

“Do Justice, Do Justice, For That is Paradise”: Middle Eastern Advice for Indian Muslim Rulers

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The Islamic literary genre of advice to kings, or “mirrors for princes,” as scholars increasingly realize, was not just the self-referential pastime of a frustrated scribal class but an influential expression of values widely held by ruling groups and populations in the Islamic world—and beyond, as suggested by this late twelfth-century quotation from a south Indian writer:

To acquire wealth:
 make the people prosper.
To make the people prosper:
 justice is the means.
O Kirti Narayana!
They say that justice
 is the treasury of kings.¹

This verse from the sixteenth-century *Rayavacakamu* was, according to its translator Phillip Wagoner, “quoted from the Telegu *Niti* of Baddena (ca. twelfth to thirteenth century)” and probably derived from an Islamic original.² Both the quotation and its source were written in Vijayanagar, outside Islamic territory but apparently not outside the range of Islamic influences. Although as a student of Middle Eastern political thought I cannot pursue this quotation through the non-Muslim sources, I do want to explore the expression of this idea of justice in India during the Delhi and Mughal sultanates, its availability for use by rulers or subjects, and the institutional arrangements developed to enact it.

In Middle Eastern texts, the concept in this verse is called the “Circle of Justice” and is most frequently quoted in the following form:

There can be no government without men,
No men without money,
No money without cultivation [or, prosperity],
And no cultivation [or, prosperity] without justice and good administration.³

Justice here must mean not only equality before the law or adherence to it, but whatever else is necessary to ensure the prosperity of agrarian society, such as protection, stable administration, a working infrastructure, or provision for peasant subsistence. The ruler who wished to govern securely had to provide this sort of broad-based “justice” to the cultivators, who in turn provided taxes to the treasury, in order that soldiers (“men”) might be paid to protect the realm, put down unrest, enforce the ruler’s decisions, and refrain from preying on those under their protection. There is even a sense in which justice could generate prosperity not only by making it easier for agriculturalists to be productive, but also by ensuring divine benevolence and the provision of rain.

This is clearly an ideology for an agrarian tributary state; it undergirded empire after empire in the Middle East and was

the local understanding of relations characterized by moderns as oriental despotism, patrimonial-bureaucratic government, or the Asiatic Mode of Production. The autocratic ruler symbolized and upheld the hierarchical social order for whose benefit agriculture flourished and filled the treasury, but his justice was what made those at the bottom of the hierarchy able to continue providing material support to those above. This idea of justice acknowledged inequalities of power but sought to mitigate their worst effects. Although it has often been cited in reference to the granting of proper rewards to the powerful (“no men without money”), more interesting is its usefulness for reminding the powerful of their dependence on the productive groups in society and providing an ideology by which undue exploitation could be challenged. This study presents the ideological basis on which such challenges might be posed.

Middle Eastern Muslims attributed the Circle of Justice to the Sasanian Persians, but its traces can be found in Mesopotamian sources dating to the time of Hammurabi and before. As early as the third millennium BCE, the elements of the Circle of Justice appeared together in Sumerian royal inscriptions, such as this one from around 2350:

When Enlil, king of all lands, gave to Lugalzagesi the kingship of the nation, directed all the eyes of the land obediently toward him, put all the lands at his feet, and from east to west made them subject to him; then, from the Lower Sea, along the Tigris and Euphrates to the Upper Sea, he put their routes in good order for him. From east to west, Enlil permitted him no rival; under him the lands rested contentedly, the people made merry, and the suzerains of Sumer and rulers of other lands conceded sovereignty to him at Uruk.... Under me, may the lands rest contentedly, may the populace become as widespread as the grass, may the nipples of heaven function properly, and the people experience prosperity...may I always be the leading shepherd.⁴

Divine favor and right leadership led to victory, because of which the land experienced prosperity and fruitfulness under divinely-ordained leadership. This concept of justice and provision was repeatedly revived in the ideologies of the Fertile Crescent after successive conquests by Akkadians, Babylonians, and Assyrians, by Persians, Arabs, and Turks. The main vehicles for enacting it were the revenue survey, which attempted to set limits on exploitation, and the royal court (called by Muslims *mazalim*, review of wrongs) where people’s petitions could be heard and their grievances redressed, even if they lay against the king or his powerful officials. The practices of Muslim *mazalim* courts were modeled on descriptions of the Persian royal court, but the Circle of Justice as such cannot be found in surviving pre-Islamic Persian literature. A

circular formula lacking the concept of justice did emerge in the *Denkard*, a late compilation of Zoroastrian texts. Attributed to the Avesta, it made sovereignty dependent on “King, Religion, forgiveness, ammunition, treasure and army” and called this a circle of “Sovereignty and control of the subjects” rather than a circle of justice.⁵

Similar ideas are known in ancient Indian literature. A passage in Kautilya’s *Arthashastra* resembling the Avestan formula above listed the elements of sovereignty as: “The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend, and the enemy.” The *Arthashastra*, like the *Denkard*, connected prosperity with power rather than justice: “It is by means of the treasury and the army obtained solely through Varta [productivity] that the king can hold under his control both his and his enemy’s party.”⁶ Aspects of royal governance linked together in the Circle of Justice and in ancient Sumerian inscriptions were considered separately in the *Laws of Manu*, which discussed the justice of the king, the wealth of the treasury, and the strength of the army without any sense of their fundamental interdependence, concluding: “The army depends on the minister of defense, military and disciplinary activity on the army, the treasury and kingdom on the king, and peace and its opposite on the ambassador.”⁷ The *Arthashastra* did note the king’s need to “look to the affairs of both citizens and country people,” to foster “agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade,” and to win over the people of newly conquered areas by remitting taxes. Additionally, it stated that giving justice was one of the king’s primary responsibilities, affecting both his own image and the subjects’ welfare:

When in the court, he shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies. He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brahmans learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, and the helpless, and of women.... In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; he shall not consider as good whatever pleases himself, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good.⁸

The two concepts, of wealth engendering power and justice engendering wealth, were never quite connected here, although both appeared in the text.⁹ The same was true in Iran, where the link was not fully made (in extant texts) until the reign of Khusrau I Anushirvan (531-579 CE).¹⁰ To enact it, Anushirvan is supposed to have hung a bell outside his palace door that could be rung by anyone seeking justice, and the person would immediately be admitted to direct audience with the ruler.¹¹

Direct cultural relations of course existed between India and Iran, indicated most famously by Iran’s importation and translation of the *Kalila and Dimna* stories of political wisdom from the *Panchatantra*. From the eighth century on, India was in contact with the broader empires of Islam and experienced immigration, conversion, and cultural borrowing in both directions, most intensively on the southern and western coasts, for several centuries before the start of actual conquest.¹² Once the conquest began, soldiers and religious professionals flocked to India from Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Iran as

well as from farther afield in the Muslim world, the Fertile Crescent, Anatolia, and possibly beyond, carrying their languages, customs, and traditions and, in turn, adopting those of India. The literature of the wider Islamic world was brought to India and studied there.

The oldest surviving statement of the Circle of Justice in Islamic literature is in the ninth-century author Ibn Qutayba’s *Uyun al-Akhhbar (Founts of Information)*, where it was attributed to earlier sources now lost.¹³ Later Arabic and Persian authors repeatedly quoted versions of it either as a literary *bon-mot* or as advice to kings, attributing it to Persian, Arabic, Greek, or other sources.¹⁴ In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries it was often employed by advisers to the Seljuk Turkish rulers of the Middle East, most notably the vizier Nizam al-Mulk and the author al-Ghazali.¹⁵ In turn, the Mongol conquerors heard it from their vizier Rashid al-Din and their astronomer, the philosopher Nasir al-Din Tusi.¹⁶ The idea was familiar enough among a broader public to form the underpinning of several tales in Nizami’s romantic poem cycle, the *Khamsa*: it is prominent in *Khusrau and Shirin*, *Haft Paykar (The Seven Beauties)*, and several anecdotes in *Makhzan al-Asrar (The Treasury of Mysteries)*.¹⁷

In addition to the four-line Circle of Justice quoted above, there was an extended eight-line version, often written in a circle and supposed to have been invented by Aristotle for Alexander the Great. This version first appeared in extant sources in the tenth-century *Sirr al-Asrar (The Secret of Secrets, or Secretum Secretorum)*, a pseudo-philosophical Arabic work probably originating in Baghdad but popular in the Muslim West and Europe.¹⁸ *The Secret of Secrets* cited several versions of the Circle with different attributions, again suggesting a multiplicity of earlier sources. A similar Circle in Persian can be found in the popular compendium of sciences, *Jami al-Ulum*, written in the late twelfth century by the Khwarazmian philosopher Fakhr al-Din Razi, but this one is thought to have been added by a later copyist because it is absent from the earliest manuscripts.¹⁹ A Persian version of the four-line Circle also decorated the letters of the great Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din (d. 1318); while these letters were recently shown to have been compiled in the fifteenth century, they may have been edited from older texts.²⁰ A version of the eight-line Circle identical to Razi’s (and possibly its source) appeared in the fifteenth-century Davvani’s *Akhhlaq-i Jalali (The Jalalian Ethics)*, a book dependent in other respects on the philosophical tradition of ethics in Tusi’s *Akhhlaq-i Nasiri (The Nasirean Ethics)*, where justice was defined as equilibrium, balance, or harmony, a necessary element in political economy. Davvani stated that he took his Circle directly from *The Secret of Secrets* rather than from Razi, Tusi, or any later text.²¹ When it entered India to influence Baddena in the late twelfth century is not yet known.

The idea behind the Circle, however, was familiar to the Ghaznavids, the precursors of the Delhi Sultanate. They could have gleaned it from quotations in the historian Bal’ami’s Persian translation of the *Tarikh (History)* of Tabari, or from Samanid local histories or works of *adab* (polite knowledge) collecting noteworthy sayings on the art of governance. Sebuktegin, the first Ghaznavid ruler, included it in his political testament to his son Mahmud:

The first thing you should do is to keep the private and public treasuries in a prosperous condition; for a kingdom

can only be retained by wealth. If you do not possess money, gold, or wealth, nobody [i.e., the troops] will obey you. Wealth cannot be acquired except by good government and wise statesmanship, and good government cannot be achieved except through justice and righteousness.²²

Ghaznavid historians recorded that most of their rulers held open court in an effort to be seen as dispensers of justice, but that their behavior did not match their propaganda.²³ The Circle of Justice formed a measuring stick for royal effectiveness, as often wielded to chide the king as to advise him.²⁴ It was, however, only one among several traditions of governance employed by the Sultans of Delhi, who bolstered their legitimacy, especially among their followers from diverse parts of the Muslim world, by drawing on a wide variety of governing traditions.

The Delhi Sultans imitated the Ghaznavids' search for legitimation through the practices of Sunni Islam: performing the *ghaza*, persecuting Shi'is, and seeking and obtaining caliphal recognition. They took advantage of the *ghazi* tradition in other ways also: some sultans were awarded the title of *Ghazi*, and they used their *ghazi* leadership to appeal to a less orthodox segment of their Muslim followers.²⁵ The term *ghaza* was also used to justify warfare against the pagan Mongols, deemed more dangerous than the Hindus.²⁶ The Delhi Sultans also linked themselves with the Persian monarchical tradition, naming their sons after legendary kings, comparing themselves with Alexander the Great, and supporting an elaborate court life and social hierarchy. At the same time, they maintained the Central Asian steppe custom of granting the right to rule to all members of the royal family and extended it to their most important retainers as well, which led to perennial warfare among relatives and subordinates of the monarch and to a constant fracturing and reuniting of the realm. Like the contemporary Ayyubids of Egypt, the Delhi Sultans believed that "the domination of the world is enjoyed by the one who possesses greatest strength. The principle of hereditary succession is not extinct, [but] long ago destiny abolished this custom."²⁷ Another steppe tradition they perpetuated was the lavish feasting of followers at the royal table.²⁸

Like the Ghaznavids, the Delhi Sultans had an ambiguous relationship to the concept of justice. Royal inscriptions stressed their dominance more than their justice, calling them "the most exalted King of Kings, Lord of the necks of the people, Master of the kings of the Arabs and Persians...the Shadow of God in East and West" and "the ruler on the surface of the earth."²⁹ In the histories and biographies of rulers, justice had no part in legitimating their rule, although it featured in the personal descriptions of some sultans (less frequently than bravery or drunkenness). An exception was Sultana Raziya (1237-1240), who as a woman was legitimated in part by her justice; she was called "a great sovereign, and sagacious, just, benevolent, the patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the cherisher of her subjects, and of warlike talent."³⁰ On the other hand, a reputation for justice was desirable in a king. Royal inscriptions included justice in the titlature of some thirteenth-century rulers, who called themselves "the most just of the Sultans in the world...the spreader of justice and kindness...the shepherd of the servants of God," "the Sun of the state and religion," or "the inheritor of

the kingdom of Solomon."³¹ Poets and historians praised the justice of their favorite rulers; for example, Badaoni introduced Sultan Balban (1266-1287) with these lines:

Reputation arises from equity and justice

Oppression and kingship are as the candle and the wind.³²

Likewise, a poem about Firoz Shah (1351-1388) sang:

After many a revolution of the trying sphere

Stories about his justice remain, though he be himself dead.³³

That the Sultanate's understanding of justice was similar to that of the Sumerians is evident in Hasan Nizami's thirteenth-century history of the hero and sultan Qutb al-Din Aybak (1206-1210), *Taj al-Ma'athir (The Crown of Glorious Deeds)*. This history contained sections of advice to kings and governors telling them to "make the earth populous with the help of the architects of justice and equity." It further advised:

Peace and order in the dominion demand the safety of roads, highways, bridges, and military posts... While dispensing justice he [the king] should treat even-handedly all people, high and low, and firmly enforce the laws of equity. He should lower the flags of tyranny, and efface all traces of oppression. He should never turn a deaf ear to the call of help from the oppressed.³⁴

Hasan Nizami portrayed Qutb al-Din Aybak as the model of a just ruler, providing military protection to the people "who led a carefree life under the protection of his kindness and compassion." This protection extended to internal disruption as well as external attack, as "roads and bridges were cleared of thieves and brigands, and shrines and military posts were made safe from the depredations of robbers and rebels." Aybak also fostered agricultural prosperity, not only by providing security, but also by improving the water supply:

In the face of the radiance of the sun of royal benevolence the dark night of poverty and indigence withdrew from the world, and the army of the drought of frustration was put to flight by the generosity of the cloud of the king's munificence. Limpid water of justice and beneficence flowed from the fountain of the king's bounty, and entered the palate of his subjects bringing to them health and happiness.³⁵

The "ruins seeking owl," who looked for ruined villages in the well-known tale of Bahram and the owls, was scared away by "the tinkling of the anklets of the hawk of royal wrath," for the king "spared no pains in looking after the welfare of the people and in fulfilling their needs." As a result, "justice was established in its rightful place, and his subjects found deliverance from sufferings and calamities in that abode of peace and asylum of security."³⁶

A Persian-style mirror for princes dedicated to the second of the Delhi sultans, Ilutmish (1210-1236), described his rule as a regime in which justice produced rain and abundance of crops, chamberlains accepted petitions and had the people's trust, honest people were appointed over the *mazalim* court, and revenue was gathered with justice:

Do justice, do justice for that is paradise,

The house of the Khosroes is that of God.³⁷

An advice work in the Arabic tradition written for the same ruler included a chapter on justice and anecdotes of the kings of Persia, maintaining that the ruler "should rule with equity over the subjects and not distress them by tyranny and injustice, for until the people were made happy, the country could

not be populated and his fame would never spread itself over the world.”³⁸ According to another author of the period, Shah Muhibullah (d. 1250), “justice requires that the thought of the welfare of men should be uppermost in the minds of the rulers, so that the people might be protected from the tyranny of officials”; and in their installation documents, governors and landholders heard that “the peasant and subject people should be given support against natural calamities” and that soldiers, civil administrators, and officials should be encouraged and supported, “for kingship can be maintained and strengthened through fair play, equity and administration of justice.”³⁹

The main political thinker of Sultanate India was Ziya al-Din Barani, a courtier of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq (1325-1351). Dismissed and impoverished by Tughluq’s successor, Barani spent his last years writing. His extant works include a book of political advice, a continuation of Juzjani’s history of India, and a translated history of the Barmakids. This age of political upheaval idolized the Barmakids, those early Abbasid heroes of bureaucracy and good administration; they were featured characters in the literature of political advice, and several writers composed books and poems about them.⁴⁰ The history written by Barani was directed at the ruler and had as its aim

...the record of good and evil, justice and injustice, rights and their opposite, virtues, sins, vices and weaknesses of the ancients, so that posterity may take their lessons to the heart and see the good of justice and the evils of injustice so far as political statecraft is concerned, and they may adopt virtuous ways and refrain from evil-doing.⁴¹

With a similar purpose, Barani’s book of advice to kings quoted popular Middle Eastern sayings such as “Religion and justice are twins” and “An hour of justice is better than seventy years of devotions,” putting them in the mouth of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud, India’s conqueror, rather than the Persian monarch Ardashir or the caliph Umar, to whom they were usually credited. The king was the only one who could ensure that political and social relations reflected the divine order. He was supported by an army whose strength permitted him to collect wealth, so maintaining the army was more important than justice and beneficence. He was also responsible for implementation of the *shari’a*, but beyond that, king-made law not directly opposed to Islamic law was both obligatory and absolute; Barani himself drew the parallel to steppe law from outside the Islamic context.⁴² Justice, said Barani, “breaks the strong arm of the tyrannical, the oppressive, and the mighty...in order to protect the money, property, women and children of the weak.” To enact justice demanded royal authority; the reason “for Muslim kings to claim Divine attributes...is that the king can come to the rescue of the helpless and enforce the claims of the oppressed.”⁴³

Although Barani believed in equality before the law, protection of the weak, and relief of distress, his ideas about justice applied mainly to the ruling classes, and the people played no active role; he did not connect the ruler’s support of the peasants with their ability to support the army. His statement, “till today the prosperity of the earth has been maintained through the justice of men of equity,” must have been meant metaphysically rather than in the concrete Middle Eastern sense because advice about how such men might contribute to “the prosperity of the earth” was conspicuously

lacking.⁴⁴ This concept of the relationship between king and people contained no sense of their interdependence and resembled the “Circle of Sovereignty” of the *Arthashastra* or the Persian *Denkard* rather than a circle of justice.

Nevertheless, a common saying in Sultanate India went: “only that person can in reality and in truth be called a *sultan* in whose territory not a single individual goes to bed hungry or naked.” Amir Khusrau compared the ruler to a shepherd.⁴⁵ There were sultans who understood that the peasants were “the treasure house of the community”⁴⁶ and took seriously the need to look after cultivation and provide for their welfare. Iltutmish, for example, provided Delhi with a water reservoir; Balban opened roads and restored ruined villages; Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq (1320-1325) built bridges and canals; Muhammad Tughluq dug wells and provided provisions and seed grain in times of famine; and Firoz Shah constructed new irrigation works that brought waste land under cultivation. The latter also reassessed agricultural taxes in a survey of his dominions that took six years to complete; adherence to the registers was often what was meant by justice in taxation matters.⁴⁷ Ala al-Din Khalji (1296-1316) had earlier remeasured the land and presided over a thorough accounting of the local and village officials’ tax records to eliminate corruption and extortion.⁴⁸ Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq lowered tax rates to encourage investment in agriculture, while Muhammad Tughluq, who had raised the taxes again, worked to extend cultivation and initiated a policy of agricultural loans.⁴⁹ His successor Firoz Shah forgave the loans, eliminated non-Qur’anic taxes, reassessed the revenue, and engaged in the building of cities, canals, dams, fortresses, hospitals, and roads, as well as mosques, palaces, and tombs for the sake of his soul.⁵⁰

Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, coming to the throne under a cloud, especially wished to be known as “The Just.” He named his Delhi fortress Adilabad, “Abode of the Just,”⁵¹ and his public audiences immensely impressed foreign visitors to his realm. Ibn Battuta, the Moroccan traveler, provided a rich description of the council hall of a thousand pillars where the sultan held court, seated in the courtyard on a golden throne surrounded by his officials, horses, and elephants (for executing criminals by trampling), and received foreign visitors and ambassadors in order of their rank and officials of the empire bearing gifts and deposits of provincial revenue. Muhammad Tughluq also had an administrative system for sultanic justice presided over by the grand vizier, the chief judge, or the *amir-i dad*, “lord of justice.” He read petitions on a nightly basis and sat in *mazalim* with a few officials and several *qadis* (Islamic judges) every Monday and Thursday, “and no one intending to make a complaint is prevented from presenting himself before the sultan.”⁵² On other days petitioners could come to court and submit their petitions to the chamberlain (*amir hajib*), who presented them to the sultan for later perusal. Another description of the sultan’s audience for petitioners supplemented the crowd of officials and the golden throne with a crier who called out, “He who has a complaint should come forward.’ Then everyone who has a complaint to make or something to ask of the Sultan comes forward.”⁵³ Several anecdotes celebrated Muhammad Tughluq’s humility in court and his acceptance of judgments against himself.⁵⁴

Ibn Battuta also retold a story he had heard about Sultan

Illuttmish, that he had had a bell like Anushirvan's, which could be rung by seekers of justice, whereupon their complaints would immediately be heard.⁵⁵ Whether or not the story was literally true, this retelling indicates the influence of the Middle Eastern tradition of justice on those who passed on the tale. The officials of the state, who ran the administration and assessed the taxes, deliberately followed Middle Eastern precedents, as can be seen from an administrative manual composed under Firoz Shah:

Be it known that whatever the scribes of Khorasan, Iraq, Ghazni and Fars have written about it, has been followed in practice for years and what the learned men of Ghazni have approved and adopted has been followed here. And up to this day this system as obtained amongst the scribes.⁵⁶

The last of the Delhi Sultans also consciously patterned themselves on the ancient kings. The greatest of the Afghan sultans took the regnal name of Alexander (Iskandar or Sikandar Lodi, 1489-1517), identifying himself with the monarch most closely associated with the Circle of Justice, and Sher Shah Sur (1540-1545) is said to have imitated Alexander the Great's recorded actions.

Although the Afghan rulers apparently paid little attention to irrigation works, they did adhere to the Circle of Justice strongly enough to make improvements to the revenue system. Under Sikandar land grants were redistributed and all agrarian land resurveyed using a standardized measurement that produced new and more accurate registers. His historian proclaimed: "During the fortunate reign of this monarch the fields were in a high state of cultivation, and merchants, peasants, and all God's creatures were enabled without danger to perform the duties of their respective occupations in ease and contentment."⁵⁷ He was reputed to be careful of his subjects' welfare and punished those who mistreated them, holding court every day and supervising the judicial system in person.

His equity beheld the weak and the strong with the same eye, and he was constantly employed in balancing evidence, deciding suits, arranging the affairs of the Empire, and trying to render his subjects happy.... He generally preferred the night for listening to the petitions of the needy.⁵⁸

His representative remained all day on the seat of justice, and judges were always present in the palace to hear cases. "If any one who had been oppressed demanded justice whilst he was out riding, he immediately demanded who the petitioner was."⁵⁹

Sher Shah's agrarian policy was dedicated to the expansion of agriculture; he had new land brought under cultivation, measuring it for tax purposes and appointing inspectors to prevent oppression.⁶⁰ The increased revenue allowed him to support a larger army with which to put down rebellions and catch robbers; he understood that "crime and violence prevent the development of prosperity."⁶¹ He prevented the army on the march from trampling crops and compensated peasants who suffered losses because, he said, "if I oppress them they will abandon their villages, and the country will be ruined and deserted"; when he invaded a region, "on account of his justice the people remained...and he became known by the fame of his generosity and benevolence."⁶² He had his own version of the Circle of Justice, couched in negative

terms:

When the *raiyat* [peasants] are scattered, the country becomes desolate, the tax and revenues diminish and the treasury becomes empty. When the exchequer becomes empty, the soldiers can not get their pay. When the soldiers fail to get their emoluments, they go away to other countries. The people who remain in attendance on their ruler do so because of the (affluence of) *raiyat*.⁶³

His historian related that "he maintained courts of justice in every place," and every morning "he asked if there was any one oppressed and injured, so that he would give him his dues."⁶⁴ Among the most important of his court officials was the *amir-i dad*, who presided over the *maẓalim* court and tried complaints against governors and military commanders.⁶⁵ During his reign, security on the roads was asserted to be so great that "a decrepit old woman might place a basket full of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would come near her."⁶⁶ Sher Shah's love of justice became proverbial; he was called "the just king" and compared with the caliph Umar and the Persian Anushirvan.

The currency of this tradition of justice among a wider public enabled writers of poetry, romance, and eulogy to employ it to characterize, flatter, or critique the monarchs they portrayed. Amir Khusrau of Delhi, a contemporary of Barani, wrote a *Khamsa* modeled on Nizami's that recalled, if it did not quote, Nizami's strictures on justice; a historical epic called *Qiran al-Sa'dayn* (*The Conjunction of the Two Fortunate Planets*) that portrayed the ill effects of disregarding the advice literature; and a *Tughluqnama* depicting Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq as "an ideal monarch who sat on the throne of Delhi to restore the social order."⁶⁷ Barani's defense of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq in his advice book was countered by the poet Isami's criticism in his *Futub al-Salatin* (*Conquests of the Sultans*), which cast the conqueror Mahmud of Ghazna as the representative of justice and generosity and Muhammad Tughluq as the "emperor of injustice."⁶⁸ In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Persian political ideas were spread throughout India by Iranian and Ottoman manuscripts whose importation has been traced from their effect on Indian miniature painting, especially in the western kingdoms.⁶⁹ Iranian poets, painters, and craftsmen migrated to India in ever-increasing numbers, along with merchants, soldiers, and administrators, and they copied and illustrated Middle Eastern works conveying the idea of the Circle of Justice, such as the *Shahnama*, *Kalila and Dimna*, and Nizami's *Khamsa*.⁷⁰ Even outside the areas ruled by Muslims, Middle Eastern styles came into fashion, as suggested by the Islamicate architecture of early sixteenth-century Vijayanagar.⁷¹ That kingdom's most famous ruler, Krishnadeva Raya (1509-1530), issued a collection of maxims, some of which had a decidedly Middle Eastern flavor:

Be always intent upon protecting your subjects. Whenever you hear complaints from people in distress, hear them and redress their sufferings. Do not entrust your affairs to mean persons....

When a state is small in extent then both virtue and prosperity will increase only when tanks and irrigation canals are constructed and favour is sown to the poor cultivators in the matter of taxation and services....

Collecting money by oppressing the subjects, taking

the counsel of worthless people, allowing one's territory to be annexed by others, an able king should see that these things exist only with his enemies.⁷²

The Mughal conquerors of northern India in the sixteenth century traced their ancestry to Timur, creator of a Central Asian empire that was the most illustrious cultural center of the fifteenth-century Muslim world. Under the influence of Timurid ideas of legitimacy, based on dynastic continuity, inheritance of Chingiz Khan's mandate, and support for Islamic culture, Mughal rulers struggled to replace the Delhi Sultanate's rule by strength with dynastic legitimacy and loyalty to the ruling family.⁷³ The Circle of Justice formed a minor part of the Timurid political heritage; Rashid al-Din's letters containing the four-line Circle of Justice were apparently compiled under the Timurids, and a magnificently calligraphed copy of Aristotle's advice to Alexander presented to Prince Baysunghur featured the eight-line version:

The world is a garden for the state to master.

The state is power supported by the law.

The law is policy administered by the king.

The king is a shepherd supported by the army.

The army are assistants provided for by taxation.

Taxation is sustenance gathered by subjects.

Subjects are slaves provided for by justice.

Justice is that by which the rectitude of the world subsists.⁷⁴

Despite their Timurid connections, the early Mughal emperors rarely alluded directly to the Circle of Justice, but it contributed to the intellectual foundation of one of their favorite activities, the planting of gardens. The Persian-style gardens that the Mughals created were laid out to represent the garden of Paradise, with its four corners, fruitful trees, and ever-flowing river of life,⁷⁵ but such gardens also had a this-worldly referent: the well-protected realm where order and abundance were maintained by the ruler's justice, "a garden for the state to master."⁷⁶

Babur (1526-1530), the first of the Mughal rulers, personally planned and sited several royal gardens, striving to reproduce the Timurid cultural atmosphere he had left behind in what he felt to be India's inhospitable environment.⁷⁷ He knew the Circle of Justice, but it held a small place in his memoirs compared with ideals belonging to the tribal warrior, the Muslim *ghazi*, or the king in splendor. He did, however, make it a yardstick by which to judge his Timurid relatives.⁷⁸ His critique of Sultan-Husayn Bayqara's wasteful and extravagant administrative arrangements, by which "the peasant did not prosper, and the soldier was not satisfied," showed that Babur, at least, understood the relationship between good administration, prosperity, a full treasury, a successful army, and stable rule.⁷⁹ Adherence to the Circle of Justice, while not an important legitimating factor, was clearly understood to be a formula for successful rule. In several episodes, Babur portrayed himself forbidding his men to raid the peasants or do them harm because they were, or might become, his own subjects.⁸⁰ Among his favorite readings were Firdausi's *Shahnama* and the *Khamsas* of Nizami and Amir Khusrau; he carried his ancestor's copy of the *Shahnama* from Herat to India and passed it on to his descendants.⁸¹ And it was after discussions with Babur that Ikhtiyar al-Husayni wrote his summary of Tusi's *Nasirean Ethics*, the *Akblaq-i Humayuni* (*The Humayunian Ethics*), which elucidated the principles of rulership over the peasants using Tusi's concepts of balance and har-

mony.⁸² Still, one could hardly say that the Circle of Justice formed a keynote of Babur's administration.

Babur's successor Humayun (nominally 1530-1556, but ousted from Delhi 1540-1555) spent much of his life fighting for the throne, often outside India. He did not write his own memoirs, so we have no direct record of his thinking, although we do know that he held open court for nobles and commoners, announcing his availability by beating drums. A drum also played the role of Anushirvan's bell in announcing seekers of justice.⁸³ His official historian, Khwandamir, brought up in Timurid Herat and steeped in the Circle of Justice, introduced Humayun as one of those rulers who "having extended the shadow of their protection did not permit the Sun of injustice to blaze upon the wanderers in the desert of disappointment," one comparable to the just rulers Solomon and Alexander the Great, "a Nushirvan (of his time)," and one "who shut the gate of tyranny."⁸⁴ The just nature of his reign was also announced through his practice of divination by the names of a series of chance-met people on the road; those names—State, Goodness, and Pleasure—referred to the categories of Humayun's men, the men of the sword, the men of religion, and the beautiful and entertaining. The men of the sword, according to Khwandamir, were called the officers of State because, "according to the words 'There can be no domination without men,'...no one can obtain the throne and power without the help of warriors and heroes."⁸⁵ Khwandamir never finished his quotation of the Circle of Justice, nor did he record any incidents in which it was enacted, but for him—if not for Humayun—it obviously encapsulated the structure of the state. The same was not true of another recorder of Humayun's reign, his servant Jawhar, who compiled "memoirs" from which the Circle of Justice was generally absent; it appeared only in a story of a tax collector who began his task by taking away a taxpayer's blanket, a hint that this example of oppression should not be followed.⁸⁶

In the time of Akbar (1556-1605), the consolidator of the Mughal Empire, aspects of the Circle of Justice gradually became a more important part of both the ruler's legitimation and his activity. As Akbar's concept of kingship grew and changed over the course of his long reign, so did the role of justice in royal behavior and ideology. When he Persianized the administration in 1575, Akbar included in his new curriculum for bureaucrats a number of Middle Eastern works where the idea of the Circle of Justice was expressed (including Tusi's *Nasirean Ethics* and Khwandamir's history) and at least one, Davvani's *Jalalian Ethics*, where it was directly quoted.⁸⁷ He also had read to him daily the great political classics of the Indian and Islamic cultures.⁸⁸ As he told the Uzbek khan in a letter written in 1583, "All this autocracy and world-rule, all this sword-bearing and clime-conquering, are for the purpose of shepherding, and for doing the work of watch and ward."⁸⁹

Akbar's chief adviser and biographer Abu al-Fazl had been educated by his own father, whose teacher had been a disciple of Davvani.⁹⁰ As a result, he was quite familiar with Islamic political literature based on the Circle of Justice and sought to present it as the state's ideology, although whether he was trying to persuade outside observers or Akbar himself is unclear.⁹¹ In his *Akbar-nama*, Abu al-Fazl sprinkled the word "justice" freely over his pages when writing about Ak-

bar's early years, but without explaining what he meant by it.⁹² He defined the term justice as the protection of the weak from the strong in a 1574 anecdote about the mother of the prince of Gujarat, who accused a high official of killing the prince and obtained his execution, stating: "The old and deserted woman never imagined that so powerful a man would be punished for misdeeds, and was astonished on beholding such justice."⁹³ Abu al-Fazl now proclaimed that because of Akbar's good administration, "the oppressed obtained relief by his justice, and the ruined world flourished anew."⁹⁴ In descriptions of subsequent years he used the term "justice" both to decorate royal praises and to evaluate royal actions, such as regulations for the army and the peasantry. He made sure to record occasions when Akbar remitted taxes, provided food in times of scarcity and high prices, surveyed newly conquered lands and appointed responsible tax officials, or punished those who engaged in extortion.⁹⁵ Justice could also legitimate Akbar's conquests: a just king should desire to extend his empire in order to replace unjust rulers and bring justice to more people. In a conclusion attributed to a mystic, building a just empire would also qualify the ruler for spiritual dominion.⁹⁶

Among Akbar's preserved edicts, several urged observance of the values of the Circle of Justice. For example, an appointment order for provincial finance officials stated that they should work

for the tranquillity of the condition of the *ri'aya* and the weak, with great effort and much striving they should accomplish the expansion and habitation of [the] place. If some people from among the helpless and of lower strata are being oppressed, then for their sake, the officers should warn the evil-doers and should try to prevent the oppression.⁹⁷

An edict from 1570-71 described Akbar's dispatch to a province of a new tax register and a representative who was "empowered to decide all the pending cases relating to revenue"; one from 1581 extended the term in office of an official "who rendered meritorious service by ameliorating the condition of the ryots [peasants]."⁹⁸ In 1581 Akbar had a revenue census made; when it was finished, he had new fiscal regulations drawn up mandating that tax collection should proceed in accordance with the new assessment registers, "and if by fraud or oppression any thing beyond the settled amount should be received from the cultivators, they were to account it an excess of the proper payment, and were to levy a fine on those who had exacted it" and reimburse the complainants. Loans, advances, and tax deductions were granted for cultivating reclaimed lands and expanding agriculture, and cases of crop failure merited special reductions to the assessment. "By these arrangements, the country would in a short time become cultivated, the *rai'yats* [peasantry] would be contented, and the treasury flourishing." And in fact, in 1587 grain became so plentiful and prices so low, "owing to civilization and justice," that taxes had to be reduced.⁹⁹ The assessors were commanded not to arrange blanket assessments with the great men of a district, but to assess each peasant separately, carefully recording his condition and giving him a copy of the assessment; if tax collectors did not adhere to these assessments, peasants could and did complain to officials or to the ruler himself.¹⁰⁰

In order to improve access to justice, Akbar initiated

the custom of showing himself every morning from a window in his palace to a crowd gathered below:

After performing his morning devotions, he is visible from outside the awning, to people of all ranks, whether they be given to worldly pursuits, or to a life of solitary contemplation, without any molestation from the macebearers. This mode of showing himself is called, in the language of the country, *darsan* (view); and it frequently happens that business is transacted at this time. The *second* time of his being visible is in the State Hall, whither he generally goes after the first watch of the day. But this assembly is sometimes announced towards the close of day, or at night. He also frequently appears at a window, which opens into the State Hall, for the transaction of business; or he dispenses there justice calmly and serenely, or examines into the dispensation of justice, or the merit of officers.... Every officer of government then presents various reports, or explains his several wants, and is instructed by His Majesty how to proceed.¹⁰¹

On Akbar's order, "Our court is open to mankind, whoever is helpless and takes refuge there will obtain his desires."¹⁰² His palaces were constructed to facilitate these sessions, with an external "viewing window" and public and private courts of audience.¹⁰³ Besides the royal court itself, there were also provincial courts, Islamic *qadi* courts (which were open to non-Muslims as well as Muslims), and local village courts, from which cases could be referred to the ruler's court.¹⁰⁴

Illustrated manuscripts produced during Akbar's reign reflected the growing interest in and awareness of Perso-Islamic styles of government and the Circle of Justice in particular. Manuscripts from Akbar's first two decades were mainly adventure stories and fantastic tales, and those done in the 1580s were histories of Indian and Timurid monarchs.¹⁰⁵ In 1595, however, a magnificent copy of Nizami's *Khamsa* was produced, and after the turn of the century two illustrated copies of Rashid al-Din's world history.¹⁰⁶ An illustration in Abu al-Fazl's *Akbar-nama* made around 1604 showed Akbar hearing a petition while seated in a garden pavilion surrounded by courtiers and a European.¹⁰⁷ The *Khamsa* contained tales about justice and pictures of Anushirvan and his vizier (a retelling of the story of Bahram and the owls) and Sultan Sanjar and the old woman, together with other paintings illustrating the relationship between the king and his subjects.¹⁰⁸ This work became the model for a new *Khamsa* composed by Abu al-Fazl's brother, the poet Faizi.¹⁰⁹ The appeal of the Middle East's politically-oriented literature and ideas seems to have been growing in Akbar's later years.

Abu al-Fazl's administrative manual, *A'in-i Akbari*, also produced in 1595, brought together his wide knowledge of Middle Eastern precedents and his experience of decades in the Mughal administration. Although it did not include the Circle of Justice as such, it was clearly based on that concept as well as on the *Ethiis* tradition. It began with a discussion of kingship that made royal justice the source of social stability: "by the light of imperial justice, some follow with cheerfulness the road of obedience, whilst others abstain from violence through fear of punishment." The object of the true king was "to remove oppression and provide everything which is good.... He is not content with not committing violence, but he must see that no injustice is done within his realm." Further, "Divine worship in monarchs consists in

their justice and good administration." After a section on the army, Abu al-Fazl described Akbar's early reform of treasury corruption, for the improvement of the human condition depended on "the advancement of agriculture, on the order kept in the king's household, on the readiness of the champions of the empire, and the discipline of the army." The tax collector, he said, "should be a friend of the agriculturalist...and so administer that the cry of complaint shall be stilled."¹¹⁰

Despite all this rhetoric about care for the flock, however, Akbar does not seem to have had much actual contact with peasants. The people attending the emperor's audiences from outside the court and capital were mostly military and political figures; townspeople and peasants living at a distance glimpsed him, if at all, from afar.¹¹¹ Compared to other Islamic realms, where the servants of the ruler were dispersed across the land to govern it, in Mughal India peasants appear to have been further removed from the state. There the *zamindars* formed a buffering layer of landholders between the cultivators and the state's representatives. As former ruling groups, the *zamindars* held a great deal of local authority: they bore arms; collected substantial revenues, which were subtracted from the state's income; and probably resolved local disputes. In addition, the villages were responsible for local security and had a thriving system of village courts (*panchayats*) in addition to caste and clan councils.¹¹² The peasants brought relatively few problems to representatives of the state and fewer still to the ruler himself. Shah Jahan more than once complained that although he had set aside one day a week to dispense justice, "it was rarely even then that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number generally being much less."¹¹³ If the peasants were less dependent on the emperor, so also the emperor was less dependent on the peasants. Not only did he control less of the agricultural surplus (only about sixty percent), but his reliance on it must also have decreased as trade revenues boomed during the seventeenth century. Militarily, despite the presence of *zamindars* and armed peasants, the ruler's monopoly of mounted archers and artillery, elephants and war horses, gave him superiority over local princes and freed him from dependence on peasant forces.¹¹⁴ Because of this distance between ruler and peasants, the Mughal emperors' audiences were devoted mainly to the ruling class, and the record of their concern for agriculture and irrigation is more sparse than that of the Delhi Sultanate.

The concept of justice seems to have gained greater legitimating force under Akbar's successors. Its increasing prominence in the ideology of kingship during Akbar's last two decades was reinforced by a continuous stream of intellectuals who migrated to India from Iran and Central Asia and acquired high offices.¹¹⁵ Both Muslims and Zoroastrians published works on pre-Islamic Iranian ideologies for Indian audiences.¹¹⁶ Members of the *ulama*, doubtful of Akbar's commitment to Islam, put pressure on his successor Jahangir (1602-1628) to eliminate his father's more un-Islamic customs. Perhaps partially in response, Jahangir renewed the dynastic emphasis on his Timurid heritage and legitimacy, in which the Circle of Justice had an honored place.¹¹⁷ He collected Timurid memorabilia and patronized Timurid styles in art and architecture.¹¹⁸ His preoccupation with Timurid symbolism was recognized by Shah Abbas of Iran, who addressed

him by Timur's title of Gurgan as "him who sits upon the Gurgani throne and is the heir of the crown of Timur."¹¹⁹ Jahangir also likened himself to Solomon, the Biblical king and just judge: frescoes of angels and demons painted under a dome in the Lahore palace associated his rule with that of Solomon, who controlled supernatural beings, while an inscription on one of the gates called him "the shadow of God, a Solomon in dignity, Kayomarth in state, Alexander in arms..."¹²⁰ During Jahangir's reign two "mirrors for princes" were composed. One, written by a Qadi Khaqani and still unpublished, was based on works of philosophical ethics such as Davvani's *Jalalian Ethics*; it included justice among the qualities of a good ruler, but emphasized his enforcement of Islamic law. The other, written by Muhammad Baqir Najmi Sani, a state servant with both military and administrative experience, lay more fully within the Perso-Islamic bureaucratic tradition.¹²¹ In his view, the emperor was both "the supporter of the pillars of the Caliphate" and "the illuminator of Gurgan's lamp"; to "the morals of the custodian of the *Shari'ah*" he should add "the grandeur of Faridun" and "the dignity of Jamshid." The book defined a just ruler as "a refuge to the oppressed and a protector of the fallen" and claimed that only through justice could a ruler attain the hereafter.¹²²

Already at his accession, Jahangir exhibited a fascination with Middle Eastern precedents, presenting himself as a new Anushirvan:

After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention. Its fashion was this: I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, thirty *gaz* in length and containing 60 bells. Its weight was 4 Indian maunds, equal to 42 Iraqi maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shah Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river.¹²³

Jahangir appeared each morning at an outside window for viewing and listened to petitions in the public audience court or, for more complicated business, in a smaller private hall. He struggled to accept petitions over the objections of his officials, refusing to cancel public audiences when he was ill; petitioners even disguised themselves to get into his presence. He spent New Year's Day of his eighth regnal year sitting all day in the public audience hall hearing petitions and accepting gifts and regularly on Tuesdays judged legal cases in *mazalim*.¹²⁴ Illustrations in his *Memoirs*, painted around 1620, and in the *Padshahnama*, painted around 1640, showed him holding court surrounded by courtiers and nobles.¹²⁵ Among his first edicts were commands to provide justice by eliminating non-Qur'anic taxes, building caravansarais and digging wells along the roads, constructing hospitals, and freeing prisoners. Other commands he issued that satisfied the demands of the Circle of Justice included orders to officials to capture thieves and rebels, punish those who seized village revenues and restore lands to the peasants, make the roads safe, demand no taxes from the exempt, and make awards of land to the deserving.¹²⁶

Shah Jahan heightened the emphasis on the Timurid

heritage still further, adopting Timur's title of "Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction" and having himself painted accepting his crown from his ancestor Timur's own hands.¹²⁷ These acts fittingly recognized that his dynasty had finally achieved the unchallenged supremacy originally claimed by Timur and had created a state based not on nomadic values, but on the Perso-Islamic tradition of the Middle East, of which the Circle of Justice was a representation. He had a garden carved in marble inlay (*pietre dura*) on his throne pavilion in the Red Fort that, unlike the garden in which it was set, bloomed all year long and continuously represented "the spring of the flower garden of justice and generosity" that issued from the just ruler.¹²⁸ Urban gardens and flower imagery symbolized the prosperity of the realm as well as the delights of paradise, and Shah Jahan renewed Babur's enthusiasm for Timurid-style gardens. The most famous of these was the garden of the Taj Mahal, a "Timurid revival" building with similarities to Humayun's tomb, which had been built by a Timurid architect.¹²⁹

As the state's representative and embodiment, Shah Jahan carried on the Mughal tradition of giving justice in person:

God had given the kings authority and made all men their subjects for the sole purpose that the entire attention of kings be directed towards the maintenance of justice, which is the basis of the functioning of the world and the races of men. Therefore, the king should so award punishments that the cruel cannot oppress their victims, and (the nobles) may treat the poor mildly, and the garden of the world flourish owing to the removal of the thorns of cruelty.¹³⁰

He did not use Jahangir's golden chain of justice except symbolically in paintings,¹³¹ but as a substitute he had a string that he would let down from the window where he appeared in the mornings. People tied their petitions to this string "and thus complaints reached the Emperor unhindered."¹³² He had a scale of justice engraved in stone over the door of his audience hall in the Red Fort and invited *qadis* and judicial officials to his court every Wednesday, to whom he referred the petitions and cases presented to him.¹³³

The audience halls Shah Jahan constructed in all the Mughal capitals replaced the canopies or open courts that had sufficed in most locations with open-walled halls, built in wood and then rebuilt in stone. Their form, a "forty-pillared" space with open sides, imitated the "forty-pillared hall" of Persepolis, capital of the ancient Persian kings and sometimes attributed to King Solomon, who was identified with the Persian king Jamshid and with whom in turn the Mughal dynasty identified.¹³⁴ Shah Jahan's royal imagery, building on Jahangir's base, thus completed the turn from the Sufi/syncretistic imperialism of Akbar to the high-imperial ideology of the Middle East, where themes and ideas from ancient empires (Mesopotamian, Persian, and Jewish, and in the Mughal case Hellenistic, Christian, and Hindu as well) were extended and fulfilled by Islamic rulers.¹³⁵ This ideology proved attractive to the Hindu elite as well as to Muslims; many of them learned Persian and became not only state servants, but exponents of Persianate culture and learning as well.¹³⁶

Ideology aside, Shah Jahan's actual enactment of justice was mainly concerned with the preferment of elites, but royal

edicts and agrarian policies extended it to non-elites as well. The clearing of forests and the proliferation of revenue manuals testify to an effort to expand cultivation and regulate taxation that was meant "to keep the *ri'aya* happy with their [officials'] considerate behavior and to populate the country."¹³⁷ Surviving edicts answering appeals from victims of robbery and violence, administrative errors, and illegal taxation show that Shah Jahan tried to rectify irregularities, punish offenders, and restore the losses of complainants. Often enough, "harsh and exacting revenue collectors and even provincial viceroys were dismissed when the complaints of their subjects reached the Emperor's ears."¹³⁸ Orders also expanded the reach of the Circle of Justice by commanding those in responsible positions to employ it toward others. For example, an appointment order for a revenue official instructed him "to adhere to the prescribed regulations of His Majesty to treat the *ri'aya* and inhabitants of the place in such a way that they may feel satisfied and grateful to him and the population and prosperity of the *pargana* may increase day by day," while a leaseholder was told "to promote and increase the population and prosperity of the said *manzra* and enhance the welfare of the ryots."¹³⁹ The official history of Shah Jahan's reign recorded his just acts during a famine: the establishment of soup kitchens, distribution of money to the poor, and remission of taxes in the hardest-hit region. Along the army's marching route he stationed guards to prevent his entourage from trampling crops, sending inspectors to report damages and compensate peasants and small landholders. Despite his repairs to a canal supplying water to his new capital city, however, neither he nor any other Mughal ruler appears to have spent time or money on India's irrigation system.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, historians of later times attributed the prosperity of Shah Jahan's reign to his justice and care:

The means employed by the King in these happy times to protect and nourish his people; to punish all kinds of oppressive evil-doers; his knowledge on all subjects tending to the welfare of his people; his impressing the same necessity upon the revenue functionaries, and the appointment of honest and intelligent officers in every district; his administration of the country, and calling for and examining annual statements of revenue, in order to ascertain what were the resources of the empire; his showing his royal affection to the people, and expressing his displeasure when necessary; his issuing stringent orders to the officers appointed to the charge of the crown and assigned lands, to promote the increase and welfare of the tenants; his admonishing the disobedient, and constantly directing his generous attention towards the improvement of agriculture and the collection of the revenues of the state;—all these contributed in a great measure to advance the prosperity of his empire.¹⁴¹

Aurangzeb (or Alamgir, 1659-1707), in adopting an orthodox Islamic posture, marginalized the role of the Circle of Justice in his political ideology, despite chastising his tutor for neglecting to instruct him "on one point at least, so essential to be known by a King; namely, on the reciprocal duties between the sovereign and his subjects."¹⁴² He refused to write his own memoirs or allow an official history to be composed; his historian, Muhammad Kazim, was forced to abandon his work after the first ten years. Other historical sources from his reign generally did not portray him in terms of the Circle of Justice,

with a few minor exceptions. A scribal history completed after his death did refer obliquely to the Circle of Justice in quoting Aurangzeb himself: "Providence has made me ruler of the habitable world. The oppressed appeals to me against his oppressor, and expects redress."¹⁴³ Another written by a Brahmin alluded to the Circle of Justice in the introduction.¹⁴⁴ A work bearing the name of one of Aurangzeb's nobles but possibly written by a Muslim *shayekh* described Aurangzeb in traditional Islamic terms rather than those of the Circle of Justice, recording his remission of non-Qur'anic taxes such as the transit dues on grain, cloth, and other goods.¹⁴⁵ In contrast, a rather old-fashioned history written after his death situated Aurangzeb in a Timurid dynastic context; it too recorded his tax remissions, but justified them by the need to alleviate the people's distress after two years of drought. It maintained, however, that officials continued to collect and pocket the taxes, "because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread of punishment remained."¹⁴⁶

Aurangzeb apparently wanted to inculcate the idea of the Circle of Justice in his sons, however, because he referred to it repeatedly in letters addressed to one or another "exalted son" scolding him for appointing tyrannical officials and for failing to put down robbers or listen to people's complaints. He also quoted edifying poems and Sufi saints recommending justice, as well as this advice from his own father, Shah Jahan:

May God forbid, if an unworthy king attains to the dignity of sovereignty and appoints ministers and nobles having no sound judgement to posts (in the kingdom), absolute disorder will prevail in the management of the country. Then follow the ruin and poverty of the subjects, and the country yields a reduced revenue and (thus) is ruined.¹⁴⁷

Aurangzeb's orders about revenue collectors also alluded to the Circle of Justice: "Firstly, he must every year increase the revenue of his district; secondly, he must not practise oppression...and must not ruin any village; thirdly, he must make [the area] free of robbers," and commanded "that no crime, especially oppression, should be perpetrated; the result will be that there will be order and peace in the kingdom."¹⁴⁸ An order to the chief revenue official of Gujarat summed up Aurangzeb's policies regarding care for the cultivators, provision of agricultural loans, reclamation of waste lands, levels of taxation, and issues of assessment and collection and stated that the provincial officials

should practise benevolence to the cultivators, inquire into their condition and exert themselves judiciously and tactfully, so that [the cultivators] may joyfully and heartily try to increase the cultivation, and every arable tract may be brought under tillage.¹⁴⁹

An appointment order for a deputy governor commanded the same care:

He must make an extraordinary effort to bring order and prosperity to that province; to protect and secure (its) cities; to chastise and punish malefactors and rebels; to eradicate and suppress those who incite sedition; to make the roads and highways safe and secure; ...to prevent the imposition of taxes forbidden by the exalted court, and to abolish forbidden articles and intoxicating liquors. He must take absolute care to see that no one among the

strong can prey upon the weak.¹⁵⁰

The subdistrict governor "ought to keep all classes of men pleased by his good behaviour, and see that the strong may not oppress the weak." He had to suppress and capture rebels, "yet he must not harm the smaller cultivators (in this process)."¹⁵¹

Aurangzeb in his eleventh year stopped the custom of appearing at the "viewing window" in order to discourage what he considered to be worship of a human being; he also ceased to patronize portrait painters.¹⁵² He continued, however, to receive petitions in his private chamber in the mornings, to take requests from nobles, and to hold *mazalim* court on Wednesday, sitting until noon and hearing petitioners one by one, either making a decision on the spot or referring the case to a local governor for a full investigation. In the harem he heard petitions from women, widows and orphans.¹⁵³ He also judged capital cases referred to the Islamic law courts.¹⁵⁴ Extant letters indicate that petitioners sought justice regarding theft, confiscated property, debt, the retention of grants and tax exemptions, murder, embezzlement, oppression by officials, and a case where officials had joined with rebels to destroy villages and plunder grain and cattle.¹⁵⁵ The traveler Francois Bernier described the audience hall in some detail:

...decorated with several rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold. The hall is raised considerably from the ground, and very airy, being open on the three sides that look into the court. In the centre of the wall that separates the hall from the *Seraglio*, and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window, where the Monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne.... The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole courtyard, is filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor; because it is in this extensive hall that the King gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects: hence it is called *Am-Kas*, or audience-chamber of high and low....

All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the *Am-Kas* are brought to the King and read in his hearing; and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the Monarch himself, who often redresses on the spot the wrongs of the aggrieved party. On another day of the week he devotes two hours to hear in private the petitions of ten persons selected from the lower orders, and presented to the King by a good and rich old man. Nor does he fail to attend the justice-chamber, called *Adalet-Kanay*, on another day of the week, attended by the two principal *Kadis*, or chief justices....

The grand hall of the *Am-Kas* opens into a more retired chamber, called the *Gosel-Kane*.... It is in this place that the King, seated in a chair, his *Omrabs* standing around him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of state.¹⁵⁶

This arrangement was replicated on the march by tents, for Aurangzeb "seldom fail[ed] even when in the field, to hold his assembly twice during the twenty four hours;" an Italian traveler saw him receiving petitions in the middle of his Deccan campaign.¹⁵⁷ A special edict ensured the people's right to bring claims against government officials and appointed pro-

vincial agents to hear the claims of those who could not make the journey to the capital. This provision sought to remedy the condition of which Bernier justifiably complained, that the expense and danger of seeking justice at the capital put all the power in the hands of the provincial governor.¹⁵⁸ Other agents reported on the conduct of governors, even royal princes, and brought Aurangzeb complaints of mismanagement and oppression. He issued a special penal code, clarifying and condensing previous decisions and interpretations in order to overcome court delays and make it easier to follow and enforce Islamic law.¹⁵⁹

Amid the praises of Aurangzeb's justice, however, there are indications that in practice it was rather superficial. He remitted non-Qur'anic trade taxes in his eleventh year, but because of violations, he soon reestablished a regular customs regime. Rather than support his reforming officials, he became involved in factional struggles over their appointment and lost their services.¹⁶⁰ Because his military adventures were unsuccessful and expensive, he tried to raise funds by imposing the Islamic *jaz'ya* [*jiz'ya*] tax on non-Muslims, and protests arose from vast numbers of Hindus who claimed they were unable to pay. "But the Emperor would not listen to their complaints.... At length an order was given to bring out the elephants and direct them against the mob. Many fell trodden to death under the feet of the elephants and horses."¹⁶¹ A story told about Aurangzeb's response to an old woman who complained about confiscations by one of his officials began by describing his issuing of strict orders against the official and transferring him when those orders were ignored, but ended with the emperor's lack of punishment for the official's replacement when he tried the same tricks.¹⁶² The historian Khafi Khan concluded ironically: "Of all the sovereigns of the House of Timur—nay, of all the sovereigns of Dehli—no one, since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice.... But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained."¹⁶³

The irony, of course, was that despite what has been called Aurangzeb's "softness" in judgment, it was his harsh policies that impoverished the country, at least in part; his constant warfare ruined agriculture, disrupted trade, and emptied the treasury, while his Islamic sectarianism and discriminatory taxation alienated the non-Muslim majority among his subjects. After his reign his successors were less attentive to the administration of justice, and people transferred their dependence from the royal court to local governors and strongmen.¹⁶⁴ The realm fragmented, at last coming under the control of the British who, to add to the irony, adopted elements of the Circle of Justice in order to govern the country. Their legal system was based on Islamic law and existing court practices, and from the first they received petitions dealing with issues such as violations of traditional rights, looting by soldiers, taxation quarrels, and delays of justice; the Bengal Collector even maintained a complaint box "in order to afford free and easy access to justice and redress."¹⁶⁵

On the whole, the Circle of Justice apparently played little part in legitimating Indian Muslim rulers or, with some notable exceptions, in guiding their behavior, but it formed a relatively important element in their public image, again with

some exceptions. The impact of the Middle Eastern concept of justice as the support of cultivation and the basis of governance and military strength seems to have been quite broad, but not very deep. The fact that it never became a factor in legitimating the rulers suggests that it played only a superficial role in the relations between them and their subjects. While in several cases it was an important aspect of their public relations, affecting their architecture and daily schedules, for the most part its values scarcely altered their governmental actions or their spending patterns. Rulers cared more to be seen as attentive to petitions than to provide for agriculture and irrigation. The Delhi Sultans over time do seem to have paid more attention to the peasants' needs than they had at first, but the Mughal emperors were intently focused on the needs of the nobility. This was perhaps because they saw their power and prosperity as dependent less on the good will and productivity of the peasants than on the cooperation of a diverse and jealous nobility, and to a lesser extent on the dubious docility of the merchants. The fabled wealth of Mughal India surely gave reason to believe that this policy was sufficient. According to scholars, however, wars of conquest and struggles to control the nobility so damaged the productive capacity of the peasants that they became both unable and unwilling to support the dynasty in return. The concordance of this result with the Circle of Justice underscores its ability to pinpoint vital relationships in agrarian society. "To acquire wealth, make the people prosper; To make the people prosper, justice is the means." To fail to provide justice, then, was to undercut the prosperity of the kingdom and the greatness of the ruler, not only in moral, but in economic and political terms.

NOTES

¹Quoted in Phillip B. Wagoner, *"Tidings of the King": A Translation and Ethnohistorical Analysis of the "Rayavacakamu"* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 95.

²Wagoner, *"Tidings"*, 196, n. 49; Phillip B. Wagoner, *"Iqta' and Nayamkara: Military Service Tenures and Political Theory from Saljuq Iran to Vijayanagara South India"* (paper presented at the 25th Annual Conference on South Asia, Madison, WI, 18-20 October 1996), 13.

³Abu Muhammad Abdallah b. Muslim b. Qutayba, *Kitab Uyun al-Akhbar*, 4 vols. (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1925-30), 1: 9, trans. Bernard Lewis in *Islam: from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1973), 1: 185 (interpolations mine); also Josef Horowitz, "Ibn Quteiba's Uyun al-Akhbar," *Islamic Culture* 4 (1930): 193. I am currently preparing a study, provisionally entitled "Justice and Power in the Middle East," of this concept's history.

⁴Jerrold S. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions*, Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, AOS Translation Series, vol. 1 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1986), 94. For Hammurabi and others see Robert Dankoff, introduction to *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, by Yusuf Khass Hajib (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 4-9.

⁵*The Denkard*, bk. III, chap. 134, quoted in M. F. Kanga, "Kingship and Religion in Iran," *Acta Iranica* 3 (1974): 224; see also J. de Menasce, trans., *Le troisième livre du Denkard* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1973), 138-39.

⁶*Kautilya's Arthashastra*, trans. R. Shumasastry, 5th ed. (Mysore: Sri Raghuvver Printing Press, 1956), 287, 8.

⁷*The Laws of Manu*, trans. Wendy Doniger and Brian K. Smith (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 135.

⁸*Kautilya's Arthashastra*, trans. Shumasastry, 37, 437, 38.

⁹According to scholars, the *Arthashastra* recommended that the government increase its wealth by fostering prosperity in the society, especially by ensuring the provision of water and maintaining irrigation facilities, and that it exercise its coercive power to keep the world in order and prevent the strong from oppressing the weak: B. P. Sinha, *Readings in Kautilya's Arthashastra* (Delhi: Agam Prakashan, 1976), 4-5; R. S. Saini, "The Concept of Danda in Manu and Kautilya," in *Kautilya Arthashastra: An Appraisal*, ed. Pushpendra Kumar (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1989), 33.

¹⁰See Mario Grignaschi, "Quelques specimens de la littérature sassanide conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," *Journal asiatique* 254 (1966): 16-45, 129-30.

¹¹Arthur Emmanuel Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed. (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1971), 379; for Chinese antecedents of Anushirvan's bell see Edward A. Kracke, Jr., "Early Visions of Justice for the Humble in East and West," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 16 (1976): 492-98.

¹²See, for example, Syed Sulaiman Nadwi, *Indo-Arab Relations*, trans. M. Salahuddin (Hyderabad: Institute of Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies, 1962).

¹³See n. 3. Pre-ninth century sources, however, suggest that this concept of justice was understood, even taken for granted, by Muslims prior to the ninth century.

¹⁴J. Sadan, "A 'Closed-Circuit' Saying on Practical Justice," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 325-41.

¹⁵See Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama*, trans. Hubert Darke, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 34; Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali, *Ghazali's Book of Counsel for Kings (Nasihat al-Muluk)*, trans. F. R. C. Bagley (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 56.

¹⁶Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, trans. W. M. Thackston, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998-1999), 2: 328, 395, 410, 480, 560, 563, 628, 652; M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, "Nasir al-Din Tusi on Finance," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1940-42): 769, 778.

¹⁷In English see Julie Scott Meisami, "Kings and Lovers: Ethical Dimensions of Medieval Persian Romance," *Edebiyat* 1 (1987): 3-7; Nizami Ganjavi, *The Haft Paykar: A Medieval Persian Romance*, trans. Julie Scott Meisami (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Nizami Ganjavi, *Makbzanol Asrar, The Treasury of Mysteries*, trans. Gholam Hosein Darab (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1945), 217-19, 167-69, 157-60.

¹⁸English translations of the *Sirr al-Asrar* include Robert Steele, ed., *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896); Moses Gaster, "The Hebrew Version of the 'Secretum Secretorum,' with an Introduction and an English Translation," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1907): 879-912, (1908): 111-162, 1065-1084; Robert Steele, ed., *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, vol. 5: *Secretum Secretorum*, English trans. Ismail Ali (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 224-27; M. A. Manzalaoui, ed., *Secretum Se-*

cretorum: Nine English Versions, vol. 1 (Oxford: Early English Text Society, 1997).

¹⁹Fakhr al-Din Razi, *Jami al-Ulum (Compendium of Sciences)*, ed. Muhammad Husayn Tasbihi (Tehran: Kitabkhanah Asadi, 1324/1906), 207; Ann K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam, An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 136-37.

²⁰Rashid al-Din Fadlallah Tabib, *Mukatabat-i Rashidi*, ed. Muammad Shafi' (Lahore: Kulliyat-i Panjab, 1945), 120; A. H. Morton, "The Letters of Rashid al-Din: Ilkhanid Fact or Timurid Fiction?" in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 155-99. Rashid al-Din's letters, Razi's compendium, and Davvani's *Akblaq-i Jalali* all became standard works in the curriculum of the Mughal administrative elite.

²¹Jalal al-Din Muhammad Davvani, *Akblaq-i Jalali* (Lucknow: Matba'-'i Munshi Naval Kishur, 1866), 331; for the translation see S. H. Deen, *The English Translation of "The Akblak-i-Jalali," A Code of Morality in Persian* (Lahore: Sheikh Mubarak Ali, 1939), 244; not translated (replaced by asterisks) in the older translation, W. F. Thompson, *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People* (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1839).

²²Muhammad Nazim, "The *Pand-Namah* of Subuktigin," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1933): 624, interpolation mine. Bosworth doubted the ability of a "barbarian" to write such a sophisticated testament, but between his upbringing at the Samanid court in the chamberlain's household and his access to a traditional scribal cadre, Sebuktegin's authorship need not be denied; cf. C. E. Bosworth, "Early Sources for the History of the First Four Ghaznavid Sultans (977-1041)," *Islamic Quarterly* 7 (1963): 19-20.

²³[Abu al-Nasr Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Jabbar] al-Utbi, *The Kitab-i-Yamini: Historical Memoirs of the Amir Sabuktigin, and the Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, trans. James Reynolds (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1858; rpt. ed., Lahore: Qausain, 1975), 21, 150, 345, 470, 483; Baihaqi, "Tarikh-u-Subuktigin," in *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, ed. and trans. H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, 10 vols. (London: Trübner, 1869; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1966, hereafter Elliot and Dowson), 2: 72. I have used Elliot and Dowson's incomplete translations reluctantly, but there were cases when no other was available or when another version's wording was less clear.

²⁴See Julie Scott Meisami, "Ghaznavid Panegyrics: Some Political Implications," *Iran* 28 (1990): 35; Jerome W. Clinton, *The Divan of Manuchibri Damghani: A Critical Study* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1972), 132, 138.

²⁵Here they had the example of their Ghurid predecessors: *ghazi* valor preceded justice and order in the praises of a prince by Nizami Aruzi in his *Four Discourses*, written for the Ghurids about 1156; Edward G. Browne, "The Chahar Maqala ("Four Discourses") of Nidhami-i-Arudi-i-Samarqandi," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1899): 619-20.

²⁶Minhaj-i Siraj Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia*, trans. H. G. Raverty (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1881-97; rpt. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1991), 1: 667, 2: 1007, 1011, 1053, 1123, 1135.

²⁷Quoted in Andre Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-*

Islamic World, vol. 2: *The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquest, 11th-13th Centuries* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 184. An Ayyubid aspirant to the throne, contesting the succession of his nephew, proclaimed: "Kingship is not for inheritance but for the conqueror"; al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980), 135.

²⁸For a description of these feasts see Qalqashandi, "Subh al-A'sha," in *Arab Accounts of India (During the Fourteenth Century)*, ed. M. Zaki (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1981), 105.

²⁹Quoted in W. E. Begley, *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India* (Villa Park, IL: Islamic Foundation, 1985), 27, 28, 38, 41.

³⁰Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, 1: 637. "She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex, and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless" (Juzjani, "Tabakat-i Nasiri," in Elliot and Dowson, 2: 332).

³¹Begley, *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy*, 27, 28, 38.

³²Abd al-Qadir b. Muluk Shah al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, ed. and trans. George S. A. Ranking, 3 vols., rev. ed. (Patna, India: Academica Asiatica, 1973), 1: 184.

³³Yahya b. Ahmad Sirhindi, *The Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi*, trans. K. K. Basu (Karachi: Karimsons, 1977), 148.

³⁴Taj al-Din Hasan Nizami, *Taj ul ma'athir (The Crown of Glorious Deeds)*, trans. Bhagwat Saroop (Delhi: Saud Ahmad Dehlavi, 1998), 98, 181, 180. The translation of this work in Elliot and Dowson omitted as superfluous most descriptions of Aybak's justice (see 2: 218, 226, 232, 237, 239) and didactic passages on the duties of a good ruler (2: 224, 241).

³⁵Nizami, *Taj ul ma'athir*, 99, 193. In the last quotation, water may be simply a metaphor for justice, but in view of the Delhi Sultans' involvement in water management, there may well be a concrete reference behind this imagery.

³⁶Nizami, *Taj ul ma'athir*, 65, 177, 105. For Bahram and the owls see Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, abridged by N. J. Dawood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 1: 80.

³⁷Quoted in Sunil Kumar, "The Value of the *Adab al-Muluk* as a Historical Source: An Insight into the Ideals and Expectations of Islamic Society in the Middle Period (A.D. 945-1500)," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 22 (1985): 314. Other sources state that the *mazalim* court was not established until mid-century under Sultan Nasir al-Din; Muhammad Basheer Ahmad, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India* (Allahabad: Aligarh Historical Research Institute 1941), 105.

³⁸Muhammad Awfi, "Jami'u-l Hikayat," in Elliot and Dowson, 2: 162.

³⁹Quotations from Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India* (New Delhi: Adam Publishers and Distributors, 1985), 123; and Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, *Perso-Arabic Sources of Information on the Life and Conditions in the Sultanate of Delhi* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1992), 170.

⁴⁰Listed by L. Bouvat, *Les Barmecides d'apres les historiens arabes et perses* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), 10-20; most of these works, mentioned or quoted by later authors, are now lost. See also Charles Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane* (Paris:

1883-1885, rpt. Amsterdam: APA-Philo Press, 1976), 2: 7-13.

⁴¹Quoted in Syed Hassan Barani, "Ziauddin Barani," *Islamic Culture* 12 (1938): 89; see also Peter Hardy, "Didactic Historical Writing in Indian Islam: Ziya al-Din Barani's Treatment of the Reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq (1324-1351)," in *Islam in Asia*, ed. Yohanan Friedmann, 4 vols. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), 1: 39. Barani portrayed Muhammad's predecessor Ghiyath al-Din as a model of generosity and concern for the subjects; Satish Chandra, *Medieval India, from Sultanat to the Mughals* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1997), 98, 106.

⁴²Ziauddin Barani, *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate (Including a Translation of Ziauddin Barani's "Fatawa-i Jahandari," circa 1358-9 A.D.)*, trans. Mohammad Habib and Afsar Umar Salim Khan (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, n.d.), 67.

⁴³Barani, *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, 16, 17; Hardy, "Didactic Historical Writing," 1: 41-42.

⁴⁴Barani, *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, 75, 53-54, 19-21.

⁴⁵Quoted in Nizami, *State and Culture*, 77, 78.

⁴⁶Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 5th rev. ed. (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1971), 127-28.

⁴⁷Nizami, *State and Culture*, 134, 129; Barani, "Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi," in Elliot and Dowson, 2: 99-114; Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate*, 126-27, 241; Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi*, 130-31, 137; W. H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India: A Historical Essay with Appendices* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1929), 59, 57; Shams-i Siraj Afif, "Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi," in Elliot and Dowson, 3: 300-301.

⁴⁸A. R. Fuller and A. Khallaque, *The Reign of Alauddin Khilji, translated from Zia-ud-din Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Calcutta: Pilgrim Publishers, 1967), 80, 96, 103-9; see also Chandra, *Medieval India*, 77-81.

⁴⁹R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1964), 260-62; Moreland, *Agrarian System*, 35; *Cambridge History of Islam*, 2A: 10-11. Barani, "Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi," 3: 230, 238, 250. According to the historian al-Umari, by this policy "the reign of this Sultan has been specially blessed for the increase of foodgrains" (quoted in Siddiqi, *Perso-Arabic Sources*, 132).

⁵⁰Afif, "Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi," 3: 288, 290, 377, 302-3, 317, 354, 361, 373; Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi*, 121; Sultan Firoz Shah, "Futuh-at-i Firoz Shahi," in Elliot and Dowson, 3: 377, 382-85.

⁵¹Nizami, *State and Culture*, 127. Derogatory descriptions of this innovative ruler in the histories of India have been ascribed to a conservative political reaction under his successor (Siddiqi, *Perso-Arabic Sources*, 108, 152).

⁵²Muhammad b. Abd Allah ibn Battuta, *The Rebla of Ibn Battuta (India, Maldive Islands and Ceylon)*, trans. Mahdi Husain (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1976), 57-60; 47; see also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Ed., s.v. "Diwan." Nizam al-Mulk had earlier recommended consultation with *qadis* to rulers unlearned in Islamic law. On the other hand, Sirhindi, indebted to Muhammad Tughluq's successor, described these consultations as an elaborate cover for granting legal consent to injustices (*Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi*, 118).

⁵³Muhammad al-Khujandi, related by Ibn Fadlallah al-Umari, in Zaki, *Arab Accounts of India*, 42-44. Discrepancies

between his account and Ibn Battuta's suggest that he conflated receptions of dignitaries and *mazalim* audiences.

⁵⁴See also an anecdote about the justice of Ghiyath al-Din of Bengal in Ahmad, *Administration of Justice*, 254-56.

⁵⁵Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, 83-84; 33; Ilutmish is also supposed to have gone about in disguise to see for himself if justice was being done (Ahmad, *Administration of Justice*, 98).

⁵⁶S. A. Rashid, "Dastur-ul-Albab fi Ilm-il-Hisab," *Medieval India Quarterly* 1, no. 3-4 (1950): 74.

⁵⁷Abdullah, "Tarikh-i Daudi," in Elliot and Dowson, 4: 446; Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, *The Afghan Despotism in India, 1451-1555* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, 1966), 81-82, 49.

⁵⁸Abdullah, "Tarikh-i Daudi," 4: 445; Bernard Dorn, *History of the Afghans, translated from the Persian of Neamat Ullah*, 2nd. ed. (London: Susil Gupta, 1965), 66.

⁵⁹Abdullah, "Tarikh-i Daudi," 4: 448, 454.

⁶⁰Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, "The Agrarian System of the Afghans," *Studies on Islam* 2 (1965): 251.

⁶¹Quoted in Ahmad, *Administration of Justice*, 65; see Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1972), xxiv, xlvi.

⁶²Abbas Khan Sarwani, "Tarikh-i Sher Shahi," in Elliot and Dowson, 4: 422.

⁶³Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-Ser Sabi*, trans. Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1974), 20.

⁶⁴Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-Ser Sabi*, 761, 749.

⁶⁵Siddiqi, *Afghan Despotism*, 101-2; Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate*, 161-62; Juzjani, *Tabakat*, 274-76, where the word *mazalim* has been omitted in Raverty's translation (see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate*, 161, n. 5).

⁶⁶Sarwani, "Tarikh-i Sher Shahi," 4: 433; Siddiqi, "Agrarian System of the Afghans," 253.

⁶⁷Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Amir Khusrau as a Historian," in Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, *Qiran al-Sa'dain* (Islamabad: Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1976), 4, 2; Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, *Khamsa*, ed. Tahir Ahmed-oglu Maharramov, vol. 1: *Matla' al-Anvar* (Moscow: Akademiia Nauk Azerbaidjanskoi SSR, 1975), 58-73.

⁶⁸Isami, *Futuhu's Salatin, or, Shab Namah-i Hind of Isami*, trans. Agha Mahdi Husain, 3 vols. (Bombay, New York: Asia Publishing House, published for the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1967, 1977), 1: 83, 103.

⁶⁹Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Iranians Abroad: Intra-Asian Elite Migration and Early Modern State Formation," *Journal of Asian Studies* 51 (1992): 342-44; A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "L'Ecole de Shiraz et les origines de la miniature moghole," in *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1969), 124-41; Stuart Cary Welch, *India: Art and Culture, 1300-1900* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985), 126-28. On the Ottomans see also Rosemary Crill, "Turkish Influence on the Arts of the Mughal Period," in *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Tadeusz Majda (Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990), 71.

⁷⁰Norah M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and Its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India: The British Library Collections* (London: The British Library, 1983), 161-85; B. W. Robinson, *Fifteenth-Century Persian Painting: Problems and Issues* (New York:

New York University Press, 1991), 61-75; Ernst J. Grube, ed., *A Mirror for Princes from India: Illustrated Versions of the "Kalilah wa Dimnah," "Anvar-i Subayli," "Iyar-i Danish," and "Humayun Nameh,"* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1991), 128-44. For one such manuscript of Nizami's tale of Alexander see Robert Skelton, "The Iskandar Nama of Nusrat Shah," in Toby Falk et al., *Indian Painting: Mughal and Rajput and a Sultanate Manuscript* (London: P & D Colnaghi, 1978), 133-52.

⁷¹George Mitchell, *The Vijayanagara Courtly Style: Incorporation and Synthesis in the Royal Architecture of Southern India, 15th-17th Centuries* (Delhi: Manohar, 1991), 48-51, 66-67.

⁷²A. Rangasvami Sarasvati, "Political Maxims of the Emperor-Poet, Krishnadeva Raya," *Journal of Indian History* 4, no. 3 (1926): 64, 69-70.

⁷³Douglas E. Streusand, *The Formation of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 5, 37.

⁷⁴In Arabic, translated by Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989), 12.

⁷⁵Ebba Koch, "Mughal Palace Gardens from Babur to Shah Jahan (1526-1648)," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 143-65.

⁷⁶Lisa Golombek, "From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture: In Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1981), 48. The concept of the state as garden also appeared in Indian political ideology: "A king resembles a gardener and should carry out, in regard to his subjects, the course pursued in the care of his garden" (quoted in Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign: With Special Reference to Abu'l Faq̄ [1556-1605]* [New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1975], 365, n. 2).

⁷⁷Zahiru'd-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi, *The Babur-nama in English (Memoirs of Babur)*, trans. Annette Susannah Beveridge, 3 vols. (London: Luzac and Co., 1922, rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1971—hereafter Babur/Beveridge, *Babur-nama*), 1: 381, 2: 465, 531-33, 606-7, 610-12, 615-16, 639, 686. Babur has been credited with initiating a Timurid renaissance in India: Stephen Frederic Dale, "The Legacy of the Timurids," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ser. 3, 8 (1998): 44. Others see Babur as having been closer to the tribal culture of his Chingizid maternal relations; cf. Maria Eva Subtelny, "Babur's Rival Relations: A Study of Kinship and Conflict in 15th-16th Century Central Asia," *Der Islam* 66 (1989): 113-15; Paul L. Hanson, "Sovereignty and Service Relationships in the Timurid Corporate Dynasty under Babur: The Continuing Legacy of The Chingis Khanid Political System" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1985).

⁷⁸Babur, *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art/New York: Oxford University Press, 1996—hereafter Babur/Thackston, *Baburnama*), 167, 53, 57, 60.

⁷⁹Babur/Beveridge, *Babur-nama*, 1: 281; cf. Babur/Thackston, *Baburnama*, 220.

⁸⁰Babur/Beveridge, *Babur-nama*, 1: 323, 380-84, 2: 454; Babur/Thackston, *Baburnama*, 252, 276-77, 315.

⁸¹Muhammad Abdu'l Ghani, *A History of Persian Language*

and Literature at the Mughal Court (Allahabad: Indian Press, 1929), 48. For this *Shahnama* manuscript, which still survives, see J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Shah-Namah of Firdausi: The Book of the Persian Kings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

⁸²Muzaffar Alam, "State Building under the Mughals: Religion, Culture and Politics," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 3/4 (1997): 114.

⁸³Khwandamir, *Qanun-i-Humayuni (Also Known as Humayun Nama)*, trans. Bains Prasad (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1940; rpt. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1996), 27, 82.

⁸⁴Abdu'l Ghani, *History of Persian Language*, 96; Khwandamir, *Qanun*, 5; 8, 31, 57; 10, 23.

⁸⁵Khwandamir, *Qanun*, 25.

⁸⁶Jawhar, *The Tezkereh al Vakiat, or Private Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Humayun*, trans. Major Charles Stewart (London, 1832; rpt. Santiago de Compostela, Spain: Susil Gupta Publishers, 1969), 112.

⁸⁷Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, 197. In the late seventeenth century even Hindu scribes wrote administrative manuals in Persian (Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History* 197, n. 1). The philosophical works, moreover, became part of the curriculum of the *ulama* and the Hindu elites (Alam, "State Building," 116).

⁸⁸Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-Nama*, quoted in Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbar Nama: A Visual Chronicle of Mughal India* (Calcutta: Lustre Press, 1984), 33.

⁸⁹Abu al-Fazl, *The Akbar-nama*, trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols. (Asiatic Society of Bengal), (rpt. Delhi: Rare Books, 1972), 3: 755.

⁹⁰Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, 80.

⁹¹Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, 353.

⁹²Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 1: 35, 47, 2: 70, 3: 57, 702, 753. Sometimes he seems to have been making a vague allusion to the granting of proper rewards to the nobility (Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 1: 633, 2: 2, 230, 315, 3: 14, 549, 1062); at others to protection and care for the peasantry (Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 1: 635, 638, 2: 197, 334, 3: 680).

⁹³Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 3: 46.

⁹⁴Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 3: 89.

⁹⁵Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 3: 830, 1063, 1085-87, 1089; Abu al-Fazl, "Akbar-nama," in Elliot and Dowson, 6: 94; Inayatullah, "Takmila-i Akbar-nama," in Elliot and Dowson, 6: 111.

⁹⁶Justice and taxation reform, Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 3: 165-67; and conquest, 122, 306, 715, 790, 911, 1250; and spiritual dominion, 56, 1088; and tax remission, 437 (*tamgha*), 1029 (ferry tolls).

⁹⁷M. A. Ansari, *Administrative Documents of Mughal India* (Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1984), 45.

⁹⁸S. A. I. Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents (1526-1627)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1989), 51, 61.

⁹⁹Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 3: 509, 560-66, 812; Abu al-Fazl, "Akbar-nama," in Elliot and Dowson, 6: 62, 63; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707)* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 252-54.

¹⁰⁰Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 3: 747; Habib, *Agrarian System*, 230-31, 249-50; Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire* (Lohanipur: N. V. Publications, n.d.), 173-76; John F. Richards, *The New Cambridge History of India*, I.5: *The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1993), 67.

¹⁰¹Abu al-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann, ed. D. C. Phillott, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927, rpt. Lahore: Qausain, 1975), 1: 165.

¹⁰²Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 3: 686.

¹⁰³Streusand, *Formation*, 93-94 and n. 34, 124-29; for paintings of the "viewing window" see Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the World: The Padshahnama* (London: Azimuth Editions Ltd. and Smithsonian Institution, 1997), 223, figs. 157 and 158.

¹⁰⁴Ahmad, *Administration of Justice*, 204, 268.

¹⁰⁵Richard Foltz, "Cultural Contacts between Central Asia and Mughal India," *Central Asiatic Journal* 42 (1998): 56-57; Milo Cleveland Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 84.

¹⁰⁶Eleonor G. Sims, "The Turks and Illustrated Historical Texts," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1978), 754 n. 38.

¹⁰⁷Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 116, 119.

¹⁰⁸Barbara Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's "Khamsa" of Nizami* (London: British Library, 1995), 9-10, 70-71. Rulers ordered these illustrated manuscripts in multiple copies for distribution to important people (Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 119).

¹⁰⁹Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, 3: 1014.

¹¹⁰Abu al-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 1: 2, 4; 3: 451; 1: 12; 2: 46.

¹¹¹Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, cited in Ram Prasad Khosla, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1976), 128; Streusand, *Formation*, 72.

¹¹²Shirin Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire c. 1595: A Statistical Study* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), 186; Richards, *Mughal Empire*, 82; Ahmad, *Administration of Justice*, 168-70; Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 5th ed. (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1963), 11; Streusand, *Formation*, 72, 78, 178.

¹¹³[Bindraban, son of] Rai Bhara Mal, "Lubbu-t Tawarikh-i Hind," in Elliot and Dowson, 7: 172; Qureshi, *Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 197.

¹¹⁴Streusand, *Formation*, 52-56; Richards, *Mughal Empire*, 75.

¹¹⁵Foltz, "Cultural Contacts," 45-46; Richard Foltz, "Central Asians in the Administration of Mughal India," *Journal of Asian History* 31 (1997): 144; Subrahmanyam, "Iranians Abroad," 346.

¹¹⁶Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Historiography* (Houndmills, Eng.: Palgrave, 2001), 85-95.

¹¹⁷The evidence contradicts the statement of Irfan Habib that "no particular interest was shown in Timur during Akbar's son Jahangir's reign"; see "Timur in the Political Tradition and Historiography of Mughal India," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 3/4 (1997): 303. The favor shown to "Iranis" over "Turanis" that Subrahmanyam notes seems odd in the light of this Timurid emphasis, but a possible explanation is that by the seventeenth century "Turani" referred not broadly to "Turks" but more narrowly to Uzbeks, while "Irani" indicated the Safavi heirs of the Timurids, of whatever ethnicity, then at the height of their cultural development. If that is the case,

then the decrease in the number of "Turans" in high positions may reflect not an ethnic reorientation but merely a political realignment.

¹¹⁸Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 320-23.

¹¹⁹Quoted in Richard C. Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 28. Timur's title of Gurgan, "son-in-law," referred to his legitimation through marriage to a Chingizid princess. Jahangir may also have been responsible for a renewed interest in the Mongol *yasa* that appeared in the early seventeenth century, but with a new meaning in the Indian context; Mansura Haider, "The Yasai Chingizi (Tura) in the Medieval Indian Sources," in *Mongolia: Culture, Economy and Politics*, ed. R. C. Sharma et al. (New Delhi: Khama Publishers, 1992), 59; Streusand, *Formation*, 7.

¹²⁰Ebba Koch, "Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wall Paintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore," in *India and the West: Proceedings of a Seminar Dedicated to the Memory of Hermann Goetz*, ed. Joachim Deppert (New Delhi: Manohar, 1983), 176, 183-86.

¹²¹Sajida S. Alvi, "Religion and State during the Reign of Mughal Emperor Jahangir (1605-27): Nonjuristical Perspectives," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 99-100, 102.

¹²²Muhammad Baqir Najm-i Sani, *Advice on the Art of Governance: An Indo-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, trans. Sajida Sultana Alvi (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989), 42-43, 45.

¹²³Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, or Memoirs of Jahangir*, trans. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, 2 vols. in 1 (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909, 1914; rpt. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968), 1: 7; for the testimony of European visitors on the chain see Khosla, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, 132-33.

¹²⁴Jahangir, *Tuzuk*, 2: 14; 1: 235; B. S. Jain, *Administration of Justice in Seventeenth Century India: A Study of Salient Concepts of Mughal Justice* (Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co., 1970), 124; Aniruddha Ray, *Some Aspects of Mughal Administration* (New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers, 1984), 39; Rafat M. Bilgrami, *Religious and Quasi-Religious Departments of the Mughal Period (1556-1707)* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1984), 101.

¹²⁵Welch, *India*, 184, 186; Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 29, 36-37.

¹²⁶Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents*, 86-125.

¹²⁷Dale, "Legacy of the Timurids," 46-47; Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 160, 26-27, pl. 3-4; Shah Jahan also had Timur depicted presenting the crown to Babur (Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 160, fig. 69).

¹²⁸Ebba Koch, "Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi," in Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 110; Koch, "Mughal Palace Gardens," 158-59; Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 191, fig. 111; for similarly decorated walls in Ajmer, Agra, and Mandu see Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 29, pl. 5; 41, pl. 10; 97, pl. 134.

¹²⁹Michael Brand, "Orthodoxy, Innovation, and Revival: Considerations of the Past in Imperial Mughal Tomb Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 332; Golombek, "From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal," 49; M. E. Subtelny, "Mirak-i Sayyid Ghiyas and the Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture," *Studia Islamica* 24 (1995): 49.

¹³⁰Lahori, *Badshahnama*, quoted in M. Athar Ali, "Towards an Interpretation of the Mughal Empire," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1978): 43; this justice extended to the nobility as well as the common people.

¹³¹Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 137; 191; 83, pl. 32; 41, pl. 10; 219, fig. 145.

¹³²Jain, *Administration of Justice*, 124.

¹³³Wahed Husain, *Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1934), 5; Ray, *Some Aspects of Mughal Administration*, 38; U. N. Day, *The Mughal Government, A.D. 1556-1707* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1969), 221. He himself decided all capital cases and those relating to state security (Day, *Mughal Government*, 220). A miniature painting shows a scale decorating his throne pavilion (Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 220, fig. 149).

¹³⁴Ebba Koch, "Diwan-i Amm and Chihil Sutun: The Audience Halls of Shah Jahan," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 148-49, 152; for the tents that these halls replaced see Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 41, pl. 10; 53, pl. 17; 208, fig. 129.

¹³⁵Ebba Koch, "The Influence of Jesuit Missions on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," in *Mughal Art*, 7-10; Koch, "Shah Jahan and Orpheus," 85, 128; Alam, "State Building," 121.

¹³⁶Alam, "State Building," 107; John F. Richards, *Document Forms for Official Orders of Appointment in the Mughal Empire: Translation, Notes and Text* (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1986), 9.

¹³⁷Quoted in Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, introduction to *The Mughal State, 1526-1750*, ed. Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 30, interpolation mine.

¹³⁸K. P. Srivastava, ed., *Mughal Farmans (1540 A.D. to 1706 A.D.)* (Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh State Archives, 1976), 36, 44; Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents*, 2: 43, 46, 48, 102, 116, 117, 143; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 69.

¹³⁹Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents*, 2: 44, 115.

¹⁴⁰Abdu-l Hamid Lahori, "Badshah-nama," in Elliot and Dowson, 7: 25, 43; Inayat Khan, "Shah Jahan-nama," in Elliot and Dowson, 7: 85-86; Habib, *Agrarian System*, 250, 256.

¹⁴¹[Bindraban, son of] Rai Bhara Mal, "Lubbu-t Tawarakh-i Hind," 7: 171.

¹⁴²François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656-1668* (1891; rpt. Delhi: S. Chang and Co., 1968), 167-68, 161. Even as a prince, Aurangzeb held court regularly; Mohammed Ziauddin Ahmed (Shakeb), ed., *Mughal Archives: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Pertaining to the Reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1658)*, vol. 1 (Hyderabad: State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1977), 134, 177, 187, 202-3, 227.

¹⁴³Muhammad Saki Mustaid Khan, "Ma-asir-i Alamgiri," in Elliot and Dowson, 7: 192.

¹⁴⁴"In the wake of the glorious succession of the Emperor...[s]editious and rebellions became like a vain dream. Oppression and exploitation were stopped. The garden of justice was added with new edifice of glory." Ishwardas Nagar, *Futubhat-i-Alamgiri*, trans. and ed. Tasneem Ahmad (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1978), 2.

¹⁴⁵Bakhtawar Khan, "Mir-at-i Alam, Mir-at-i Jahan-uma," in Elliot and Dowson, 7: 156-61, 283.

¹⁴⁶Muhammad Hashim, Khafi Khan, *History of Alamgiri*, trans. S. Moinul Haq (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society,

1975), 93-95, 215; quotation from Khafi Khan, "Muntakhabu-l Lubab," in Elliot and Dowson, 7: 248.

¹⁴⁷Jamshid H. Bilimoria, trans., *Rukaaat-i-Alamgiri, or, Letters of Aurungzēbe* (Bombay: Cherag Printing Press, 1908), 55; see also 19-20, 26-27, 29, 35, 40, 66; other quotations on 19, 31, 67, 28, 43.

¹⁴⁸Bilimoria, *Rukaaat*, 93, 130-31.

¹⁴⁹Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 176.

¹⁵⁰Richards, *Document Forms*, 32.

¹⁵¹Bilimoria, *Rukaaat*, 36; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 49.

¹⁵²Khafi Khan, *History of Alamgir*, 215-16; Ray, *Some Aspects of Mughal Administration*, 101.

¹⁵³Ray, *Some Aspects of Mughal Administration*, 38, 41; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 94; Jain, *Administration of Justice*, 125.

¹⁵⁴Bilgrami, *Religious and Quasi-Religious Departments*, 103.

¹⁵⁵Bilimoria, *Rukaaat*, 33, 34, 36, 40, 44; Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Limited, 1951), 210-15; Srivastava, *Mughal Furmans*, 57.

¹⁵⁶Bernier, *Travels*, 260-61, 263, 265.

¹⁵⁷Bernier, *Travels*, 360-61; Khosla, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, 136.

¹⁵⁸Husain, *Administration of Justice*, 55; Khafi Khan, *History of Alamgir*, 251; for examples see Khafi Khan, *History of Alamgir*, 253-54, Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration*, 33, 36; Bernier, *Travels*, 235-36.

¹⁵⁹Husain, *Administration of Justice*, 53; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 109; Day, *Mughal Government*, 228-29; Bakhtawar Khan, "Mir-at-i Alam, Mir-at-i Jahan-numa," 159-60.

¹⁶⁰Niccolao Manucci, *Memoirs of the Mogul Court*, ed. Michael Edwardes (London: Folio Society, n.d.), 25-26; Khafi Khan, "Muntakhabu-l Lubab," 293; Chandra, *Parties and Politics*, 259-61.

¹⁶¹Khafi Khan, "Muntakhabu-l Lubab," 296; Khafi Khan, *History of Alamgir*, 258-59. For widening class conflict under the later Mughal rulers see Wilfred Cantwell Smith, "Lower-class Uprisings in the Mughal Empire," *Islamic Culture* 20 (1946): 21-40.

¹⁶²Khafi Khan, *History of Alamgir*, 541.

¹⁶³Khafi Khan, "Muntakhabu-l Lubab," 386-87; Khafi Khan, *History of Alamgir*, 540.

¹⁶⁴Jadunath Sarkar, "The Condition of the People in Aurangzeb's Reign," in *The Mughal State*, 303-22; Ahmad, *Administration of Justice*, 270.

¹⁶⁵Husain, *Administration of Justice*, 42; Charles Stewart, comp. and trans., *Original Persian Letters and Other Documents* (London: Kingsbury, Parbury, Allen, and Co, 1825); Ahmad, *Administration of Justice*, 30-32, 52-53.