



Abstracts

The *Ā'īn* and Modernity: Should We Reconsider the Akbar-ʿAlamgir Binary?

Richard Maxwell Eaton

A common trope is of Akbar as the champion of inter-religious harmony and ʿAlamgir as that of a puritanical, even bigoted, Islam. This paper challenges those stereotypes by framing their views around the theme of modernity, not religion. Paradoxically, while Akbar was steeped in the cult of sacred kingship, which he had inherited from his Timurid ancestors, he also presided over a court culture – clearly reflected in the first volume of the *Aʿīn-i Akbari* – that exhibited a spirit of rational self-control and a preoccupation with order in all spheres of human experience. On the other hand, ʿAlamgir rejected the same cult sacred kingship, and his place attempted to substitute the idea of a state governed by the rule of law, as seen in his patronage of the *Fatawa-i ʿAlamgiri*. While both emperors promoted different dimensions of what today might be called modernity, both efforts failed -- but for very different reasons. The paper explores those some of reasons.

Contextualizing the so-called *Aʿīn-i Akbari* in the Mughal historiography

Hiroyuki Mashita

The so-called *Aʿīn-i Akbari* of Abu al-Fazl has been well-known to scholars as the most outstanding source for the history of the Mughal Empire. However, the encyclopedically wide range of contents of the work has caused patchy readings of limited parts rather than over-all understandings of the whole of the work, which reflects aspects of inclusive policy of the Empire. Illuminating its bibliographical aspects including its title, the chronology of its compilation, its position in the official history *Akbar Namah*, and its narrative structure, as well as readings of



later periods, this presentation aims to find out contexts of the historical text in the Mughal historiography.

Money and Monetary Economy in the *Ain i Akbari*

Najaf Haider

In the *Ain i Akbari* composed around 1595 by Abul Fazl, the Mughal Emperor Akbar's historian, courtier and advisor, there are three distinct treatments of money. The first is a theoretical discussion of the nature and function of money. The second is a detailed account of coin production in the Mughal mint. The third is a set of information on the fiscal and monetary measures of the state. This paper analyses the information and argues that the body of knowledge that the *Ain* offers on the production and circulation of money in the Mughal Empire is somewhat unique and unparalleled.

Notions of kingship in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*

Eva Orthmann

In the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Abū l-Faẓl 'Allāmī deals at two different places with the concept of royalty and kingship. The first passage belongs to his introduction, where he specifies his concept of true kingship. Inter alia, he defines the king as the origin of stability and justice, situating his ideas within the frame of Islamic *adab* literature and mirrors for princes. Associating royalty with a light emanating from God, this passage can also be linked to the quasi-religious imperial ideology at Akbar's court.

The second passage belongs to his description of Indian traditions and knowledge. It is a rather short chapter on *Rājaniti*, the science of state-craft, which is found after a very short chapter on cooking and a much longer chapter on justice. Abū l-Faẓl here describes Indian concepts of



good rule and sovereignty. This chapter has been based on Indian notions of kingship as found in the darmaśāstra texts, the manusmṛti or the Mahābhārata.

The lecture will ask for the sources used by Abū l-Faḏl for his description of *Rājaniti*, his adaptation of the text and the relationship between the description of ideal kingship in his introduction and the passage based on Indian notions. To what extent do they express the same ideals? How far has Abū l-Faḏl integrated Indian notions of kingship in his own description, or, vice-versa, integrated his own ideals into the description of *Rājaniti*? Are there any contradicting ideas, or are they taken as more or less the same?

Persianate Concepts of Religion in the A'īn-i Akbarī

Carl W. Ernst

One of the remarkable contributions of Abū al-Faḏl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* is the extensive account of India that occupies much of the second volume. While early interpreters of the text have seen it primarily as a Muslim engagement with Hindu religion, Abū al-Faḏl actually presents Indian science, religious thought, and ritual without any reference to Islamic religious categories. Abū al-Faḏl's avoidance of Arabic Islamic terms, and his nearly exclusive use of Persian vocabulary, will be analyzed in relation to several problems: the overall genre and structure of the *Ā'īn* and its relation to Mongol chronicles, the distortions in the English translations, and the organization and meaning of the section on India. The result is a presentation of Indian thought as monotheism, without imposing any Islamic framework. The paper then concludes by analyzing the structural role of the lists of kings and Sufi saints who entered India. The result is a portrait of a Mongol successor state in which Islam has no defining role.



The doctrine of Karma in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*

Kazuyo Sakaki

The doctrines of Karma mixed with the theory of rebirth and transmigration has been a critical subject among Muslim intellectuals who engaged in translation activities. Conservative Islamic authorities had accused this doctrine as heretic. However, this theory of reward and retribution was modified in traditional knowledge systems both in moral aspect and physical aspect. Reciting Vedic mantras, repentances, penances, ritualistic practices such as sacrifices, and worship of God are recommended to avert the results of sinful activities. Avoiding arguing the relevance of the doctrine, without referring to the source Sanskrit texts, Abu'l Faḍl gave faithful translation of the related texts and detailed descriptions of these ideas with the intention of reconciling with Islamic code of conducts.

Akhlāq and the Sequence of Topics in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*

Prashant Keshavmurthy

Forming the third and last volume of the *Akbarnāma*, the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*'s empirically rich account of knowledge systems and practices in Akbar's India appears as a triumphal synchronic survey of an imperial possession that was won in the previous two diachronically structured biographical volumes that narrate Akbar's horoscope, lineage and reign from 1556 to 1572 (Volume 1) and then his reign from 1572 to 1602 (Volume 2). Arguing that Abu'l Fazl appropriated this switch from the narration of labour to triumphal description of labour's accomplishment from Bābur's (d.1530) *Bāburnāma* and Amīr Khusrow's *Nuh Sipihr* (1318), this paper will argue that the main body of the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* adapts the indoors-to-outdoors or household-to-empire sequence of the major texts of the *Akhlāq* tradition. In doing so, this paper examines how this triumphalist adaption of a narrative logic imbues each category of empirical



knowledge of India in the *Ā'īn* with ethical significance for royal self-perfection.

Indic Ornamental Flowers and Flowers of Essence: AIN-E- AKBARI a Guide Book of Continuity¹

Chander Shekhar

Since ancient times, as the archeological sites and literary sources depict, flowers have a special, rather, are the objects of reverence as these are part of worshipping in various religions including Hinduism. Flowers are the source of birth of many according to Indian epics as well as decoration of space and body as exhibited in *Shakuntalam* of Kalidas. The traditions and customs in every age in Indic culture have been begun with showering of flower petals. Carved motifs available on Ancient monuments speak of the above statement. If Garuda and Peacock are revered so is Lotus. In regard of Perfumery, India has a perfumery tradition that dates back to over 5,000 years to Indus Valley civilization. Essence is extracted from the roots, flowers and leaves of specific flowers for this purpose. Every essence used for perfumery purpose was extracted from the regions concerned too where the best quality of flowers were grown especially for the purpose of extraction. The Sanskrit Encyclopedia '*Manasollasa*' composed by Someshwara in AD 1127 deals with the blending of perfumes which were used in royal baths and for the rituals and worship.

Much before Mughals, Amir Khusrau (1251-1325AD) highlighted the beauty of Indic flowers in his works. His poetic narrative, *Qiranus Sadain*, *Nuh Sipihir* and *Dewal Rani Khizr Khani*, speaks of many Indian flowers. Amongst Mughal emperors, Babur was fond of nature and its

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products. In his Babur Nama. He presents his own observation on many aspects including gardens, flowers and fruits and also a comparison of the same objects with the ones available in Transoxania and greater Khurasan. He does not like gardens without the walls and all earth flat look like. But still appreciates Indian Jasmin over on his wilayati jasmine which was lesser odoriferous. Or, Babur appreciates Mask-mallow (*Hibiscus abelmaoschus*) over Khurasanian Hibiscus.

Ain-e Akbari might not be fully wetted or compiled but he was well aware what Abul Fazal was summarizing. It is also true both, Akbar and Abul Fazal were born in India and had not gone to their paternal home land. Thus we find in Ain-e-Akbari, larger number of Indian flowers and fruits. Description of flowers is interlinked with odoriferous flowers of Transoxania and China and India. In the section of colorful flowers (i.e. Ornamental or decorative and odoriferous) and Perfumery, 54 type of flowers and 36 types of essence are mentioned. Along with some of these, many others are mentioned in the course of aromatics, fruits, music and dance etc. in this book.

Present paper deals with only decorative flowers of Ain-e Akbari. Noticeable aspect of the description of indic flowers in Ain is the systematic projection of their characteristics and usage. Ain-e Akbari's such description became guide book for perfumers of his and later period. For example, see Bayaz-e-Khushbui, or Mirat ul Istelah of Anand Ram Mukhlis, both have based their information on Ain. These sources may have added some new information but the core detail is borrowed from Ain. This paper speaks of both these aspects and endeavors to reflect how the continuity is still in operation, especially in perfumery.



**Analytical Presentation of astrological-astronomical Knowledge of Abul Faḍl ‘Allāmī in
*Ā’īn-i Akbarī***

S. M. Razaullah Ansari

Abul Faḍl (1551-1602) was the son of Shaikh Mubārak (d. 1593) who was a well-known intellectual of his time and a tutor of Abul Faḍl in his early years. Both he and his elder brother Abul Faiḍ (1547-1596), *nom de plume* Faiḍī, learnt the classical Islamic Rational Science from their father. It is known that Mubārak used to discuss the Non-Ptolemaic model of Naṣīruddīn Ṭūsī (13th c.) with Akbar's son Humayūn. It is therefore not surprising that Abul Faḍl dealt in his *Ā’īn* and also in *Akbarnāmah* about the Islamic Astronomy. However besides that Abul Faḍl was also influenced and involved by the translation of Sanskrit sources into Persian and vice versa during Akbar's reign. For instances, the translation of *Mahābhārat* (Persian title, *Razmnāmah*) and *Atharved*, In that ‘House of Translation’ of Akbar, a number of scholars, Naqīb Khān, ‘Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī, Faiḍī and Abul Faḍl, and Faḥullāh Shīrāzī, who by Akbar's order headed the team of Muslim and Hindu scholars to translate the Ulugh Bég's *Zij* into Sanskrit. That scenario was significant in making the *open mindedness* of Abul Faḍl, when he started writing *Akbarnāmah*, one of the volume of which is *Ā’īn-i Akbarī*. We find in it short and sometime long treatment of the following topics.

Horoscopes according to various methods of astrology, list of various Siddhāntas: Brahma Siddhānta, Sūraj Siddhānta, Soma Siddhānta, Brahspat Siddhānta, mentioning their attribution to the divine inspiration, the division of time into *Gharīs* and their subdivision into *pal* and *bapal*, the solar and lunar year length, division of years into *Kāls*. Abul Faḍl enumerates the well known 16 eras, including Ilāhī and Hindu eras, along with charts of months of different countries. His understanding of astrological calculations is apparent when he discusses emperor Akbar's four



horoscopes compiled by the astrologers Mullā Chānd and Jotik Rāi , Faḥullāh Shīrāzī and Maulānā Ilyās Ardbailī, especially with respect to Sun's Zodiacal position.

Finally, we may mention that Abul Faḍl was interested in comets. He mentions the occurrence of three comets, identified now as of AD 1264, 1402, and 1433. However he observed himself the comet of 1577, known also as Tycho Brahe's comet. He expresses also the Hindu astrologers' division of comets into malefic and benefic effects. As a tail piece we may add that Abul Faḍl had good knowledge of Islamic astronomy; he gives in *Ā'in*, a list of 86 Islamic astronomical tables (*Zījes* in Arabic), and instruments of observations.

In this paper we shall try to elaborate the above-mentioned topics to the extent of time at our disposal.

Ā'in-i akbarī as a Tazkira of Poets

KONDO Nobuaki

We know well that the *Ā'in-i akbarī* covers a huge range of knowledge from Mughal India. However, the *tazkira*, i.e., poets' biography part of the *Ā'in-i akbarī* have not attracted much attention. Gulchīn Ma'ānī introduced the work in his famous book, the history of Persian *tazkiras*, but he did not describe the *tazkira* part itself. This paper focuses on this part and compares with other *tazkiras* such as Kāmī's *Nafā'is al-ma'āsir* (1589–90) and Awhadī's *'Arafāt al-'āshiqīn* (1615) as well as historical works including biographies of poets like Nizām al-Dīn's *Tabaqāt-e akbarī* (1594) and Badā'unī's *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh* (1595–96). This paper aims to get some idea about how Abū al-Fazl chose the poets and the poetry for the *Ā'in* and how different the *tazkira* part is from other works.



Descriptions of the Court Music in the *Ain-i Akbarī* in terms of the Cultural Interaction between the Persia and the Indian music

Haruo Inoue

In this presentation, I will talk about descriptions of the music in the *Ain-i Akbarī*.

Abu'l-Fazl wrote the chapter called *Sangīta* in the fourth section (*daftar*) of *Ain-i Akbarī*. His descriptions of *Sangīta* can be divided into three categories. 1) element of the sounds and melodies, 2) the instruments, 3) the court musicians. The first category, the elements of the sounds and melodies, can be seen as the imitator of the Sanskrit treatises of music that deals with the relationships between the human body and the sounds. The second category, the instruments, gives us an ample information about the musical practice of those days. The last category, the court musicians, can be seen as the cultural interaction of the music culture between Persia and India. I also will compare the *Ain-i Akbarī* with the other contemporary Persian treatises of music and bring out the historical importance of this book in the music researches of the Persia and the Indian music.

Analyzing intellectual milieu of *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*

Ayako Ninomiya

This presentation tries to analyze the nature of the narrative of *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, its possible source materials, and their social and cultural background through its narrative on music in India. *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* contains 3 entries in a sequence on musicology, musical performers, and a form of music performance of India: Sangīt, Naghmah-sarāyān, and Akhārā. Read with the records on music performance in the court in *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* and other Persian works on Indian music, these narratives display availability of digressive works on knowledge of Sanskrit origin in Persian and the ongoing process of internalization of Sanskrit/ Indian culture by Muslim intellectuals in India.



The presentation also points out that the way *Ā'in-i Akbarī* combines information from various source materials indicates its inclination to a kind of comprehensiveness, somewhat similar to the cataloging by British colonial officers.

Religious Absolutism and Religious Pluralism: Akbar's Religious Experimentations in Safavid Sources

Maryam Moazzen

The Muslim world witnessed an exceptional surge of religious and spiritual creativity in the early modern times. While the Mughal court is described by some western and non-western scholars as a court in which there was a conspicuous absence of religious and sectarian bigotry, the Safavid court is associated with killing or driving to exile many Persian Sunnis and followers of religious sects such as Hurufiyyes and Nuqtaviyyes, as well as literati. Among the Mughal rulers, Jalal al-Din Akbar (d.1605) – and in particular his religious views and those of his chief courtly author and ideologue, Abu'l Fazl (d.1602) – it appears, became a subject of discussion in the Safavid court and society. In light of Safavid historical, literary and religious texts including Himam althawaqib by 'Ali Naqi Kamarehi (d. 1650, this paper examines the Safavid ruling elites' interest in Akbar's and Abu al-Fazl's experimentations with the ecumenical and inter-religious dialogues.

The *Ā'in-i Akbarī* and Western Indology: With Special Reference to the Category of the Six Schools of Philosophy

Satoshi Ogura

One of the most well-known concepts in Hinduism is the category of the *Ṣaddarsana* or six schools of philosophy, i.e. Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Vedanta, Mīmāṃsā, Sāṃkhya, and Yoga of Patañjali,



that is supposed to be *āstika* or orthodox schools to accept revelation of the Vedas, excluding Buddhism, Jainism, and Lokāyata or atheism as unorthodox schools. This category was introduced by western Indologists since the early nineteenth century. However, as some Indologists of the late twentieth century and twenty-first century have pointed out, Sanskrit doxographies composed in the ancient and early medieval periods do not classify philosophical schools of India in such manner. Some doxographies, such as the *Ṣaddarśanasamuccaya* of Haribhadra (7-8c) includes Buddhism and Jainism into the six schools; other doxographies such as the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of Mādhava introduces more than six schools. To my knowledge, the earliest surviving work that refers to the aforesaid six schools calling them *Ṣaddarśana* is the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. This presentation verifies the possibility that western Indologists in the earliest phase grasped the category of the six schools of philosophy through *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*.