the governors and officers etc. that they should allow the abovementioned village to remain in their possession from generation to generation, eternally and forever. They should not molest and trouble them by demanding the *peshkash* (tribute) and other taxes etc. They must consider them exempted and absolved from payment of all civil levies and imperial taxes. They must consider this a strict order and a strong injunction, and should not ask for a new deed every year.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ K.M. Jhaveri, Imperial Farman, op.cit. Document, No. XIV.

⁶⁹ Ibid – Document No. XV.

Parwana of Najaf Zulfiqar ud Dowla, in the name of Gosain Murlidhar

This parwana was issued on the date 15th Shawwal of 15th regnal year of Shah Alam i.e 1187 A.H/Thursday 30th December 1773 A.D. It is addressed to the officials of Kasba Gokul, Taluka Mahaban, situated in the Suba of Akbarabad, they know, that the villages of Shri Gokul and Mubarakpur and lands etc., thereof have been conferred in the name of Goswami Morlidhar, according to the contents and details in the above named Kasba, have remained always in the possession and custody of the above mentioned person. On account of that he has been exempted from payment of government taxes. It is therefore incumbent on (the officers) that they should allow the above written villages etc. to remain in the possession of the abovementioned person according to usage as his property and heritage, with the right of receive presents etc. and in no way he should be molested or troubled and they must pay him amount of revenue season to season and year to year and they must consider this a strict injunction and proper command and act according to this.⁷⁰

So, these *farman* are the indication that though suffering from financial difficulties Shah Alam granted revenue free land to non-Muslim religious divines, for their livelihood. This is a depiction of his generosity and toleration towards non-Muslim religious persons and institutions and most of these parwanas and Sanads were issued when Shah Alam's was in exils, during 1759-1771 A.D.

⁷⁰ Ibid – Document No.XVII.

Shah Alam II and his Parwanas and Sanads to different Bairagis, Sanyasis and Faqirs etc.

Parwana to Gosain Keval Nath

This parwana dated 11th Rabi 1st of 7th regnal year of Shah Alam II Badshah i.e 17th March 1766 A.D, (with illegible seal), for the grant of the village Lohiar in pargana Majhowa, in the name of Gosain Kewalnath, as *madad-i-maāsh*. Another parwana in the name of the same person for the continuation of above grant, issued in 9th regnal year i.e 29th December 1767 A.D.⁷¹

Gosain Badal Das Faqir

This parwana dated, 9th safar of 5th year of the reign of Shah Alam II, i.e. 19th August 1763 A.D. (with illegible seal) for the revival of the grant of village pipra in pargana Madhal, with exemption from payment of revenue and demands, in the name of Gosain Badal Das Faqir Nanakshahi, in order to meet the expenses of faqirs.⁷²

Sanads in the name of Kashi Dutt and Dewali Dutt Prohit of Benaras

There are two *Sanads* dated 16th Jamadi IInd of 10th regnal year of Shah alam IInd i.e. 17th October 1769 A.D. (with illegible seals) for the grant of 5 bighas of land in the villages of Shahpur and Santihar, in pargana Goa, each in the name of Kashi Dutt Prohit and Dewali Dutt Prohit, residents of the city of Benaras.⁷³

⁷¹ K.K.Datta, Some Farmans, Sanads and Parwanas, op.cit. Document No.59,61, p.p.30,31.

⁷² Ibid – Document No.138, p.44.

⁷³ Ibid – Document No.157, p.48.

Bihari Das Faqir

This parwana of Shah Alam II dated 9th Shaban of his first regnal year, i.e. 27th March 1760 A.D, with the seal of Dhansi Ram, for the revival of the previous *Sanad* and release of 101 bighas of rent-free land in the village Bangra Nirotum in pargana Sipa, in the name of Bihari Das Faqir as Khairat. ⁷⁴

Gosain Ramgir

This parwana dated 15th Jamadi II^{nd-} of the 7th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e. 29th November 1765 A.D. issued for the release of 15 bighas and 5 biswas of land in the village Anwar, in pargana Siris, in the name of Gosain Ramgir. ⁷⁵

Gosain Kirpa Ram

This Sanad dated 23rd Ramzan of the 5th regnal year of Shah Alam IInd, i.e 26 March 1763 A.D, with the seals of Najmuddin Ali Khan Bahadur and others, granting the village Deopal in pargana Behia, with exemption from payment of revenue etc. in the name of Gossain Kirpa Ram, as *madad-i-maāsh*. ⁷⁶

Nand Lal and Sita Ram Bairagi

This parawana dated 11th of Moharram 1178A.H/11 July 1764 A.D, issued by Shah Alam II Badshah, with the seal of Nawab Shuja ud Daula Bahadur, for the release of 80 bighas of rent-free land in Taluqa Kosaria, in pargana chausa, in the names of Nand Lal and Sita Ram Bairagis as Khairat. ⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ibid – Document No.169, p.50.

⁷⁵ Ibid – Document No.175, p.52.

⁷⁶ Ibid – Document No.257, p.65.

⁷⁷ Ibid – Document No.294, p.71.

Prem Das Bairagi

This parwana dated 22nd Ramzan, 16th regnal year of Shah Alam II Badshah, i.e. 26 November 1774 A.D, (with illegible seal) addressed to Mirza Muhammad Ali, for revival of the previous *Sanad* and release of 500 bighas of rent-free land in the villages of Shakraili and Pathraili in Pargana Haveli, in the name of Prem Das Bairagi. ⁷⁸

Ram Chand Das Gosain Nanakshahi

A Sanad issued by Shah Alam II dated 19th Safar of the 14th regnal year, i.e. 10th September 1762 A.D, (with illegible seal) for the grant of the village Dahibaht in pargana Fathpur Singhia, in the name of Ram Chand Das Gosain, Faqir Nanakshahi, as Khairat. ⁷⁹

Gokul Chand

A *Sanad* dated 19th Ramzan of 6th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e 11 February 1765 A.D, (with illegible seal) issued for the grant of Rs. 1 daily for the expenses of the Thakurbari of the village Maharajganj, in pargana Badaur, Sarkar, Tajpur, in the name of Gokulchand for the expenses of the faqir. ⁸⁰

Mahanth Dharani Das Bairagi

This *Sanad*, dated 27th of Ramzan, of 14th regnal year of Shah Alam, i.e 21st December 1772 A.D. with the seal of Maharaja Shitab Rai, issued for the revival of the previous *Sanad* for the grant of the village Madhopur Meerchak Adbin Dakhili, in pargana Morwah, as rent-free in the name of expenses of Thakurduara and Faqirs etc. ⁸¹

⁷⁸ Ibid – Document No.344, p.344.

⁷⁹ Ibid – Document, No. 357. p.82.

⁸⁰ Ibid – Document, No. 377. p.86.

⁸¹ Ibid – Document, No. 404. p.91.

Bhagwan Das Bairagi

This *Sanad* dated 5th Safar of the 4th regnal year of the reign of Shah Alam II Badshah i.e 26th August 1762 A.D, (with illegible seal) issued for the settlement of the village Harpur Bakhri in Pargana Morwah Sarkar Tirhut, as rent free in the name of Bhagwan Das Bairagi as *madad-i-maāsh*.⁸²

Gosain Amarpuri Faqir

This *Samad* dated 25th Ramzan of the 8th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e 24th February 1767 A.D (with illegible seal) issued for the grant and released of 11 bighas of land in the village Talibpur, in Pargana Morwah Kalam in the name of Gosaini Amarpuri Faqir.⁸³

Manoo Ram Faqir Nanakshahi

This parwanan, issued on 5th ziqad of the 4th regnal year of Shah Alam i.e. 6th May 1763 A.D (with illegible seal)for the release of the village Bishunpur Maniari, pargana Bisara in the name of Manoo Ram Faqir Nanakshahi.⁸⁴

Another Parwan for Manoo Ram Faqir Nanakshahi

Manoo Ram Faqir Nank Shahi has complained to the court during 1767 A.D that the villages Bishunpur and Bhagwanpur Tapa Nai, in Pargana Bisara, which had been granted to him, was confiscated by the local officials. Therefore a parwana dated 7th Zilhij of the 7th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e 6th May 1767 A.D, was issued, (with illegible seal) addressed to Mirza Mohammad Ali.

⁸² Ibid – Document, No. 406. p.p.91-92.

⁸³ Ibid – Document, No. 407. p.92.

⁸⁴ Ibid – Document, No. 411.A. p.93.

And it was directed, that the said villages be released and given in possession to the Faqir, with undue interference.⁸⁵

Narain Bharti Faqir

A parwana dated 15th of Shaban, 5th regnal year of Shah Alam IInd i.e 8th February, 1764 (with illegible seal) for the revival of the previous *Sanad* and release of 3 bighas and 10 biswas of land in the village, Bishunpur, in pargana Saraisa in the name of Narain Bharti Faqir as Faqirana.⁸⁶

Gosain Rahat Gir Sanyasi

This parwana dated 1st of Ramzan of the 10th regnal year of Shah Alam II, i.e 29th December 1769 A.D. (with illegible seal) for the revival of previous *Sanad* and for the release of 10 bighas of land in the village Bochha in pargana, Bochha, in the name of Gosain Rahat Gir Sanyasi.⁸⁷

Mahanth Thakur Pandit

This parwana dated 5th Shawwal of the 7th regnal year of Shah Alam II, i.e. 7th March 1766 A.D, (with illegible seal) issued for the revival of the previous Sanads and release of Sarkar the village Rasulpur Ram Bhadhra in Pargana Babra Sarkar Tirhut, in the name of Mahanth thakur Pandit.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Ibid – Document, No. 411, p.p.92-93.

⁸⁶ Ibid – Document, No. 426, p.96.

⁸⁷ Ibid – p.431.

⁸⁸ Ibid – Document, No. 447, p.99.

Gosain Raghunath Das Bairagi

A *Sanad*, issued on the date 25th Janadi 1st of 13th regnal year of Shah Alam II, i.e 5th September 1771 A.D, (with illegible seal) for the grant of the village Pakhanlia, in pargana Bisara, in the name of Gosain Raghunath Das Bairagi. ⁸⁹

Another Parwana in the name of Raghunath Das Bairagi

This parwana issued, dated 14th Ramzan of the 8th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e. 13th February 1766. A.D, (with illegible seal), addressed to Rai Beni Ram, for the release of the village Doomaria Chapra Mobarak, in the pargana Morwah Sarkar Tirhut in the name of Raghunath Das Bairagi. ⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Ibid – Document, No. 455, p.101.

⁹⁰ Ibid – Document, No. 535 A, p.117.

CONCLUSION

The Mughal empire flourished in India for almost three centuries. The Mughal emperors generally adopted a policy of toleration and compromise towards their subjects. The vernacular religious literature produced during that period appreciated the liberal attitude of the Mughal emperor's. The religious literature of Pushtimarga and Radhavallabha sect in particular, praised the Mughal emperors for maintaining amity with their non-Muslim subject. The saints of Radhavallabha sect were attached with emperor Humayun and many of them were in royal service, like Parmananda. It is said that Humayun granted, 300 bighas of land to the Gowamis of Jangambari Math at Benaras, and he sought the blessings of Guru Angad, during his flight from Hindustan.

Akbar's reign was considered as the commencement for cultural syntheses in India. By his policy of *Sulh-i-kul*, he attempted to accommodate, every section of the society without any religious distinction, and a large number of non-Muslims were admitted into the imperial administration. The cultural institutions flourished under the patronage of the emperor. As he was always eager to have a knowledge of various religions, he invited and sometime visited to the saints belonging to different religious sects. Akbar visited Guru Amardas, and dined with ordinary people at Guru's *langar* and he granted a piece of land to the latter's daughter Bibi Bhani. Akbar also visited Guru Arjan Deo at Govindwal and remitted the revenue of Punjab for that year on the Guru's request.

Akbar patronized the saints of Pushtmarga by granting lands at Mathura, to Gosain Vithalnath and his descendents. Akbar's mother Hamida Bano Begum also issued *farman* in favour of Vithalnath. Akbar prohibited the killing of peacocks in Pargana Sahar at the instance of Vithalnath. Akbar also enjoyed the company of a large number of saint poets of Pushtimarga, like Surdas, Khumbandas, Chaturbhuj Das, Naraindas Lohana, Nand Das etc. He also visited Swami Haridas to listen his songs. The famous saint Dadu was invited by Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. The Jakhbar Jogi Mahant Udent Nath received land grants of 200 bighas, and then after sometime of 50 bighas. He was also invited by Akbar to his court. Akbar's nobles, Abul Fazl, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Man Singh, Todarmal also had relations with these saints. The Jain Gurus, like Hira Vijaya Suri, Bhau Chandra Upadhaya, Siddhi Chandra etc. stayed at the Mughal court and received titles, many concession and land grants by Akbar. The influence of Jain Gurus was so much on Akbar, that he prohibited the slaughter of animals on certain days and also abstained himself from meat. The Chaitaniya sect of Vrindavan and a large number of temple enjoyed Akbar's patronage. He granted large tracts of land as *madad-i-māash* to the temple's belonged to this sect. Akbar also granted 480 bighas of land to Malik Arjunmal, of Jangambari Math at Benaras. So, during the reign of Akbar, the saints and different divines were accommodated by the Mughal government and they played a vital role in the formation of composite culture at the Mughal court.

Jahangir having a cosmopolitan nature, and always curious to have company of divines adopted the same policy of tolerance pursued by his father. In his memoirs he extensively wrote about the customs

of the Hindus. Jahangir visited Jadrup Gosain many times and by the latter's influence, he released Khusrau from confinement and also made alteration in weights. The Sikh Guru Hargobind was his friend and many Jain Gurus stayed at his court and received many concession for their community by his *farmans*. The *Jogis* of Jakhbar, Goswamis of Jangam Bari Math, Brahmans of Pushkar and the priests of Chaitanya sect were benefited by Jahangir's generosity and received a large number of land grants.

Shahjahan did not try to reverse the policy of his fore fathers. He gathered the people of different religions and castes at his court. His reign witnessed a large number of famous Sanskrit writers. The descendents of Vithalnath of Pushtimarga received many grants, and the emperor was always ready to protect their property rights. Shahjahan beside a large number of land grants to Chaitanya sect, issued a *farman* for the sounding of time gong, in favour of a temple belonging to this sect. He also granted lands to Jangams of Benaras and frequently issued *farman* for the protection of their property. His son Murad Bakhsh granted 'ghee' for the lighting of lamp, to Mahakaleswar temple of Ujjain. Dara Shikoh having a mystic bent of mind also had good relations with the non-sufi saints like Baba Lal, Gur Har Rai etc. So, this is a depiction of the religious liberty enjoyed by every section of the society during Shahjahan period.

Aurangzeb was as liberal as his fore fathers. His lavish land grants to different religious institutions and his patronage to a large number of non-Muslim divines, is a depiction of his broad and liberal religious out look. The Jain saints praise the emperor for the religious freedom enjoyed by them during his period. Aurangzeb's grants to

Jahgambari Math of Benaras, his friendship with Mahant Anand Nath, the Jakhbar Jogi, granting 8 villages and some rupees in favour of Mangal Das Bairagi, his grants to the Gosains of Benaras and Jain saints and land grant to a *pujari* of the temple of Gawahati, is a testimony that Aurangzeb was not a bigot, and whole heartedly supported non-Muslim divines. His *farman* of 300 bighas of land to the temple of Chitrakoot, with the statement that this grant was meant for the purpose of '*puja* and *bhog*' of Thakur Balaji, is a clear indication that the emperor was not against the religious practices of his subject, they enjoyed complete religious freedom. Beside it, there are a large number of grants of Aurangzeb to different *pujaris*, *bairagis*, *jogis* and priests etc. So, during the time of Aurangzeb the Mughal court retained its identity as the abode of composite culture in India.

The later Mughal emperor were also liberal and tolerant like their predecessors. Bhadurshah, Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Shah, Shah Alam II, maintained relations with non-sufi saints and liberally granted lands to a large number of *jogis*, *bairagis*, *sanyasis*, *faqirs* etc. So, it can be said that all the Mughal emperors were liberal and tolerant and always ready to extend financial support and religious freedom to their subjects and their relations with non-sufi saints of the time were land mark in the history of medieval India. Their contribution in the formation of composite culture in India is magnanimous.

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