

## **Religious and Judicious Policy of King Jalaluddin Akbar (1556-1605)**

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### **Abstract:**

*Amongst the Sultans and kings of Indo-Pak subcontinent, the religious policy of Mughal King Jalaluddin Akbar (1556-1605) is most controversial. Some say he was liberal. Others blame him as the founder of new religion, i.e. Din-i-Ilahi. Abul Fazl, his guide and court historian terms Akbar's policies as Islamic. In this article views of different contemporary and other historians have been given in order to present a fair picture. A glimpse of Ibadat Khana constructed by Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri for conducting the religious debates alongwith the pattern of debates has also been given. Along with it glimpses of religious policies and Muslim rulers' concern for equal dispensation of justice to all segments of society has also been mentioned in the earlier history of Islam. Supreme Court of Pakistan has also recently appreciated this concern of Muslim rulers for dispensation of justice to the masses. In the NRO case of 2009 this aspect with reference to Akbar has also been mentioned. In this way this article has not only discussed the religious and judicious policy of Akbar, but also presented various examples of our previous Islamic history since the time of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in order to show that dispensation of equal justice is the primary concern of Islam. The readers, students and teachers are expected to like this comparison and presentation.*

**Key Words:** Akbar, History, Religion, Sufi, Region

## **Introduction**

Jalaluddin Akbar became Padshah or King in 1556 after the death of his father Humayun. Akbar ruled for about fifty years and died in 1605. His long rule of half a century is considered as the most important rule in the Mughal history. Initially he started as a steadfast Muslim and but ended as a liberal Muslim. His religious pattern is divided into various phases and that was designed by him because of the emerging political and religious conditions of the society of India at different places, regions and areas. During the early period of his rule from 1556 to 1578 he lived and practiced Islam as a staunch Sunni young man. He offered prayer five times a day regularly and observed other religious rites as required under the Sunni pattern of Islam.<sup>1</sup> Although he was illiterate, yet possessed remarkable memory and he remembered his dialogues and discussion with different scholars, Ulama and Qazis. He appointed Ulama and Qazis in different parts of his Empire accordingly.<sup>2</sup> In his Court, his chief religious advisers were Abdullah Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun Nabi.<sup>3</sup> In this initial phase, Akbar was able to handle Bairam Khan (his prime minister and guardian), from whom he had learnt the art of war, and rough and tough methods of government which were usual that could be called the “the Methods of Timur”.<sup>4</sup> But they were later modified by Babar and Humayun which Bairam Khan knew because of varied culture and different kind of society in Indo-Pak subcontinent. Bairam Khan put in the mind of Akbar that if we were to become successful rulers in India, we will have to be at peace with the Hindu chiefs.<sup>5</sup> In 1578 this phase came to a close when Akbar felt that the need of the Bairam was no more because other nobles disliked his dominating role. Upon seeing this Akbar acted upon the need of the time in the imperial interest and he decided to send him on pilgrimage. The same was done to Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Sh. Abdun Nabi. Actually upon becoming King Sh. Abdun Nabi was appointed Sadr-us-Sadur and Akbar himself use to visit him daily to get lessons of Haidth at his feet. In this way the ulema in the whole of Empire had complete sway over the king and he was made to persecute

their opponents. Gradually Akbar realized that the Ulema were short sighted but he was looking for opportune time to express without showing his disregard for the ulema and muftis.<sup>6</sup> Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi came to the court of Akbar in 1574 along with his father Sh. Mubarak. This gave him an opportunity and led him to realize that an effort should be made to bring unanimity between different sects and schools of thought in Islam and show tolerance to the followers of other faiths. For this purpose he planned to construct a religious debating house known as *Ibadat Khana* in Fatehpur Sikri, in devotion of his Pir Sheikh Salim Chishti. The Sheikhs, muftis, scholars and ulema of high class were invited to live and participate in the discussion at Fatehpur Sikri. Describing the pattern of building and the pattern of debates in four different groups Abul Fazl has vividly described,

In his Akbar Nama, vol. 3, Abul Fazl has devoted some chapters for describing the situation of Ibadat Khana as well as that of Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar ordered construction of Ibadat Khana on 18 January 1575. On this occasion the whole city of Fatehpur Sikri was illuminated. It appeared that the whole wisdom of the Empire will be gathered here for opening new avenues of knowledge as well as illuminating the world with great scholarship and wisdom. Akbar ordered that the Ibadat Khan should be built in such a way that the whole wisdom and the scholars of the world should be grouped together under one roof. The building was required to be of four verandahs.<sup>7</sup> In the Eastern part of the Ibadatkhana were the great leaders and high officers of the State who were visible in the society “for enlightenment”. In the Southern part of the building the “keen-sighted investigators” who possessed great knowledge and wisdom were gathered. In the Western compartment the Sadats belonging to the descendents of the Holy Prophet were seated. In the Northern compartment there were great Sufis, saints and Mashaikhs were placed. In the middle of all of these four compartments His Majesty King Akbar was seated on a high place. He could see all of them and pin point on the persons who were making name and fame in the debate. Near and below this point where the King was sitting, sat the person who conducted the debates and regularized them by point by point

and controlled the debates so that equal opportunity is given to all the Ulama and scholars, the Sufis and the critiques of the participants. The proceedings were recorded.<sup>8</sup> The debates were conducted on Thursday nights and whole night was usually spent for this purpose. In most of the debates Akbar himself participated. Abul Fazl also records that through the wisdom of the king the debates were conducted with reason and sound arguments. No non-documented matter was allowed to be continued. All the scholars and ulama were required to prove their points with documentary proof by producing their sources in the presence of the king. In this way a great wisdom prevailed in the debates.<sup>9</sup>

Abul Fazl also explains how he gradually came nearer to the King through the courtesy of his elder brother Faizi and his Father Sh. Mubarak. It was very difficult when hundreds and thousands of ulema, scholars, sufis and other great men were gathered together around king Akbar; it was by stages that Abul Fazl was brought nearer to the king. Abul Fazl thought this a great achievement because in the galaxy of scholars and great men it was very difficult to attract the attention of the great king of the world.<sup>10</sup>

In another chapter, Abul Fazl describes the situation of debate at Ibadat Khana on Thursday, 3 October 1578. In this debate Sufis, philosophers, orators, jurists, Sunnis, shias, Brahmans, Jats, Jains, Nazarene, Jews, Sabians, Zoroastrians, and others enjoyed great pleasure by holding of the assembly meeting, with the sitting of Akbar at the Pulpit in the Centre. The pleasant mode of impartiality exhibited by the king was exemplary and praised by all.<sup>11</sup> During the debate the harshness of the critiques was kept under control by the officers and soldiers of the king. The king is reported to have “displayed profundity and meditation, and tethered eternal bliss on the divan of greatness. The conceited and quarrelsome from evilness of disposition and shortness of thought descended into the mire of presumption and sought their profit in loss. Being guided by ignorant companions, and from the predominance of a somnolent fortune, they went into disgrace.” In this way “the

conferences were excellently arranged by the acuteness and keen quest of truth of” the great King Akbar.<sup>12</sup>

Abul Fazl provides detail of another night when the Christian Father (called Padre) participated in the debate and raised some points with reference to the Holy Quran of the Muslims and Holy Bible of the Christians. The Christian Father presented his arguments so forcefully that the arguments of Muslim Ulema before them looked very weak. Upon this, Akbar himself indulged in the debate and replied the Padre with such sound arguments and reasonable approach that the Padre became helpless. There were many such instances when Akbar himself came in defense of Islam and Quran. But one instance is given here:

“One night, the assembly in the Ibadatkhana was increasing the light of truth. Padre Radif, one of Nzarene sages, who was singular for his understanding and ability, was making points in that feast of intelligence. Some of the untruthful bigots came forward in a blundering way to answer him. Owing to the calmness of the august assembly, and the increasing light of justice, it became clear that each of these was weaving a circle of old acquisitions, and was not following the highway of proof, and that the explanation of the riddle of truth was not present to their thoughts. The veil was nearly being stripped, once for all, from their procedure. They were ashamed, and abandoned such discourse, and applied themselves to perverting the words of the Gospels. But they could not silence their antagonist by such arguments. Padre quietly and with an air of conviction said, “Alas that such thing should be thought to be true! In fact, if these factions have such an opinion of our Book, and regard the Furqan (the Quran) as the pure word of God, it is proper that a heaped fire be lighted. We shall take the Gospels in our hands, and Ulama of that faith shall take their book, and then let us enter that testing-place of truth. The escape of any one will be sign of his truthfulness.” The liverless and black-hearted fellows wavered, and in reply to the challenge had become recourse to bigotry and wrangling. This cowardice and effrontery displeased his (Akbar’s) equitable soul and the banquet of enlightenment was made resplendent

by acute observations. Continually, in those day-like nights, glorious subtleties and profound words dropped from his pearl-filled mouth. Among them was this: "Most persons, from intimacy with those who adorn their outside, but are inwardly bad, think that outward semblance, and the letter of Muhammadanism, profit without internal conviction. Hence we by fear and force compelled many believers in the Brahman (i.e. Hindu) religion to adopt the faith of our ancestors. Now that the light of truth has taken possession of our soul, it has become clear that in this distressful place of contrarities (the world), where darkness of comprehension and conceit are heaped up, fold upon fold, a single step cannot be taken without the torch of proof, and that that creed is profitable which is with the approval of wisdom. To repeat the creed, to remove a piece of skin (i.e. to become circumcised) and to place the end of one's bones on the ground (i.e. the head in adoration from dread of the Sultan, is not seeking after God."

Verse.

Obedience is not the placing of your forehead in the dust,

Produce truth, for sincerity is not situated in the forehead.

The first step in this perilous desert is with a high courage, and an exalted determination to rise up and do battle with the protein and presumptions carnal soul, and by rigorous self-examination to make Anger and Lust the subjects of Sultan Reason, and to erase from the heart the marks of censurable sentiments. Mayhap the Sun of Proof will emerge from behind the veil of Error and make one a truth-worshiper, and afterward he may by secret attraction draw to himself one of the inquirers of the Path. Such lead-stone are produced from the mine of asceticism (*riyazat*). Or it may be that by virtue of talisman and the might of fascination he may bring him into his circle. Should the latter go astray and fall into the pit of not doing God's will, yet shall he not be stained with the dust of blame. He also said, "We blame ourselves for what we did in

accordance with old rules and before the truth about faith had shed its rays on our heart.”

The fortunate and auspicious, on hearing these enlightening words, hastened to the abode of the light of search and set themselves to amend their ways, while the somnolent and perverse were full of disturbance. Inasmuch as the fierce winds of indiscrimination had laid hold of the four corners of the world, he mentioned the rules of various religions, and described their various excellences. The acute sovereign gave no weight to common talks, and praised whatever was good in any religion. He often adorned the tablet of his tongue by saying, “He is a man who makes Justice the guide of the path of inquiry, and takes from every sect what is consonant to reason. Perhaps in this way the lock, whose key has been lost, may be opened.” In this connotation, he praised the truth-seeking of the natives of India and eloquently described the companionship of the men of that country in the day of disaster, and how they played away for the sake of Fidelity (lit. in the shadow of), Property, Life, Reputation, and Religion, which are reckoned as comprising the four goods of the world’s market. He also dwelt upon the wonderful way in which the women of that country become ashes whenever the day of calamity arrives.

This bliss-collecting class has several divisions. Some protagonists of the path of righteousness yield up their lives merely on hearing of the inevitable lot of their husbands. Many sensualists of old times were, from ignorance and reflection, unable to read such exquisite creatures by the lines of the forehead, or the record of their behavior, and entered with loss the ravine of experiment, and cast away recklessly the priceless jewels! Some deliberately and with open brow enter the flames along with their husband’s corpse, or with some taken of him who hath gone to the land of annihilation.

Verse.

Being saturated with love, they burn together,

Like two wicks caught by one flame.

Some whom sacrifice of life and fellowship do not make happy, yet, from fear of men's reproach, observe the letter of love, and descend into the mouth of fire.

He said to the learned Christians, "Since you reckon the reverencing of women as part of your religion, and allow not more than one wife to man, it would not be wonderful if such fidelity and life-sacrifice were found among your women. The extraordinary thing is that it occurs among those of the Brahman (i.e. Hindu) religion. There are numerous concubines, and many of them are neglected and unappreciated and spend their days unfruitfully in the privy chamber of chastity, yet in spite of such bitterness of life they are flaming torches of love and fellowship." On hearing such noble recitals those present remained silent in the hall of reply, and their tongues reddened with surprise. The Divine message filled with joy all the seekers after wisdom in the august assemblage.<sup>13</sup>

The first phase of these debates continued not only well-versed in the several departments of the Law and in the principles of Jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for the cause of piety and honesty up to 1580. The debates of these five years had far reaching effect on Akbar. The king, who was basically a committed Muslim, began to be fed up of the differences between various ulema, because he wanted to meet the challenge of tackling the Rajputs and through them to all the Hindus who formed majority of the population. Moreover, the basic question before him was how to show tolerance towards the followers of other faiths. Instead of resolving their differences, the ulama started calling their opponents as *kafirs* or nonbelievers and became very harsh on the opponents. This disappointed Akbar. In frustration, he invited Sh. Mubarak along with his two able sons – Abul Fazl and Faizi. The question arose who should guide the discussion because the ulama were not ready to accept anyone as their head. Even the king was opposed in his presence on a number of times. Akbar asked Sheikh Mubarak to solve this issue. On this Sheikh Mubarak in consultation with his two sons drew the following



document by which Akbar was recognized as Imam-i-Adil and Mujtahid. The document is given here:

Whereas Hindustan has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal *Ulama*, have duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the Quran (Sura IV, v. 62) 'Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you', and secondly, of the genuine tradition, 'Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the *Imam-i-Adil*: whosoever obeys the *Amir*, obeys Thee, and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee', and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of *Sultan-i-Adil* (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*. Further we declare that the King of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, Abul Fatah Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Padshah-i-Ghazi, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should, therefore, in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and should issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

Further, we declare that should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Quran, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges to this.

This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of Islam, and is signed by us,

the principal *Ulama* and lawyers, in the month of Rajab of the year 987 of the Hijrah.<sup>14</sup>

This document was signed by the most of the prominent ulama of the time including Makhdu-ul-Mulk and Abdun Nabi.<sup>15</sup> As *Imam-i-Adil* he ascended the Member and delivered Khutba on Friday, 1580, which consisted of the following verse:

The Lord to me the Kingdom gave,  
He made me prudent, wise and brave,  
He guided me with right and truth;  
No tongue of man can sum His state  
Allaho Akbar, God is great.<sup>16</sup>

This created a storm in the Indian world of Islam, because most of the Ulama were not ready to accept this position of Akbar. Mullah Muhammad Yazdi issued a *fatwa* against Akbar in 1580 and termed him as an “impious emperor”. Akbar’s Brother Mirza Mohammad Hakim, who posed himself as an orthodox Muslim, became leader of this conspiracy and conspired against the king. Akbar was careful enough to suppress this conspiracy and brought the rebellious people in the Punjab and Kabul under his subjugation. Ultimately he led a successful expedition to Kabul which silenced all his opponents.<sup>17</sup> Commenting on this, I.H.Qureshi writes:”The general principle enunciated in the *mahdar* (as the document was called) was sound and in accordance with the principles of Islamic law, because if the jurists cannot agree on a point, the monarch has to choose some interpretation and enforce it”.<sup>18</sup>

### **Din-i-Elahi**

Having winning a number of victories and successfully leading the debates at the *Ibadat Khana* at Fatehpur Sikri administered by Abul Fazl, his guide and philosopher, Akbar resorted to establish a new religion known as *Din-i-Elahi*, or the Divine Faith, also known as *Tauhid-i-Elahi*. Some historians also call it not a new religion but a policy of *Sulhe Kul*, i.e. toleration

towards adherents of all faiths. Its basic principles were drawn from all the religions and they were as follows:

1. A disciple of this faith was to believe in the Unity of God and to acknowledge Akbar as his Caliph.
2. He was required to make a four-fold dedication of wealth, life, honour and religion to His Majesty.
3. The disciple was required to abstain from eating meat of all kinds.
4. The disciple was to perform *Sijda* to the Emperor.
5. Reverence to the sun and veneration for fire was a prominent part of the rite.
6. Sunday was fixed for performing ceremony of conversation with the Emperor.
7. The pattern of address was *Allah-o-Akbar* and the reply was *Jalla Jalalaho*.<sup>19</sup>

In this way it was proclaimed that essentials of the religions of Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Zoroastrian were combined together so that people of all these faith could be attracted. According to S.M.Jaffar, “the chief motive underlying the promulgation of the Divine Faith was the unification of India”.<sup>20</sup> In this way the basic purpose of new religion was to get the support of the Hindus, who formed the majority, in addition to his rule which was basically Muslim in character. The administrative and judicial pattern prevalent in the country was essentially Muslim because majority of the Mansabdars, the Mughal bureaucracy, was composed of the Muslims. Only a few became the followers of the new faith. Of total 120 mansabdars in the Akbar’s administration, only 18 were the followers of Akbar’s new religion or policy.<sup>21</sup>

Abul Fazl has given various characteristics of King Akbar as the Spiritual Guide of the People in one section of *Ain-i-Akbari*.<sup>22</sup> Here Abul Fazl praises the charity and love of justice of Akbar. Certain conditions of the new faith which were required of the new adherents have also been mentioned in this chapter.<sup>23</sup>

### **Various Historians on Akbar's Religious Policy**

A number of contemporary historians have written on religious policy of Akbar. But most important of them are Bakshi Nizamuddin,<sup>24</sup> Abdul Fazl,<sup>25</sup> Abdul Qadir Badayuni,<sup>26</sup> Asad Baig,<sup>27</sup> Sh. Abdul Haq Muhaddis,<sup>28</sup> and Sh. Nurul Haq.<sup>29</sup> In addition to this, three delegations from the Portuguese Jesuit Fathers visited Akbar at different times whose reports are available in most of these historical works and other sources. All the historians differed from each other and reported about the religious views of Akbar according to their own perception, each differing from the other. Each of these historians differed from each other because of their different perception of Islam. The Christians Fathers' view is still different which is understandable because of their being followers of the other religion.

Abul Fazl does not find any fault in the Islamic policy of Akbar. According to him all actions of Akbar were according to tenets of Islam. He treated Islam in the liberal sense. For him the Din-i-Ilahi was actually a policy of Sulhe kul (peace with all) and Akbar did not force his new religion upon anybody. For carrying his principles of toleration with other religions, Akbar devised a number of principles for the unification of various religions such as Islam, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Christianity, and others whose detail is given in *Ain-i-Akberi*. All lead to justice and one humanity. All believe in one God. According to Abul Fazl, it was by following this policy that Akbar has become a source of inspiration for all humanity who are followers of different religions. It was because of this policy that Akbar was seen performing rites according to different religions, such as Hinduism and others at different times so that people of all faiths are kept loyal to the Mughal throne. Even dealing with the Muslim qazis and ulema belonging to different sects and fiqhas he tries to be most tolerant. By this policy ulema of different fiqahs such as Hanafi, Hanbali, Shafie, and Maliki as per Sunni school of thought and Jafari, as per Shia school of thought, were being tolerated and appointed according to the local requirements of different provinces and cities of Indo-Pak subcontinent. When

some of them became cruel on the persons of the opponent sect, Akbar transferred the qazis and ulama to other suitable areas, rather than to become harsh on them. If any qazi and alim become disobedient to the king, he was given harsh punishment as required according to the need of the time.

Abul Fazl also explains that the kotwals and Governors were instructed to be careful enough about the views of their population, particularly where the Hindus formed majority, their religion was to be respected and nothing against the norms of their religion was to be done by the officials. But law and order was to be maintained at any cost in a fair treatment to people belonging to different sects and religions.

Abdul Qadir Bayayuni's version is different from that of Abul Fazl. Badayuni has also given details of discussion at the Ibadat Khana. Bayaduni reports that most of the discussions in the Ibadat Khana were presided over by Akbar himself especially the Thursday nights. The Ulama used to come well prepared along with their books and sources and indulged in the lengthy debates. During the debates some of the ulama used to become very harsh and attacked their opponent ulema with strong languages. Some of the maliki, Sunni, Shia, Hanafi, Shafie ulema and other scholars became to the extent of terming their opponents as kafirs.<sup>30</sup> Because of differences and harsh exchange of language amongst them, Akbar was deeply affected. The king, who used to respect ulama, tactfully handled them and kept them under control through persuasion or even at the use of force. The debates of *halal* and *haram* also affected the king who himself pleaded upon them to be reasonable and argumentative basing their arguments on sound sources. This forced him to invite ulama and scholars of other religions to come and participate in these debates. It was in this way the Hindu Pundits and Jesuit Fathers were also invited to participate in these debates. After hearing their viewpoints, the king developed the view that the source of all religion is one i.e. Almighty Allah. That is why he termed his way as Din-i-Ilahi (the Way of God) whom Badayuni terms as the new religion, which is not true.<sup>31</sup>

While going into the reasons as to how Akbar was influenced, Badayuni writes that Akbar was influenced by two matters – one was the debates regarding the Hindu religion and the other was the debates on Wahadat-ul-Wajud. Akbar invited Hindu Brahman Parkhotum in privacy to give him details of Hindi names of the things. He had a long meeting with Akbar. Then he invited Devi Brahman in privacy. He used to inform the king for hours and hours about the Hindu stories as mentioned in the Rigvedas and other Hindu books. In this way the king came to know about Brahma, Mahadev, Kishan Ram and other Hindu and Jain gods and goddesses. Along with it the king also came to know about the different sects, segments and classes in Hindu society. As a result of this he appointed a number of Hindu scholars as his advisers.<sup>32</sup>

Badayuni also mentions that Akbar was also influenced by Sh. Tajuddin s/o Sh. Zakariya Dehlvi who was a famous scholar of the philosophy of Wahadatul Wajud. This philosophy was originally given by Ibne Arabi. He also had long debates with the king in person. According to thi philosophy of mysticism, God is omnipresent in all His creatures. This concept also brought the king closer to Hinduism, because according to this philosophy the Quranic verses and Hadis of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) were interpreted with a particular angle.<sup>33</sup> The Sheikh presented before the king the concept of Insan-i-Kamil who deserved to be saluted and required sijda from his followers.<sup>34</sup> Akbar was also influenced by the Shia ulema and mujtahids.<sup>35</sup> Explaining this aspect further, Badayuni continues that Akbar was also influenced by the Christian Fathers.<sup>36</sup>

Badayuni has painted a very bad picture of Akbar and tried to establish that had gone against the tenets of Islam. In his writings he quoted many things which Akbar adopted from the Hindu religion.

Against this Bakshi Nizamuddin has not made mention of Akbar's religious vagaries, and did not criticize any of Akbar's policies nor he has made mention of any of Akbar's policies against Islam. Instead he mentions that while returning from Agra to Delhi in 1586, the king visited various mazars and mosques and offered prayer. Akbar also joined the Eid prayer.<sup>37</sup>

A group of Portuguese Jesuit Fathers wanted to discuss certain matters with the Muslim Ulama in the presence of the king. The king had no time for this because in 1581 he had to go to Kabul for suppression of rebellion there and he asked them to accompany him. At that time the delegations were allowed to move with the king wherever he went. On the way when he found some time of peace, he used to hold darbar and allow them to meet him. Similarly the Portuguese Jesuit Fathers, accompanied Jalauddin Akbar, in his expedition to Kabul in 1581. When the rebellion was crushed in Kabul, Akbar decided to return to Delhi. When he reached Khyber Pass and saw Ali mosque near that about which it was reported that Hazrat Ali had visited this mosque and offered prayer in this mosque. Akbar also decided to stay at this place, offered the prayer in the mosque. Afterwards, Akbar ordered that the darbar be arranged in that peaceful atmosphere in which the ulama and the Jesuit Fathers who were accompanying him were to present their viewpoints and debate them in the presence of the king. During their discourse and debate, the Christian Fathers raised a number of objections against certain aspects of the Holy Quran. Abul Fazl successfully rebutted their objections which appealed to the king. The ulama also responded but their presentation was very poor. Upon this Akbar himself indulged in the debate and raised a number of objections regarding the Bible and the Christian religion.<sup>38</sup>

The Jesuit Fathers also reported that when Akbar reached Delhi, he arranged another meeting of Jesuit Fathers with the Ulema which was presided over by the king himself. On a number of points the Christian Fathers noted that on a number of critical moments in the debate and dialogue, the king himself intervened that replied to the objections of the Missionaries against some tenets of Islam. The king raised such counter questions which astonished the Christian Fathers. They were saddened to know that Akbar could not be encouraged to talk against the tenets of Islam. One Christian Father returned from the king's court in 1582 and the other in February 1583.<sup>39</sup> Similarly another Portuguese Christian Fathers' delegation visited Akbar in Delhi in 1592 and they were also disappointed to see that they could not convert the king to Christianity.<sup>40</sup>

These aspects have not been mentioned by Badayuni.<sup>41</sup> This aspect is understandable because Badayuni, who was once made in charge of the religious debates of Ibadat Khana, was later removed. In his place Akbar appointed Abul Fazl who was opposed to Badayuni. Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* has also made mention of such things as pointed out by Badayuni.<sup>42</sup> Some of the aspects of his reports of Akbar's participation in the debates have already been presented in this chapter.

### **Department of Religious Affairs**

The aforementioned narration did not mean that Akbar had abolished the Department of Religious Affairs which was established since the introduction of Muslim rule in the Indo-Pak subcontinent right from the times of Mohammad bin Qasim. Sometimes the department was headed by Qaziul Quzzat, the chief judge of the empire, or sadarus sadur. Actually the Qaziul Quzzat was the Chief Justice of the Justice Department which functioned separately.<sup>43</sup> And the Department of Religious Affairs functioned separately.<sup>44</sup> But in the times of Akbar the offices of Qaziul Quzzat and Sadras Sadur were combined. In this way the Qaziul Quzzat only held his court as the Chief Justice. Actually the Department of Justice and the Department of Religious Affairs originated in the times of the Abbasid Caliph Harun ar Rashid (786-809 AD), the fifth Caliph of the Abbasid Caliphate. His period is termed as the Golden period of Islamic Empire. In his period the research in various fields such as Science, Religion, Art, Music, etc. reached its zenith and the famous legendary library Baitul Hikmat was established in his time at Baghdad which was destroyed by Halaku Khan in 1258. Initially the Department of Religious Affairs was attached to the Justice Department and Imam Abu Hanifa was appointed as Qaziul Quzzat as well as Sadras Sadur.<sup>45</sup> Later it was separated. Throughout the Sultanate period the Department of Religious Affairs existed separately till the times of the Mughals.

In the times of Akbar the two offices were again combined and Sh. Abdun Nabi was appointed as Qaziul Quzzat as well as



Sadras Sadur in 10<sup>th</sup> year of Akbar's reign. The persons of wisdom, foresight, truthfulness, integrity and understanding were appointed as Sadras Sadur. The Department of Religious Affairs was responsible for appointment of Qazis and Muhtasibs. The mosques in different areas were built by funds provided by this department and its administration was left in the hands of the local people. In case there was no one to look after the affairs of the mosque, the department helped in the appointment of imams and mudaris to imparting Quran and Sunnah to the children of the local area and conducting religious activities of the local community.<sup>46</sup> The qualifications of the imams and khatibs, or preachers were checked by the Department of Religious Affairs.

On becoming king, Akbar heard a lot of complaints in the Department of Religious Affairs regarding corruption, grant of lands to non deserving persons, and appointment of orthodox qazis. When Abdun Nabi was appointed as Sadar-as-Sadur, he was given the task of checking all these bad things. Despite his best efforts he could not achieve good results. After the ascendancy of Abul Fazl and Sh. Mubarak in the royal court, Akbar turned against the orthodox qazis and ulema. Their lands and jagirs were reduced. Finally Abdun Nabi was ousted and replaced by someone. In this way this department was controlled and qazis and ulema of the liberal school of thought were appointed. Though most of the qazis and ulema continued to be maintained belonging to the Hanafi school of thought, yet there were instances when qazis belonging to other fiqas such as Jafari, Maliki were also appointed keeping in view the local situation. In order to reduce the influence of the qazis and ulema in the Empire, Abul Fazl reduced the size of the land given as inam or madad-i-mu'ash, but the influence of the qazis and ulema could not be eliminated.<sup>47</sup>

### **Department of Justice**

The Department of Justice known as Diwan-i-Qaza was established by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. Then it was continued to be maintained under the Ghaznavid Empire.

Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori also continued to maintain it. As a follow up, the Delhi Sultans also maintained it as a separate Department. The Mughals also continued it. The Suri kings also maintained it. As a follow-up, King Jalaluddin Akbar also maintained it as a separate department. The head of this department was known as Qazi ul Quzat or Chief Justice. All the decisions of the qazis were according to Islamic law as enshrined in the Holy Quran and the traditions of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The pattern of interpreting Islamic law was largely that of Imam Abu Hanifa known as Hanafi Fiqh. In the initial period, Akbar strictly followed this pattern, but in the later part he allowed the Muslims of other fiqhs to allow the qazis to decide their personal and family matters according to the pattern of other Imams but not against Quran and Sunnah.

The basic principle of the Islamic State has been to establish Justice amongst the people. The Government under Islam is considered as the custodian of justice. It is the duty of the state to see that justice is done to all segments of society. The stronger sections of society should not be cruel and unfair to the depressed classes. This was because of the belief that to establish justice in the Muslim Empire, it was essential to establish and maintain justice amongst the common people. No injustice to the common man was tolerated. This has been principle throughout the Islamic Empire.

In an Islamic State there are two kinds of adl and justice. One is that *adl* and justice is done by rulers, Caliphs, Sultans, Presidents, Prime Ministers, Governors, Chief Ministers, Ministers, officers and officials of the State to their subjects in the discharge of their normal duties and responsibilities which means the resources over whom they have been made in charge should be distributed amongst the people and different segments of society judiciously and with fairness. The other kind of justice is done by the Qazis, Judges, and the Courts when litigation comes to them and they are required to pronounce their judgments judiciously and in fairness in line with the requirements of laws as defined by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In both these categories the conduct and

behavior of the Holy Prophet is always kept in mind because he knew best how to explain and interpret the Commandment of God stipulated in the Holy Quran. The Prophet's examples were further explained by his four pious Caliphs even when the role of the State expanded tremendously, i.e. the Arabian State assumed the role of an International State covering a the vast majority areas over which the authority of the Caliph was established beyond any doubt. This became model for all times to come and even in the modern sense when the State has come to play two roles of National State; and International State as well. Ziauddin Barani, an eminent historian of the Sultanate of Delhi period, in his book "Fatawa-i-Jahandari" (Persian) has explained that the Sultan of Delhi was duty-bound to rule with justice and fair-play. In order to support his thesis he has quoted from a number of traditions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and of the Pious Caliphs. Barani terms Justice as the mother of Islam. Without justice one cannot think of an Islamic State. Justice is to be imparted to all segments of society especially to the weaker sections of society. Without following the course of justice no Islamic State can last long. Barani has quoted the examples of Hazrat Umar, the second Caliph of Islam, in order to show what pains were taken by the Caliph to dispense equal justice to all segments of society in social, economic and political matters.<sup>48</sup> Barani thinks that there are twelve visible signs in an Islamic State to prove that full justice is being done to all segments of society: 1) It should also be with the side of suffering and weak people; 2) It should not be cruel towards its enemies; 3) The State organs should be very careful in dispensation of justice in all matters of its control; 4) The State should also be careful enough to watch that in the punishment of culprits it should not cross limits; 5) The state officials should not be mindful of the praise or curse of the criminals; 6) No law of the state should become hindrance in the dispensation of justice to the people; 7) While taking decisions and implementing orders the state organs and the officials should act with utmost care so that no injustice is done to any segment of society; 8) The State should not rest contented until the weaker sections of the people are given justice against the stronger sections of the state; 9) In dispensation of justice the state officials should not show any

kind of leniency or laxity; 10) The state officials should always be faithful to God and His Prophet (PBUH); 11) The State organs should also be watchful to see that all cruel segments of the society are always kept under regular watch and surveillance: 12) The State officials should not act in a state of doubt.<sup>49</sup>

In the NRO Judgment Case (December 2009) the Supreme Court has heavily quoted from the history of the Muslim rulers to underscore the system of justice and its benefits.<sup>50</sup>

“Legislative history/past events are relevant for interpreting constitutional provisions on the principle of historical modalities. The Muslims had ruled the sub-continent for a considerable period. During the period of the Muslim rule, sub-continent was rich in all spheres of life.

The judgment even observed: “This judgment cannot be completed without having a glimpse of Islamic Legal System. Mr. Vijay Kumar Dewan in his book *Prosecuting System in India (Practice and Procedure)* discussed the legal system of Islam in the following terms: i.e. the Maliki School founded by Malik Ibn Annas (713-797) and the Hanbali School based on the teachings of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (780-855 A.D) were not popular in India.” The author classified “As like the Hindu law the concept of Muslim Law also held that the king derived his authority from Quran and the ruler was subordinate to law, the source of Islamic law or Muslim law, i.e. Shar’ in Quran and Sunnah or Hadis. The Prophet was considered to be the best interpreter of Quran. On a“... ll matters on which Quran was silent Sunnah or Hadis was regarded as authority. Because of divergent views taken on various provisions of Quran by eminent Muslim Jursits, four well defined branches or schools of Muslim law came to be recognized by different sections of the Muslims. Out of the four the Hanafi School founded by Abu Hanifa (699-767 A.D) was the most popular in India, a few in India however, followed the Shafi’ School founded by Muhammad Ibn Idri Aash-Shafi (767-820 A.D). The other criminal offences under the Islamic Penal law as follows:

1. Offences against God.

2. Offences against the State, and
3. Crimes against private individuals.

“The same author discussed the Islamic Justice in the following terms:

The works of judiciary, however, worked systematically in view of considerable importance attached by Akbar and his successors, and Akbar had definite zeal to administer justice impartially and he had once remarked: If I were guilty of an unjust act I would rise in judgment against myself. What shall I say then of my sons, my kindred and others. (In this regard reference may be made to the book *History and Culture*, Vol 7, pages 547-552, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol, I, p. 434; *Akbarnama*, Vol. III and *Storia do Mogar*, Vol. I, p. 167). Akbar used to devote some time every morning for judicial work at the Jharoka Darshan and Thursday was exclusively kept for judicial work, wherein the top officers such as Chief Qazi, Mufties, and other law dignitaries and Kotwal of the town used to participate. He used to decide cases after hearing and ascertain the law from the jurists. Abul Fazl, the Chronicle Writer of Akbar’s Court has given an account for the Royal Court: ‘He (Akbar) opens the gates of justice and holds an open Court. In the investigation into the causes of the oppressed, he placed no reliance on the testimony or on the oaths, which are resources of the crafty, but draws his conclusions from the contradictions in the narratives, the physiognomy, and sublime resources and noble conjectures. Truth takes here place in this centre. In this work he spends not less than one and half pahars (i.e. about five hours:’

“Jahangir followed the ideals of his father. He also in addition to deciding cases every morning had set apart Tuesday exclusively for judicial work. Shahjahan also upheld the maxim of his father that justice must be enforced. Aurangzeb was also very keen in administrating impartial justice except in cases which concerned the interest and prestige of Islam. The arrangement of transacting judicial business personally by the sovereign was not disturbed even when the Emperor happened to be on tours or when he was engaged in a military expedition.

The Emperor decided both civil and criminal cases and his Court was not only the highest Court of appeal, but also sometimes a Court of first instance. Sometimes the Emperor used to appoint a commission of inquiry and issue instructions to decide cases on the basis of facts revealed in the investigation on the spot. Usually the cases deserving capital punishment were decided by the King himself. Such cases even if tried by Governors or other authorities, were forwarded to the capital for the Kings' final order. The standing instructions were that no one has to be executed until the Emperor had given his orders for the third time.

“Keeping in view the historical background of the creation of the country beginning with Sultan Haider Ali of Maysor and his noble, brave and courageous son Tipu Sultan Shaheed who gave his precious life including life of his two beloved sons who fought for freedom, and ultimately achieved the goal of freedom under dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who was motivated by the spirit of great national poet Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal, and sacrifices made by millions of Muslims of this subcontinent, we must remember that this freedom was formally recognized by the imperial power by passing the Independence Act, 1947 which gave birth to our esteemed country. Before coming to final conclusion, let me quote that once late Mian Muhammad Mushtaq Gormani met Lord Wavell who during discussion made some remarks about the founder of Pakistan which are very relevant to reproduce here for the purpose of building national character. Lord Wavell said: ‘He (Founder of Pakistan) is not only honest but he is intellectually honest.’”

Akbar appointed Abd-un-Nabi as Qazi-ul-Quzat of this Department. He was free to take his decisions according to Islam. Akbar did not interfere in the sphere of qazis for the interpretation of Islamic law. There is one very important example in this connection. Qazi of Mathura ordered construction of a mosque. When the material for construction was collected at the proposed site, a wealthy Brahman removed the building material from the site because he was opposed to

the construction of the mosque. The Qazi called him to the court. The Brahmin not only showed his disobedience but used abusive language about the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). On the Qazi's report to the capital, Qazi Abdul Nabi, the Chief Justice, called the Brahmin to the capital Delhi. The Brahmin again used abusive language in the court of Qazi Abdul Nabi, who sentenced him to death under the Islamic Law. But, as per procedure of the Mughal code of criminal conduct, the death sentences were required to be approved by the king himself. When the case was presented to him on the appointed date, Akbar was hesitant to approve it because of the pressure of Rajput ladies in his haram and influence of liberal Abul Fazl. But he could not come out openly. He arranged an independent secret inquiry which also justified Abd-un- Nabi's decision which was based on facts. Therefore, because of compulsion of the requirements of Islamic law and Muslim character of aristocracy of the Mughal Empire, Akbar allowed execution of the Brahman.<sup>51</sup> Though on a number of instances Qureshi criticizes Akbar in terms of the latter's some actions, yet he admits that "history does not record a single instance in which Akbar openly interfered in judicial proceedings or set aside a judgment. He had to take recourse to the well known method of having a pliant judiciary. The Ain-i-Akbari prescribes as one of the conditions of appointment to the highest judicial and religious post adherence to Akbar's religious philosophy. This policy seems to have been pursued with great thoroughness".<sup>52</sup>

According to Islam as founded and implemented by the Holy Prophet (PUUH) in the Arabian Peninsula, the Islamic law was divided into two categories: One was Criminal Law and the other was Civil Law. The Criminal was applied to the large extent to all the citizens without discrimination of the any religious, sectarian or regional differences. In the times of Akbar certain exception in the application of this law were made, but largely the Law of Islam was applied.<sup>53</sup> Still no such law of "capital punishment and all cases where such punishment was recommended were referred to the emperor".<sup>54</sup> The Royal Officers of the Mughal Court were required by the king to check and verify all such recommendations before the emperor was advised to sign the execution.<sup>55</sup> The Civil Law of

Islam was applied on the Muslims. In civil matters the law of Hindus was applied to the Hindu subjects of the Mughal Empire. This practice was prevalent even under the Delhi Sultanate. In this way the practice of Holy Caliphate, the Umayyad Caliphate and the Abbasid Caliphate for application for civil law on non-Muslims was followed.

All the executive departments and the provincial governors were required to act according to the decisions of the qazis or orders given by the *Dewan-i-Qaza*, i.e. Department of Justice. For carrying the orders of the courts for implementation by different executive departments, a separate department was functioning both under the Delhi Sultans as well as the Mughal kings. Under the Sultans, its head was called as *Amir-i-Dad*, but under the Mughals known as *Mir-i-Adl*. The functions of this department were the same. In this way the finds of the courts were implemented. In case there was any difficulty in carrying out the implementation of the decisions of the qazis, the matter was appointed to head qazi and ultimately the *Qazi ul Quzzat* for the information of the King because Akbar was careful enough to see that the orders of the courts are properly implemented so that the cause of the justice is ensured as required under the tenets of Islam.<sup>56</sup>

For hearing the cases, the qazi was particular to hear the cases under the procedure as required on the pattern set out by the Holy Prophet (PBUH), Pious Caliphs, Umayyad Caliphs, and Abbasid Caliphate. Under this practice the qazi was assisted by a *fiqih* or *mufti* who was a trained jurist. But for ensuring the attendance of the parties and recording witnesses of all the parties, the qazi was dependent on *Mir-i-Adl* who presented the accused before the trial court of the qazi.<sup>57</sup>

In Islam the Judicial System is comprised of four departments: 1) *Diwan-i-Qaza*; 2) *Diwan-i-Sadr*; 3) *Diwan-i-Adl*; 4) *Diwan-i-Mazalim*. *Diwan-i-mazalim* (Court of complaints and justice), is presided over by the rulers or his representative known as *Amir-i Dad*. *Diwan-i-Qaza* is headed by *Qaziul Quzzat*, i.e. Chief Justice. *Diwan-i-Sadr* is headed by *Sadras Sadur*, *Diwan-i-Adl* is headed by *Mir-i-Dad* which also had the duties of *Muhtasib*. *Diwan-i-Mazalim* is headed by *Mir-i-Mazalim* who



also acted as the Muhtasib. These courts gained more power and prestige under the Tughluqs. Starting a new pattern, Akbar showed himself to the public at the Diwan-i-Aam every morning for Jharoka Darshan. There it was announced that if anybody had any complaint against any official of the state or any state action, he could lodge a complaint by raising his hand and lodge complaint. The officials spotted and the person was allowed to go to Diwan-i-Khas so that the king could personally hear the complaint. If the case required an investigation, it was ordered. The cases were decided under the Islamic law. Where it did not apply, the decisions were taken in accordance with customary law, principles of justice or regulations of the state and justice was done to the people.<sup>58</sup> In this way the crime on the part of any official or strong individual was treated as a matter of urgency under the Code of Criminal Law as applied under Islam.

The Mughal kings had set one day in a week for sitting one day as a court of mazalim.<sup>59</sup> This was because they had high sense of justice. They did not like even their sons or high officials of the state to act tyrants. Akbar is reported to have said: "If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgment against myself, what shall I say then of my sons, my kindred and others?"<sup>60</sup>

There was a grass root networking of qazi (judges) on provincial and local level. Kotwal (head of the city police) also acted as a court of first instance of the criminal cases. The muhtasib was regarded as the upholder of the public morals and protector of the rights of the weak against the strong. He supervised the markets and inspected weights and measures.<sup>61</sup>

## References

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- <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 117.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 118.
- <sup>4</sup> Edward S. Holden, *The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan*, Lahore, Sang-e-Mell Publications, 2006 (first published in 1895), p. 83.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>6</sup> Jaffar, *The Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 118-119.
- <sup>7</sup> Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, vol. 3, translated from Persian into English by H. Beveridge, Lahore, Book Traders, 1939, a reprint nd., p.157. This chapter has been reproduced as Appendix – I in this work.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 158-159.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 160.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 162-164.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 364-365. This chapter ( XLV) has also been given as Appendix II in this thesis.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 365.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 368-372.
- <sup>14</sup> *Tarikh-i-Badayuni* (Persian), vol. II, p. 279, and Jaffar, *The Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 121-123.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>16</sup> Jaffar, *The Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb*, p. 124.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 124-125.
- <sup>18</sup> I.H.Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, Karachi, University of Karachi, 1966, p. 166.
- <sup>19</sup> Jaffar, *The Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb*, p. 127.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 128.
- <sup>21</sup> I.H.Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, pp. 170-185.
- <sup>22</sup> Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, translation from Persian to English by H. Blochmann, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, a reprint, 2004, pp. 157-160.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup> Bakshi Nizamuddin, *Tabakat-i-Akbari* (in 3 Vols.),
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- <sup>26</sup> Abdul Qadir Badayuni, *Mutakhab al Tawarikh*, translated into Urdu by Mahmud Ahmad Farooqi, Lahore, Sh. Ghulam ali & Sons, n.d.
- <sup>27</sup> Asad Baig, *Akbar Nama*
- <sup>28</sup> Sh. Abdul Haq Muhaddis, *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*,
- <sup>29</sup> Sh. Nurul Haq, *Zubdatul Tawarikh*
- <sup>30</sup> *Mutakhab al Tawarikh*, p. 465.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 466-467.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 467-468.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 468.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 469.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 469-470

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- <sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 470.
- <sup>37</sup> Bakshi Nizamuddin, *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, cited in S.M.Ikram, *Raud-i-Kausar* (Urdu), Lahore, Idara Saqafat Islami, 2013, pp. 114-115.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 116.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid. Also see *Akbar and the Jesuites* (Payne), p. 35. Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar by Pierre Du Jarric, E. Denison Ross, Eileen Power, C. H. Payne
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid. 118.
- <sup>43</sup> I.H.Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi, University of Karachi, 1966. Pp. 180-206.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 207.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 208.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid., pp. 209-211.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ziauddin Barani, Fatwa Jahandari*, original in Persian, translated into Urdu by Prof. Attiqur Rahman and edited by Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmad, NIHCR, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 2004, pp. 18-34.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> Supreme Court of Pakistan - Judgment on NRO 2009.
- <sup>51</sup> I.H.Qureshi, p. 184.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 186.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 190.
- <sup>54</sup> Kazim, p. 1078.
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>56</sup> Qureshi, p. 190-191.
- <sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 191.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 193.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 192.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 198, cited Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 234.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 194.