

**ROLE OF PERSIANS AT THE MUGHAL COURT: A  
HISTORICAL STUDY, DURING 1526 A.D. TO 1707 A.D.**

**PH.D THESIS SUBMITTED**

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**IN THE  
AREA STUDY CENTRE  
FOR MIDDLE EAST & ARAB COUNTRIES  
UNIVERSITY OF BALOCHISTAN  
QUETTA, PAKISTAN.**

**FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN HISTORY**

**2005**

## **DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE**

I, Muhammad Ziauddin, do solemnly declare that the Research Work Titled "Role of Persians at the Mughal Court: A Historical Study During 1526 A.D to 1707 A.D" is hereby submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and it has not been submitted elsewhere for any Degree. The said research work was carried out by the undersigned under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Munir Ahmed Baloch, Director, Area Study Centre for Middle East & Arab Countries, University of Balochistan, Quetta, Pakistan.

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This is to certify that Mr. Muhammad Ziauddin has worked under my supervision for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His research work is original. He fulfills all the requirements to submit the accompanying thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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**THE UNFORGETTABLE MEMORIES OF**

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First of all I must thank to Almighty Allah, who is so merciful and beneficent to all of us, and without His will we can not do anything; it is He who guide us to the right path, and give us sufficient knowledge and strength to perform our assigned duties.

Since the time of my registration as a Ph.D candidate, I have incurred a considerable number of debts of warm gratitude. Indeed I am grateful to more people that I can recount.

I take pride in expressing my deep appreciation and gratitude to my Supervisor Prof. Dr. Munir Ahmed, Director Area Study Centre for Middle East & Arab Countries, University of Balochistan, Quetta for his constant guidance, kind interest, useful suggestions and constructive criticism in the completion of my dissertation. No appropriate words of thanks can express my feelings to him.

I owe gratitude to Prof. Dr. Mansur Akbar Kundi, Dean Faculty of State Sciences, Prof. Dr. G.M. Jaffar, Chairman, Department of Islamiyat, Prof. Dr. Farooq Ahmed, Chairman, Department of Urdu, University of Balochistan, Quetta, and my senior colleague Prof. S.A Wahab Shah for their valuable advices and admonitions which kept me busy in my research work positively. Moreover, I am also grateful to the other colleagues of my department for their well-wishes which kept me active in carrying out my task.

I also extend my thanks to Prof. Sharafat Abbas, Chairman, Department of Persian, Prof. Muhammad Ilyas of the Department of Library & Information Science, Prof. Dr. Syed Zafar Ilyas of the Department of Physics and Prof. Hamid Hasan Khan, Chairman Department of Philosophy,

University of Balochistan, Quetta, for providing me with useful advices and as well as steering my research work properly. I also want to extend my heartiest thanks and gratitude to Prof. Muhammad Arif of the Department of International Relations for his enormous help which he accorded to me throughout my studies.

I must acknowledge with thanks to Mrs. Sakina Malik, former Librarian, and specially Md. Nurjahan, Assistant Librarian, of the University of Balochistan, Quetta. I am especially indebted to the Staff of Liaquat Memorial Library Karachi, and the Library of University of Karachi for their cooperation in searching and photocopying of the relevant research material.

I also appreciate the scrupulous efforts of Miss Tabinda Zahoor, my wife's niece and student of General History Department, University of Karachi, for her assistance in searching of some valuable books and research journals that enabled me to accomplish this research work. I must not to forget my wife's elder brother Muhammad Rehmatullah for his painstaking task of proof reading with great discernment the whole script of this thesis.

I am highly beholden to my father S.A Nasir Rizvi, my mother and my brothers and sisters and other connections for their well wishes and benedictions which they have been incessantly accorded to me during the entire study and progression of this dissertation.

In the end, I must thank my better-half Mrs. Shagufta Zia and my sons Shahab-ud-Din and Imad-ud-Din who, in spite of the suffering of long hours of solitude remained a constant source of encouragement to me throughout my studies.

Muhammad Ziauddin

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>A.A.</b>	Ain-i-Akbari
<b>A.D.</b>	Anno Domini
<b>A. Dad.</b>	Abolghasem Dadvar
<b>A.G.M.</b>	Ahmad Golchin, Ma'ani
<b>A.H.</b>	After Hijra
<b>A.L.S.</b>	A. Lateef Sayed
<b>A.S.</b>	Alaih-Salam
<b>B.C.</b>	Before Christ
<b>B.P.S.</b>	Banarsi Prasad Saksena
<b>C.A.M.A.</b>	Calligraphic Art in Mughal Architecture
<b>C.D.M.A.</b>	Colour Decoration in Mughal Architecture
<b>E.B.F.</b>	Ellison Banks Findly
<b>F.R.</b>	Francis Richard
<b>G.M.A.</b>	Glimpses of Mughal Architecture
<b>G.M.I.</b>	The Gardens of Mughul India
<b>H.A.D.</b>	Humaira Arif Dasti (Dr.)
<b>I.A.K.</b>	Iqtidar Alam Khan
<b>K.H.</b>	Khurshid Hasan
<b>M.A.G.</b>	M. Abdul Ghani
<b>M.H.</b>	Mansura Haider
<b>M.R.K.</b>	Majumdar, Raychaudhuri & Kalikinkar
<b>N.A.J.</b>	The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir

<b>R.A.</b>	Rehmat-ullah Alaih
<b>R.A.T.A.</b>	Razi 'Allah-o-Ta'ala 'Anho
<b>R.M.S.</b>	Roger M. Savory
<b>R.S.A.</b>	Rama Shankar Avasthy.
<b>S.A.R.</b>	Saiyid Athar Rizvi
<b>S.A.W.</b>	Sallallah-o-Alaih Wasallam
<b>T.S.</b>	Tarikh-i-Sindh
<b>S.M.J.</b>	S.M Jaffar,
<b>S.P.V.</b>	Som Prakash Verma
<b>T.A.</b>	Tarikh-i-Adabiyat
<b>T.H.H.</b>	Tasweer Husain Hamidi
<b>T.U.</b>	Tadhkirat-al-Umara



# Abstract

*This dissertation renders the Persians' role at the Mughal Court that was really their enormous contribution which provided Mughal Empire an additional glory, ecstasy and magnificence in its enterprise. Thus the significance of this historical study stems from a huge and multidimensional role played by the Persians at the Mughal Court and as well in the annals of Mughal India, as a consequence of their continuous migration towards Indian Sub-continent. The research shows a historical background of over-all Indo-Persian relations that has been occurred during ancient and medieval times before the advent of Mughal Empire in India. It purports the causes of migration of Persian emigrants towards Mughal India and their key role in the politics and administration along with its comparison with other fractions of nobility which were prevailing in India. Dissertation also unfolds the religious role of Persians in separate epochs during the Mughal regime, in view of the establishment of Safawid Dynasty in Persia and its Safawid religious propaganda. It underlines the Persians role in the language and literature during the Mughal regime as well as the causes of migration of Persian men-of-pen towards Mughal India. It cogently highlights the impact of Persian language and literature on other spheres of India. In addition, it also discloses Persians' gigantic role in the Mughal culture, arts and society and deals with the analysis*

*of some of the Persian cultural customs, traditions in Mughal culture and society that resulted by the firm interactions with the Persians. Self-made analytical data tables support the entire role of Persians at the Mughal Court throughout the research period. Dissertation concludes that Mughal rulers of India kept up the closest of contacts with Persia and there was a stream of talented Persians which comprised administrators, theologians, scholars and artists coming over the Indian frontiers to seek fame and fortune at the brilliant Court of the Great Mughals. They performed a crucial role in trimming and enterprising the multidimensional aspects of entire Mughal period under study.*

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# CHAPTER-I

## I n t r o d u c t i o n

Persia as an immediate neighbor of Indian Sub-continent has had an age-old association and multidimensional contacts with India from ancient times to the influx of medieval conquerors and fortune seekers in later times. By and large, the people of Sub-continent have remained unaware of the authentic contribution of Persians to the glory of their land. Indeed, India had a special relation with Persia; these contacts were mainly in the meadow of literature, religions and arts. The contact between these two civilizations has been fairly continuous and unbroken, in view of their specific geographical and ethnological circumstances. The Mughals from a long time were very well accustomed to Persian language and culture in their native land Trans-oxiana and rest of the Central Asia, and were almost inspired with them long before they attempted their conquests in Sub-continent. Babur was also a fluent Persian speaker and it has been observed that he used to speak Persian language in his private talks in India.<sup>1</sup> When the Mughals established their empire in India, the Persian language was the language they used; the Persian law and the Persian religion were the law and religion they had espoused; it was the Persian literature to which they devoted; and they carried along with them the full benefit of the Persian arts and knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

Persia's cultural sphere of influence, which may be called greater Persia, is and has always been far greater in area and importance than the political boundaries of Persia. Persian poets and authors, scientists and scholars, architects and artisans have accomplished what kings and generals could not conquer. For more than a thousand years of Muslim rule in the Sub-continent, Persian was the official language of the administration, a major medium of instruction, and the basic of cultural exchange. Even after the fall of the Mughal Empire, Persian continued to be the language of private correspondence among the educated classes, and the basic of Indo-Muslim culture. In fact, Persian achievements have developed almost into a common cultural heritage in India. Indeed, it is a reality that some of the greater achievements of Persia and Persian language, ranging from the Taj Mahal to Allama Iqbal, lie outside Iran. This sense of cultural participation in India provides the most lasting basis for future association and the continuance of this unique commonwealth of culture called 'Persian Heritage.'

Abul Fazl, the Dean of Mughal Chroniclers, observed in the second half of the sixteenth century A.D. that; "It is an old custom that powerful potentates should, for the sake of gathering spiritual and temporal blessings and for accomplishing spiritual and temporal objects, seek to associate with fortunate princes, and that if owing to a God-given destiny, a connection has already been established, they exert themselves to strengthen the pillars thereof and finish off the thread of their own fortune with this wondrous ornament."<sup>3</sup> Abul Fazl was indeed not the first Muslim historian to appreciate the value of friendly and cordial relationship between the contemporary states. Indian Muslim rulers remained in almost total isolation from the rest of the Islamic world apart from maintaining sporadic contacts with the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad and Egypt. It was until the foundation of the Mughal Empire in the early sixteenth century A.D. that Muslim rulers of India were able to break this self-imposed isolation from the outside world. Several factors were responsible for this momentous development. Firstly, never before in its long and checkered history had the Sub-continent been governed by as powerful and dynamic ruling house as of the Mughals. The prosperity, peace, and tranquility which India achieved during the Mughal regime enhanced her prestige in the family of nations and increased her influence in international affairs. Consequently, the leading foreign potentates, Muslim as well as non-Muslims, desired to establish political and diplomatic relations with the Mughals. Secondly, having once ruled over Persia and Central Asia, the Mughals were far more aware than their royal predecessors, of the value of friendly relations with the adjacent states. Thirdly, unlike the previous dynasties of India, the Mughals also controlled Afghanistan along with their common borders with Safawid Persia and Uzbeks of Central Asia; which forced them to keep a bird eye on the changes and developments of these areas. Maintenance of political and diplomatic relations with the outside world was, therefore, in the best interest of the Mughals.<sup>4</sup> But in fact, the Mughals remained extremely unable to involve so deeply with any other foreign power, whether in friendship or otherwise. Their intercourse with Persia presents, indeed the most

important facet of their foreign policy that also resulted from a close cultural intercourse between India and Persia.

## **Mughals in Historical Perspective**

The sixteenth century A.D. was a century of great men and great political events; period of 'realignment of political forces' all over the world, of religious ferment, and of cultural, economic and ideological reassessment on an extensive scale. New and basic problems affecting the social, political and economic institutions of the Muslims were posed and new adjustments were made in them to meet the new mood, new tensions, new needs and new aspirations. During this century the Muslim World saw the rise of three great empires that constituted the most active, the most articulate and the most closely knit segment of the Muslim world community. The Ottomans established themselves in Western Asia and later penetrated into Eastern Europe. The Safawids occupied the greater part of the Iranian Plateau, while the Chaghtai Turks swooped into Sub-continent and founded the Mughal Empire, when Babur in the year 1526 A.D. succeeded in building up Mughal Empire which afterwards comprised some parts of Afghanistan and Central Asia, and almost the entire Punjab and the massive chunk of present India.<sup>5</sup> According to Khwandamir "the entire extent of the kingdom of India was brightened up to the borders of Qandahar and Zabulistan"<sup>6</sup> (Zabulistan was the name given to a tract of country north-east and south-east of Ghazna in Afghanistan).

Commenting upon Babur, Toynbee says that he was "the most centrally placed and most intelligent observer among notable non-westerners."<sup>7</sup> He was a prince of distinguished lineage, his descendants, who ruled the greater part of the Sub-continent, are generally called Mughal. In fact, they had only a little Mughal blood in their veins.<sup>8</sup> Although, Babur could trace a connection to Chaghatai Khan, the second son of Chingiz, through his mother Qutlugh Nigar Khanum, it is by no means accurate to call him or his successors Mongol. Mughal, the name of the dynasty, is a variant or synonym of Mongol and was

used in India to distinguish immigrants or the recently immigrated from local Muslims. It was applied to Persians, Turks, and Arabs as well as to descendants of Chingiz Khan. This reasoning verifies with the statement of the French traveler Francois Bernier, that “by the late seventeenth century (A.D.) the term ‘Mughal’ was applied by Indians to any light-skinned Muslim of foreign descent, including Persians, Turks, Arabs, and even Uzbeks.”<sup>9</sup> Other European travelers, who misunderstood the meaning of the word, thought it denoted the descendants of Babur exclusively. This meaning gained currency in Europe and soon Mughal became the accepted name of the dynasty. However, since Babur’s father, Umer Shaikh Mirza, had been fourth in a direct line of descent from Timur (Tamerlane), it is more accurate to call the dynasty Timurid, the name by which it was known to Indians of the period. Trans-oxiana, the land of Babur’s progenitors, which is called in Arabic ‘Mavara-un-Nahr’<sup>10</sup> (that which lies beyond the river), was a historical region roughly corresponding to present-day Uzbekistan and parts of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. A great centre of Muslim civilization during the European Middle Ages, Trans-oxiana was the centre of the Timurid Empire in the fifteenth century and its cities, Bukhara and Samarqand were known worldwide.<sup>11</sup>

The Mughal Empire was the last of the great pre-modern Indian empires and also was one of the largest centralized states known in pre-modern world history. It was direct heir to the Mauryan and Gupta Empires, earlier states that had also aspired to sub-continental dominance. The Mughals, however, surpassed all other pre-modern Indian polities in the efficiency and extent of their rule and in the strength of the order which they imposed. By the late sixteenth century A.D. the Mughal Emperors held supreme political authority over a population numbering between 100 and 150 millions and lands covering most of the Indian Sub-continent (3.2 million square kilometers).<sup>12</sup> Mughal India was indeed; far outstripped in sheer size and resources with its two rival early modern Islamic empires; Safawid Persia and Ottoman Turkey. The Mughal lands and subjects were comparable only to those ruled by his contemporary, the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) in medieval China. In the eminent history of Mughal rule in India during one hundred and eighty one years (1526-1707 A.D.) there

had been a rare sequence of competent rulers, whose achievements from father to son for six generations was of excellence; while in the remaining century and a half of their nominal empire (1707-1857 A.D.) there would be another eleven great Mughals. But Aurangzeb was the last whom the proud title *Shahenshah* (Emperor) fitted,<sup>13</sup> although he had to face a lot of internal insurrections.

### **Mughal-Persian Boundaries**

It is extremely unable to fix with certainty, the position of the meeting-point between the Persian and Mughal empires, but it was probably about midway between Gwadar and Karachi, near the town or village of Ormara. In this regard Laurence Lochart says: "The Perso-Mughal frontier, starting from this somewhat debatable point on the coast, traversed, in a north-north-easterly direction, the country inhabited by wild and turbulent Baluchi tribesmen over whom neither Persia nor India could then exercise effective control."<sup>14</sup> To the west of the Indian frontier in those days lie the Persian provinces of Makran and Seistan (Seistan), which two provinces between them appear to represent a great part of modern Balochistan.<sup>15</sup> In fact, "Balochistan is bounded on the west by 520 miles long border with Iran"<sup>16</sup> and on the north by 720 miles border with Afghanistan. In this way Iran is separated from India by the Sulaiman chains, and on the south-east borders of Persia, the River Helmand was the actual boundary line between Mughal India and Safawid Persia.<sup>17</sup>

### **Persia and Persians in Historical Perspective**

In Middle East, Iran (Persia) is a country that had remained conceivably both the most conservative and at the same time the most innovative. Persians never forgot the glories of the imperial rule of the past, and seems to have preserved much more of its ancient heritage. Persia was established in the sixth century B.C. by Cyrus who united Media with Persia. Under the stronghold of Achaemenid Dynasty (558-331 B.C.) and Sassanids (242-642 A.D.), Persia got



her glory.<sup>18</sup> Political contacts between India and Persia may be said to have started from the conquest of Punjab by the great Darius in 512 B.C.<sup>19</sup> But the cultural contacts between the two date from still earlier times even before the Vedic period in India. Persian civilization is much older than Islamic and Christian influences, and indeed, of an extraordinary endurance. It is not surprising; therefore, that Islam as it reached the non-Arab countries, from Anatolia to the Oxus and Indus Valleys, passed through a Persian prism. The Persian spirit and atmosphere that is still so evident around Peshawar is thus attributable to influences far older than Islamic, influences brought to bear by many kings and courts over more than a thousand years. But this had been Persian frontier towards the east, and as such has been continuously exposed to Indian influences also.<sup>20</sup> Persia today is virtually off the great highways of the world; but in the ancient world she was the connecting link between the East and the West. "The legacy of Persia to the world from the grey dawn of civilization to the medieval ages, as a land-bridge between East and West, was due to her position astride the great routes of Asia."<sup>21</sup> Persia was, in fact, very much larger in the closing years of the seventeenth century A.D. than she is today, as she covered approximately one million square miles as against 628,000. The main differences, in the geographical sense, between the Persia of those days and of the present time, were in the north-west and the east and north-east, where there was much additional territory.<sup>22</sup>

The first decade of the sixteenth century A.D. witnessed profound changes in this region. In Persia, the Safawid dynasty was established as the first national empire to rule Persia since the fall of the Sassanids. This new dynasty took its name 'Safawi' from a pioneer member of Safawia sect named Shaikh Safi-ud-Din or the 'Purity of the Faith' who traced its descent from Musa Kazim, the seventh Imam of *Ithna Ashariyah* (Twelver) Muslims.<sup>23</sup> The Safawids were eager to establish an *Ithna Ashariyah* state and to promulgate *Ithna Ashariyah* doctrines and hemmed in by the neighboring Sunni states, were potentially hostile to the rest of the Sunni world.<sup>24</sup> When Shah Ismail-I, the founder of the Safawid dynasty declared Persia as a *Ithna Ashariyah* state, most

of the Ithna Asharis from other parts of the Islamic world especially from the Ottoman land started migration towards Persia. This migration brought various troubles for the Ottomans command, which resulted near about the murder of forty thousand Ithna Ashariyah Muslims.<sup>25</sup> The emigrants from Persia were also included the Sunnis who feared the Persian Shahs and the retaliatory genocide in that country. Economic motives played a limited role, as peaceful and prosperous conditions prevailing in India, but there were religious and political differences between the Ithna Asharis and the Sunnis, and the traditional rivalry of the Safawid and the Chaghatai dynasties.<sup>26</sup>

The rise of the Safawid dynasty in Persia at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. was an event of the greatest historical importance, not only to Persia herself and her immediate neighbors, but to Indian Sub-continent specially.<sup>27</sup> It marks not only the restoration of the Persian Empire and the recreation of the Persian nationality after an eclipse of more than eight centuries and a half, but the entrance of Persia into the comity of nations and the genesis of political relations which still to a considerable extent hold good.<sup>28</sup> Shah Ismail-I, after having subdued all the smaller potentates of Iraq, Azerbaijan and Fars and conquered Khorasan, extended the Persian Empire nearly to the limits which still bound it.<sup>29</sup> The whole Safawid period, which lasted about 234 years (1502-1736 A.D.) and in which Persia reached a degree of power, splendor and consolidation unequalled in modern times, hardly produced half that number of poets of more than local fame, though arts flourished and theology reached its zenith.<sup>30</sup>

The Persia has been truly called 'the French of Asia', just as Japanese being described as 'the Anglo-Saxons of the East'. And the Persian influence has given to Indo-Muslim art and literature the three supreme qualities of the French mind; firstly, lucidity of expression; secondly, the emphasis affected by the proper selection and economical use of the material; thirdly, the orderly arrangement. This delicacy of taste is the highest gift with which Muslim art enriched Indian civilization, whether in poetry, painting or architecture. The hand that built monuments of Sub-continent's medieval art was Indian, but the brain that guided

the hand was Persian. The Mughal style under Shah Jahan (1628-58 A.D.) finds its most brilliant manifestation in the Taj Mahal which shows the Indian and Persian traditions in perfect union.<sup>31</sup> Persia, in fact, is historically the major source, generating and dominating the culture of Islam in Asia. This Persian influence, however primary for all the Muslim civilizations of Asia, but especially to Indian Sub-continent its impact on Mughal India is of prime importance that needed essentially to be unearthed. A vast number of poets, painters, craftsmen, philosophers, and musicians all found a marketplace for their skills throughout the Mughal regime. On a larger scale, the importation to India of Persian culture which occurred during the Mughal period shows something about the way Muslims in Asia perceived their cultural landscape, that is the interrelationship of India, Persia and Central Asia as lands of Perso-Islamic civilization. Rather it was the cultural synthesis resulting from the Arab conquest of Syria and Persia that seeded the new Islamic civilization, quickly absorbing the refined arts, literature and philosophy of Hellenistic culture into a common heritage.<sup>32</sup> In medieval times, the Indian Sub-continent and present day Afghanistan had become impregnated with Persian ideas and Persian culture, accepted alike by conquerors and conquered. Actually, Persia and Central Asia; they are the ingredients which make up the genesis of Indian civilization.<sup>33</sup>

### **The Legacy of Indo-Persian Culture in Mughal India**

Like Babur, his ancestor Timur (Tamerlane) himself of Turko-Mongol stock. Timur founded his dynasty in Central Asia which has become synonymous with Persian paintings, poetry, sciences, art and architecture. Mughal dynasty of India was an extension of the Timurid line, and was so thoroughly Persianized that the corpus of Persian literature produced in India vastly outweighs that from Persia. Under Mughal patronage, Persian poetry and painting flourished and evolved to new heights.<sup>34</sup> Hence, the Mughals were Persianized Turks who strengthened the Persianate culture of Muslim India. Mughals cultivated the arts, literary works, book production, artistic illustrations, architecture in the Persianate

style, enticing to their courts Persian artists and architects from, Tabriz, Shiraz and other cities of the Iranian plateau. The Ottoman, Safawid, and Mughal Empires fostered specific variants of a broadly similar Turko-Persian tradition. Across the territories of western, central and south Asia there was a remarkable similarity in culture, particularly among the elite classes. The Persianate culture of these elite classes was absorbed into many of the local cultures. "These similarities of cultural style were perpetuated by poets, artists, architects, artisans, jurists and scholars, who maintained relations among their peers in the far-flung cities of the Turko-Persian Islamic acumen, from Istanbul to Dehli."<sup>35</sup>

The Mediterranean world viewed India as a land of miracles, wonders, and freaks from at least as early as classical Greek times. When Babur came to India, he had fairly negative first impressions: "Hindustan is a place of little charm. There is no beauty in its people, no graceful social intercourse, no poetic talent or understanding, no etiquette, no nobility or manliness. In the arts and crafts there is no harmony or symmetry, there are no good horses, no good meat, no good grapes, melons, or fruit. There is no ice, no cold water, no good food, or bread in the markets. There are no baths and no *madrasas*. There are no candles, torches, or candlesticks."<sup>36</sup> In contrast to that, Babur admired all the luxury and beauty that Persian civilization could produce and conclude; like marvelous gardens, the marble places, the Mosques, the bazaars, the colleges, the tombs of famous men, the baths and the hospitals, the paper mills etc.<sup>37</sup> When the Uzbeks of Central Asia deprived Babur from his ancestral kingdom Ferghana, with Persian support he could briefly reclaim his patrimony. The Persian connection remained of importance to him and his successors. Coming from a borderland wedged in between the Persian Empire and the horsemen of the north, he was equally impressed with Persian culture and the martial spirit of his northern adversaries. Similarly, his son Humayun who took refuge in Persia after being defeated by Sher Shah Suri in 1540 A.D. succeeded to conquer Qandahar and then he could reclaim his lost dominion of India in the year 1555 A.D. as result of the Persians help from Shah Tehmasp of ten thousand *Qizilbashes*<sup>38</sup> (Safawid Persian Army). Later on, although Qandahar remained as

a perpetual cause of wars between the two empires,<sup>39</sup> but on the other hand, the Persians nearly always responded to every call of help from the Mughals as and when necessary. Not only Shah Ismail and Shah Tahmasp had ensured the restoration of their lost domains on above mentioned occasions; Shah Abbas also maintained friendly relations with Akbar and Jahangir, and keenly responded to the call for help from the Ithna Ashariyah states of Golconda and Bijapur of Deccan and even pleaded their case with Akbar.

When the Mughals ruled India, their wealth and splendor were famous throughout the world, and their name was still a byword for absolute power.<sup>40</sup> The great Mughals' wealth and grandeur was proverbial. Nearly all observers were impressed by the opulence and sophistication of the Mughal Empire. The ceremonies, etiquette, music, poetry, and exquisitely executed paintings and objects of the imperial court fused together to create a distinctive aristocratic high culture as consequence of the interaction with Persian and Central Asian cultures. Mughal courtly culture retained its appeal and power long after the empire itself had declined to a shell. Today the Mughal style as represented in miniature paintings or much admired buildings Like Taj Mahal, has an immediate and powerful attraction largely with Persian impact, and is considered as a symbol of Indo-Persian cultural legacy.

The fusion of Indian, Mongol and Persian cultures into what may be called the Mughal way of life is an arresting landmark in the evolution of Indian civilization. The Mughal fondness for pomp and show surpassed that of their predecessors. They made court etiquette and ceremonial much more elaborate and impressive. This sort of culture was off course sustained by tradition as well as by prosperity which can be observed under Shah Jahan, when the magnificent Mughal Court presented a most picturesque scene. He used to gracefully dress in jeweled robes, worked with gold threads, majestically sitting under a canopy on the famous Peacock Throne.<sup>41</sup> The Mughals had a progressive outlook; they were always willing to listen to new ideas and to try them out. The Mughal Empire has rightly been called a cultural state, it encouraged cultural endeavor through lavish patronage. It produced a galaxy of

poets, historians, scholars, painters, calligraphists, architects, musicians and craftsmen. Its achievements in culture have received high praise, even from those who are otherwise critical of Mughal achievements and policies. The Mughals brought about a renaissance in which helped by good government and patronage, therein genius found a scope for blossoming into master pieces. The Mughal Emperors set a noble example which was followed by many great officials in rearing and rewarding the talent.<sup>42</sup>

As the Mughals came from Central Asia; the *Turanis* (Central Asians) thus occupied special position in Mughal India. But it is also a well-known fact that among the various ethnic groups of the Mughal nobility Persians had considerable influence on the politics, economy and the society of the Mughal Empire. They equaled the Turanis in their role in Mughal India, but in some respects, they even surpassed them. An accurate and detailed knowledge of these Persians is, therefore, indispensable for historians interested in any field of Mughal history. At the same time, the question of Persian migration certainly cannot be overlooked even by those whose main interests remain within the framework of Persian history. It is necessary to examine the background of that massive emigration for a judicious appreciation of contemporary Persian society, in the same way as the impact of this migration on Mughal Indian society and culture has to be studied carefully for a proper evolution of the achievements of the Mughal Empire. In India for these Persian immigrants there were ample opportunities and plenty of suitable positions in Mughal India, consequently, they received encouragement and high honors from both the Mughal kings and the Mughal nobles. The fact of the matter that the Mughal India was much more affluent than Safawid Persia and that the Safawid resources of patronage of scholars, poets, and artisans were evidently inadequate as compared to the resources of the Mughals for the purpose. A sojourn in India, whether permanent or temporary, ensured ample fortunes to a considerable cross-section of the Persian elite, including the men-of-pen and administrative acumen. In addition, the religious persecution, political sectarianism, and in this regard Safawid rulers' excess also contributed to this process.

## Definition of the Terms: 'Persians' and 'Mughal Court'

### *Persians:*

The historical region which is called Persia, and to which the Persians themselves used to call Iran had been “an independent kingdom extending from the Caspian Sea in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south, and from Afghanistan and Russian Turkestan (Turkistan) in the east to Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Armenia”<sup>43</sup> The term *Persia* and *Iran* have been used interchangeably to identify the same geographical area. *Persia*, a designation first applied by the Greeks, is taken from the south-western part of this plateau region, the province of *Parsa* or *Pars* (*Persis* to the Greeks and subsequently, to the Arabs, *Fars*). Though *Parsa* formed a single province in a great empire it was the homeland of the Achaemenids, the Persian ruling house, and its name was commonly applied by the westerners to the whole of the empire.<sup>44</sup>

The so-called foreigners at the Mughal Court were consisted largely of the Persians and Turanis nobles. “*Turani* was a term applied to any person coming from Central Asia, where the Turkish language was spoken.”<sup>45</sup> And according to Abolghasem Dadvar, the author of *Iranians in Mughal Politics and Society*, writes that the Persians or Iranians were “largely the Persian speaking people from the country between Herat and Baghdad, i.e. the inhabitants of the whole of the present-day Iran and the Persian-speaking parts of modern Afghanistan and Iraq,”<sup>46</sup> and more often Persianized Turkmen from Iran.<sup>47</sup> A significant dilemma in defining the Persians’ territory is that the Safawids’ boundary has never been fixed alike. In Khurasan in the east and in Azerbaijan in the west especially, the borders changed a number of times. Thus in this historical study it is being constrained to identify those people as Persians who came to India during the Mughal regime from the following lines of the regions and cities of the origins of the migrants:

1. North (Mazandaran and Gilan provinces).

2. West and North-West (Azerbaijan-i-Sharqi, Azerbaijan-i-Gharbi, Ardabil, Kurdistan, Hamadan, Kermanshah, Lorestan and Ilam provinces).
3. South-West (Chahar Mahal Bakhtiyari, Kohkiluyeh va Buyer Ahmad and Khuzestan).
4. Central plateau (Markazi, Qazwin, Zanjan, Semnan, Qom, Tehran, Esfahan, Yazd and Kerman).
5. South (Fars, Bushehr and Hormuzgan).
6. East and North-East (Herat and Qandahar as a part of Khurasan).
7. South-East (Seistan va Balochistan).<sup>48</sup>

### ***Mughal Court:***

In history, court or *darbar* is commonly used to mention the official residence of a King or Queen, and all his or her advisers, officials or family and so on. It represents the central and leading point of the entire jurisdiction of a particular kingdom as the Mughal Court was supposed as the symbol of presenting the place of sovereignty of its whole relevant dynasty. Similarly, at present, as White House, Buckingham Palace and The Moscow Kremlin are the emblems of the executive headquarters and are representing whole America, Great Britain and Russian Federation respectively. Therefore, the term 'Mughal Court' containing in the research title of this thesis, is being used to illustrate as a general sense of 'Mughal India'.

### **Chronological and Subjective Scope**

#### ***Chronological Scope***

It is necessary here to define the chronological limits of this thesis; which covers an enormous period during 1526-1707 A.D. although in presence of a great paucity of the relevant research material. These dates have importance of



their own; as the year 1526 A.D. symbols the beginning of the Mughal Empire in India, and on the other hand the year 1707 A.D. marks the end of zenith and effectiveness of the Mughal rule in India with the death of its last powerful ruler Aurangzeb Alamgir. Shortly after the establishment of Mughal Empire, Sher Shah Suri defeated Babur's son Humayun in the year 1540 A.D. and established Suri Empire in India till the re-conquest of Humayun from his successor Sikandar Shah Suri in the year 1555 A.D. Therefore, this Suri regime in India which lasted for sixteen years is excluded from the chronological limits of this dissertation. As far as regarding Humayun's pertinent experiences during his exile period in Persia is concerned, is included in the research thesis. In this way this dissertation roughly deals with near about 181 years span of Mughal's eon in India.

### ***Subjective Scope***

Throughout the Mughal regime there was a large influx of poets, scholars, artisans and peoples with diverse skill from Safawid Persia to Mughal India. The Mughal Court generously patronized these Persians from Iran, which attracted a great number of Persian scholars and skilled-men to India. As a result an unbroken stream of talented Persians was absorbed in the expanding services of the Mughal Empire. Due to this continuous Indo-Persian intercourse, the role of Persians at the Mughal Court and as well as in Mughal India was many sided. Among them, the thesis mainly covers the Persians role in politics and administration, religion, language and literature, culture and society, and fine arts etc. The other aspects have been touched upon only in so far if they have a bearing on the subject proper.

### **Significance**

The Mughal Empire was indeed one of the largest centralized states known in pre-modern world history. In sixteenth and seventeenth century A.D.

the Mughal Empire remained as a dynamic, centralized, multifaceted organization. Throughout in the Mughal regime, a great number of scientist, literary and cultural workers, scholars, political figures and artisans from neighboring countries or from other areas migrated to different cities of India and many of them attached to the Mughal Court. They all played a vital role for the organization and exaltation of Mughal Empire in India. However, the prime role in this regard was undeniably performed by the Persians. Persian was the language in use at the Mughal Court, and the example of Mughal Emperors' generous patronage towards Persian poets and scholars was followed by their ministers and other members of the nobility. The Mughal Emperors especially Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, assembled brilliant gatherings of Persian scholars and poets at their courts. Many Persian families attached to the Mughal Court exhibited their talent in various forms and in different fields. With their multifarious capabilities, they outshone and surpassed their contemporaries in the spheres of fine-arts, management, and administrative talents.

The significance of this historical study lies in the exploration of the facts regarding the Persians' role at the Mughal Court that evidently enriched the Mughal culture, reinforced the bases of the Mughal State and added new dimensions in Mughal India. The key rationale of this in-depth quest is probably a pioneering effort to prepare an authentic portrayal of almost over-all role of the Persians in multifarious aspects of Mughal regime in the past which would also be quite beneficial for bilateral and mutual negotiations for future development in Pakistan and India's relationship with Iran in view of specific colossal historical, cultural and regional bonds among them in multifarious aspects.

## **Objectives**

This study is an overall investigation of the history of Persians' role and its influence at the cosmopolitan Mughal Court. The study has been done with a view to achieve the following objectives;

- (i) To highlight Indo-Persian interaction in various segments from ancient times up to the establishment of Mughal Dynasty in 1526 A.D.
- (ii) To explore the factors that led to the continuous arrival of Persian immigrants during the Mughal regime.
- (iii) To determine the vivid picture of the pertinent role of Persians at the Mughal Court and as well as in Mughal India.
- (iv) To analyze the ultimate consequences and impact of the Persians' role during the specific period of this historical study.

### **Research Procedure**

This research, perhaps the first of its kind, aims to be comprehensive and thoroughly researched with a careful analysis of the descriptive facts and is being attempted lucidly. Hence in this dissertation, '*Descriptive*' and '*Analytical*' methods are being used to ascertain almost an over-all role of the Persians at the Mughal Court during a specific period pertinent to the title of research.

The repetition of well-known facts has so far as possible been avoided; but where for the sake of the continuity of the narrative it seemed essential to refer to them, this has been done with great brevity.

### **Chapters' Description**

This Ph.D thesis has been divided into eight chapters which could be considerably more expanded, but this has been kept to its present size partly for reasons of vast research topic and partly by focusing attention on evidence, relating mainly to the role of Persians at the Mughal Court. Other evidence, e.g. that pertaining to the role of other nations in Mughal India, has been sparingly used.

#### ***Chapter-I***

This chapter briefly describes the introduction and importance of the relevant topic. In this connection, a brief prologue has been made to illustrate

about Mughals and Persians in historical perspective along with the significance of Indo-Persian culture's legacy in Mughal India. In this chapter the narration of the research title has been made to make it comprehensible in deciphering the opted terms of 'Persians' and 'Mughal Court' etc. It also defines the overall subjective scope of the research dissertation along with its chronological bounding of the role of Persians at the Mughal Court. Moreover, hypothesis, objectives and research procedure has also been mentioned to perceive the relevant topic of this dissertation well.

## ***Chapter-II***

This chapter demarcates in general the historical background of Persians role on Sub-continent from ancient times up to the decline of Sultanate of Delhi or the establishment of Mughal Empire in India. This chapter assists in illuminating the topic and focusing it towards the impact of Persians in the earlier period of Indian dynasties and as well as in Indian Sub-continent; thus, it also enhances the worth of their role in Mughal India as a continuation of their past functioning.

## ***Chapter-III***

It throws light on the Persians particular role in Mughal politics and administration. The Persians comprised one of the most important groups of nobility at the Mughal Court and were performing a vital role as well as in Mughal India. Persians occupied not simply high offices but their presence was pronounced at almost all levels of Mughal politics and administration. It is worth of noticing that almost all of Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's important ministers were Persians. The important segments like politics and administration incessantly plays an important role in any government, therefore, the chapter lime-lights this important quarter by focusing Mughal government under the domination of Persian nobility with the help of relevant events and tables. In this

correlation five tables are showing the list of immigrants who came to Mughal India during different periods, while, the rest fifteen tables are demonstrating the statistics of the ratio of Persian nobility and their comparison with the other fractions to highlight their strength and significant role at the Mughal Court.

#### ***Chapter-IV***

This chapter covers the religious role of Persians in Mughal India, which has been itemized from Babur to Aurangzeb in four phases. Mughals were normally lenient Sunnis except Aurangzeb Alamgir who is supposed as a stout Sunni, at the other hand majority of the immigrated Persians were Ithna Asharis. The leniency of Mughals towards Ithna Asharis was a sharp contrast to the other Sunni powers of contemporary era. To narrate this relevant subtopic the important event like the establishment of Safawid Dynasty in Persia along with the Safawid Order and its propaganda has been highlighted to show the basic difference and pandemonium contrast of religious ideology among the Ithna Ashari Persians and Sunni Muslims nobility at the Mughal Court. Moreover, a brief description of the role of some Mystical or Sufi Orders in Mughal India has also been analyzed as these Orders were arrived Indian Sub-continent via Persia. Thus, an obvious explanation could be found in the peculiar Mughal Indian religious culture that also affected the political scenario of Mughal jurisdiction.

#### ***Chapter-V***

This chapter portrays the contribution of Persian scholars and literary personalities of various fields both in Persian prose and poetry etc. during Mughal India. Although, Mughals were Turks by race and their mother tongue was Turkish, but due to their sharp proclivity towards Persian language and culture they were indeed great admirer of Persian language and literature since their arrival from Central Asia. Therefore, the Mughal Emperors generously patronized these Persian poets and scholars from Persia. Besides these Mughal

Emperors, some of the higher nobles of the Mughal Court stand out as generous patrons of poets and scholars. A very large number of prominent Persian poets, like Urfi, Naziri, Talib and Kalim permanently migrated to the Indo-Pak Sub-continent, and at time level of Persian literature was higher in Mughal India than in contemporary Safawid Persia. During Mughal regime, Persian literature produced in Sub-continent is of importance, not only for its intrinsic worth, but also on account of the influence it has exercised on the formation and shaping of regional literatures, especially those cultivated by Muslims. Apart from the study of eminent Persian poets, scholars and literates, this chapter also focuses the flourishing advancement of Persian language both in royals and commons along with its wide-ranging impact on Mughal India. While at the end of the chapter a list displays the names of 385 Persian poets and scholars who came to India or born there during 1526-1707 A.D.

### ***Chapter-VI***

This chapter unveils the role of Persian ladies in Mughal Court as being a major source to influence over the socio-political arena of Mughal life. Hamida Bano Begum, Nur Jahan and her niece Mumtaz Mahal were of prime importance, in view of the presence of many other Persian ladies who belong to Mughal Court with their multidimensional capacities and status. This effort has been made just to elucidate the neglected portion of history as women have been given lesser space in historiography. Therefore, this chapter discloses the over-all role of Persian ladies in various segments of Mughal regime either in greater or lesser scale during the specified period of the thesis.

### ***Chapter-VII***

This chapter focuses the major modifications which glorified Mughal regime as result of Persians' influence at the Mughal Court and as well as in Mughal India in the field of fine-arts i.e. architecture, calligraphy, paintings, music

and other diverse skills. Large number of people of excellence and quality, artists, calligraphist, skilled artisans, and people of other pursuits from various cities of Persia and from other parts of the world visited the Mughal imperial court with the expectations and hopes. Mughal Emperors and Nobles proved themselves as great patronage of arts, thus these craftsmen paved the way to the exaltation and magnificence of Mughal regime in compare with other contemporary dynasties. At the end of this chapter a table is showing the names of 110 Persian artists, craftsmen and people with diverse skills who migrated to Mughal India during 1530-1707 A.D.

### ***Chapter-VIII***

It represents the concluding analysis and substance of the whole time debate of this dissertation. There were strong cultural, political and religious bonds between Persia and Central Asia. Hence, with the arrival of Mughals from Central Asia, in spite of a low profile of sporadic diplomatic relations with Persia, the cultural interaction continued uninterruptedly. Its conclusive findings exemplify the significance of Persians' impact at the Mughal Court with a view to understand their worthy participation in most of the essential fragments of Mughal life. This chapter also shows the special attention and diligent patronage of Mughal Emperors towards Persians and Persianate culture which they really strengthened in Indian Sub-continent.

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# **CHAPTER-II**

**Historical Background of**

**The Persians Impact**

**On Indian Sub-Continent**

**From**

**Ancient Times up-to**

**The Establishment of Mughal**

**Empire in 1526 A.D.**

Scholars who are not well acquainted with the Persians' past role in Indian Sub-continent cannot really perceive their later role at the Mughal Court as well as in Mughal India. This chapter is consisting over two major segments. At first, a brief study of the Persians' role has been discussed to bring into light their impact on Indian Sub-continent during the ancient regime; secondly, the same investigation has also been made with the advent of Islam in India in 712 A.D. to the establishment of Mughal dynasty in 1526 A.D. Actually, this chapter is an effort with the screening of an overall role of Persians in view of the pertinence of the topic to make a linkage between the old Indo-Persian relations with their later interactions during the Mughal rule.

### **(A) Persians' impact on Indian Sub-continent during Ancient Times**

From the remote past India and Persia were linked partly by a common ruling dynasty and partly by routes of trade and navigation which served as a common ground for cultural activities and contacts. These in turn affected the entire gamut of Indo-Persian social and cultural affinities and similarities, owed to its origin to common geographical background.<sup>1</sup> As present Pakistan lies at the south-eastern edge of the present day boundary of Iran and is divided into two distinct physiographic regions: firstly, the hilly region of Balochistan on the west and north-west which constitutes one-third of the total area of Pakistan, and secondly, vast plain of the Indus river system on the east. Among these sharply defined regions, "Balochistan is geographically an eastern extension of the Iranian plateau. This eastern edge of the Pakistani-Iranian borderland is sharply defined by the Sulaiman and Kirthar mountain ranges respectively of the northern and southern Balochistan. The central Makran range of southern Balochistan runs parallel to the southern shoreline of both Iran and Pakistan."<sup>2</sup> Indian Sub-continent is surrounded by sea on three sides and by the Himalayas in the north, is geographically inaccessible being vulnerable only from the north-west direction. All foreign invasions, therefore, including the first Aryans invasion, necessarily out of sheer geographic compulsion, came through the north-west

direction. The ancient invaders the Greeks, the Sakas (Scythians), the Kushans, the Huns, on their way to India had first to attack Iran. Many times these invaders had Persian soldiers with them. North-west India in this manner had been almost constantly in touch with the Persians. Hence right from the very ancient times India, like Persia, came to have many foreign elements in its culture. "India and Iran (Persia) have had very close relations for the last 3,000 years of their history (ignoring prehistory). Both had a reciprocal flow of scientific and cultural exchanges. Persia was strategically placed in such a way that all caravans starting from Central Asia or India to the Mediterranean had to pass through the Iranian high plateau."<sup>3</sup>

It is believed that sometimes during 1500-1000 B.C. a branch of Aryans had migrated from Central Asia to Persia via the areas of Afghanistan and settled there at Gilan, which is situated at north-west of Persia. These Aryans gradually spread in the present fertile areas of Tehran, Isfahan and Shiraz, the central and western parts of Persia. Afterwards, they flourished well there and occupied more Persian Land, until the establishment of Median Empire probably in 715 B.C. by Deioces.<sup>4</sup> Media was the most ancient empire of north-western Persia, with its capital city at Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), generally corresponding to the modern regions of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, and the parts of Kermanshah. The cultural contacts, between Persia and India date from still earlier times even before the Vedic period (1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.) in India. Indo-Aryans and Indo-Iranians were the two branches of the common Indo-European stock. They, therefore, had similar culture and similar way of life. There is a great similarity in their religious beliefs and customs. They were jointly offering sacrifices to the nature gods like the *Asura* or the *Ahura*. They were participating in the *Soma* or *Haoma* drinking ritual and were worshipping their ancestors, the *Pitaras* or *Pitras* (fathers in Hinduism or in *Vedas* were the sacred scriptures of ancient India which were considered immortal like the gods) or the *Fravashi* (in ancient Persians called to the spirits of dead ancestors who have been properly buried with proper rites).<sup>5</sup> Even before the Vedic age the pre-Aryan peoples in North-West India and Persia had same matriarchal culture. Both the peoples were

worshipping mother goddess and snake gods. The great purification ceremony by means of cow's urine called *Gomez*, practiced by the Persians can be compared with the similar observance of the Hindus.<sup>6</sup> The Persian influence on Indian religious life has been subtle and penetrating.

The undivided Indo-Iranians passed a long time in their common home and developed a specific Indo-Iranian or Indo-Persian culture. However, in that society there were two groups of people worshippers of *Davia*-gods and worshippers of *Asura*-gods. The followers of *Davia* religion were believer in vigorous activity and wandering life, while the followers of *Asura* religion were practicing agriculture and cattle breeding. The antagonism between these two groups gradually increased and resulted into the 'Great Split' after which people, who settled in India, developed the Vedic culture and people residing in Iran, followed the *Asura* religion, accepting the reforms introduced by Zoroaster, the founder of *Zoroastrianism*, or *Parsee-ism*, as it is known in India. This, by no means, reflects the complete absence of *Davia* worshippers in Iran or of *Asura* worshippers in India.<sup>7</sup> The sun was also a powerful symbol in ancient Persian *Zoroastrianism* and its view of a polarized light and dark universe; solar images were readily identified with kingship and were affixed to Sassanian emblems of sovereignty such as crowns, scepters and royal daises. In the Islamic context, this metaphor of light and kingship was modified slightly so as to identify the sun with God, or *Allah*. Thus, later on by the sixteenth century A.D. dynasties like the Mughals and the Safawids had formed a political ideology which was essentially an amalgamation between the Islamized Sassanian metaphor of sun and kingship and the *Ithna Ashariyah* (Twelver) theory of divine designation.<sup>8</sup>

The *Rigveda* of the Indians and the *Avesta* of the Persians are the two earliest sources that throw interesting light on the cultural history of these two peoples. The language of *Rigveda* and *Avesta* are regarded as twins that originated from Indo-European languages. The earliest Sanskrit agreed completely with the earliest Avestan.<sup>9</sup> The later Indian literature also has preserved the record of this contact of the Indians and the Persians. The court and the administration of the Mauryas, the coins of the Kushans and the Guptas

show traces of Persian influence. It is from such literary, numismatic and archaeological sources that some estimate can be made of the value and depth of the cultural contacts between these two peoples. The game of chess, originated in India was introduced in Persia under the name *Satranj* or *Shatranj*, corrupt form of its Sanskrit name *Caturanga*, the four limbed army.<sup>10</sup> “In this manner, though the two peoples, Indians and Iranians, were separated due to the Great Split there are signs in history that speaks about their common origin and the intimate affinity between them. The close blood relation of these two peoples is reflected in all fields of life, like language, literature, religion, politics and arts.”<sup>11</sup>

## **Achaemenids**

During the prehistoric times, contacts between Persia and the territories which now called Pakistan go back to nearly 5000 years B.C. having great affinities in the cultural material discovered from various archaeological sites of Iran and Pakistan.<sup>12</sup> During the period 2800 B.C. these contacts became all the more intensified which are very well attested by the common ceramic traditions especially in the form of perforated and painted pottery of Iran and Balochistan.<sup>13</sup> The relationship between Indo-Pakistan and Persia do not begin in the early historic period only, or when the parts of present day Pakistan were included in the Old Persian Empire. In fact, the links between the two countries are deeply rooted in antiquity. Attention to this fact was drawn first by the discovery at Harappa and Moenjodaro and the other sites of the well-known Indus or Harappan civilization (2350-1750 B.C.) where the archaeological findings show parallels with those from Persian influences. Geography and political events form two of the basic elements in this relationship, but it is essentially composed of cultural affinity and the interplay of cultural forces accentuated after the advent of Islam, by a common religion, a common language and a common sense of purpose. Persia, the land of cultures and civilizations, enjoyed cordial relations with the neighboring countries, which influenced the indigenous cultures of these



neighboring countries. Both Central Asia and Persia, combined with local tradition, are the ingredients which make up the genesis of Indian civilization.<sup>14</sup> During her long history, extending over 2,500 years, Persia has always been preserved her frontiers more or less unchanged, and she even emerged after the World Wars without loss of territory or status.<sup>15</sup>

Of all the lands of the Middle East, Iran is perhaps both the most conservative and at the same time the most innovative. Iran seems to have preserved much more of its ancient heritage. The Persians still never forget the glories of their ancient imperial rule of the Achaemenian Empire. The ancient empire of Persia was established in sixth century B.C. by Cyrus of Achaemenids (558-331 B.C.) who united Media with Persia, and gave glory to Persia during her ancient history.<sup>16</sup> Contacts between India and Persia were very intimate in this early historical period when some of the northwestern regions of the Sub-continent; Sindh and Gandhara, formed part of the Achaemenian Empire. In sixth century B.C. Gandhara was listed as a *satrapy* (province) of the Achaemenian Empire. Ancient Gandhara (the modern Peshawar Valley), also enjoyed good relations with ancient Persians.<sup>17</sup> Achaemenid Persia was so deeply rooted in the north-western soil of Pakistan that in Gandhara art there are so many innumerable examples of architectural and sculptural elements which are obviously traceable to Persian origin. Silver coinage was struck on the Persian standard. The punch marked coins struck at a later date in the main cities of Gandhara bear testimony to Persian influence and was belonged to fifth century B.C. In Persia, their labors were devoted to work in all materials which could enhance the magnificence of their lavish art patrons.<sup>18</sup>

Regarding the religious influences from Persia, it may be noted that “the people of Taxila (Capital City of Gandhara), used to expose their dead to vultures, which was a distinctive feature of the *Magian* (a priestly caste in Zoroastrianism) way of life. This practice was one that had been introduced by the Persian settlers in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.”<sup>19</sup> as it is practiced by the modern Parsees. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that originally this *Magian* custom of disposing of their dead must have been introduced at Taxila by

the Achaemenians. The Persians hold Gandhara continued up to 330 B.C. when Darius-III, the last Achaemenid king, asked for a supply of troops to resist Alexander's invasion. Therefore, Alexander's invasion of the Indian Sub-continent was not only to quench his thirst, but also to punish the people of Gandhara for helping the Persians in the war against Greeks. Due to their great love and admiration for each other, the people of Persia and Gandhara remained in active contact throughout in this historical era.<sup>20</sup> The only permanent result of Alexander's campaign besides the overthrow of the Achaemenid dynasty, that it opened up of communication linkage between Greece and Indian Sub-continent, but also paved the way for a greater and more fruitful intercourse between Iran and Pakistan.

The Persian and particularly Achaemenian influence is evidently seen upon the Mauryan Court. Moreover, during the Mauryan period India was constantly in touch with ancient Persia under the Achaemenids, than with any other empire,<sup>21</sup> as Indian troops were serving the Persian kings, similarly, the Persian troops also were serving the Indian kings, particularly the Mauryans. It is said that Chandragupta won the throne with the help of Persian army.<sup>22</sup> The magnificence of the Mauryan Court can be described as replica to a certain extent of the Achaemenian Court. It is also pointed out that certain practices followed by the Mauryan monarchs and administrators are similar to those of the Persians. The custom of solemnly washing the hair of the king on his birthday and making presents seems to be derived from Persia. Another custom mentioned as being derived from Persia is the punishment of half shaving a man's head for crime as sign of disgrace.<sup>23</sup>

Ashoka, the greatest of Indian rulers, is seen so much influenced by the Persians in his dominant feature of the Persian architecture. Asoka was highly indebted to Achaemenian monarch Darius, due to the idea of recording royal orders and directions on such permanent materials as rocks, seems to have been inspired by Achaemenian practice. It was from Persia that the craftsmen of Asoka learnt how to give so lustrous polish to the stones; a technique of which abundant examples survive at Persipolis (capital of Achaemenian dynasty) and

elsewhere in Persia. Persian influence is visible in nearly every aspect of Mauryan art and architecture.<sup>24</sup> *Ajanta Caves* are one of the World Wonders, situated on the western coast of India just 65-miles away from Aurangabad, and is celebrated for its wall paintings. These paintings depict colorful Buddhist legends and divinities with ancient Persian exuberance and vitality that is unsurpassed in Indian art. These caves are the symbol of the close contacts between Indians and Persians, as Chapekar says "it is possible that Persian artists were employed at the Indian court. The caves in the western coast bear the sign of close contacts with the Persians."<sup>25</sup> As far as Indian art is concerned, whether its designs were conceived by the Persians or they only executed the designs conceived by the Indian mind, the fact is incontrovertible that the Persian artists contributed a good deal to the development of Indian art.

There were so many other certain elements in Mauryan dynasty like, road-construction, currency, where the Persian influence is undeniable. Indians must have learnt from Persians, the art of minting coins by stamping a mould on the molten metal, and its lion mark displayed traces of Achaemenian influence as the coins of Darius Hystaspes, were depicted with him hunting a lion.<sup>26</sup> Gandhara art, flourished more under the leadership of great Kushans during the late of the first century to third century A.D. The two branches of the Indo-Iranian stock were separated after the Great Split. In the Vedic Times the actual contacts between these two peoples cannot be proved. But in the later period, however, the two communities continued to have deep social and cultural contacts with each other. The political contacts began in the sixth century B.C. with the conquest of Punjab and Sindh by the great Darius in 512 B.C. Indeed, from this year began the long and uninterrupted association between India and Persia.

There is no doubt that Cyrus conquered the borderland between Persia and present Pakistan, and thus gained a position which brought him tribute from the king of this area. Elam in southern Persia extended from Mesopotamia into Balochistan before its annexation into the Achaemenian Empire during the reign (538-30 B.C.) of Cyrus. It is said that the some fractions of northern Punjab was a part of Darius's dominion during 522-486 B.C. According to Herodotus, "West

Pakistan was counted as the twentieth *satrapy* of the Empire of Darius, to which it contributed one-third of its total revenue, 360 talents of gold dust, equivalent to over a million Pounds Sterling.<sup>27</sup> The Persian influence left a far-reaching impression upon the people of West Pakistan during the rule of the Achaemenid dynasty. The archaeological excavations of Bhir Mound, Taxila, clearly indicate that the city owes its foundation to the Persian conqueror.<sup>28</sup> A new cultural pattern is usually associated with the grey-ware pottery tradition and related materials found in northern Iran and in Dir, located on the western border of Pakistan. The great civilization of Susa in Iran and of the Indus Valley in Pakistan gave way to this new cultural movement in which both countries shared equally. The administrative system of the Achaemenians was so deep-rooted in the soil of West Pakistan that the *satrapal* system was preserved even after the Persian Empire passed into the hands of the Salucids.

Another important legacy that the Achaemenians bequeathed to West Pakistan was its script. The Achaemenians had adopted *Aramaic* speech and writing as a medium for official communication throughout their empire, and it was also used for writing Old Persian.<sup>29</sup> The same Aramaic alphabet was employed in Taxila and other regions of Gandhara. Ashokan inscriptions in Kabul and Qandahar also have been found in the Aramaic characters.<sup>30</sup> In those times, Seistan was also a critical station on the route from Kerman, in south-eastern Persia. Moreover, the place has always an air of mystery about it, and it shows legendary and historical accounts of Persia. Zoroaster, founder of Persia's great faith, found refuge in Seistan in the sixth century B.C. with Vishtaspa, father of king Darius the great. In many ways Seistan was the last great centre of strictly Persian tradition on the road to India. Besides, Rostam, the great folk hero of the *Shahnama*, is said to have been born there.<sup>31</sup>

India has a special relation with Persia, these contacts were mainly in the meadow of literature, religions and arts and the contact between these two peoples, have been fairly continuous and unbroken. Persia, in view of her geographical and ethnological reasons, has had her full share in these fields.<sup>32</sup> These relations were generally of a peaceful nature and an invasion in force by

either side during this period never occurred.<sup>33</sup> Trade relations between the Persia and India existed before recorded history.<sup>34</sup> “In ancient times, Persia and Afghanistan were the main sources of gold.”<sup>35</sup> Alexander’s victorious campaign (327-25 B.C.) of India opened the gates to a whole epoch of cultural exchange. Consequently, after a long conflict, Greek and Persian cultures co-existed on the same terrain; and with India as the third side, a fascinating cultural triangle was created. Shortly after Alexander’s retreat from the Indus Valley, Chandra Gupta Maurya rapidly extended the boundary of his North Indian Empire westward to include Arachosia (Afghanistan) and Gedrosia (Balochistan) which geographically belong to the Persian highland, thus making the frontier of Persia contiguous to the north-western region of Pakistan. Through this bordering, it was natural that the influence of Persia in cultural field of the Mauryan dominion flowed more freely.<sup>36</sup> With the destruction of Achaemenian capital Persepolis by Alexander, the scattered artists and craftsmen sought refuge at the Mauryan capital Patliputra, where they established a new school of art with strong Persian affiliation. The bell-capital introduced in the Mauryan Empire is of Persepolitan type. This type of Persepolitan bell-capitals survived for a long time in the Sub-continent and gradually assumed a purely local form. “From Megasthenes account it is clear that the Mauryan Emperors at Patliputra, imitating the Persian monarch, lived in pomp and magnificence of the Achaemenid Court, zealously guarded by his armed retainers, mostly secluded from the public.”<sup>37</sup> It seems likely that his adaptation of the Persian customs and splendor, like Alexander and the Syrian Seleucids, was lingered on as the greatest and most imposing empire known to the world at that time. Even the net-work of royal roads built by the Mauryas throughout their empire find parallel in Achaemenid Persia.<sup>38</sup>

## **Sassanids**

After the collapse of Achaemenid dynasty, Persia was governed by the Selucid and the Parthian dynasties respectively. Under the leadership of Ardashir-I the Sassanians overthrew the Parthians and created an empire that

was constantly changing in size as it reacted to Rome and Byzantium to the west and to the Kushans to the east. The Sassanides (242-642 A.D.) of Persia were very powerful kings, and were definitely the true heirs of the Achaemenids, who extended their dominions by annexing contiguous portions of the neighboring countries.<sup>39</sup> After the Mauryas, the Sunga dynasty (185-73 B.C.) came to power in India. It has been suggested that Pusyamitra Sunga, the founder of the Sunga dynasty may have been a Persian, a worshipper of the Mithra. The Sungas were followed by the Kushans, who had good political relations with the Sassanids. The Sassanian king Hormezd-II (301-10 A.D.) said to have married a daughter of a Kushan king. This dynasty was replaced with the great Guptas. In fact, the zenith of early Pak-Iranian cultural contact was reached in the Sassanian period, especially in early fourth century A.D. when their contemporary in India was Guptas.<sup>40</sup> The Indus valley was subdued by them, as the objects in bulk have recovered from the excavations at Banbhore. The Sassanian influences extended even to Rajputana and Gujrat. In Rajput paintings it is easy to trace the geometric composition and sweeping lines, the flatness and simple color which are characteristics of the Persian tradition. At that time, the coins which were circulation in Sindh and Gujrat, actually, were the copies of Sassanian coins.<sup>41</sup> Other objects of recognizable Persian character consist of pottery, both glazed and unglazed. The supremacy of the Sassanians was finally destroyed, together with most of their monuments, by the nomadic hordes of the White Huns from the south of Tarfan in eastern Turkestan, who swept over Gandhara in the third quarter of fifth century A.D. carrying ruin and devastation wherever they went, and from this disaster Gandhara never quite recovered.<sup>42</sup> Under the rule of Khusrow Anushirwan (531-579 A.D.), Persian commerce reached its greatest activity; he made an invasion of the Indus Valley. It is also on record that King Khusrow Anushirwan sent a Persian physician to India named Barzoi, to acquire proficiency in herbal medicine.<sup>43</sup>

There were also commercial relations between the two countries during those times. There were two routes of communications, the land route via Balochistan reaching the northern part of India like Punjab and Sindh, and the

sea-route via Persian Gulf reaching the western part; Gujrat, Kathiawar and Maharashtra. Persian influence is, therefore, more visible in the northern and western parts of India rather than other parts of the country. The intercourse was chiefly by land route, the one used by all ancient invaders to India. The political activity in India was primarily determined by the advent of the Central Asian people who were coming through this route via Persia. Before reaching Indian Sub-continent, "the invaders first assimilated the Persian culture and civilization so much that the successive immigration of the Greeks, Sakas, Parthians and Kushanas has been described as waves of Persian influence."<sup>44</sup>

In Sindh, Daibal with its famous port city Bhambore, from thence, the findings of cultural materials, particularly the pottery and coins, bear evidence of close commercial and cultural contacts with Persia. Sassanian influence may also be observed in the collection of coins unearthed from the Bhambore site, containing on the reverse a crude representation of the Persian Fire Temple.<sup>45</sup> As far as Persian language is concerned Persian was basically a dialect of Fars, and rose to an imperial language by the Sassanians. It absorbed many Median, Parthian, and other words, and it was an official spoken language of the Sassanian Empire when the Arab conquest began.<sup>46</sup>

## **(B) Persians' impact on Indian Sub-continent from the advent of Islam up to the establishment of Mughal Empire in 1526 A.D.**

### **Advent of Islam**

The advent of Islam introduced fundamental changes in the political, economic and religious life of Persia and Indian Sub-continent. The new Islamic spirit of egalitarianism swept over the souls of men and presented a challenge to all established institutions, including the monarchy, the priesthood and the social system. The Mosques belongs directly to the people, unlike the Fire Temples, which, during the Achaemenian and Sassanian times, were under the direct control of kings. Education became the right of everyone, instead of being a class privilege. Islam broke the bonds of race and geography and sought to create a

society in which every human being could realize his potentialities to the full. Islam proved as a decisive factor in the Persian consciousness, and expressed itself there in a new tradition. The cultural link between India and Persia had been renewed with the advent of Islam. "During the early period of Muslim conquest, the Turks and Afghans were the muscle; whereas the Persians supplied the brain of the Muslim ruling aristocracy of India."<sup>47</sup>

## **Arabs**

In Northern India Muslims began their encroachment during the Caliphate of Hazrat Umar (R.A.T.A.) by making their earliest attempts on the ports of the northern coast, and when Persia and Mekran had been annexed to the empire they invaded Sindh.<sup>48</sup> The arrival of Islam in the Sub-continent, which in fact preceded the conquest of Sindh in 712 A.D. by Muhammad Bin Qasim, who was one of the youngest and most amazing general of history. It was the beginning of a new era in history, which later laid the foundation of the emergence of Pakistan and India as two separate States. The common bond of faith between Muslims in the Sub-continent and in Persia also contributed greatly to a continuing interplay of mutual cultural influences. It may also be recalled that Muhammad Bin Qasim came to Sindh from Shiraz, where he had his headquarters, and that his army contained a number of Persian soldiers. The Arab rule in Sindh continued till the eleventh century A.D. when Mehmud of Ghazna conquered it.

The political or territorial expansion of Islam went apace and the standards of Islam, bearing the emblem of crescent, were carried far and wide by the Muslims under the ennobling influence of their religion. With the conquest of Persia and the transfer of its sovereignty to Baghdad, Persian ideas and ideals began to flow fast into the rank and the file of the followers of Islam, changing their spiritual outlook into one material. Coming into close contact with the Persians, Arabs took an extraordinary fancy to the ideas of the former. Commenting on this augment situation S.M Jaffar writes, "The conquerors were literally conquered by the culture of the conquered people."<sup>49</sup> They took such a



fancy to the culture of the Persians that their eager fascination for it they did not even pause to pick and choose from Persian ideas but assimilated them wholesale in almost every department of administration and in every nook of their social life. Politically, they adopted the principles of Persian government; the division and organization of the various departments of state, including their names, the personality of the Persian king, his seraglio, his slaves, his servants; state ceremonials and all other symbols of sovereignty, including his dress; the rules of military organization and equipment, the tactics of war and even the titles and designations of the rank and file in fact every minute detail of administration. Socially, they imbibed the idea of the Persians about social pleasure and pastimes and borrowed from them Chase, Chess and *Chaugan* (Polo), drinking, music and songs and even the spring festival of *Nauroz*, which is also spelled as Noruz, or Noroz (nine-days), a New Year festival which usually begins on March 21, and is associated with Zoroastrianism and Parsee-ism. The festival is still celebrated in many other countries, including Iran, Iraq, India, and Afghanistan. Culturally, they made Persian their court language and took over almost all Persian ideas, including *Ta'bir* (the science of interpreting dreams).<sup>50</sup>

### ***Parsees (Zoroastrians) in India***

The *Parsees* also spelled *Parsis*, whose name means 'Persians,' member of a group of the followers of Zoroastrianism in India. The Persian prophet Zoroaster or Zarathustra, who was born during sixth century B.C. advocated monotheism and urged his followers to worship Ahura Mazda the omnipotent god.<sup>51</sup> In the seventh century A.D. by primitive Muslim Arab invaders, Persian Parsees were badly inflicted. In this crisis of their history, Parsees tried their best to preserve their religious identity by improvising new institutions and specializing in new activities.<sup>52</sup> Afterwards, they had to migrate to India to avoid religious persecution by the native Persian Muslims. The exact date of the migration of Parsees is unknown. Parsees initially settled at Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, but finding themselves still persecuted they set sail for India. The migration in fact

has taken place perhaps as late as in the tenth century A.D. The earliest refugees arrived in the area of Div or Diew, a small island lying to the south-west of the peninsula of Kathiawar, Afterwards, they gradually found asylum chiefly in Gujarat, Bombay, and in a few towns and villages mostly to the north of Bombay, but also at Karachi (Pakistan) and Bangalore (Karnataka, India).<sup>53</sup> Although they are not, strictly speaking, a caste, since they are not Hindus, they form a well-defined community. During their stay in India, the Parsees acquired knowledge of the language, religion, manners and customs of the Hindus. But they remained adhered to their ancient Zoroastrian faith. They were not idolater, "but worshiped one God, the Creator of the World, under the symbol of Fire, and such is also the present practice among their descendants in India."<sup>54</sup>

Their connection with their co-religionists in Persia seems to have been almost totally broken until the end of the fifteenth century A.D. when re-established in 1477 A.D. The connection was kept up chiefly in the form of an exchange of letters until 1768 A.D. They also adapted themselves to their Indian culture by minimizing what was repugnant to the Hindus, namely, blood sacrifice; and they surrendered to some extent to the vogue of astrology and to theosophy. On the other hand, ever since they were attacked by Christian missionaries for their dualism, they have been emphasizing the monotheistic aspect of their doctrine. During the Mughal regime these Parsees remained in almost isolation and even not properly interacted with the Muslim community of India, but did not ever showed their diminutive infidelity towards the Mughal's rule. Akbar as being a liberal Emperor maintained a library full of books on various subjects, and was fond of intellectual and philosophical debates on the matters of religion among Muslim, Christian, Hindu, Jaini and Zoroastrian scholars. Furthermore, after his promulgation of his new religion *Din-i-Ilahi*, which was a sort of mixture of all the religions prevailing in India, he lighted perpetual sacred fire in his royal palace at Agra on the pattern of Parsees.<sup>55</sup> Jahangir's religion with the sincere belief in God was not as rational as that of his father Akbar; therefore, "he did not accept the practices or rites of the Hindus, and the Zoroastrians."<sup>56</sup> One of the Persian immigrants during the reign of Jahangir was Mir Abul Qasim Findarski, who is

said to have absorbed Zoroastrian influences. He traveled to India for studying asceticism, and became a recluse for seven years in Zoroastrian practices.<sup>57</sup>

They remained for about 800 years as a small agricultural community. With the establishment of British trading posts at Surat and elsewhere in the early seventeenth century A.D. the circumstances of Parsees altered radically, for they were in some ways more receptive of European influence than the Hindus or Muslims and they developed a flair for commerce. Bombay came under the control of the East India Company in 1668 A.D. and since complete religious toleration was decreed soon afterward, the Parsees from Gujarat began to settle there. The expansion of the city in the eighteenth century A.D. owed largely to their industry and ability as merchants. An important textile industry of Bombay was built up particularly by Parsee businessmen.<sup>58</sup> Under British rule, the Parsees, who previously had been humble agriculturists, started to enrich themselves through commerce, then through industry. They became a most prosperous and “modern” community, centered in Bombay. Formerly they had adopted the language (Gujarati) and the dress of their Hindu milieu. Later they adopted British customs, British dress, the education of girls, and the abolition of child marriage. In their enterprises as well as in their charities they followed the example of the West. Under British rule, the Parsees found employment for their talents; no longer repressed and kept down by the ignorance of those in authority over them. They were enabled to give full scope to their powers, and a new field has opened to them, in which they were encouraged to labor, and from which they reaped both profit and honor.<sup>59</sup>

From the nineteenth century A.D. they were able to help their less favored brethren in Iran, either through gifts or through intervention with the government. Dosabhoy Framjee in his book *The Parsees* writes; “Our race in India enjoys all the blessings of an enlightened and liberal government and our wish is that our brethren in the Persian soil may also be as happy and fortunate as ourselves.”<sup>60</sup> By the nineteenth century A.D. they were manifestly a wealthy community, and from about 1850 A.D. onward they had considerable success in heavy industries, particularly those connected with railways and shipbuilding.

## Ghaznavids

Mehmud of Ghazna after his accession to the throne in 998 A.D., succeeded in laying the foundation of a new empire in Sindh, the Punjab and the north-west frontier of Pakistan. Although, the major aim of his expeditions were the propagation of Islamic faith and the capture of spoils of war, however, with these expeditions *Farsi* or the Persian language began to penetrate into India. In this way Persian was brought to India as the main administrative and literary language of Islam. At the court of Mehmud Ghaznavi, much early Persian talent in literary field had come to be concentrated.<sup>61</sup> The administrative system and the court life of the Ghaznavids show the influence of Persian aristocratic and monarchic traditions. However, there is no doubt that Persian became the official language when Mahmud of Ghazna and his successors from the north-west set foot on the soil of the Sub-continent. It is remarkable that although most of these early invaders and rulers were of Turkish origin and their mother tongue was Turkish, they adopted Persian as the language of the administration, accounting, education and culture.

In the eleventh century A.D. there was a free and profuse inter-course between the different parts of Persia, Afghanistan, Trans-oxiana, Khorasan, and the Punjab, and the literary language was bound to be the same in all these places. This language, of course, was Persian.<sup>62</sup> The Indian Sub-continent was opened to Persian influence with Islamic missionary activities in the early centuries of Islam. The Ghaznavids of India were among the first patrons of Persian poetry in the Sub-continent.<sup>63</sup> Since the time of Ghaznavids, Persian remained as Indian Muslim's sole language of literature and as well as of the court.<sup>64</sup> When Ghaznavids established in northern India, Lahore remained as an immense centre of Persian language and literature, in Indian Sub-continent,<sup>65</sup> and became an important centre, politically as well as socially equal to Ghazna itself. The emblems of the Ghaznavid art in the areas of Pakistan are the towers of victory built by Mehmud and Masud of Ghazna shows significant information on the development of Muslim architecture, that it was a continuation of Samanid

tradition. The highlight of the cultural influence of the Ghaznavid Empire was the emergence of Persian poetry in the Sub-continent. In fact, Ghaznavids patronized Persian language and literature and gathered in their court, great Persian poets and writers including, Firdowsi, Unsari, Asjadi, Farrukhi, Albiruni and many others of lesser caliber. Particularly, Mehmud Ghaznavi was a munificent patron of art and culture, who collected poets and scholars around himself. The most famous poet among them was Firdowsi, who wrote his great epic poem, when the Persian people were looking back to their Persian heritage, and Firdowsi galvanized Persian nationalistic sentiments by invoking pre-Islamic heroic imagery.<sup>66</sup> Firdowsi was the pseudonym of Abu-ul-Qasem Mansur who was born in 935 A.D. at Tus (a place in Khorasan in Persia), and was died on the same place in 1026 A.D. His famous work renowned in history as the '*Shah-Nameh of Firdowsi*', which is actually poem of collection of nearly 60,000 couplets, had fixed thereafter the standard for the Persian language more than any other single work.<sup>67</sup> In this period, the Turko-Persian culture of India prospered. Another person who is worth of mentioning here was Abu Rehan al-Biruni, who was a Persian scholar and one of the greatest scientists of his times. He was indeed, one of the most learned men of his age and an outstanding intellectual figure, possessing a profound and original mind of encyclopedic scope. He applied his talents in many fields of knowledge, excelling particularly in astronomy, mathematics, chronology, physics, medicine, and history. Some time after 1017 A.D. he went to India along with Mehmud Ghaznavi, and made a comprehensive study of Indian culture, and wrote '*Tarikh-al-Hind*' (A History of India), which is besides one of his other marvelous books. According to Richard Frye that "the contributions of al-Biruni and other Persians towards mathematical knowledge in the Muslim world, are of astonishing."<sup>68</sup>

## **Ghorids**

The Ghaznavids, however, were no longer in power, and another Muslim dynasty, the Ghorids had disgorged from the Hindu-Kush Mountains, possessed Ghazni and captured Lahore. Pressing further into the Sub-continent by their

leader Shihab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori, they made Dehli their capital in 1192 A.D. under Qutub-ud-Din Aibak, the first Sultan (ruler) of the Slave dynasty and as well as of Muslims in Indian Sub-continent. The Ghorids and the Sultans of Dehli who succeeded them were also great patrons of Persian language. During their times; Thatta, Sehwan, Multan, Uchh, Pakpattan and Lahore were important centers of learning. A number of Persian inscriptions in many of these towns have survived the ravages of time.<sup>69</sup> It was their society that was enriched by the influx of Islamic scholars, historians, architects, musicians, and other specialists of high Persianate culture that fled the Mongol devastations of Trans-oxiana and Khurasan. Khurasan is also taken in a large sense of Persian eastern provinces namely; Herat, Mashhad, Qandahar, Merv and Seistan.<sup>70</sup> In early thirteenth century A.D. Persia gone into the hands of Mongol horde as an irruption led by Chingiz Khan<sup>71</sup> where the Mongols found a rich civilization near about 2,000 years old. After the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 A.D. Delhi became the most important cultural center of the Muslims in east. Like Ghaznavids and Ghorids, the Sultans of Delhi modeled their life-styles after the Turkish and Persian upper classes that were predominated in most of western and central Asia. They patronized literature and music but became especially notable for their architecture; as their builders drew from the architecture elsewhere in the Muslim world to produce a profusion of Mosques, palaces, and tombs unmatched in any other Islamic country. Under the Seljuks, Persia witnessed most creative periods in the history of her art. During the reigns of later Ghaznavids and the Ghorids, the Seljuk art tradition penetrated into the Sub-continent. The earliest Mosque in existence in the Sub-continent today is the *Quwwat-ul-Islam* at Lalkot, Delhi, which is a symbol of Seljuk tradition, and was begun in 1193 A.D. by Muhammad Ghori who combined in his service all the finest spirits that Persian civilization could produce.<sup>72</sup>

### **Sultanate of Dehli**

With the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, Persia and Persian culture provided the dominant inscription for Indo-Islamic civilization. The Saltanate of

Dehli soon became important cultural and political centers with Persian as their court language,<sup>73</sup> therefore, Persian rapidly spread throughout the Sub-continent. In official documents some of the Arabic letters were also substituted by purely Persian characters.<sup>74</sup> During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. it was a time of great cultural florescence in western and southern Asia. In spite of political fragmentation and much ethnic diversity in the region from the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Ganges there was, among the elite Muslim classes, a great deal of shared culture. In this time Persia truly asserted itself as the liveliest component of the Islamic acumen. This was a brilliant period of Persian literature and art, when the Persian literature of the time was greater than the Arabic; when so many themes and ideas of art and architecture were carried from east to west.<sup>75</sup> In the time of Ilutmish, whose capital was the cosmopolitan Muslim city of Delhi, there were separate *mohallas* (community centers) assigned to the emigrants from every Islamic county. The Persian culture showed a greater vitality than Arab or any other culture. An analysis of the literary and cultural contributions of Islam to medieval India on a racial basis would easily prove the Persian predominance throughout. This was due to the influx of the Persian middle class and intelligentsia to Indian Sub-continent since the beginning of the Muslim conquest. The majority of the Persians were Ithna Asharis, therefore, they had an advantage in India as the Muslims were fewer and the Ithna Ashari-Sunni bitterness was less keen in their new home.<sup>76</sup>

Nevertheless, the regional Muslim kings that succeeded the Dehli Sultans in the fifteenth century A.D. continued to patronize culture. They fostered the production of fine books and illustrations in the Persian style, and assembled large collections of books from many other parts of the Turko-Persian world, on Islamic, scientific and philosophical subjects, written in Arabic as well as in Persian. Robert L. Canfield as mentioning this scenario says: "As the predominant influences on Turko-Persian Islamic culture (in India), their administrative cadres and their literati were Persian; cultural affairs were thus marked by characteristic pattern of language use: Persian was the language of

state affairs and literature; Persian and Arabic the languages of scholarship; Arabic the language of adjudication; and Turkish the language of the military.”<sup>77</sup>

A large number of Persian architectural features are perceptible in Indian architecture since the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the twelfth century A.D. The Muslims after establishing their power permanently in India were having no need to be tutored by their new subjects in the art of building; they themselves were already possessed of a highly developed architecture of their own as varied and magnificent as the contemporary architecture of Europe. The Muslims who conquered India were of Turkish and Persian blood, endowed with a remarkably good taste and a natural talent for building. The most magnificent monument of the early period of Saltanat-e-Delhi is the *Quwwat-ul-Islam* Mosque, at Delhi, its foundation was laid by Muhammad Ghori but was completed in 1197 A.D. by Qutub-ud-Din Aibak, to commemorate the capture of that place, he also erected a huge tower of victory there, the world famous *Qutub Minar*. Sultan Shamsuddun Iltutmish added a facade to the Mosque, beside the completion of the construction work of Qutub Minar in the Persian Seljuqid tradition. Under the Khiljis (1282-1320 A.D.) the architectural Seljuq traditions gained a firm hold. The *Alai Darwaza*, a gateway built by Alla-ud-Din Khilji is a monumental example of the Seljuk influence. The other most important pieces of Persian influenced architecture are the Mausoleums of Sultan Bahauddin Zakaria (1262 A.D.) Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi (1267 A.D.) built by Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban and the Tomb of Rukn-i-Alam Multani built by Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq (1320-24 A.D.) are the unique examples.<sup>78</sup> Sindh and Multan were the first to fall into the hands of the Muslims. Of the many monuments, particularly Mosques, built there during the Arab rule. The Muslim artisans brought art in India from Persia, for instance; the art of glazed tiles originated in Persia, mainly at Kashan, in thirteenth and fourteenth century A.D. and these blue tiles from that place copied and used for the construction of earliest Mosques in India.<sup>79</sup> In Multan, the oldest monuments are the tomb of Shah Yousuf Gardezi built in 1152 A.D. the resting-place of Baha-ul-Haque, built in 1262 A.D. the tomb of Shah Shams Tabrez, and the



shrines of Shadna Shahid and Rukn-i-Alam. They all show a great affinity to the artistic creations of Ghaznin and are mainly Persian in form and character.<sup>80</sup>

The Bahmanid kingdom in Hyderabad Daccan (1347-1518 A.D.) have had strong relations with the Persians, therefore, they had a fine taste for architecture. The most noteworthy of the existing monuments at Gulbarga (the capital of Bahmanid kingdom), are *Chand Minar* at Daulatabad and the *Madrasa* of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar may be reckoned among the remaining edifices of importance. *Haft Gumbad* (seven domes), in Gulbarga, containing the tombs of Mujahid Shah, Daud Shah, Prince Sanjar, Ghiyas-ud-Din and his family and Feroz Shah and his family, is worth of mentioning. The style of architecture of these monuments is mostly Persian.<sup>81</sup>

Firoz Shah Tughluq, an indefatigable builder, to erect a number of cities, forts, palaces, Mosques, *Madarsas* (Islamic Educational Institutions), tombs, embankments in Persian style, along with other works of public welfare. The oblong shaped *Chhota Sone Ki Masjid* (small golden Mosque) and the *Bari Sone Ki Masjid* (grand golden Mosque) at Gaur in east Pakistan now in Bengal, built during the reign of Alla-ud-Din Hussain Shah (1493-1519 A.D.) an independent ruler there, is a unique example of Mosque architecture in that area, which also shows a blending of Persian influence with indigenous elements.<sup>82</sup>

Indo-Persian literature was dominated by the fascinating personality of the mystic poet, Amir Khusrow (1253-1325 A.D.) who was a profile writer both in Persian and Hindi.<sup>83</sup> The activities of Amir Khusrow, who is rightly called *Totee-i-Hind* (parrot of India), and is placed greatest among all ancient and modern poets. According to Barni, he was not only confined to literary sphere; he was a humorist, singer and dancer of a high order. He had mastery in instrumental music as well, he introduced *Sitar* (a musical instrument like Guitar) more correctly *Seh-tar* or three wires. He is also reputed to invent the *Qawwali* a unique mode of singing which was a judicious mixture of Indo-Persian models, which later gained a great popularity among the Indian Muslims.<sup>84</sup>

During the age of Salatin-i-Delhi, the tone and standard of Persian language were first set in India by the *Tabkhat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj Abu Umar

Usman Bin Siraj and *Taj-ul-Massir* of Sadr-ud-Din Muhammad bin Hassan Nizami. Zia-ud-Din Barani preferred to follow the ancient Persian traditions of writing dynastic history with his famous *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*.<sup>85</sup> Later on, the educational system of Sub-continent also established its foundation with Persian language and literature including the implementation of *Dars-i-Nizami*, a classical syllabus based rather more in Persian than Arabic. The *Gulistan* and *Bostan* of Sa'adi, the *Mathnavi* of Rumi, the *Shahnama* of Firdausi and the *Diwan* of Hafiz, to mention only the most prominent and popular of the Persian classes, were the pillars on which rested the magnificent mansion of Muslim education and culture in the Sub-continent.<sup>86</sup> The Indo-Persian literature of medieval India abounds in *mathnavis* (masnavis), *diwans*, *kulliyat*, biographies, local and general histories, commentaries of the Holy Quran, and in works on philosophy, metaphysics, theology, Sufism, lexicography, medicine, logic and ornate prose.<sup>87</sup> The coins of early Sultans of Delhi, besides having the general pattern of coinage of the Muslim world, started using legends in Persian. Muhammad Bin Tughluq (1325-51 A.D.) who is famous in history of numismatics for his 'forced currency' was perhaps the first who used Persian folklore extensively on his coins to induce the people to accept the billon coins for gold value. In the same regime, Shahpur, who belonged to Khurasan was an eminent painter, who painted a lot of miniatures in Persian style, one of his model painting is still displayed in Calcutta Art Gallery.<sup>88</sup>

At the other hand, after the disastrous invasion of Mongols, in the 1200 A.D., migrated Turks and Mongolian tribes adopted the Persian customs and even language. In the 1300 A.D. the Ilkhanids, a dynasty founded by the Chingiz Khan's grandson Holagu Khan, had been an influential factor in Persia. During these turbulent years of thirteenth century A.D. the Persians had submerged themselves deeper in Islamic devotion and Sufism. Persian, which was not the native tongue either of the Turks or of the Mongols but only an acquired language had in the course of time, become so very popular among the Turkish and the Mongols races, during their stay in Central Asia, that it was freely used by the Princes of the house of Timur even in presence of their own native tongue,

the Turki dialect. The period of Timur has been one of the most glorious epochs in history for the growth of Persian literature and the nursing of the best poetry.<sup>89</sup> Timurids were highly educated and patrons of learning and literature. However, after the conquest of Central Asia, when the Timurids came in close contact with Persian, they were much impressed by its beauty and richness. It seems that they liked Persian more and a time came when it replaced their own language which was Turkish.<sup>90</sup> The legacy of Timur provides an example of how solidly established the Persian type of Islamic civilization was in Asia by the fourteenth century A.D. although himself of Turko-Mangol stock. Like other most great military figures of Muslim Asia, he founded a dynasty which has become synonymous with Persian painting, science, and architecture. In the court of Sultan Hussain Baiqra, the last great Timurid ruler, painter Behzad and Shah Muzaffar, poet Jami, historians Mirkhwand and Khwandamir, were of prime importance.<sup>91</sup> The schools of miniature painting at Shiraz, Tabriz, and Herat flourished under the Timurids. Among the artists gathered at Herat was the most famous Behzad, whose dramatic, intense style was unequalled in Persian manuscript illustration. As in other field of learning, in Persia, the art of carpet making and book binding reached its zenith during the Timurid period in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. and its surviving specimens are among the finest ever produced. The Timurid workshops practiced leatherwork, wood and jade carving. In metalwork, however, Timurid artistry never equaled that of earlier Iraqi schools. In this regime, Persia has also played an important role in the development of the art of Muslim calligraphy. Timur's period has also been one of the most glorious epochs in history for the growth of Persian literature and the nursing of the best poetry.<sup>92</sup>

During the Lodhi dynasty (1451-1526 A.D.), the reign of Sikandar Lodhi is most important as being the chief period in which Hindi and Persian grew in intimate relationship with each other, so that their reciprocal influence led also to a distinction between the "Persian's Persian" and the "Indian's Persian." Sikandar Lodhi, on his accession to the throne in 1489 A.D. attempted to install those of his subjects who possessed the classical knowledge of Persian, in the

responsible offices of the government. The consequence was that the Hindus and such of the native Muslims as whose mother-tongue was Hindi, began to introduce into their language words from Persian and Arabic. This was a turning point in the history of Persian literature in India.<sup>93</sup>

Of all these Persian influences, the most important and significant influence on the Sultanate of Delhi was the 'Theory of Divine Right', the most distinctive feature of Persian monarchy. The approach of Divine Right of Kings contended how kings might come to power through a variety of means but a monarch's authority was still derived from God alone. This may be referred to the Muslim rule in India as the Muslim monarchs adopted the title of '*Zill-i-illahi*' (shadow of God), or the incarnation of God upon earth. In the late of thirteenth century A.D. Ghyas-ud-Din Balban, the ruler of Slave dynasty in India, adopted a theory of kingship which was based on the same principle of divine right theory. India, an ancient country like Persia, offered a most favorable field for the cultivation of such ideas. Here the submissiveness of the people and the ancient traditions of the country furnished a most congenial atmosphere for the establishment of absolute monarchy. The Muslim Kings had before him the precedents of Persian monarchs and the examples of Indian *rajās* (feudal), to whom divine honors were paid accordingly by their subjects. The prerogatives they enjoyed included the royal titles, the *khutba* (public sermon), the *sikka* (coin) and certain other symbols of sovereignty to distinguish them from the rest of the people. The over acts of sovereignty, which proclaimed their accession to the throne, was the recitation of the *khutba*, the striking of coins in their names and the issuance of *farmans* (royal orders), under their own seals or signets. Among other symbols of sovereignty may be mentioned the *taj* (crown), *takht* (throne), *darbar* (court), *naubat* (royal band), *alams* (standards), bearing the emblems of 'fish and crescent' which no one could use unless specially permitted by the kings. In fact, the Muslim Indian monarchs and statesmen had largely adopted the pre-Islamic Sassanian model of kingship.<sup>94</sup> These Achaemenian and Sassanian ideas of Kingship of ancient Persia, through the Arab conquest reached Baghdad, and from thence traveled into Ghaznin, as also into Europe

and the other parts of the world, and finally made their way into India with the march of Muslim conquerors, where these traditions flourished well. Therefore, S.M Jaffar says; “the Sultans of Dehli formulated their own laws, which was (were) based purely on Persian traditions and Indian usages, which were different from and even opposed to those of Islam but conducive to the State.”<sup>95</sup>

Thus, the interplay of the Persians’ role in Indian Sub-continent during the ancient and medieval times was particularly noticeable in the form of visually significant cultural objects such as miniatures, manuscripts, calligraphy, coinage, book binding, carpets, jewelry and pottery, etc.<sup>96</sup> India has a special relation with Persians, because the two peoples are members of the same stock, the ‘Indo-European family.’ The Persians came to India, stayed here and served the country in different ways. The literary and inscriptional evidence shows that the Persians in the ancient and medieval times were soldiers in the army of the Indian kings. They were donors of religious gifts and theologies, and richly contributed to both the ancient and medieval Indian life in various fields like religion, politics and arts. They became a part of Indian society and later on merged in that society, and finally turned into Indianised.<sup>97</sup>

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# **CHAPTER-III**

## **Role of Persians**

### **In the Mughal Politics**

### **And Administration**

This chapter is consisting over an endeavor for looking at the Persians role in Mughal politics and administration. It is very difficult to conduct this investigation bearing in mind the multifarious positions and portfolios occupied by the Persians in all administrative segments of Mughal Dynasty. It is rather not easy to find out the relevant statistics to underscore Persians' strength in politics along with the maintenance of its proper chronology; therefore, this episode is being divided in five separate proportions under the title of Mughal Emperors in view of the relevancy to the chapter's topic.

India and Persia became great powers under the rule of two outstanding dynasties. The heyday of the Safawids of Persia synchronized with that of the Great Mughals of India; hence, there were close relations between these two powerful dynasties.<sup>1</sup> Shah Ismail-I established Safawid Empire which was the first native dynasty to rule over the whole of Persia since the overthrow of the Sassanid Empire by the Arabs in the seventh century A.D.<sup>2</sup> In 1524 A.D. Shah Ismail-I died and Shah Tahmasp the eldest of his sons succeeded to the throne at the age of ten. Later on, Babur conquered Dehli and Agra in 1526 A.D. and became the Emperor of Hindustan.<sup>3</sup> Thus a new dynasty was founded in India by Babur known to the entire world as Mughal; an adaptation of Mughal is from the Persian word for Mongol. Mughals were Muslims and followed *Sunni* sect of Islam. They were also strongly influenced by the Persians.<sup>4</sup>

Whenever, it is thought about the foreign policy of the Great Mughals, it means their relations only with Central Asia and Persia. Indo-Persian relations were far more complicated than any other relations of Mughals with other contemporary powers. With India, the Persians had a bone of contention, the disputed territory of Qandahar that led to situations ranging from a cold war to armed struggle,<sup>5</sup> and caused of perpetual wars between the two empires.<sup>6</sup> Even though, the enduring effects of Mughal deference to Persian or Safawid prestige can be seen in an account by French traveler Francois Bernier in the mid of seventeenth century A.D. who states that "only Persian ambassadors were allowed to salute the

Mughal emperor 'according to the custom of their own country' or to deliver their letters to him 'without the intervention of an *Omrah*' (an *amir* or noble)"<sup>7</sup> In the case of Persia, though the Mughal sovereigns gave expression to feelings of amity and goodwill, and though this attitude was reciprocated by the Safawid monarchs, there is sufficient evidence to show that they were jealous and distrustful of each other. The Court of Persia, on its parts, so far as possible, never recognized the high-sounding titles of the Indian rulers, and displayed, as it were, a patronizing attitude towards them. In the contemporary correspondence they repeatedly refer to the help which Shah Ismail-I gave to Babur, and the protection which Shah Tahmasp extended to Humayun. In contrast to this, the Mughal Emperors regarded themselves as superior to the Shahs, "because the extent of their territories was larger, and by reputation their wealth was greater."<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Mughals even considered themselves greater to the Ottoman Sultans, whom were entitled with *Khalifa* (Caliph). However, the names of four pious Caliphs were inscribed on coins and were read in the *khutbah*. Their imperial status may be cleared with the statement of Sir. Jadu Nath Sarkar that "the Mughal Emperor was the heir of the crown of Timur, adorer of the Gurgani throne, the shadow of the benignity of the Creator, also refuge of the world, the *Kaabah* of desire, the *Kiblah* of peoples longing for happiness, increaser of the joys of good fortune and prosperity, mirror of the glory of God, and the threshold of the Caliphate."<sup>9</sup>

There was a continuous movement of peoples between Mongolia, China, Central Asia, Persia, Turkey and India. Ever since the much traversed Silk Road (an ancient trade route that linked China with the West) have provided the opportunity for frequent intercourses and exchanges of commodities and ideas; emigrations had become common phenomena, and people migrated in waves and new settlements sprang up.<sup>10</sup> Historians of Iran have, over a long period, been interested in understanding the process of this migration. Several historians saw this just as an inter-court migration. Their analysis virtually begins and ends with the observation that the Indian rulers offered better opportunities than those available in Persia, to scholars, administrators, poets, painters, calligraphers and

litterateurs. Many historians have sought to see in migration just an assertion of 'age-old connections', or the result and extension of the presence of the Persians already in India.<sup>11</sup>

### ***Causes of the Migration of Persian Emigrants towards Mughal India***

Firstly, as Mansura Haider writes that "the emigrants from Persia also included the Sunnis who feared the Persian Shahs and the retaliatory genocide in that country. Economic motives played a limited role, as peaceful and prosperous conditions prevailed in Persia following the end of the wars with the Ottomans."<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Tamerlane's imperialism simply created a political and social vacuum in south-western Asia; and this vacuum eventually drew the Ottomans and the Safawids into a collision which dealt the stricken Persian society its death-below.<sup>13</sup> But it is also a fact that in Persia, due to the diligent efforts with all its commercial and agrarian potential and the security provided by powerful rulers such as Shah Ismail-I and Shah Tahmasp, the Persian Empire flourished to the extent of binding its inhabitants to its soil.<sup>14</sup>

Secondly, an important reason was the explicit policy pursued by the Safawid rulers regarding their nobility in sixteenth and seventeenth century A.D. Thus due to political causes the leading nobles of the Safawid Empire, were frequently executed and deprived of their portfolios. A good number among them proceeded to Mughal India in search of security as much as wealth.<sup>15</sup>

Thirdly, another factor of prime importance which led to the Persian migration towards India, was the Safawid Empire which was not enough as wealthy as compare to the Mughal Empire in India; therefore, so many Persians emigrated to the Mughal Court. Mughals were indeed, more prosperous than any administrative entity which Persia had been governed since Mongol times, and were probably richer than any of its successors until very recent times. The achievement of this unparalleled prosperity mainly lies in making astute use of a major shift in the balance of world trade which occurred at the end of the fifteenth century A.D.<sup>16</sup>

### ***The Role of Nobility at the Mughal Court***

The important factor exercised an uncertain influence upon the kaleidoscopic politics of Dehli was the dependency of Mughal Emperors almost entirely upon the loyalty of the surrounding chiefs, and had hardly any troops which they could call their own. If they could dominate the chiefs they could still meet the enemy at the gate; otherwise they were like puppets amidst warring factions, dependents even of their personal safety upon the still lingering respect for the Mughal family and the imperial name.<sup>17</sup> But others, like the custom of maintaining a ratio between the strength of contingents and revenue of the assignments or territories of the chiefs were in due course adopted in the Mughal administration.<sup>18</sup> The political authority and control on resources within the Mughal Empire tended to be concentrated in the hands of the Mughal governing class, consisting of high *mansabdars* (nobles). According to Irfan Habib, “they (nobles) along with other high officials and hereditary chiefs, allied closely with the empire, together formed the Mughal ruling class whose unity and cohesion, found its practical expression in the absolute powers of the emperors.”<sup>19</sup>

In a system of despotic monarchy, such as that of the Mughals, the fortunes of all officers depended directly or indirectly upon the approbation of the emperor. The Court, therefore, was the centre towards which the eyes of the nobles were constantly turned. At the same time the emperor had to govern the empire through the agency of the *mansabdars*, and had all the time to see that they not only carried out his orders, but also that the power which vested in them was not abused. From point of view of the administration of the Court, the Mughal nobility at any particular time could be divided into two groups: the *tainat-i-rakab*, or those who were stationed at the Court; and the *tainat-i-subajat*, or those who were posted in the provinces. This division was based purely on the postings of individual officers, who were frequently transferred from one group to the other.<sup>20</sup> Along with titles which served for the names of the nobles, elaborate sets of epithets, appellations and forms of address were prescribed for every important noble and had to be used in all official correspondence. Generally titles



were awarded at the time of the accession of the emperor, on *nauroz*, the Persian New Year, or on the birth anniversary of the emperor and on the day of a victory gained by royal arms. The Mughal nobility, unlike contemporary European nobility, was not tied to the land; their *jagirs* (or revenue assignments) were transferred from one place to another as a matter of routine, and many of them were *naqdis*, they received their pay in cash directly from the treasury. But if the Mughal nobles were not hereditary landlords, it does not follow that they were a commercialized ruling class. Salary, not commercial profit, was their main object in life.<sup>21</sup> To sum up, this Mughal nobility indeed, was in power to control the whole politics of the empire and was exercising an imperative role in administration too.

### ***Racial and Religious Groups of Nobility at the Mughal Court***

The Mughal nobility, after its first phase of development during the reigns of Babur and Humayun and the early years of Akbar, came to consist of certain well-recognized racial groups. There were the Turanis (Central Asians), Iranis (Persians), Afghans, *Sheikhzadas* (Indian Muslims), Rajputs, and the other Hindus. Later in the seventeenth century A.D. with the advance of Mughal Power in the Daccan, there was an influx of the Daccanis in Mughal nobility.<sup>22</sup> The nature of their nobility shows that the Mughals were great believers in merit, and they established a high standard of religious tolerance too.<sup>23</sup> That's why many Persians like Bairam Khan, Itimad-ud-Doullah, Asaf Khan, Mahabat Khan, Afzal Khan, Ali Mardan Khan, Mir Jumla and Iradat Khan, along with numerous natives of other areas, occupied positions of prominence in Mughal politics and administration in view of their merit.

### **Persians in the Politics and Administration of Babur and Humayun**

Babur was one of the outstanding figures of his age. He combined many qualities; besides being a great military leader and a courageous soldier, he was a man of culture and accomplishments, a lover of letters and poetry with a keen

power of observation and appreciation of the beauties of nature. But above all his memoirs show a man of broad humanity and understanding, a born leader whose patience and resolution in adversity were only equaled by his forbearance and generosity when success crowned his efforts.<sup>24</sup> In 1510 A.D. when Babur was in miserable condition and confining himself in Kabul; Shah Ismail-I, the founder of Safawid dynasty, wrote a letter to Shaibani Khan, the Uzbek leader of Central Asia, to withdraw his troops from some parts of his dominions, on which the Uzbeks had made encroachments.<sup>25</sup> In the same year, a decisive battle at Merv was fought between them, fortune declared in favor of Shah Ismail-I, and Shaibani Khan was killed. Later on, Shah Ismail-I also occupied the city of Herat.<sup>26</sup> Among the captives at Merv, was a sister of Babur named Khanzada Begum (widow of Shaibani Khan), who was treated with honor by the victor (Shah Ismail-I) and restored to her brother.<sup>27</sup>

This act of courtesy was the beginning of Mughal-Persian alliance, and Shah on his part have realized, that it would be a difficult and almost impossible task to rule over the Sunni population of the warlike Turks, Uzbeks and Mongols of Central Asia.<sup>28</sup> "At this juncture Shah Ismail-I thought of Babur. He was a Sunni and a Turk and the people of Mawara-un-nahr (Trans-oxiana) might tolerate him as the Ithna Ashariyah ruler's deputy."<sup>29</sup> The price demanded by the Shah from Babur, amounted to the reading of the *khutba*, issuing of the coins in the name of the Shah, observing of Ithna Ashariyah court etiquette, and the encouragement of the Ithna Ashariyah creed. "Babur was liberal and catholic (universal), and intensely keen on ruling over Samarqand. He agreed to issue coins in the name of the twelve Imams, and adopted Shi'ah (Ithna Ashariyah) dress himself, but wanted to exercise the right of issuing coins in his own name in Ferghana and Kabul."<sup>30</sup> Babur, taking advantage of the reinforcement of Persian army, invaded Trans-oxiana and defeated the Uzbeks. But unfortunately, on the other hand, the people of Samarqand felt that Babur was a tool in the hands of the heretic Ithna Asharis. They defeated Persians and revolted their stooge Babur so that Ismail-I had to withdraw and Babur had to retired to Kabul. In this way, Babur was again between the devil and the deep sea. S.M Ikram writes that

Babur had two Ithna Ashari wives, and at one time he had taken steps implying tacit acknowledgment of Persian over lordship. But he remained a staunch, though liberal Sunni Muslim and the first coins which he struck at Lahore were in the regular Sunni style, with the names of the first four Caliphs. Humayun had an Ithna Ashari wife, but he also remained Sunni and in general followed Babur's policy.<sup>31</sup> Babur's *begs* or nobles were largely of Central Asian origin with the exception of a few Persians who might have joined his service in minor capacities after the fall of Timurid power in Herat. With the conquest of Indian Sub-continent after the battle of Panipat, the nobility of Babur no longer remained purely *Turani* (Central Asians). According to Afzal Hussain, the celebrated author of *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*, out of total 116 nobles of Babur, 9 (7.76%) were Persians and 34 were Indians including Indian Muslims and Afghans and the rest 73 were Turanis. Its relevant detail is given below in Table Nos.1.A<sup>32</sup>, 1.B.<sup>33</sup>

**Table - 1.A Persian Emigrants during Babur's Reign Who were assigned Ranks in Administration/Army**

Sr. No	Name	Nature of Basic Capability	Rank/Position
1.	Khwaja Asadullah Khwafi	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
2.	Sayyid Mir Hama	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
3.	Husain Aqa Sistani	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
4.	Mustafa Rumi Tawachi	Militant	<i>Mir-i-Atish</i>
5.	Sayyid Mashadi	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
6.	Pir Quli Sistani	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
7.	Rafi-ud-Din Safawi	Administrator	<i>Scholar/Hakim</i>
8.	Shaikh Zain Khwafi	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
9.	Sayyid Mahdi Khawaja	Militant	<i>Military Commander</i>

**Table - 1.B Racial Composition of Babur's Nobility During 1526-1530 A.D.**

Racial Category	Number	%
<i>Persians</i>	9	7.76
Turanis	73	62.93
Indian Muslims including Afghans	34	29.31
Total	116	100%

The premature death of Babur on December 26, 1530 A.D. created difficulties for his inexperienced son Humayun, and he had to consolidate the gains that his father had left for him.<sup>34</sup> It is well known that the life of Humayun, son of the founder of the Mughal Empire, was turbulent, alternating between successes and setbacks.<sup>35</sup> Due to the non-co-operation of his ingrate brothers Humayun had to lose his throne in a confrontation with Sher Shah Suri, the Afghan leader, and went into exile in 1540 A.D. During a troublesome journey, Akbar was born in 1541 A.D. when Humayun was escaping as a fugitive towards Persia, he ordered the musk-bag to be brought, and having broken it on a china-plate, and he called his nobles, and divided it among them, as the royal present in honor of his son's birth. This event adds Jauhar "diffused its fragrance over the whole habitable world."<sup>36</sup>

The account of Humayun in Persia forms also an interesting episode in the relations of the Mughal Emperors of India with the Safawid Court. To some the exile may appear as the just retribution of a king who probably loved opium more than the throne; to many the account of the wanderings of an enthroned monarch, who had lost his throne, will appear as tragic as it is interesting. Humayun's stay at the Safawid Court though humiliating to some extent, but it also resulted with acquiring a great help from Persia for the recovery of Qandahar, Kabul and Badakhshan, this later helped him for the recapture of his lost empire in India.<sup>37</sup> There is also a difference of opinion among historians as regards the treatment accorded to Humayun by the Shah. All historians of Mughal India give us a rosy picture of the behavior of the Shah and intentionally do not refer to the insults which Humayun had to face at the Safawid Court.<sup>38</sup>

Shah Tahmasp of Persia, being only second member of his house to sit upon the throne of Persia was something of an enigma. His reign of fifty-two years was longer than that of any other Safawid monarch.<sup>39</sup> He was much excited by the news of the emperor's arrival, being well aware of the prestige that would accrue to him and he should stand forth in the eyes of the world as the protector of Timur's descendant, the *Badshah* (King) of Hindustan.<sup>40</sup> "Shah Tahmasp, also found that for the Emperor of India to seek refuge at his Court

was an historic event which gave additional glory to his reign and had to be celebrated with corresponding splendor.”<sup>41</sup> In July, 1544 A.D. the Shah himself welcomed him with all the observances of respect and honor, and had an interview with him in which all the conditions of reverence and veneration were fulfilled. In the course of conversation the Shah asked what had led to his defeat; Humayun incautiously replied ‘the opposition of my brothers.’<sup>42</sup> In Persia, Humayun had to face a great difficulty when Shah Tahmasp demanded from Humayun, precisely as his father Ismail had done from Babur, the acceptance of the Ithna Ashariyah Faith. At first Humayun resisted, but submitted when he was told that he is endangering not only his own life but also the lives of all his followers along with him. During his stay in Persia most fortunately for Humayun, that he had three steady and eminent friends, the Shah's sister Sultanam Khanum, the Shah's minister Qazi Jahan and the royal physician Nur-ud-Din, who constantly tried to establish friendly relations between Humayun and Shah Tahmasp. Humayun, was relieved from the dangers that surrounded him, chiefly by the generous intercession of Sultanam Khanum, who strongly represented to her brother the off beam policy, as well as injustice, of using any severity towards an exiled emperor who had sought his protection and hospitality; and flattered him with the hopes of removing in due time the Humayun's religious errors, and of gaining a royal convert.<sup>43</sup> In the mean time, Sher Shah sent an ambassador to Tahmasp, the Safawid ruler of Persia with the request of expelling Humayun away from the Persian land, but the Shah became angered and ordered to cut the nose and ears of that ambassador. As response and reaction, the same practice has been done with a number of Persians in India.<sup>44</sup> The Annexure-V is bearing the germane details about the exile of Humayun and his sojourn in Persia.

“In return for the honor paid to him and the lavish hospitality, Humayun, from his little bag a precious jewel gave Shah Tahmasp the most precious of all, his inimitable diamond, the *Kohinoor*, which paid four times over what the Shah has spent.”<sup>45</sup> According to Gulbadan Begum, Rani of Gualiar gave this great diamond to Babur as the price of family honor.<sup>46</sup> At Humayun's departure from

Persia, Shah Tahmasp standing up and laying his hand on his breast, said, "O King Humayun, if there is any defect; let your generosity excuse it."<sup>47</sup> Badauni says; "Shah Murad, the son of the Shah, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand cavalry under the command of Bidagh Khan Qizilbash Afshar, was nominated to reinforce Humayun,"<sup>48</sup> but, according to Abul Fazl the actual number of reinforcement troops were twelve thousand horsemen rather than ten thousand. The battle of Sirhind in 1555 A.D. together with its prologue, the battle of Machiwara decided the fate of Afghan Empire with its removal; and the destiny of Hindustan placed again in the hands of the Mughals.<sup>49</sup> Humayun acknowledged the great help he had received from the Shah and after his return from Persia he wrote several letters to Shah Tahmasp which shows that Humayun regarded the Shah as his ally.

The Mughal nobility which had begun to resume a predominantly Turani complexion after the accession of Humayun remained almost purely Turani, but a great change in the composition of Mughal nobility occurred during his exile period 1540-1555 A.D. when most of his Turani nobles left him and joined Mirza Kamran, his brother and ruler of Kabul and Qandahar. A list of nobles given by the Abul Fazl, who accompanied Humayun to Persia during his exile period, consists of only 26 persons in all. It is significant that out of these, 7 were of Persian origin comprising 27 percent almost against the whole companions; they were, Bairam Khan, Khwaja Mu'azzam, Khwaja Ghazi Tabrezi, Hasan Ali Ishak Aqa his son Ali Dost Barbegi, Muhammad Qasim Mauji, and Khwaja Amber Nazir.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand during his stay in Persia, many people of Persian origin joined Humayun's service, for instance; Wali Beg Zulqadar and his two sons, Hussain Quli and Ismail Quli; also Haider Sultan Shaibani and his two sons, Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan. Certain other relatives and clansmen of Bairam Khan though in minor capacities also joined Humayun's service. However, after the conquest of Qandahar and Kabul in 1545 A.D. many of the old Turani nobles of Humayun rejoined his service; but the old nobles remained wavering in their loyalty. In the mean time, the large influx of Persians of different ranks and backgrounds into the Mughal service<sup>51</sup> changed the scenario of Mughal nobility.

And the old Turani nobility tended to fade away from the political scene and the Persian nobles improved their position. During 1545-55 A.D. a number of Persians who came in Humayun's service were appointed to important central offices, such as *diwan*, *wazir*, and *mir-saman*. Thus, there was a nucleus of Persian nobles when Humayun was in Kabul.<sup>52</sup>

After the re-conquest of India in July 1555 A.D., whereas, along with the increasing power of the Persian nobility, the emergence of new Turani nobility was also came during this period. An analysis of the list of nobles given by Abul Fazl for those who accompanied Humayun to India shows that out of a total of 57 nobles, 27 nobles were Turanis and 21 Persians, while 9 of them cannot be identified. According to Afzal Hussain important Persian nobles among them were include; Bairam Khan, Afzal Khan *mir bakhshi*, Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khan *mir munshi*, Khwaja Abdul Majid *diwan*, Khwaja Attaullah *diwan-i-bayutat*, Mir Shihab-ud-Din *mir saman*, Khwaja Abdul Qasim, Mirza Nijabat and Mir Hasan, who were all important nobles.<sup>53</sup> However, Kewal Ram the author of *Tadhkirat-al-Umara* also pointed out four more names of Persian nobles who were escorted with Humayun when he returned back to India, these were; Peshro Khan Sa'adat (a servant of Tehmasp), Mun'im Khan,<sup>54</sup> Muhammad Quli Khan Yazdi and Naqabat Khan.<sup>55</sup> Table No.1.C is showing its further details about Humayun's Persian nobility along with the names of all Persian emigrants with their basic capability, who came India with him or arrived during his regime.

After the re-occupation, Humayun realizing the importance of including local elements in the ruling class, made a beginning by entering a few local nobles in Mughal nobility. The above discussion on the nobility of Babur and Humayun shows that the Mughal ruling class was far from constituting a disciplined and effective organization to cope with the complex problems of a newly established empire in India. The attempts made by Babur and Humayun to bring about some changes in its composition, to improve its working and making it loyal and subservient to the Mughal throne were not fully successful. The most apparent reason seemed to be the presence of powerful clan and family groups of nobles with their roots in Central Asian traditions or claims of high descent. To

break their power, some fundamental changes were required in the administrative structure, but this required time and security. Neither Babur nor Humayun were able to enjoy these two advantages.<sup>56</sup>

**Table - 1.C Persian Emigrants during Humayun's Reign Who were assigned Ranks in Administration/Army**

Sr. No	Name	Nature of Basic Capability	Rank/Position	Source
1.	Bairam Khan	Administrator/Militant	<i>Court Noble/Governor</i>	N.A.J. p.6.
2.	Khwaja Ghazi Tabrezi	Administrator/Militant	<i>Diwan</i>	N.A.J. p.196.
3.	Hasan Ali Ishak Aqa	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	N.A.J. p.196.
4.	Ali Dost Barbegi S/o Hasan Ali	Administrator	<i>Private Servant</i>	N.A.J. p.196
5.	Muhammad Qasim Mauji	Administrator/Militant	<i>Mir-i-Bahr</i>	N.A.J. p.196.
6.	Khwaja Amber Nazir	Administrator	<i>Private Servant</i>	N.A.J. p.196.
7.	Wali Beg Zulqadar	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	N.A.J. p.5.
8.	Hussian Quli	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	N.A.J. p.5.
9.	Ismail Quli	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	N.A.J. p.5.
10.	Haider Sultan Shaibani	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	N.A.J. p.5.
11.	Ali Quli Ustad	Administrator/Militant	<i>Mir-i-Atish</i>	N.A.J. p.5.
12.	Bahadur Khan	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	N.A.J. p.5.
13.	Afzal Khan	Administrator/Militant	<i>Mir Bakhshi</i>	N.A.J. p.6.
14.	M. Asghar Ashraf Khan	Administrator	<i>Mir Munshi</i>	N.A.J. p.6.
15.	Khwaja Abdul Majid	Administrator/Militant	<i>Diwan</i>	N.A.J. p.6.
16.	Khwaja Attaullah	Administrator	<i>Diwan-i-Bayutat</i>	N.A.J. p.6.
17.	Mir Shihab-ud-Din	Administrator	<i>Mir Saman</i>	N.A.J. p.6.
18.	Khwaja Abdul Qasim	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>	N.A.J. p.6.
19.	Naqabat Khan	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	A.A. p.445.
20.	Khwaja Mu'azzam	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	A.A. p.448.
21.	Mirza Husayn	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>	A.A. p.486.
22.	Mirza Nijat	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	A.A. p.486.
23.	Peshro Khan Sa'adat	Administrator	<i>Administrative Post</i>	T.U. Vol.I, p.92.
24.	Mun'im Khan	Militant	<i>Military Service</i>	T.U. Vol.I, p.157.
25.	Muhammad Quli Khan Yazdi	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>	T.U. Vol.II, p.129.
26.	Mir Abdul Hayi	Administrator	<i>Sadr</i>	M.H. p.404.
27.	Mir Abdullah	Administrator	<i>Jurist</i>	M.H. p.404.
28.	Maulana Nur-ud-Din or Nuri	Astronomer/Poet	<i>Private Servant</i>	M.H. p.408.

### **The Role of Bairam Khan**

Humayun gave him a title which was above every other title; definitely, the ever-faithful Bairam Khan well deserved to be styled *Khan-i-Khanan* (Khan of the Khans). It was indeed, only Humayun's loyal companion Bairam Khan who



during exile induced him to go to Persia and seek Persian help to recover his position, and played a vital role in protecting Humayun from every hazard and as well as every problem. When Humayun had to face some dissensions with Shah Tahmasp, he played a vital role for promoting sporadic relations between the two monarchs. It is said that when these misunderstandings reached at high level; Shah Tahmasp called Bairam Khan in private and made some enquiries, and became satisfied with his advocacy for Humayun. His ill-humor gradually passed away, and he made up his mind, beyond the possibility of change, to support Humayun. Then the two sovereigns were able to enter into a regular league. Thus, as an envoy, he had been instrumental in prevailing upon Shah Tahmasp to lend the Mughal monarch military support for the conquest of Qandahar and Kabul. In Persia, the Ithna Ashariyah Shah Tahmasp recognized in his former employee a strong-minded co-religionist who would in time influence the outlook and policies of the rulers in Hindustan. Though Bairam had politely refused to wear the *Taj* (Crown), yet Shah Tahmasp loaded him with honors in the conviction that sooner or later he would be Persia's trusted friend at the Mughal Court in Agra.<sup>57</sup> Sukumar Ray comments at this juncture that Bairam's avoiding to wear Ithna Ashariyah Taj in Safawid Court "thus, practically proved that he was not a *Shi'ah*"<sup>58</sup> (Ithna Ashari).

About the controversial act of Humayun's possession of Qandahar, Eskandar Beg Monshi the author of *Alamara-i-Abbasi*, though writes from the Persian point of view, plainly says that Humayun took the fort from Bidagh Khan on ground of necessity; "Humayun kept his promise, at the first opportunity after Qandahar retaken through the efforts of Safawid troops; he handed over the city to Bidagh Khan. Shortly after, however Shah Murad died, Humayun in order to find a base for a group of Mughal troops who were his supporters, took Qandahar back from Bidagh Khan and gave it to Bairam Khan. Since the latter was a supporter of both sides, he was to hold the city until such time as the affairs of Humayun should be settled and he should again some elbow room in the management of his kingdom."<sup>59</sup> Finally, Humayun's efforts were crowned with success, and he became the independent ruler of Ghazna, Kabul and Hindustan.

But Qandahar had still not been handed back to the Persia at the time of Humayun's death. The strategic importance of Qandahar was fully realized by the Humayun and Bairam Khan and they saw the absolute operations to recover the territory of Hindustan. As governor of Qandahar, Bairam Khan was in anomalous situation, "legally his suzerain was Shah Tahmasp of Persia but his *de facto* sovereign was Humayun who virtually possessed Qandahar."<sup>60</sup>

Later on, once Humayun was became so effected in circumstances that in March, 1554 A.D. he had to go to Qandahar in order to investigate into the affairs of Bairam Khan, as he had received complaints against the governor that he was cherishing hostility. Humayun could naturally become suspicious of his fidelity because Bairam Khan was by birth a subject of Persia and consequently was in the Shah's favor. Besides, he owed allegiance to the Shah as governor of Qandahar.<sup>61</sup> All contemporary historians agreed in stating that Bairam was innocent and loyal and the complaints against him were inspired by malice of his enemies. Bairam Khan further proved his utmost sincerity to which unfortunately Humayun could not observed himself. In January, 1556 A.D. when Humayun's sudden death proved a big blow for the Mughals and the Mughal Empire was surrounded with all around jeopardize; Bairam Khan proved himself like a shield in safeguarding Humayun's 14 years old son Akbar who was crowned under his regency on February 14, 1556 A.D. It was the only Bairam Khan whose endeavors brought Mughal Empire under firm condition, and with his support Akbar remained successful in the Second War of Panipat against Hemu Baqal, soon after his accession to the throne.

This Bairam Khan's period of regency lasted until 1560 A.D. and the administration of Akbar's truncated empire remained in the hands of Bairam Khan. This regency period remained thoroughly momentous in the history of Mughal rule in India. At its end the Mughal dominion embraced the whole of the Punjab and Multan; the territory of Delhi; the present Uttar Pradesh including Gwalior and as far east as and including Jaunpur; and the present states of Rajasthan, Dholpur, Ajmer, Nagaur, and Jaitaran.

## Persians in the Politics and Administration of Akbar

During the years of Humayun's exile in Persia, Akbar had grown up among tough warriors in Afghanistan and he had never learned to read or write. Therefore, he remained illiterate throughout his life.<sup>62</sup> Even though, after observing the capabilities of Akbar, John Correia Afonso says; "Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns, what Shakespeare was among poets. Yet he was even more, for the versatility of his talents placed him in a class by himself. Exceptionally intelligent, though technically illiterate, inquisitive by nature, Akbar was a consummate diplomat and statesman, soldier and administrator."<sup>63</sup>

The Mughals had a multi-racial and multi-religious ruling class in which non-Indians occupied a very major place. Commenting on the *mansabdars* listed in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Moreland writes that just under 70 percent of the nobles whose origin is known were foreigners belonging to families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at the court after the accession of Akbar.<sup>64</sup> This high proportion of *mansabdars* belonging to families from foreign lands continued under Akbar's successors. The Central Asian officials had given so much trouble to Babur and Humayun that Akbar had come to rely mainly upon Persian, Hindu and the orthodox nobles, some of them of Indian birth and were in no position to offer any effective resistance to Akbar's policies. When they did rebel and exploited opposition to Akbar's religious policies, they were effectively defeated; this shows that they were not able to muster all the help they needed to overthrow Akbar's regime.<sup>65</sup> In this way Akbar's policy of *sulh-i-kul* (peace for all) was partly motivated by a desire to employ elements of diverse religious beliefs; Sunnis (Turans and most of the Shaikhzadas), Ithna Ashariyahs (including many Persians), and Hindus (Rajputs).<sup>66</sup> The famous 'Nine Gems' of Akbar's Court were Abul Fazl, Faizi, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Tan Sen, Raja Birbal, Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Hakim Abdul Fateh, Hakim Humam Gilani. They were one and all the most talented persons of their time;<sup>67</sup> it is worth of noticing that among them, the later three gems were Persians. The subsequent Table No.1.D<sup>68</sup> which

is showing the names of all Persian emigrants during the Akbar's regime with their basic capabilities and their assigned ranks;

**Table - 1.D Persian Emigrants during Akbar's Reign Who were assigned Ranks in Administration/Army**

Sr. No.	Name	Nature of Basic Capability	Rank/Position
1.	Mustafa Turkman	Administrator	1500 zat
2.	Sultan-i-Afshar	Administrator/Militant	Assigned Property
3.	Itimad-ud-Daullah	Administrator	Diwan
4.	Asaf Khan Tehrani	Administrator/Militant	Governor
5.	Itiqad Khan Mirza	Administrator/Militant	Governor
6.	Sadiq Khan	Administrator/Militant	Governor
7.	Jafar Khan Umdat-ul-Mulk	Administrator/Militant	Governor
8.	Mirza Zain-ul-Abidin Qazwini	Administrator	1500 zat
9.	Naqib Qazwini	Administrator	1500 zat
10.	Abdul Latif Qazwini	Administrator	Court Noble
11.	Kaukab	Militant	Army Service
12.	Muhammad Salih	Administrator	1000 zat
13.	Muqim	Administrator	500 zat
14.	Mir Abdur Razzaq Esfahani	Administrator/Militant	Bakhshi
15.	Abdul Qadir Basinani	Administrator/Militant	Assigned Property
16.	Mahabat Khan	Administrator/Militant	Governor
17.	Ali Turkman Khurasani	Administrator	700 zat
18.	Saf Shikan Khan	Administrator/Militant	Governor
19.	Khwaja Abdul Hasan Turbati	Administrator/Militant	5000 zat
20.	Khwaja Beg Mirza Safawi	Administrator/Militant	Governor
21.	Mirza Rustam Safawi	Administrator/Militant	5000 zat
22.	Murad Safawi	Administrator	2000 zat
23.	Hasan Safawi	Administrator	1500 zat
24.	Mirza Muzaffar Husain Safawi	Administrator	5000 zat
25.	Haider Safawi	Administrator	500 zat
26.	Sharif Amuli	Administrator/Poet	Amin/Sadr
27.	Hayati Gilani	Administrator/Poet	Assigned Property
28.	Sameri Tabrizi	Administrator/Poet	Mir Saman
29.	Asad Beg Qazwini	Militant/Poet	Bakhshi
30.	Malaki Qazwini	Militant/Poet	Military Service
31.	Shakibi Esfahani	Poet	Sadr
32.	Mir Abdul Wahab Mamuri	Militant/Administrator	Diwan/Bakhshi
33.	Munhi Zavarehi	Administrator/Poet	Administrative Post
34.	Hashim Khan Juwaini	Militant/Poet	Faujdar
35.	Qasim Khan Juwaini	Militant/Poet	Governor
36.	Wajhi Herawi	Poet	Assigned Property
37.	Hazini	Militant/Poet	Bakhshi
38.	Baqir Khan Najm-i-Sani	Scholar/Administrator	Governor
39.	Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jang	Scholar/Artist	5000 zat
40.	Masih Kashani	Poet/Physician	Unclear
41.	Hakim Sadra Shirazi	Poet/Physician	3000 zat/5000 sawar
42.	Hakim Mashhadi	Physician	3000 zat
43.	Qazi Nurullah Shushtari	Scholar/Administrator	Qazi
44.	Hakim Hamam	Administrator/Physician	Sadr/1000 zat

In view of the past experiences, Akbar enlarged his nobility by admitting local elements mostly local chiefs, and foreign immigrants who came to India in search of employment. According to Iqtidar Alam Khan during the first twenty years of Akbar's reign (1556-75 A.D.) among the high nobles enjoying the *mansabs* of 500 and above, the Persians represented 38.58 percent of the total strength. This placed them almost at par with the Turanis representing 39.58 percent of the total in the same set of ranks.<sup>69</sup> There is a little bit decline of Persians strength as compare to this early Akbar's period with his last epoch in 1595 A.D. Persian nobility in the same ranks reached down to 21.95 percent instead of 38.58 percent and the Turani remained stood almost with little bit less at 37.40 percent against their previous 39.58 percent. Following Table No.1.E<sup>70</sup> is showing its further details along with other necessary relevant statistics;

**Table - 1.E Racial and Religious Composition of Mughal Mansabdars 500-3000 and Above During 1595 A.D.**

Racial Category	Mansabs 500-2500	Mansabs 3000-above	Grand Total	%
Princes	0	4	4	3.25
<i>Persians</i>	18	9	27	21.95
Turanis	38	8	46	37.40
Indian Muslims	14	0	14	11.38
Afghans	4	0	4	3.25
Other Muslims	6	0	6	4.88
Total Muslims	80	21	101	82.11
Rajputs	16	4	20	16.26
Marathas	0	0	0	---
Other Hindus	2	0	2	1.63
Total Hindus	18	4	22	17.89
Grand Total	98	25	123	100%

During Akbar's regime which spanned near about 50 years, he had various nobles who were assigned central ministries in Mughal Empire. They

were 19 persons in all, belonging to different religions and races who occupied various important portfolios in central ministry. Among them 11 were Persians by occupying 57.89 percent central ministries in their hands, nearer to them 3 were Turanis occupying with 15.79 percent in the same cadre. Some important Persians who held these posts were, Muzaffar Khan Turbati as *wakil*; Shah Mansur Shirazi, Wazir Khan, Khwaja Shams-ud-Din, Jaffar Beg Asaf Khan and Muqim Khan as *diwans*; Muhammad Husain Lashkar Khan, Khwaja Ghias-ud-Din Ali, Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad as *mir-bakhshis*; Fatehullah Shirazi and Mir Sharif Amuli as *sadrus-sudurs*.<sup>71</sup> Table No.1.F<sup>72</sup> witnesses its additional details which are given below;

**Table - 1.F Racial and Religious Composition Of Over All Central Ministers During 1556-1605 A.D.**

Racial Category	Central Ministers	%
<i>Persians</i>	11	57.89
Turanis	3	15.79
Indian Muslims	3	15.79
Total Muslims	17	89.47
Hindus	2	10.53
Total Hindus	2	10.53
Grand Total	19	100%

There were overall 52 provincial governors who served during Akbar's whole regime. Turanis were little ahead in number comprising 18 with 34.61 percent than the total 15 Persian governors with its 28.85 percent. During this period the number of local Indian governors enhanced, in occupying the provincial governorship. Some eminent Akbar's Persian provincial governors were, Shihab-ud-Din Ahmad Khan as Governor Allahabad; Wazir Khan as Governor Awadh; Abdul Qasim Namkin as Governor Bihar; Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Wazir Khan as Governors Bengal; Shah Quli Khan as Governor Dehli; Shams-ud-Din Khwafi as Governor Lahore; Asaf Khan as Governor Agra; Mirza Yousuf Khan as Governor Kashmir; Zain Khan Koka and Shah Quli Khan

as Governors Kabul; Sadiq Khan, Ismail Khan and Mirza Rustam as Governors Multan; Sharif Amuli as Governor Ajmer; Mirza Khan as Governor Gujrat; Qasim Khan Neshapuri as Governor Malwa; Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan as Governor Deccan.<sup>73</sup> Its further statistical details are being shown in the following Table No.1.G.<sup>74</sup>

**Table - 1.G**                      **Racial and Religious Composition  
Of Over All Provincial Governors  
During 1556-1605 A.D.**

Racial Category	Provincial Governors	%
Princes	3	5.77
<i>Persians</i>	15	28.85
Turanis	18	34.61
Indian Muslims	6	11.54
Afghans	1	1.92
Other Muslims	2	3.85
Total Muslims	45	86.54
Rajputs	6	11.54
Other Hindus	1	1.92
Total Hindus	7	13.46
Grand Total	52	100%

Political relations between the Mughals, Safawids and Uzbeks were complicated by several factors. From the mid of fifteenth century A.D. the Mughals, Uzbeks and Ottomans made occasional overtures to each other to unite under the banner of Sunni-ism against the Ithna Ashariyah (Twelvers) Safawid heretics. However, this seemingly natural alliance was negated by several factors. One was the Mughals claim to be the legitimate rulers of the Central Asian lands, which they considered the Uzbeks to have usurped. Each of the first six Mughal rulers had articulated plans to re-conquer the dynasty's ancestral lands in Central Asia. Another was the fact that both Babur and Humayun had at various points accepted the status of Safawid vassals, which was finally dispensed with by Akbar in 1579 A.D. through the issuance of his Infallibility Decree.<sup>75</sup> A third factor was the large number of influential Persian Ithna Asharis in Mughal service.

As far as Mughal-Safawid relations were concerned, a new factor was then wrenching it a little bit, due to their rivalry over Qandahar; this was the rise of Abdullah Khan, the Uzbek leader of Central Asia. Once, Abdullah Khan offered Akbar a share of Persia if he joined him in a campaign against that country. At the other hand, Shah Abbas-I of Persia who have already ascended on the Safawid throne in November 30, 1587 A.D.,<sup>76</sup> also tried to entice Akbar into a joint campaign against the Uzbeks, promising with the return of Samarqand as a prize of victory. Although Akbar kept in touch with both of them, he did not get involved in any rash action and so managed to maintain the balance of power in the whole region.<sup>77-78</sup> Actually, he doesn't want any hostility against Persia but was seeking co-operation with the Muslim powers and an effort to make this co-operation politically and economically fruitful.<sup>79</sup> Akbar also objected to Abdullah's insulting reference to the Safawids and said they were Syeds and sovereigns.<sup>80</sup>

On account of its strategic position and commercial importance Qandahar was the bone of contention between India and Persia, and then was in the possession of Safawid Empire. It was the gateway to India and a natural base of operations for an invader coming from Central Asia or Persia. The power controlling Qandahar could also easily capture Kabul and that is the reason why the Mughals attached great importance to the possession of Qandahar. Annexure-IV includes the detailed relevant events regarding the continuous rivalries between Mughal and Safawid Empires over Qandahar. Moreover, Qandahar was the place where merchants from India, Central Asia, Turkey and Persia met.<sup>81</sup> In the year 1595 A.D. an important event took place when Mirza Muzaffar Husain Safawi, the Persian commandant of Qandahar, was enticed by the Shah Beg Kabuli an influential Mughal noble, to surrender Qandahar before the Mughals. In this way, Qandahar came into Akbar's possession without any bloodshed. Mirza Muzaffar Hussain Safawi along with his family came to Mughal Court, where emperor treated him with special favor and kindness,<sup>82</sup> and he received the title of *farzand* (son), and was made a *mansabdar* of 5000, and also received Sambhal as *jagir* (property), which was worth more than all Qandahar.



Shah Abbas-I became very displeased to know the loss of Qandahar, hence, afterwards he spared no efforts to regain it at any cost. In 1598 A.D. Shah Abbas-I sent his envoy Minuchihr Baig to Mughal Court, with a royal letter comprising friendly words for long-lasting diplomatic relations between the both empires. The envoy at the Court of Akbar, recited a historical quatrain of Mulla Wahid, who was a famous poet of Persian Court, its translation are as under;

The Zangi is proud of his soldiers, tribe, and army,  
The Rumi is proud of his spears, sword, and dagger,  
Akbar is proud of his treasury full of gold,  
Abbas is proud of the sword of Dhulfiqar Haider (Hazrat Ali R.A.T.A).

The quatrain of the Persian ambassador was a direct hit at Akbar, which the whole Court felt. Akbar glanced at Faizi, who at once came forward and gave its extempore reply in the same strain that;

Paradise prides on its stream: Salsabil and Kausar,  
The sea boasts of its pearls, the sky of its stars.  
Abbas takes pride in the sword of Ali,  
The object of pride to both the worlds is the pure-self of Akbar.<sup>83</sup>

### **Persians in the Politics and Administration of Jahangir**

During Jahangir's reign, at the Mughal Court as well as on other important posts both in central and in provincial levels were mostly engaged by the Persians. The Persians domination in his epoch was so steadily enhanced in each and every segment of Mughal politics that "in the early years of Jahangir, it was felt, at least by Mirza Aziz Koka, that the emperor was hostile to the Chaghtais (Turans) and Rajputs, while he was showing undue favors to the Khurasanis (Persians) and Sheikhzadas."<sup>84</sup> Aziz Koka's observation shows that there was a considerable jealousy existed between Persians and Central Asians from earlier generations. During Jahangir's regime, a lot of Persian emigrants came from Persia and many of them succeeded to settle them in various suitable high ranked jobs in Mughal India. Although, there had been so many Persians

and who were previously engaged in numerous important place of positions. The following Table No.1.H<sup>85</sup> is demonstrating the overall names of those Persian emigrants with their basic capabilities, ranks/positions who arrived during Jahangir's reign and got suitable opportunities in Mughal politics and administration;

**Table - 1.H Persian Emigrants during Jahangir's Reign Who were assigned Ranks in Administration/Army**

Sr. No	Name	Nature of Basic Capability	Rank/Position
1.	Mehmud Beg Turkman	Administrator	<i>Diwan</i>
2.	Salih Azadani	Administrator	<i>Diwan</i>
3.	Nur-ud-Din Quli Esfahani	Administrator/Militant	<i>Kotwal</i>
4.	Mulla Iradat Khan Qazwini	Administrator	<i>1500 zat</i>
5.	Fahimi Khazwini	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
6.	Azam Khan	Administrator	<i>6000 zat</i>
7.	Ahmad Razi	Administrator	<i>Diwan</i>
8.	Yahya Qomi	Militant/Administrator	<i>Bakhshi</i>
9.	Afzal Khan	Administrator	<i>Khan-i-Saman</i>
10.	Islam Khan Mashhadi	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>
11.	Abdur Rahim Khan	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
12.	Safi Khan	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>
13.	Taqi Khurasani	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>
14.	Yadgar Ali Sultan	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
15.	Saif Khan Mirza Safi	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>
16.	Sultan Nazar	Militant/Administrator	<i>Bakhshi</i>
17.	Abdur Rahim Farahani	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
18.	Imam Quli Bag Shamlu	Administrator	<i>Court Noble</i>
19.	Salih Tabrizi	Poet	<i>Mansabdar</i>
20.	Lutfi Tabrizi	Poet	<i>Mansabdar</i>
21.	Murshid Borujerdi	Administrator/Poet	<i>Wakil</i>
22.	Subhi Hamadani	Poet	<i>Unclear</i>
23.	Ruh-ul-Amin	Militant/Poet	<i>Mir Saman/Bakhshi</i>
24.	Jam-i-Esfahani	Administrator/Poet	<i>Mansabdar</i>
25.	Qazi Zada Kashani	Administrator/Poet	<i>Diwan</i>
26.	Tabhi Kandu Sulqani	Poet/Administrator	<i>Court Noble</i>
27.	Jafar Herawi	Administrator/Poet	<i>Chief Pay Master</i>
28.	Nizam Qazwini	Militant/Scholar	<i>Diwan/Bakhshi</i>
29.	Mir Abdul Karim Esfahani	Artist	<i>1500 zat/Architect</i>
30.	Khisali Herawi	Administrator/Poet/Artist	<i>Chief Revenue Officer</i>
31.	Khwaja Jahan Khafi	Administrator/Scholar	<i>2000 zat/Diwan</i>
32.	Mir Muhammad Ghiyas	Militant/Scholar	<i>500 zat/Bakhshi</i>
33.	Mir Muhammad Sharif	Militant/Scholar	<i>6000 zat/Bakhshi</i>
34.	Mir Muhammad Ashraf	Militant/Scholar	<i>2000zat/Diwan/Bakhshi</i>
35.	Asad Qissa Khan	Story-teller	<i>200 zat</i>
36.	Eskandar Qissa Khan	Poet/Story-teller	<i>Court Noble</i>
37.	Feyez-i-Gilani	Physician	<i>Unclear</i>
38.	Qasim Deylami	Physician	<i>Unclear</i>
39.	Qazi Najm-ud-Din Shushtari	Administrator/Scholar	<i>Qazi</i>

The incursion of Persians in Mughal mansabs enhanced noticeably during 1605-27 A.D. as compare to the previous years since the establishment of Mughal Empire in India. In the category of 500-5000 and above mansabs, Persians were occupying majority of mansabs against any other racial group of Mughal nobility. There were 68 Persian mansabdars with the 28.10 percent against the total mansabs of 242 of the said category of cadres. Their traditional rival Turanis were having total 48 mansabs with 19.84 percent. While the Indian Muslims and Rajputs were occupied 35 and 34 mansabs with 14.46 and 14.05 percent respectively in the same set of above mentioned ranks. Persian nobles were also having much more preponderance in high mansabs of 5000-above, as compare to any other racial group, and thus, were in powerful political position too. They had 8 mansabdars with 33.33 percent against the total of 24 posts. Its concerned further details are mentioned in the Table-1.I<sup>86</sup> which is given below;

**Table - 1.I Racial and Religious Composition of Mughal Mansabdars 500-5000 and Above During 1621 A.D.**

Racial Category	Mansabs 500-900	Mansabs 1000-4500	Mansabs 5000-above	Grand Total	%
Princes	0	0	4	4	1.65
<i>Persians</i>	18	42	8	68	28.10
Turanis	11	32	5	48	19.84
Indian Muslims	12	21	2	35	14.46
Afghans	2	12	1	15	6.20
Other Muslims	17	13	1	31	12.81
Total Muslims	60	120	21	201	83.06
Rajputs	5	27	2	34	14.05
Marathas	0	1	0	1	0.41
Other Hindus	5	0	1	6	2.48
Total Hindus	10	28	3	41	16.94
Grand Total	70	148	24	242	100%

Regarding Jahangir's Central Ministry, as the Table No.1.J<sup>87</sup> is showing underneath that there were overall 17 Central Ministers in which 13 were

significantly Persians with an overwhelmingly majority of 76.47 percent. In disparity with them, there were only 1 Turani and 3 Indian Muslims central ministers. The Indian Muslim noble, Shaikh Farid Bukhari, at first continued as *mir-bakhshi* upon Jahangir accession in 1605 A.D. but was removed within a year. Then, except for Wazir-ul-Mulk, a Turani noble fleetingly held the office in the year 1606 A.D. his all *mir-bakhshis* were Persians, and so were all his *mir-samans* (imperial steward). The *sadrs* (in-charge for appointing Qazis) formed the sole exception to this process of Persianization, partly because, being a semi-theological office, there was a basic preference for those who were Sunnis; and the Persians were off course, mostly Ithna Asharis. Thus, whereas Akbar during the period 1577-1605 A.D. had two Persians as *sadrs* for about nine years, while, Jahangir had only one and that during his last three years only. The names of Persians Central Ministers in Jahangir's time were; Amir-ul-Umara Sharif, Itimad-ud-Daullah and Asaf Khan as *wakils*; Wazir Khan and Khwaja Abul Hasan as *diwan/wazir*; Razzaq Mamuri, Ibrahim Khan and Sadiq Khan as *mir-bakhshis*; Mir Iradat Khan, Mir Jumla and Afzal Khan as *mir-saman*; Mir Musavi Khan as *sadrus-sudur*.<sup>88</sup>

**Table - 1.J Racial and Religious Composition Of Over All Central Ministers During 1605-1627 A.D.**

Racial Category	Central Ministers	%
<i>Persians</i>	13	76.47
Turanis	1	5.88
Indian Muslims	3	17.65
Total Muslims	17	100%
Hindus	0	---
Total Hindus	0	---
Grand Total	17	100%

Similarly, in Provincial Governorships Persians were ahead aligned with any other racial group. There were overall 66 Governors during Jahangir's era, among them 22 were Persians with 33.33 percent. Turani Governors, like earlier were on second position having 28.79 percent with 19 numbers. Some of the

well-known Persian Governors were, Lashkar Khan and Qasim Khan as Governors Agra; Mir Miran and Mukhtar Khan as Governors Dehli; Sadiq Khan as Governor Lahore; Baqir Khan as Governor Multan; Khwaja Abdul Hasan as Governor Kabul; Iradat Khan and Itiqad Khan as Governors of Kashmir; Abu Sa'id as Governor Thatta; Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan as Governor Ajmer; Muzaffar Khan Mamuri as Governor Malwa; Safi Saif Khan as Governor Gujrat; Mahabat Khan as Governor Deccan; Mirza Rustam Safwi as Governor Allahabad; Zafar Khan and Ibrahim Khan as Governors Bihar; Qasim Khan as Governor Bengal; Hashim Khan, Hasan Ali and Ahmad Beg Khan as Governors Orissa.<sup>89</sup> Following Table No.1.K<sup>90</sup> is presenting its further statistical details;

**Table - 1.K Racial and Religious Composition Of Over All Provincial Governors During 1605-1627 A.D.**

Racial Category	Provincial Governors	%
Princes	4	6.06
<i>Persians</i>	22	33.33
Turanis	19	28.79
Indian Muslims	13	19.70
Afghans	3	4.54
Other Muslims	1	1.52
Total Muslims	62	93.94
Rajputs	1	1.52
Other Hindus	3	4.54
Total Hindus	4	6.06
Grand Total	66	100%

### ***Role of Itimad-ud-Daullah's Family***

Throughout Jahangir's eon, this Persian domination to some extent was off course helped by the rise of Itimad-ud-Daullah's family. Mirza Ghiyas Baig (Itimad-ud-Daullah) was a Persian who finding his fortunes failing in Persia traveled to India. He and his wife reputedly suffered such hardship and bad luck on their journey that they considered abandoning their infant daughter. But the

family succeeded in reaching their destination, where Ghiyas Baig found employment at the court of Akbar. He rose in rank and continued in service in Jahangir's reign with the title *Itimad-ud-Daullah* or 'Pillar of the State.' His daughter Mehr-un-Nisa married a nobleman named Ali Quli Khan Istajlu, but he died while on service in Bengal, and the girl went as a young widow to live at Mughal Court. There her beauty attracted the attention of Jahangir.<sup>91</sup>

Jahangir was married to Mihrun-Nisa on May 25, 1611 A.D. He gave her the title of 'Nur Mahall' (light of the palace), and undoubtedly she proved to be the light of the Emperors eyes. Her inclusion in the *harem* introduced a new force into the life of the Court.<sup>92</sup> Jahangir wrote in his Tuzuk that later on, "I ordered Nur Mahall Begum to be called 'Nur Jahan' (light of the world) Begum."<sup>93</sup> All her relations and connections were raised to honor and wealth. Mirza Ghiyas, in consequence of the marriage, was made *wakil-i-kul*, or Prime Minister, and a command of 6000 *zat*, 3000 *horse*. He also received a flag and a drum, and was later allowed to beat his drum at the Court, which was a rare privilege.<sup>94</sup>

Nur Jahan's role in the rise of her family's fortune was significant; it is true that before 1611 A.D. her no family member held a Provincial Governorship under Jahangir, and during 1611-1627 A.D. about twelve such members did.<sup>95</sup> The significance of this family lies in their hold and dominance at the Mughal Court and as well as on Jahangir, as he writes in his Tuzuk that "I presented Itiqad Khan (Asaf Khan) with one of my special swords called Sar-andaz (thrower of heads)."<sup>96</sup> Likewise Sadiq Khan, the nephew of Itimad-ud-Dowllah, who was permanently employed as *Bakhshi*, was honored with the title of 'Khan'. Nur Jahan was a woman of unusual ability, and soon acquired a great ascendancy over her husband. In fact, she became the joint ruler of the kingdom. She exercised political authority with intelligence, courage and astuteness. Her husband took on less and less responsibility as he sank further and further into clouds of opium smoke. She gained dominance at the Court and soon became a powerful, resourceful and honored woman over a relatively short amount of time. Her success raised her ambitions and in course of time her influence and active participation in state affairs increased.<sup>97</sup> She was a woman of great judgment

and, of a verity, worthy to be a Queen. "Jahangir struck coins on her name, which had for symbol the twelve signs of the zodiac, and in her time these were current money."<sup>98</sup>

### ***Role of Nur Jahan's Junta***

Nur Jahan's Junta was consisting over her mother, Ismat Begum; her father, Itimad-ud-Dowllah; her brother, Asaf Khan; and Jahangir's second son, Prince Khurram. This Junta roused the jealousy of older nobles like Mahabat Khan. Thus, the entire Mughal nobility was divided into two fractions: the adherents of Nur Jahan Junta and their opponents. While the theory of Nur Jahan's Junta has rightly been disputed, it is difficult to deny the fact of her ascendancy during the last five years of Jahangir's reign when "she actively participated in the politics of her time as is evident from a number of *hukms* (royal orders) issued by her. These *hukms* bear either of the two seals of Nur Jahan; one is refers to her as Queen-Consort, but another mentions her as Empress, which is quite significant in determining her ascendancy."<sup>99</sup> The power of Junta was substantial and could be carried, as it often was, to extreme excess up to impossible advancement. Nevertheless, the group managed, by an intricate network of communication and vested interest, to promote their own concerns while at the same time protecting the king from unnecessary responsibilities. According to Pelsaert Francisco, a Portuguese traveler during the Jahangir's era, the Junta worked as follows; "If anyone with a request to make at Court obtains an audience or is allowed to speak, the King hears him indeed, but will give no definite answer of Yes or No, referring him promptly to Asaf Khan, who in the same way will dispose of no important matter without communicating with his sister, the Queen, and who regulates his attitude in such a way that the authority of neither of them may be diminished. Anyone then who obtains a favor must thank them for it, and nor the King."<sup>100</sup>

However, when the government came under the influence of Nur Jahan, she created difficulties for Shah Jahan who was left with no choice but that of

rebellion, which was crushed and it seemed that his chances of ever regaining sufficient power to contest the succession had been irretrievably damaged. Shah Jahan fell into rebellion gradually and that his revolt came as a result of Nur Jahan's conscious policy of forcing him out of the lines of power. Nur Jahan, then securely in power herself and with the decisions for the administration of the empire almost totally in her hands, saw Qandahar as a way to get Shah Jahan into trouble.<sup>101</sup> On the eve of the death of Prince Pervaiz on October 18, 1626 A.D. Shah Abbas-I sent a condolatory embassy under Takhta Beg with four letters; two were for Jahangir, one for Prince Shahriyar and the most interesting was one addressed to Nur Jahan Begum. This letter makes a brief mention of recent Persian victories against the Turks, condolence over Pervaiz's demise, and finally, making a reference to his (Shah's) close friendship with Jahangir, says, "If your majesty were to consider this House (Persian Dynasty) as your own and were to assign to servants of this dynasty any business at this end, it would further augment mutual amity and union."<sup>102-103</sup> This is a unique letter, being addressed by a king to a foreign queen; the only one of its kind in Indo-Persian state correspondence. The letter also indicates the understanding of Shah Abbas towards Nur Jahan's dominant position in the Mughal Empire.

The family in general and Nur Jahan in particular also contributed to the extravagant lifestyle of both Jahangir and Shah Jahan; which inspired the subsequent use of the word 'Moghal' in the English language.<sup>104</sup> There is no doubt that until Asaf Khan's death in 1641 A.D. for over three decades this obscure family from Persia wielded enormous power in the Mughal Empire and exerted significant influence on the administration and politics of their time.

### ***Role of Mahabat Khan***

General Mahabat Khan was a Persian and was a central figure among the Mughal nobility. Nur Jahan, thinking that Mahabat Khan is one of the main hurdles in her ambitions, was responsible for turning him into an opponent. The man who could have been used against the enemies of the empire, was himself



turned into an enemy. Due to confrontation with him, Nur Jahan framed charges of disloyalty and disobedience against him. He was well aware that for him there was no security under Jahangir, while influenced and directed by Nur Jahan. Instead of complying he proceeded towards the Punjab, where the emperor was encamped. Jahangir refused to see him, but Mahabat Khan placed both the Emperor and the Queen under surveillance, and accused her immediately of treason and other high crimes; and the Emperor, on whose feeble mind absence had already effaced in some degree the impression of her charms, signed without much reluctance the order for her execution. She only begged that she might have leave before her death to kiss the hand of her lord. She was admitted, but in the presence of Mahabat. She stood in silence. The Emperor burst into tears, and asked 'will you not spare this women, Mahabat? See how she weeps.' 'It is not for the Emperor of the Mughals,' cried, Mahabat, 'to ask in vain.' At a wave of his hand, the guards retired, and she was that instant restored to her former attendants. In a few months, Mahabat restored to the Emperor the full exercise of his authority, and, to show the sincerity of his obedience, dismissed the greater part of his attendants and guards.<sup>105</sup> Jahangir himself discovered to Mahabat his danger and fled without attendants from the camp. Later on, the man who had saved the Emperor; and spared both his life and authority when both were in his hands; was now the object of a command to all the Governors of the provinces to suffer him no where to lurk in existence; and a price was set on his head. Mahabat Khan in these circumstances left the Court and joined Prince Khurram. When Prince Khurram became Emperor of India with the title of Shah Jahan, which had been conferred on him by his father, he made Asaf Khan his *vazir* (Prime Minister), and Mahabat Khan his *mir-bakhshi*, and dubbed him "my dear brother and faithful friend *Mobarez-al-Din Sepahsalar Khan-e-Khanan*."<sup>106</sup>

The province of Qandahar was so important for the Mughals. This province needed a trust-worthy and a good administrator who also has good personal relations with Shah of Persia, as it was being disturbed between the two empires with the controversies over Qandahar. Therefore, Jahangir deployed

among the best, Ghazi Baig Tarkhan as Governor there who was a Turani Amir, and who also proved himself a good choice in tackling relevant matters there.<sup>107</sup> In September, 1613 A.D. Jahangir dispatched his envoy Mirza Barkhordar (Khan-e-Alam) to Persia; to whom he also used to call 'brother.' When Khan-e-Alam reached Persia, he was very well treated by the Persians. While he met Shah Abbas-I (1587-1629 A.D.) who was a brave and generous king and a great lover of strangers,<sup>108</sup> and was in some ways the greatest king who ever ruled over Persia, he was received and accorded an unwonted degree of royal favor. The Shah said "the Emperor of India (Jahangir) and I treat each other as brothers; he has called you his brother, and the brother of a brother is also a brother."<sup>109</sup> Accordingly, the formal salutation, the Shah embraced Khan-e-Alam like a brother, and showered on him royal honors and many informal acts of kindness. Jahangir's extremely genial relations with Shah Abbas-I of Persia were primarily responsible for his unfriendly attitude towards the Ottomans. They used to address each other as '*biradar ba jan barabar*' (brother as dear as life) and frequently exchanged expensive and novel presents.<sup>110</sup> Shah Abbas-I captured Qandahar in 1622 A.D. which had been disputed ever since the days of Humayun. Therefore, Jahangir was deeply shocked, because he was even involved to give financial aid to the Shah Abbas-I, in his war against the Ottomans. Determined to take revenge on the Shah, Jahangir approached the Uzbeks and the Ottomans for a triple alliance against Persia. He also received a letter of Sultan Murad-IV, proposing a joint Mughal-Ottoman campaign against Persia, however, Jahangir's death in 1627 A.D. fizzled this proposal.<sup>111</sup>

## **Persians in the Politics and Administration of Shah Jahan**

Shah Jahan's reign occupies an important place in Indian history. It may be regarded as an important link between the centralization of Akbar and the gradual but avid dismemberment of the empire under Aurangzeb.<sup>112</sup> Shah Jahan's Court represented the height of kingly splendor. In his reign the Mughal Empire attained to the zenith of its prosperity and affluence. The fame of the

wealth of India attracted a stream of foreign visitors from across the seas, who were dazzled by the magnificent grandeur of the Emperor and his Court. The gorgeousness of his Court surpassed their imaginations, and drew from them unstinted admiration.<sup>113</sup>

Under Shah Jahan many of the great men of state were from Persia; Shaista Khan, Jaffar Khan, Makaramat Khan and most importantly, Ali Mardan Khan who, as commandant of the fort at Qandahar, defected to the Mughals in 1638 A.D.<sup>114</sup> The subsequent Table No.1.L<sup>115</sup> is presenting the overall names of Persian emigrants during Shah Jahan's regime along with their assigned responsibilities in Mughal administration and politics.

**Table - 1.L Persian Emigrants during Shah Jahan's Reign Who were assigned Ranks in Administration/Army**

Sr. No	Name	Nature of Basic Capability	Rank/Position
1.	Mukhlis Hussain Tabrizi	Administrator	<i>Wazir</i>
2.	Banda Reza Tabrizi	Administrator	<i>Wazir</i>
3.	Qalib Ali Tabrizi	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
4.	Ali Mardan Khan	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>
5.	Ibrahim Khan	Administrator/Militant	<i>4000 zat</i>
6.	Muhammad Ali Beg	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
7.	Rehmat Khan Kashani	Administrator	<i>2000 zat</i>
8.	Danishmand Khan	Administrator	<i>3000 zat</i>
9.	Muhammad Taqi	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
10.	Aqil Khan Inayatullah	Administrator	<i>3000 zat</i>
11.	Mirza Abdul Qasim	Administrator/Militant	<i>Diwan</i>
12.	Raqim Sad-ud-Din	Administrator	<i>Unclear</i>
13.	Hasan Beg Rafi Mashhadi	Administrator	<i>500 zat</i>
14.	Shaista Khan	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>
15.	Makramat Khan	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>
16.	Jaffar Khan	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>
17.	Mirza Mahmud Bazil	Administrator/Militant	<i>Governor</i>
18.	Girami Shamlu	Militant/Administrator	<i>Bakhshi/Mir Bahr</i>
19.	Muhammd Munim	Militant/Administrator	<i>Army Service</i>
20.	Hakim Dawood Taqarrub	Physician	<i>500 zat/3000 sawar</i>
21.	Muhammad Ali Khan	Physician	<i>1000 zat</i>
22.	Abdul Haq	Calligraphist	<i>1000 zat/200 sawar</i>
23.	Mir Muhammad (Mir Jumla)	Administrator/Trade	<i>6000 zat/6000 sawar</i>
24.	Muhammad Amin Khan	Administrator/Trade	<i>Unclear</i>

There was considerable jealousy existed between the Turani and Persian nobility in Mughal Court for possessing monopoly over administration and politics. "The fact that the Turanis were generally Sunnis and most Persians were Shi'ahs sometimes lent a religious color to the controversy. The Persians were supposed to be far more cultured, and also won special favor under Shah Jahan,"<sup>116</sup> likewise before under Jahangir. There are two Tables 1.M<sup>117</sup> and 1.N<sup>118</sup> given below that are showing statistical ratio of the composition of Mughal nobility under the category of 500-5000 and above mansabdars during the early and later years of Shah Jahan's reign.

**Table - 1.M Racial and Religious Composition of Mughal Mansabdars 500- 5000 and Above During 1637-1638 A.D.**

Racial Category	Mansabs 500-900	Mansabs 1000-4500	Mansabs 5000-above	Grand Total	%
Princes	0	0	3	3	0.71
<i>Persians</i>	53	50	10	113	26.97
Turanis	42	39	4	85	20.29
Indian Muslims	47	18	2	67	15.99
Afghans	20	19	0	39	9.31
Other Muslims	22	14	0	36	8.59
Total Muslims	184	140	19	343	81.86
Rajputs	34	23	3	60	14.32
Marathas	0	7	1	8	1.91
Other Hindus	7	1	0	8	1.91
Total Hindus	41	31	4	76	18.14
Grand Total	225	171	23	419	100%

During 1637-38 A.D. Persians were occupying 113 mansabs out of total 419 with the 26.97 percent, while the Turanis were on 85 mansabs having 20.29 percent in the above mentioned set of ranks. Similarly, during the years 1656-57 A.D. Persian mansabdars were on 139 posts against the sum of 518 with 26.83

percent, whereas Turani mansabdars were dwelled in 123 posts by 23.75 percent. It is of noticing that Rajput mansabdars improved themselves by residing in 87 posts with 16.79 percent. It can also be seen in both the tables that while among medium *mansabs*, Persians and Turanis remained almost largely equal in number over the period, the disproportionate advancement of Persians, and relative decline of Turanis, are a marked feature in the high ranks of 5000 and above. Quite obviously, Persians were being favored for promotions much more than Turanis.

**Table - 1.N                      Racial and Religious Composition of Mughal Mansabdars 500- 5000 and Above During 1656-1657 A.D.**

Racial Category	Mansabs 500-900	Mansabs 1000-4500	Mansabs 5000-above	Grand Total	%
Princes	0	0	8	8	1.55
<i>Persians</i>	64	66	9	139	26.83
Turanis	70	49	4	123	23.75
Indian Muslims	32	27	0	59	11.39
Afghans	18	16	0	34	6.56
Other Muslims	36	13	0	49	9.46
Total Muslims	220	171	21	412	79.54
Rajputs	41	43	3	87	16.79
Marathas	5	6	1	12	2.32
Other Hindus	4	3	0	7	1.35
Total Hindus	50	52	4	106	20.46
Grand Total	270	223	25	518	100%

Persian domination continued under Shah Jahan, after his accession Shah Jahan promoted Asaf Khan to the highest rank of 9000 *zat* and 9000 *sawar*, and confirmed him in the post of *wakil* which he held till his death in 1641 A.D. It is significant to note that after the death of Asaf Khan, Shah Jahan did not fill the post of *wakil*. Shah Jahan's first *diwan*, Wazir Khan, who was an Indian

Muslim, did not remain in office for more than a year. Sa'dullah Khan, indeed, held office for a number of years 1647-1656 A.D. but except this period of about ten years, for the other twenty years of the reign the office of *diwan* was filled by Persians alone. The names of Persian *diwans* were; Iradat Khan, Afzal Khan Shirazi and Islam Khan Mashhadi. All the thirteen *mir-bakhshis* of Shah Jahan were Persians; Iradat Khan, Sadiq Khan, Islam Khan Mashhadi, Mir Jumla, Mu'tamad Khan, Salabat Khan, Asalat Khan, Jaffar Khan, Khalilullah Khan, Larshap Khan, Itiqad Khan, Danishmand khan and Muhammad Amin. Except for three years when Sa'dullah Khan was *mir-saman*, these Persians held this office for all the remaining years of the three decades of Shah Jahan's reign; Afzal Khan, Mir Jumla, Makramat Khan and Fazil Khan. As for *sadrus sudur*, the sole Persian *sadr* Musavi Khan of Jahangir's reign continued under Shah Jahan for fifteen years; but his two successors were Indian Muslims.<sup>119</sup> Table No.1.O<sup>120</sup> is demonstrating this virtual monopoly by the 18 Persians with the 81.82 percent of the offices of overall 22 Central Ministers, with the sole exception of the relatively minor office of *sadr*, is a remarkable fact.

**Table - 1.O                      Racial and Religious Composition  
Of Over All Central Ministers  
During 1628-1658 A.D.**

Racial Category	Central Ministers	%
<i>Persians</i>	18	81.82
Turanis	0	---
Indian Muslims	4	18.18
Total Muslims	22	100%
Hindus	0	---
Total Hindus	0	---
Grand Total	22	100%

As far as the Governorship in Shah Jahan's reign was concerned, Persians were amazingly almost double than the Turanis. There were overall 43 Persian Governors comprising 48.86 percent against the total 88 deputed Governors in Shah Jahan's period. Their traditional rival Turanis were at 23 with its 26.14 percent of total posted Governors. The attached Table No.1.P<sup>121</sup> is

unfolding its pertinent statistical details. Some of the important Persian governors were; Qasim Khan Juweni, Iradat Khan and Islam Khan as Governors Bengal; Baqir Khan Naqjm-i-Sani and Mohammad Zaman Tehrani as Governors Orissa; Mirza Rustam Safawi, Jaffar Khan and Zulfiqar Khan as Governors Bihar; Jan Sipar Khan, Saif Khan as Governors Allahabad; Qasim Khan-II as Governor Agra; Mukhtar Khan, Asalat Khan, Ilahwardi Khan, Makaramat Khan and Khalilullah Khan as Governors Dehli; Mu'tamad Khan as Governor Lahore; Ali Mardan Khan as Governor Qandahar; Shah Nawaz Khan as Governor Awadh; Itiqad Khan, Zafar Khan and Husain Beg Khan as Governors Kashmir; Khwaja Abul Hasan and Mahabat Khan as Governors Kabul; Abdur Razzaq Gilani and Shaikh Musa Gilani as Governors Multan; Abu Sa'id, Khwaja Baqi Murtaza Khan, Amir Khan, Muzaffar Khan and Muhammad Ali as Governors Sindh; Azam Khan as Governor Gujrat; Shah Nawaz Khan as Governor Malwa; Khan-i-Azam, Islam Khan and Shaista Khan as Governors Deccan.<sup>122</sup>

**Table - 1.P Racial and Religious Composition Of Over All Provincial Governors During 1628-1658 A.D.**

Racial Category	Provincial Governors	%
Princes	6	6.82
<i>Persians</i>	43	48.86
Turanis	23	26.14
Indian Muslims	10	11.36
Afghans	2	2.27
Other Muslims	3	3.41
Total Muslims	87	98.86
Rajputs	1	1.14
Other Hindus	0	---
Total Hindus	1	1.14
Grand Total	88	100%

### ***Role of Ali Mardan Khan***

The loss of Qandahar in the time of Jahangir was largely due to the rebellion of Shah Jahan. But when the imperial responsibilities fell on him, he

showed as much anxiety as any of his predecessors to recover it.<sup>123</sup> As Khafi Khan writes in *Muntakhab-al-Lubab* that soon after his accession to the throne “the august Emperor (Shah Jahan) was thinking of and preparing for a campaign when the reports from Multan and Qandahar brought the news to him of the death of Shah Abbas-I in 1629 A.D. so he cancelled his idea of going on the campaign.”<sup>124</sup> The surrender of Qandahar by Ali Mardan Khan to the Mughals, on March 22, 1638 A.D.,<sup>125</sup> was an event of valuable significance in the history of Mughal-Safawid relations. Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian Governor of Qandahar, had his own troubles with the Persian Court. While the Mughal accounts say that it was his defense preparations against the Mughals which made the Shah suspect that he was aiming at increased power and ultimate independence, the Safawid version is that Ali Mardan Khan constructed the new citadel in fear of the Shah’s wrath. On November 22, 1638 A.D. when Ali Mardan Khan arrived at the capital, “he was requited through His Majesty’s generosity with the grant of 1,000 gold *mohurs*, along with a handsome robe of honor with gold-embroidered vest; a turban ornament set in gems; a jeweled sword and dagger with incised designs; two superb horses, one an Arab with jeweled, the other Iraqi with golden saddle; a splendid elephant with silver housings and three others, both male and female; and also the mansion of the late Prime Minister Itimad-al-Daula.”<sup>126</sup> Later on, in October, 1639 A.D. he was awarded to the superior grade of 7,000 *zat* and *sawar*, and was also invested with the supreme administration of the Punjab in addition to the government of Kashmir. In January, 1643 A.D. Ali Mardan Khan was bestowed with the distinguished title of *amir-al-umara* (lord of the lords) and a gratuity of one crore of *dams* (two lac fifty thousand rupees) were also bequeathed upon him.<sup>127</sup>

After a while, Shah Abbas-II who had been looking towards Qandahar with wistful eyes as a part of the Persian claim to supremacy over the Mughals,<sup>128</sup> had personally led the attack upon Qandahar and had taken it by storm in 1649 A.D. Shah Jahan’s failure to recover Qandahar in May, 1649 A.D. had exposed the myth of the invincibility of the Mughal armies. Neither Dara Shikoh nor Aurangzeb Alamgir could succeed in their commands against the Persian army



in next expeditions due to the superiority of Persians in artillery. Qandahar was thus lost to Mughals forever in 1649 A.D. The loss of Qandahar, however, rankled in the breast of the Emperor Shah Jahan forever in his remaining life,<sup>129</sup> and Shah Jahan in his life time could never forget the disgrace which his army suffered in Qandahar.<sup>130</sup> In this way Safawid Persians played a hefty role in shaping Mughal-Ottoman relations. Whenever the Mughals felt threatened by Persia, they turned towards Turkey for political and moral support. At the beginning of the second half of the seventeenth century A.D., therefore, Shah Jahan found himself totally isolated within the world of Islam. With the prestige of the Mughal Empire at its lowest ebb and with his foreign policy in shambles, Shah Jahan had no alternative but to fall back upon the old theme of Sunni solidarity against the Persian peril.<sup>131</sup>

### **Persians in the Politics and Administration of Aurangzeb Alamgir**

The events at the end of Shah Jahan's reign did not augur well for the future of the Empire. The Emperor fell ill in September 1657 A.D. and rumors of his death spread. He executed a will bequeathing the Empire to his eldest son, Dara Shikoh. His other sons, Shujah, Aurangzeb, and Murad, who were grown men and Governors of provinces, decided to contest the throne. From the war of succession during 1658-1659 A.D. Aurangzeb emerged the sole victor. He then imprisoned his father in the Agra fort and declared himself Emperor. Later on, Shah Jahan died as a prisoner on January 31, 1666 A.D. at the age of 74. During one hundred and eighty one years (1526-1707 A.D.) of Indian history, there had been six great Mughals whose achievements father to son for six generations can be compared with the greatest royal families in the world's history. But Aurangzeb Alamgir was the last whom the proud title fitted.<sup>132</sup> It has also been pointed out that in the war of succession Aurangzeb rallied the Sunnis against the Ithna Asharis, but there is really no basis for this assertion. Out of 125 nobles of the mansab of 1,000 and above who are known to have supported up Aurangzeb to the battle of Samugarh, 28 were Persians, 4 of them holding

mansab of 5,000 *zat* and above. Whereas, out of 87 near about 23 of Dara Shikoh's supporters were Persians. After all, Mir Jumla and Shaista Khan, the leading Persian nobles, were Aurangzeb's partisans; however, the names of those Persians who supported Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb Alamgir in the war of succession are given in Annexure-I & II. Similarly, some historians say that Prince Shuja was unanimously supported by the Persians, but, the fact that only one of his ten known supporters, holding rank of 1,000 *zat* and above, was a Persian.<sup>133</sup> Thus, the Aurangzeb's victory did not affect the position of the Persians in any way. Bernier says that the 'greater part' of Aurangzeb's foreign nobility consisted of Persians.<sup>134</sup> Table No.1.Q<sup>135</sup> is showing its additional facts;

**Table - 1.Q                      Supporters of the Contending Princes  
In the War of Succession during 1658-1659 A.D.**

Racial Category	Dara Shikoh			Aurangzeb			Shah Shuja			Murad Bukhsh		
	5000 and Above	1000 to 4500	Total	5000 and Above	1000 to 4500	Total	5000 and Above	1000 to 4500	Total	5000 and Above	1000 to 4500	Total
<i>Persians</i>	3	20	23	4	24	28	0	1	1	0	1	1
Turanis	1	15	16	1	19	20	1	2	3	0	0	0
Afghans	0	1	1	0	23	23	0	1	1	0	1	1
Other Muslims	0	23	23	1	32	33	0	5	5	1	6	7
Total Muslims	4	59	63	6	98	104	1	9	10	1	8	9
Rajputs	2	20	22	2	7	9	0	0	0	0	2	2
Marathas	1	1	2	0	10	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Hindus	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Hindus	3	21	24	2	19	21	0	0	0	0	2	2
Grand Total	7	80	87	8	117	125	1	9	10	1	10	11

Throughout India was attracted by the foreign emigrants since the establishment of Mughal Empire. It is also observed during Aurangzeb's era with frequent arrival of different migrants specially Persians. The list of those overall

Persian asylum seekers along with their basic capabilities and positions are given below in the Table No.1.R;<sup>136</sup>

**Table - 1.R Persian Emigrants during Aurangzeb's Reign Who were assigned Ranks in Administration/Army**

Sr. No	Name	Nature of Basic Capability	Rank/Position
1.	Khalilullah Khan	Militant/Administrator	6000 zat/6000 sawar
2.	Shaikh Mir Khwafi	Administrator	5000 zat/5000 sawar
3.	Muhammad Tahir	Militant/Administrator	5000 zat/5000 sawar
4.	Mirza Muhamad Mashhadi	Administrator	5000 zat/4000 sawar
5.	Mulla Shafiq Yazdi	Administrator	5000 zat/2500 sawar
6.	Qawam-ud-Din Khan Esfahani	Militant/Administrator	4000 zat/2000 sawar
7.	Abdur Razzaq Gilani	Administrator	3500 zat/2000 sawar
8.	Shaikh Mirak Harawi	Administrator	3000 zat/200 sawar
9.	Mir Taqi	Administrator	3000 zat
10.	Sa'adat Khan	Militant/Administrator	2500 zat/2000 sawar
11.	Mir Muhammad Mahdi	Militant/Administrator	2500 zat/500 sawar
12.	Mir Muhammad Hadi	Administrator	2000 zat/2400 sawar
13.	Qazalbash Khan	Militant/Administrator	2000 zat/800 sawar
14.	Diyanat Khan Kashi	Administrator	2000 zat/700 sawar
15.	Mir Imam-ud-Din Rehmat Khan	Administrator	2000 zat/600 sawar
16.	Mir Murad Mazandani	Administrator	2000 zat/400 sawar
17.	Mustafa Khan Kashi	Administrator	1500 zat/900 sawar
18.	Muhammad Beg Turkman	Administrator	1500 zat
19.	Imam Quli Qarawal Aghar Khan	Militant/Administrator	1000 zat/800 sawar
20.	Mir Arab Bakhazri	Administrator	1000 zat/500 sawar
21.	Saiyed Mirza Sabzwari	Administrator	1000 zat/300 sawar
22.	Khwaja Ismail Beg Kirmani	Administrator	1000 zat/150 sawar
23.	Inayat Khan	Militant/Administrator	2000 zat/2000 sawar
24.	Ahmad Beg Kamil	Administrator	Court Noble
25.	Hakim Daud Taqarrub Khan	Administrator/Hakim	5000 zat
26.	Hakim Saleh Shirazi	Administrator/Hakim	1500 zat/250 sawar
27.	Hakim Muhammad Amin Shirazi	Administrator/Hakim	1500 zat/50 sawar

During 1658-78 A.D. as it was the early period of Aurangzeb's rule, out of his 486 mansabdars 136 were Persians with 27.98 percent, quite dwarfing the Turanis, who numbered 67 by the percentage of 13.79. In the years 1679-1707 A.D. their number still remained high; 126 with 21.91 percent out of a total 575. On the top rung of the ladder, 23 Persians held the rank of 5,000 and above by

45.10 percent during 1658-78 A.D. and 14 by 17.72 percent in 1679-1707 A.D. while the number of Turanis was 9 (17.64%) and 6 (7.59%) respectively. The Persians maintained their position partly because of the influx of Persians serving in the Daccan Kingdoms. Here the Persians had long been dominant; and Mir Jumla provides an example of a Persian noble entering Mughal service through the Daccan. Aurangzeb is also said to have entered great confidence in officers from Khawaf, a province of Persia, who became recipients of considerable favors during his reigns.<sup>137</sup> These Tables 1.S<sup>138</sup> and 1.T<sup>139</sup> in a statistical form are reproduced below that are showing the total strength of different groups within the Mughal nobility on above mentioned two different periods during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir.

**Table - 1.S Racial and Religious Composition of Mughal Mansabdars 1000 - 5000 and Above During 1658-1678 A.D.**

Racial Category	Mansabs 1000-2700	Mansabs 3000-4500	Mansabs 5000-above	Grand Total	%
<i>Persians</i>	81	32	23	136	27.98
Turanis	42	16	9	67	13.79
Indian Muslims	51	10	4	65	13.37
Afghans	31	9	3	43	8.85
Other Muslims	63	5	2	70	14.40
Total Muslims	268	72	41	381	78.39
Rajputs	54	11	6	71	14.61
Marathas	18	6	3	27	5.56
Other Hindus	5	1	1	7	1.44
Total Hindus	77	18	10	105	21.61
Grand Total	345	90	51	486	100%

**Table - 1.T****Racial and Religious Composition of Mughal Mansabdars 1000 - 5000 and Above During 1679-1707 A.D.**

Racial Category	Mansabs 1000-2700	Mansabs 3000-4500	Mansabs 5000-above	Grand Total	%
<i>Persians</i>	72	40	14	126	21.91
Turanis	44	22	6	72	12.52
Indian Muslims	41	18	10	69	12.00
Afghans	20	4	10	34	5.92
Other Muslims	66	13	13	92	16.00
Total Muslims	243	97	53	393	68.35
Rajputs	53	15	5	73	12.69
Marathas	62	18	16	96	16.70
Other Hindus	5	3	5	13	2.26
Total Hindus	120	36	26	182	31.65
Grand Total	363	133	79	575	100%

Several of Aurangzeb's leading ministers, including his first *diwan* Fazil Khan, were Persians, and he continued to show favor to newly arrived Persians as well as to those already settled in India. But Aurangzeb's reputation for rigid orthodoxy and the general neglect of fine arts and belles-letters in his reign discouraged intending emigrants from Persia. Orthodox theological studies, which were high in favor during his reign, naturally excluded Persians who mostly belonged to the Ithna Ashariyah sect. Thus, the infusion of fresh Persian blood into Indo-Muslim society, which had proceeded uninterruptedly since the days of Babur, little bit decreased during Aurangzeb's regime, though it did not entirely cease.<sup>140</sup> In the early of eighteenth century A.D. which was the last era of Aurangzeb regime, two major groups among Mughal nobility aroused and played a vital role in politics, at least for the next forty years. Firstly, was the Persian group of Asad Khan and his son Zulfikhar Khan whom had already become *wazir-i-kul* and *mir-bakhshi*, respectively up to 1702 A.D. The progenitors of this

family left Persia after having some dissensions with Shah Abbas-I and therefore, migrated to India where Emperor Jahangir gave them appropriate *mansabs* and *jagirs*. Both father and son played an imperative role to counter Maratha power that was in confrontation with Aurangzeb since his accession to the throne. They often prided themselves as being Persian but born in Hindustan and were settled there for the last eight decades. They have got mammoth power in Mughal politics and administration. Another group was of Turanis or Central Asians, headed by Ghazi-ud-Din Feroz Jang and his sons, Chun Qulij Khan and Hamid Khan Bahadur along with a relative Amin Khan. It is said that Amin Khan gave an application to Aurangzeb for the post of Bakhshi and also pointed out that the existing incumbent Zulfikhar Khan is an Ithna Ashari and he will led partiality towards other Ithna Ashariyahs too. Aurangzeb stoutly refused this application which also clears his partiality towards Sunnis, although, he was an orthodox Sunni himself.<sup>141</sup> After all, these Irani-Turani controversies substantiated a big blow to the solidarity of the Mughal Empire which was already in quarrel with the Marathas.

The Persians monopoly continued under Aurangzeb's regime. There were numerous Persian Governors posted in various provinces, some of them were; Shahnawaz Khan and Mukhtar Khan as Governors Gujrat, Amir Khan as Governor Kabul, Fidai Khan as Governor Oudh, Arab Khan as Governor Bahraich, Muhammad Beg as Governor Doab, Kamgar Khan as Governor Sikandarpur, Tarbiyat Khan as Governor Orissa, Zabardast Khan as Governor Hoshangabad, Shaista Khan as Governor Bengal, Inayat Khan as Governor Orangabad, Saf Shikan Khan as Governor Kahni, Asad Khan and Bahadur Khan as Governors Deccan.<sup>142</sup>

The racial composition of Mughal nobility was extremely diverse although the principal groups were clearly distinguishable: Turk and Persians whose ancestors had entered India with the Mughals or who had been tempted to seek service at the Mughal Court by the prospect of wealth and high office; Afghans, many of whom were descended from families long-established in India, who tended to regard the Mughals as interlopers; native-born Muslims, descendants

of converts or of Turkish invaders who had entered the Sub-continent generations before and who had acquired Indian wives and ways; and Rajputs whose fathers or grand fathers had been drawn into the imperial orbit by Akbar's far-sighted policy of Mughal-Rajput partnership. To these were added, in the second half of the seventeenth century A.D. Deccani Muslims and Marathas as the frontiers of the Empire pressed steadily southwards.<sup>143</sup> Divided by race, religion, language and manners, the Mughal nobility constituted a microcosm of the Empire itself, with Hindu pitted against Muslim, Ithna Ashariyah Persian against Sunni Turk, and both against Indian-born Muslims. Yet despite all these diversities, there were elements in the situation which contributed to a reduction of tensions: loyalty to the Mughal Dynasty which, from the seventeenth century onwards, acquired a potent charismatic influence as the fount of sovereignty and legitimate authority throughout the greater part of the Sub-continent; the emergence of genuine Mughal civilization which combined indigenous Indian with extraneous Persian and Central Asian elements and thereby helped to smooth over communal and regional antagonisms; and the Persian language and literature which got mastery in Mughal India.<sup>144</sup>

Persian prestige often did offer benefits to ethnic Persians in service outside Persia. For example, although the army and administration of the Mughal Empire were made up of Persians, Central Asian Turks, Arabs, Indian Muslims and even Hindus, the dominant group in terms of ranking was always the Persians, with Central Asians running a close second. An interesting account of Mughal Emperors was their proclivity towards deputing Ithna Ashariyah Prime Ministers throughout their mainstream administration.<sup>145</sup> Consequently, "there was usually a struggle of supremacy and was more of a rivalry than open conflict between Irani (Persian) and Turani (Central Asian) nobility, and generally the two factions shared their pre-eminence over the remainder of society."<sup>146</sup> The Safawid held one grave threat over the Mughals that could not be countered. Persian nobles and administrators, forming one of the largest ethnic groups in the Mughal nobility, kept up close ties with their homeland. Besides, given them sufficient encouragements, although, it was conceivable that Persian

mansabdars might revolt, and bring on Safawid intervention. It is worth of noticing that no Indian held similar posts in Safawid Persia.<sup>147</sup>

Shah Abbas-II had intrigued with Dara and Murad during the war of succession and had also written to the Ithna Ashari rulers of the Deccan urging to assert them while the Mughal Empire was torn by quarrels among the princes.<sup>148</sup> But when Aurangzeb made himself undisputed master of the throne, Shah Abbas-II sent a grand embassy under Bidagh Baig to Mughal Court to congratulate Aurangzeb Alamgir on the eve of his accession to the throne, and presented numerous precious gifts before the Emperor Alamgir whose worth was not less than 423,000 rupees. On his return from the Mughal Court Bidagh Baig was rewarded with handsome money of 500,000 rupees along with expensive gifts and a reply letter for the Shah of Persia.<sup>149</sup> Aurangzeb after his accession to the throne was not interested in recovering Qandahar, which had throughout been a bone of contention between the Mughals and the Safawids of Persia. Having personally led two unsuccessful campaigns against Qandahar in 1649 and 1652 A.D. he knew the futility of such an exercise. Aurangzeb had thus no reason, at least for the time being, to curry favors with the Ottomans. Nevertheless, on the arrival of the embassy from Shah Abbas-II in 1661 A.D. to the Court of Alamgir, Muhammad Amin Khan a noble was sent with one thousand soldiers to receive the ambassador and to find out the purpose of his mission. All bazaars and streets were decorated and music was played. On his appearance he made obeisance in the Persian manner, while officers of the court forced him to bow in Mughal style. He handed over the letter from the Shah, which was taken by Shah Alam the son of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, and read out in a loud voice. He was awarded *Khil'at* (robe of honor) by the Emperor and then the gifts were presented before the Emperor, consisting of horses, camels, rose-water, and carpets.<sup>150</sup>

Afterwards, Aurangzeb's relations with Persia received a setback. His embassy which was sent to Persia in November, 1663 A.D. under the supervision of his envoy Tarbiyat Khan, was miscarried.<sup>151</sup> Shah Abbas-II's conduct towards the Mughal ambassador had been highly objectionable and



inappropriate. He had derided the envoy and had made insulting remarks about Aurangzeb in presence. The Shah had even threatened to invade India, and sent his reply in March, 1666 A.D. with following humiliated letter along with the same Mughal envoy; “recently we have learnt from comers and goers that at many places in Hindustan refractory and seditious people, considering that Solomon-like monarch (Aurangzeb) to be impotent and resource-less, have raised the dust of disturbance, and having taken possession of some parts of the country are giving trouble to the inhabitants and travelers of that kingdom.”<sup>152</sup> Thus, by the end of Aurangzeb’s reign, the Mughal Empire had no diplomatic relations with Persia. Though Aurangzeb was not responsible for the breach with Persia in 1666 A.D. he was certainly so far the continuation of the breach. The state of diplomatic isolation in which Aurangzeb left the Mughal Empire was by no means remained enviable<sup>153</sup> during the reigns of his successors i.e. Bahadur Shah (1707-12 A.D.), Jahandar Shah (1712-13 A.D.), Farrukhsiyar (1713-19 A.D.), Muhammad Shah (1719-48 A.D.) and later on, up to 1857 A.D. Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last ruler of the dynasty.

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# **CHAPTER-IV**

## **Role of Persians In the Religious Life of Mughal India**

India is a luxuriant field for the growth of schism and sects. Islam which had already broken up into the traditional seventy-three sects, got further distinguished in Hindustan since its introduction into this country. The majority of the Muslim community was Sunni no doubt; but the people converted to Islam did not change all at once. Some of them retained their heretical practices, and formed themselves into new sects. The establishment of Ithna Ashariyah-ism in Persia on the commencement of sixteenth century A.D. led to a degree of estrangement between the lands under Safawid control and those of the Mughals and Uzbeks. Although the break was never complete, the centre of gravity for Persian culture felt an eastward pull towards India, carried by a severe 'brain-drain' of talented Persians seeking greater success under the wealthier and more tolerant Mughals.<sup>1</sup> This chapter is an effort to divulge the role of these Persian immigrants who performed as an indispensable fraction in influencing the religious life of Mughal India.

The word Islam means surrender, it has been shown that submission to the will of God is an essential part of the Muslim religious consciousness. As a result of repeated foreign invasions the region of Sub-continent became a junction of different religious influences.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the advent of Islam not only introduced some fundamental changes in the political, economic and religious life of Persia, but it influenced awesomely Indian Sub-continent too.<sup>3</sup> However, Jadunath Sarkar says that; "with the coming of Islam India and Persia were again brought nearer, though at first in a rather brutal way."<sup>4</sup>

### **The Establishment of an Ithna Ashari Safawid Dynasty in Persia**

Islam entered Indian Sub-continent from Afghanistan and Persia. In the history of culture Persia had been playing a dominant role, along with India, from time immemorial. Persian culture after 1500 A.D. developed into a strong Ithna Ashariyah culture.<sup>5</sup> At the end of fifteenth century A.D. most of the Ithna Asharis by descent was Arabs, and they were well-established mostly in holy cities of Najaf and Karbala, situated in Iraq, and were acknowledged and named with

Hazrat Ali (R.A.T.A.) and Hazrat Husain (R.A.T.A.) respectively. Most of the Persians were Sunnis, but the city of Qum was considered as a centre of Ithna Asharis in Persia. Likewise, an appropriate part of population was also Ithna Ashariyah in Seistan and Khurasan. Soon after the establishment of Safawid Empire in 1501 A.D. by the desperate efforts of Shah Ismail-I, Ithna Ashariyah Faith was declared as an official and so far a compulsory religion of Persia. Thereafter, this religious change led to the new sectarian confrontation between Ottoman and Safawid Empires with that of the Catholic-Protestant enmity in Europe. These empires adopted some harsh and cruel measures in their jurisdiction against the opponent sects, that ultimately consequence as a big blow towards the solidarity of Islam.<sup>6</sup> The imposition of Ithna Ashariyah-ism upon an overwhelmingly Sunni population was not liked by the Turks. An aggressive Ithna Ashariyah state which had shown hostility since its very inception was a threat to the Ottomans by its very nature.<sup>7</sup>

Shah Ismail-I made Ithna Ashariyah doctrine as the official creed of Persia, and also carried his energy so far in this endeavor that “he ordered the tombs of persons of suspected orthodoxy or of known Sunni proclivities to be destroyed.”<sup>8</sup> Shah Ismail-I almost remained successful by hook or crook in making Ithna Ashariyah-ism as a factual faith of Persia, over the whole of which he gradually extended his sway. As a matter of fact this religious unification was proved an important factor in bringing about national unity in Persia.<sup>9</sup> Gradually he brought the rest of Persia under his control. His first action on accession was the proclamation that henceforth Ithna Ashariyah-ism would be the official religion of the new Safawid Empire. Ithna Ashariyah-ism was then forced on the population with tremendous coercion, the penalty for nonconformity being death. The imposition of Ithna Ashariyah-ism on a country which, officially at least, was still predominantly Sunni, obviously could not be achieved without incurring opposition, or without a measure of persecution of those who refused to confirm. Disobedience was punishable by death, and the threat of force was there from the beginning. As far as the ordinary people were concerned, the existence of this threat seems to have been sufficient. The *Ulema* (theologians) were more

stubborn; some were put to death, many more fled to areas where Sunni-ism still prevailed.<sup>10</sup>

The Ottoman and Uzbek attitude towards the Mughals was largely governed by their desire to encircle Persia by a ring of friendly powers and squeeze her out of existence. Ottoman Turks were also committed to the policy of the containment of Ithna Ashariyah-ism within the borders of Persia. In the fulfillment of both these objectives they needed Mughal support.<sup>11</sup> The difference of ideological element that has been an essential feature of the struggle between Ithna Asharis of Persia and their Sunni neighbors<sup>12</sup> was much more involved to supercede each other. The new Safawid dynasty had achieved power as champions of Ithna Ashariyah-ism and for political as well as religious reasons had to adopt a policy which involved them in conflict with the Sunni kingdoms of Turkey and Central Asia, and which ushered a new era of Ithna Ashari-Sunni bitterness. Collectively, the Safawids showed eagerness to establish an Ithna Ashariyah state and to promulgate Ithna Ashari doctrines and hemmed in by the neighboring Sunni states, were potentially hostile to the rest of the Sunni world.<sup>13</sup> Emperor Jahangir also observes in his *Tuzuk* that, "in Persia, there was room for Shi'ahs (Ithna Asharis) only, and in Turkey, India and Turan (Central Asia), there is room for Sunnis only."<sup>14</sup> However, commenting in contrast to this sectarian disparity, Clement Huart says; "Persia to-day is overwhelmingly Muhammadan (Muslim)."<sup>15</sup>

It is difficult to estimate the effect upon the masses of the people of the royal acceptance of Ithna Ashariyah doctrines. Shah Ismail cruelly persecuted Sunnis in Shiraz and Herat, and no doubt in other places too. His son and successor Shah Tahmasp was no less bigoted, the author of the *Lubbu't-tawarikh* was cast into prison and died there because he was a Sunni. Shah Ismail-II seems to have been inclined towards Sunni views, but this peculiarity was as unpopular as was his murderous behavior towards his relations. Conceivably in this regard, Badauni perhaps rightly says that; "(Shah) Ismail-II, became excessive Sunni in opposition to the opinions held by his father."<sup>16</sup> Therefore, Hasan-i-Rumlu the celebrated author of *Ahsanut-Tawarikh* after

observing upon this variability writes that: "It is perhaps worth nothing that Shi'ah-ism was not by any means a specialty of men of Persian race."<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, under the Safawids, Ithna Ashariyah-ism became the dominant sect of Islam in Persia. Those who would not accept Ithna Ashariyah-ism were persecuted, and during the following sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. many poets, writers, painters and calligraphers immigrated to Mughal India.<sup>18</sup>

### ***Safawid Order and its Propaganda***

The Safawid period is one of the outstanding epochs in the intellectual and spiritual history of Islamic Persia which also led its impact over Indian Sub-continent. Although it's artistic and political life is much better known to the outside world than what it created in the domains of Sufism, philosophy and theology. Persia did not become Ithna Ashariyah through a sudden process; ever since the thirteenth century A.D. Ithna Ashariyah-ism was spreading in Persia through certain of the *Sufi* orders which were outwardly Sunni. But they were particularly devoted to Hazrat Ali (R.A.T.A.) and some even accepted *wilaya* (or *valayat*, in its Persian pronunciation), that is, the power of spiritual direction and initiation which Ithna Ashariyahs believes was bestowed upon Hazrat Ali (R.A.T.A.) by the Prophet of Islam. It was particularly this possible belief that made the transformation of Persia from a predominantly Sunni land to an Ithna Ashariyah state.<sup>19</sup> Despite recent research, the origin of the Safawid family is still obscure. According to the Cambridge History of Islam, "the Safawids, after the establishment of the Safawid state, deliberately falsified the evidence of their own origins."<sup>20</sup> Safi-ud-Din Abul Fath Ishaq Ardabili (1252-1334 A.D.) was considered as a founder of Safawid Order, as an Ithna Ashariyah, whereas the research of modern historians has revealed him to be a Sunni.<sup>21</sup>

Shaykh Safi-ud-Din founded the Safawiyya Order and set the Safawid House on the path to future greatness. The announcement by Shah Ismail-I at Tabriz in 1501 A.D. that the *Ithna Ashari*, or 'Twelver' form of Ithna Ashariyah-ism was the official religion of the newly established dynasty, really accelerated the

propaganda of the Ithna Ashariyah Faith.<sup>22</sup> Ithna Ashariyah-ism laid at the heart of one of the bases of the power of the Safawid leaders, firstly their claim to be the representatives on earth of the twelfth *Imam*, secondly, the position of *murshid-i-kamil*, or perfect spiritual director. Finally, by asserting that Hazrat Ali's (R.A.T.A.) second son Hazrat Husayn (R.A.T.A.), married the daughter of Yazdigird-III, the last of the Sassanid kings, Ithna Asharis had linked the family of Hazrat Ali (R.A.T.A.) with the ancient Persian monarchical tradition, and the divine right of the Persian kings, deriving from their possession of the 'kingly glory' was the third basis of the power of the Safawid Shahs. Ithna Ashariyah-ism was therefore, the most important element in Safawid religious propaganda and political ideology.<sup>23</sup> The power of the Safawid Shahs had three distinct basis: first, the theory of the divine right of the Persian kings, based on the possession by the king of the 'kingly glory' (*hvarnah; khvarenah; farr*). This ancient pre-Islamic theory was reinvested with all its former splendor and reappeared in the Islamic garb of the concept of the ruler as the "Shadow of God upon earth" (*zill Allah fi'l arzi*); second, the claim of the Safawid Shahs to be the representatives on earth of the Mahdi, the twelfth and last *Imam* of the Ithna Asharis, who went into occultation in 873-4 A.D. and whose return to earth will herald the Day of Judgment;<sup>24</sup> third, the position of the Safawid Shahs as the *murshid-i-kamil* or perfect spiritual director, of the Sufi Order known as the *Safawiyya*.<sup>25</sup>

Their fundamental object in claiming an Ithna Ashariyah origin was to differentiate primarily themselves from the Ottomans and to enable them to enlist the sympathies of all heterodox elements. To this end they systematically destroyed any evidence which indicated that Shaykh Safi-ud-Din Ishaq, the founder of the Safawia Order was not a Ithna Ashari (as he was probably a Sunni of the *Shafi'i* sect), and they fabricated the evidence to prove that the Safawids were *Sayyids*, that is, direct descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.). They constructed a dubious genealogy tracing the descent of the Safawid family from the seventh of the twelve *Imams*, Musa-al-Kazim; a genealogy which is sedulously followed by the later Safawid sources, and introduced into the text of



a hagiological work on the life of Shaykh Safi-ud-Din, a number of anecdotes designed to validate the Safawid claim to be *Sayyids*.<sup>26</sup>

Whereas, the early Safawids and their followers were vigorous people, and they deserve the credit they have gained for raising Persia to a position of power and importance, but they were barbarously cruel and bigoted. No mercy tempered Shah Ismail's punishment of a rebel or a coward, or his treatment of the religious leader who failed to conform to Ithna Ashariyah doctrines, or disobeyed the royal order to curse the first three Khalifas.<sup>27</sup> The evidence of Shah Ismail-I's own poems is incontrovertible proof that he wished his followers to consider him a divine incarnation. To take just one example:

"I am Very God, Very God, Very God!

Come now, O blind man who has lost the path, behold the Truth!

I am that *Agens Absolutus* of whom they speak."<sup>28</sup>

### ***Safawids' Assistance to Babur and Humayun***

In the contemporary correspondence Safawids repeatedly referred to the help which Shah Ismail-I gave to Babur, and the protection which Shah Tahmasp extended to Humayun. Shah Ismail-I was "himself a fanatic, he was the leader of a fiercely fanatic people."<sup>29</sup> Shah Ismail thought of Babur as he was a Sunni and a Turk, and the people of Trans-oxiana might tolerate him as the Ithna Ashariyah ruler's deputy. Babur saw this as an opportunity of recapturing his ancestral lands from the Uzbeks, which he occupied for the third time in 1511 A.D. The price demanded by the Shah Ismail from Babur amounted to the reading of the *khutba*, issuing of coins in the name of the Shah, observing of Ithna Ashariyah court etiquette, and the encouragement of the Ithna Ashariyah creed. Riaz-ul-Islam says that after occupying Samarqand, Babur fulfilled this promise.<sup>30</sup> "He (Babur) made himself appear a Shi'ah, and often he observed Shi'ah practices in public."<sup>31</sup> In fact, Babur was a liberal person and was also intensely keen on ruling over Samarqand. He agreed to issue coins in the name of the twelve

Imams, and adopted Ithna Ashari dress himself, but wanted to exercise the right of issuing coins in his own name in Ferghana and Kabul.<sup>32</sup> The hope of establishing himself there was not realized, because the populace could not forget that Babur was, after all, a deputy of an Ithna Ashari ruler and not at all independent. This was perhaps the least glorious period in Babur's life. The Uzbeks again rose to power as the champions of orthodoxy and defeated the Persians and their stooge Babur so that Ismail had to withdraw and Babur once again retired to Kabul. Persian historians accuse Babur of duplicity and conspiring with the Uzbeks to bring about the defeat of Shah Ismail's general Najm Beg, but he was not the sole cause of the defeat. Indeed Babur stood to gain nothing from such a conspiracy and he was too circumspect to earn the hostility of Shah Ismail, because the Uzbeks could never support him. He had incurred great unpopularity as Shah Ismail's deputy in Trans-oxiana and he could not be so foolish as to earn Shah Ismail's wrath as well.<sup>33</sup>

When Babur was busy in establishing his rule in Samarqand, he came into contact with Ithna Ashari ulema and nobles and thus lost in his own person the hostility towards the Ithna Ashariyah doctrine which was a traditional characteristic of the people of Trans-oxiana. Even when he had to leave Samarqand, some of the nobles of Turkish origin but belonging to the Ithna Ashariyah Faith joined him in Kabul. Later on, Babur realized to feel intense hatred among the people of Trans-oxiana for the Ithna Ashariyah Persians, and it soon appeared before him as a failure to win success as an ally of Shah Ismail-I, a stout Ithna Ashari.<sup>34</sup> It hardly needs to be added that after his Trans-oxianian misadventure and his return to Kabul, Babur quietly returned to his Sunni Faith.<sup>35</sup>

A further assistance was given by Shah Tahmasp to Humayun for the recovering of Qandahar, Kabul and Badakhshan if "Humayun professed to favor the Shi'ah partialities of the Shah, and the Shah affected to believe that Humayun and his followers were sincere in their professions."<sup>36</sup> During exile period when Humayun was in Persian asylum at Qazwin, the capital city of Safawid Empire, there at once happen an immense difficulty that Tahmasp demanded from Humayun, precisely as his father Ismail had done from Babur,

the acceptance of the Ithna Ashariyah Creed. Shah Tahmasp's pressure was put upon Humayun to get convert to Ithna Ashariyah-ism, through a special messenger of the Shah to accept the Ithna Ashariyah Faith under a threat as Qazi Jahan the *wakil* (prime minister) of the Shah said to him; "You are not alone. On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death."<sup>37</sup> I.H Qureshi also says; "Humayun resisted so far as he, in his circumstances, could, and yielded when the Shah threatened to burn the entire fugitive party alive, if Humayun demurred any longer."<sup>38</sup> At last, after analyzing the situation Humayun gave in and thus immediately "the Shi'ah divines wrote out the articles of their faith, all of which Humayun read and assented to, and agreed that the *khutba*, or prayer for the Sovereign, should be recited in the Shi'ah form."<sup>39</sup>

The conquest of Qandahar, Kabul and Badakhshan was achieved by him with the backing of Persia. Though Humayun sacrificed his personal religion in Persia, he did not sacrifice his political independence. The Shah off course granted titles to Humayun's officers and helped him in men and money, but there is no evidence that Humayun on returning to India acknowledged the overlordship of the Shah.<sup>40</sup> According to the Cambridge History of Iran; "his (Tahmasp's) bigotry is discernible in his stubborn attempts to convert the Great Mughal Humayun to the Shi'ah faith when the latter sought asylum at his Court in 1541 (A.D.). A particularly repugnant act of treachery may be seen in his treatment of the Ottoman Prince Bayezid, who sought refuge in Persia in 1559 (A.D.) after rebelling against his father."<sup>41</sup> S.M Ikram has rather different opinion in this regard and writes in his famous book *Rod-e-Kausar* that "some historians write that Humayun became Shi'ah in Persia and he got help from the Shah by promising to propagate Shi'ah creed in his kingdom: It is probably wrong, but it may be guessed that he might have just only expressed his devotion towards Hazrat Ali"<sup>42</sup> (R.A.T.A.). Sectarian arguments held little weight with the Mughals. In this regard C.R Foltz says: "Babur and Humayun had both succumbed to Shi'ah apostasy under Safawid coercion, however briefly, and either recognized their debt to the Safawids or was awed by their superiority."<sup>43</sup>

## **Ithna Ashariyah-Sunni Contrasts in India**

The theoretically egalitarian approach of Sunni Islam in determining who was to rule an Islamic state was eventually subsumed by the ancient cult of hereditary monarchs which had been so popular in ancient Persia and Central Asia. The Safawids were vulnerable in Turan or the Uzbek lands in Central Asia, and the Mughals uneasy over the Ithna Ashari rulers of Golconda in the Deccan.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, both Mughals and Safawids were interested in Deccan states, though in different ways. The Qutb-Shahis were descended from the Qara-qoyunlu (the Black Sheep) who ruled Persia for a short period in fifteenth century A.D. The Qutub-Shahis, the Adil-Shahis and Nizam-Shahis had already accepted Ithna Ashariyah-ism and declared it as state religion under the inspiration of Safawid Persia. Exchange of embassies with Persia and the employment of Persians in high offices further strengthened the ties between the Deccan dynasties and the Safawid Persia. The diplomatic relations between Persia and the Deccan kingdoms and the recitation of the Shah's name in the *khutba* in Golconda were highly irritating to the Mughals.<sup>45</sup> In view of the specific religious circumstances of India, as Muslims were in minority and were conscious people, therefore, "a religion conscious community could not be free from sectarian feeling."<sup>46</sup> Mughals followed Sunni sect of Islam, however, they were also strongly influenced by the Persians.<sup>47</sup> There was indeed a spiky contest between the Ithna Ashariyah and Sunni forces for the prime position of honor in the circle of contemporary brotherhood of Islamic people. The Ithna Asharis made the best of necessity and gave them now to an ambition for religious leadership. The representatives of the House of Ali (R.A.T.A.) became the indispensable heads of Islam, the *Imams* of the believers. From such early Shi'ah sects grew the later *Sevens* and *Twelvers*.<sup>48</sup> As far as Ithna Ashariyah-Sunni contrasts in India are concerned "there were religious and political differences between the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis, and the traditional rivalry of the Safawid and the Chaghatai (Mughal) dynasties."<sup>49</sup>

### ***Confrontation between Ithna Ashariyah and Sunni Nobility At the Mughal Court***

At this juncture, the situation of Indian Sub-continent has become more confused because of the Ithna Ashariyah-Sunni differences. The Mughal state drew inspiration from three different sources, Turki, Arabian, and Persian and all three ultimately blended into the India. Specially, Ithna Ashari nobles got immense power and freedom in their religious matters when Humayun returned back to India. With the arrival of Persian Ithna Ashari immigrants from Humayun's visit, the Mughal Court ceased to be a citadel of orthodoxy,<sup>50</sup> thus, a colossal controversy began between Ithna Ashariyah and Sunni nobility at the Mughal Court. The Persians were representing Ithna Asharis while the nobility of Central Asians (*Turani*) and Indian Muslims were representing Sunnis. Indeed, Ithna Ashariyah nobility got mammoth power as result with the influx of Ghiyas Beg and her daughter Nur Jahan Begum and his son Asaf Khan in the scenario of Mughal politics and administration during the epochs of Akbar and Jahangir. Later on, Mumtaz Mahall also played a vital role in this regard during Shah Jahan's reign.

According to I.H Qureshi, "the community also lost its sense of solidarity by the importation of the Shi'ahs from Iran, because sectarian and group jealousies began to undermine the unity of the Muslims."<sup>51</sup> The Mughals failed to see the advantages of having as homogenous a body of supporters as their Muslim neighbors, the Safawids of Persia and the Uzbeks of Central Asia, possessed. They failed to see that in the ultimate analysis their power could be safely entrenched only in the deep loyalty of the Muslim community. They could get as much support as they liked from heterogeneous elements while they prospered, but in times of stress, only the Muslim community would come to their help. It was, therefore, a mistake to weaken it by introducing into it elements of internal strife and providing a rival to its dominance by setting up Hindus as the equals of Muslims in the government. It was natural that a tradition should grow up of co-operation between the Ithna Ashariyahs and the Hindus against the

major section of the Muslim community. In this way Mughals made it more acute in their empire by following policies which sought to derive advantages from these differences.<sup>52</sup> It was, however, equally impossible to ignore the feelings of the non-Muslims and the Ithna Asharis. They held important offices and the emperors needed their co-operation. Jahangir and Shah Jahan reconciled orthodoxy, but in doing so, they did not offend others. It was understood that the dominant partners in the empire were the orthodox Muslims and also that the emperor belonged to the same group.<sup>53</sup>

Tara Chand says there were also “some among Shi’ahs who refused to believe in the open meaning of the Holy Quran and who interpreted it allegorically. To them prayer meant supplication to the *Imam*, charity (*Zakat*) donation to the *Imam*, and pilgrimage (*Hajj*) visit to the *Imam*. The Shi’ahs, whether of extreme or moderate parties, held one cardinal tenet, that of the *Imamate*; for Shi’ah-ism centers religious authority in an inspired person whose presence is the only true guarantee of right guidance.”<sup>54</sup> During Akbar’s regime for the first time came a group of Ithna Ashariyah learned men into his *Ibadat Khanah* which was so long an assembly exclusively of the Sunnis. The unsavory discussions and debates between the Ithna Asharis and Sunnis in the *Ibadat Khanah* were sickening to Akbar. “In the course of a long reign his (Akbar’s) attitude in matter of religion developed from that of a fairly orthodox Sunni Muslim, through Shi’ah and Sufi influences and a decade of questioning rationalism and skepticism, to an eclecticism which was embodied in the *Din-i-ilahi*.”<sup>55</sup>

Alamgir, both by temperament and necessity, had to rely on the support of the orthodox, and he failed to get the fullest co-operation of the non-Muslims and the Ithna Ashariyahs. The reasons were complex. The conflict between the Mughals and the Safawids regarding Qandahar had put the loyalty of the Ithna Asharis to some strain even under the previous two monarchs; the war against the Ithna Ashariyah Sultanates of the Deccans, howsoever necessary, was not popular with them.<sup>56</sup> The restoration of orthodoxy by the Aurangzeb Alamgir, to power could not be viewed with enthusiasm by the Ithna Asharis because of the

history of hostility between the two sects in many countries. To the Ithna Asharis, the issues were not defined so sharply; they did not see the struggle of orthodoxy as a battle for Islam. Sunnis should have been ready to make greater efforts to win the Ithna Asharis over to their side and to wean them from their alliances with the non-Muslims. This effort was made but only when Islam had become politically too weak. In fairness to the movement was directed as much against them as against the dominance of the non-Muslims in the councils of the empire. The movement aimed at the moral regeneration of the Muslims and at freeing them from un-Islamic influences also sought to fight Ithna Ashariyah-ism. "This made it impossible for the Shi'ahs to co-operate with the orthodox or to look upon their movement as an endeavor to save Islam."<sup>57</sup>

### **The Religious Role of Persians during the Mughal Regime**

Ibn-i-Khaldun says that most of the *hadith* scholars who preserved traditions for the Muslims also were Persians or Persian in language and upbringing, because the discipline was widely cultivated in the Iraq and the regions beyond. Furthermore, the same applies to speculative theologians and to most Holy *Quran* commentators. Only the Persians engaged in the task of preserving knowledge and writing systematic scholarly works. Thus, the truth of the following statement by the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) becomes apparent: "If scholarship hung suspended in the highest parts of heaven, the Persians would attain it."<sup>58</sup> In the course of centuries Islam became the dominant religion of the areas now constituting West Pakistan and the territories adjacent to it. This was achieved by the patient historical endeavors of the Muslim missionaries. In this region the Ithna Ashariyah School has been a late-comer with the rise of the Mughal Empire, which for various reasons encouraged the immigration of Ithna Ashari officials and others from Safawid Persia. Scattered in this population are a fair number of the descendants of such Muslims as migrated from time to time.<sup>59</sup>

Toleration in the true sense of the term had been the sheet-anchor of Muslim rule in India, and the Indian kings never interfered with the religion of their

subjects. An interesting aspect of Mughal monarchy was the appointment of Ithna Ashariyah Prime Ministers almost throughout their tenure.<sup>60</sup> The Mughal Emperors preferred to send *Sayyids* as ambassadors to Persia since their claims to be descendants of the *ahl al-bait*, or family of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.), were thought to be pleasing to the Ithna Ashariyah Safawids. "The Iranian influence on Indian religious life has been subtle and penetrating."<sup>61</sup> The Indian Sub-continent was opened to Persian influence with Islamic missionary activities in the early centuries of Islam, and later by the conquests of the Ghaznavid Mehmud in the eleventh century A.D. Abolghasem Dadvar, a current Irani historian says: "Besides, most of the Timurids in India though Sunnis were non-sectarian, also some of them had leanings towards Shi'ah doctrines and consequently they had no difficulties in being closely allied to Persia. This was in sharp contrast to the other Sunni powers of Central Asia. An obvious explanation of this could be found in the peculiar Mughal Indian religious and political culture. The Mughal Emperors were also tied to the Safawids by matrimonial bonds. Many Safawid princesses were married to Mughal princess."<sup>62</sup>

The phrase "Orthodox Muslims" means Sunnis and they far exceed in number the other sects. At present they predominate in all Muslim countries, except Persia. In India, the Sunni's *Hanafi* School was in a predominant position. Mansura Haider says that "the emigrants from Persia mostly included the Sunnis who feared the Persian Shahs and the retaliatory genocide in that country."<sup>63</sup> In contrast to that there were a large number of Persian immigrants during the Mughal regime, and they were by sect Ithna Asharis. It has been noticed that the steppe tradition of clan politics implied a more decentralized pattern of authority than was found in the Mughal imperial system. This led to problems between the Mughal rulers and their Central Asian, often Uzbek, military commanders, who also felt a certain amount of friction on religious grounds with the Persian Ithna Asharis who vied for power at court and were more used to accepting an unchallenged emperor in the Persian imperial tradition.<sup>64</sup> The Ithna Asharis stoutly deny that the succession can be open to election, and in consequence they reject (and often denounce) the first three Caliphs as usurpers. Their



particulars views on this question of the succession led to the formation of strange religious doctrines which further widened the breach between themselves and the orthodox. The feelings between Ithna Asharis and Sunnis during Muharram often ran high. It appears that, "where there was no Shi'ah-Sunni question, the Hindus were made the victims as the murderers of Imam Husain (R.A.T.A.). Moreover, there was a general tension between the various parties of Muharram enthusiasts."<sup>65</sup>

### **Persians' Role in Religion during 1526-1556 A.D.**

As being a founder of Mughal dynasty, Babur was a liberal monarch, and adopted almost lenient policy in religious matters throughout his diminutive regime in India. He had a very few Persian nobility in his administration while the majority of his nobility were consist over *Turani* or Central Asians, who were by sect stout Sunnis. Hence, neither Babur faced any sort of Ithna Ashariyah-Sunni controversy in India, nor there was any pondering role of Persians in the religious life of the relevant regime. As far as Emperor Humayun is concerned, he spent nearly twelve years in exile in Persia and was heavily exposed to Ithna Ashariyah-ism and the Safawid Court. In addition the five Islamic kingdoms of the Deccan had all been Ithna Ashariyah from before the time of Akbar and had maintained close diplomatic and cultural ties with Persia through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. Their conquest by the Mughals in the early seventeenth century A.D. increased the Persian, Ithna Ashariyah influence at their Court.<sup>66</sup> After his return from Persia, Humayun reverted to his Sunni Faith, as is evident from his coins. The Shah still pretended to accept him as an Ithna Ashari, for in a letter he emphasized their mutual identity of faith. In any case Humayun adhered to a liberal sectarian policy. Many Ithna Ashari Persians joined his service; some came at his invitation while others joined of their own accord, in some case even without the Shah's permission. According to Badauni, "Humayun's army at Kabul had a large proportion of Shi'ahs."<sup>67</sup>

When Humayun returned from Persia, the influence of Ithna Ashari officials accelerated in Mughal Empire and they got more religious independence.<sup>68</sup> Consequently, a large number of Persian scholars and theologian arrived India. In Southern India, some Ithna Ashariyah states established in Golconda and Bijapur, similarly, the rulers of the province of Oudh also came under the Ithna Ashariyah influence. Consequently, for the education of their children and for performing Ithna Ashari religious traditions, a number of *Imam-Bargahain* (Ithna Ashariyah Mosques) and schools established there. Moreover, in the educational institutions, the similar syllabus was adopted with that of Persia which resulted with the promulgation of the same specific religious thoughts, traditions and customs of Persian Ithna Asharis in Indian Ithna Ashariyah community.<sup>69</sup>

Humayun appears to have been, like his illustrious father, always free from strong sectarian prejudices. He and Bairam Khan, an Ithna Ashari Persian, were lifelong friends. The famous Persian historian, Khwandamir who was also an Ithna Ashariyah, remained in Humayun's service till his death in 1536 A.D. Firishta observes that Humayun, from his princely days, patronized Persians of Ithna Ashari persuasion, and that after his accession many Persians came and joined his service. Humayun had a weakness for innovations and new ideas, sometimes with a touch of fantasy, and this tendency seems to have found its way in religious matters also. All this shows him to be free from rigid orthodoxy. It is also said that some of Humayun's own commanders deserted him after his defeated by Sher Shah, on the specific ground of his favoring the Ithna Ashariyahs.<sup>70</sup> Bairam Khan as a trustworthy friend of Humayun, had refused to wear the Persian Ithna Ashariyah cap during the exile in Persia, because, he pointed out that he was the servant of another monarch. He was first a servant of the Mughal dynasty and then Ithna Ashari. While, at the other hand probably Humayun had become suspicious of his fidelity because "Bairam Khan was a Shi'ah and by birth a subject of Persia and consequently was in the Shah's favor."<sup>71</sup> Riaz-ul-Islam says; "Bairam Khan's distinguished Persian ancestry, his Shi'ah-ism, his remarkable gifts as a diplomat and a negotiator and his urbanity

and broad culture, enabled him to play a great role in Persia.”<sup>72</sup> It was only Bairam Khan who as a mediator remained extremely successful to remove the ill-humor of bigoted Shah Tahmasp to salvage the life of Humayun and his hundreds of retainers in Persia.

### **Persians’ Role in Religion during 1556-1605 A.D.**

Akbar’s reign appear to have favored the emergence of a community of Ithna Ashariyah Muslims in Mughal India in the sixteenth century A.D. When the Persian Shah Ismail-II adopted Sunni-ism in 1576 A.D. a large number of Persians came from Persia. During this temporary period of Sunni promulgation, most of the Ithna Ashari scholars and theologians had to face forced persecution; therefore, the arrival of Ithna Ashariyah immigrants in India accelerated.<sup>73</sup> The Ithna Asharis had an advantage in Hindustan, because the Muslims were fewer and the Ithna Ashariyah-Sunni bitterness less keen in their new home. The regency of Persian Ithna Ashari Bairam Khan in a Sunni Sultanate indicates a high water-mark of the Ithna Ashariyah influence at the Mughal Court. But this influence was not at the beginning aggressive and intolerable to the Sunnis, because in a Sunni country, the Ithna Ashari could accommodate himself by outward conformity with the Sunni practice without incurring any sin if his mental reservation for Ithna Ashariyah-ism was genuine if not open. Under the Mughal Empire, the Ithna Asharis could be trusted in any position except in fighting against Persia.<sup>74</sup>

When the situation improved for the Mughals after their victory in the War of Panipat-II in 1556 A.D. the real power was indeed exercised by Akbar’s guardian, Bairam Khan, who was suspected of entertaining Ithna Ashari beliefs. The first few years of Akbar’s kingship under the custody of Bairam Khan were also influenced by his Ithna Ashari teacher Shaikh Abdul Latif. Soon Bairam Khan appointed Shaikh Gadai, who was also accused of Ithna Ashariyah leanings as the *sadr-us-sudur*, the highest religious dignitary in the state. However, the forms of orthodoxy were maintained and neither Bairam Khan nor

Shaikh Gadai openly professed the Ithna Ashari doctrine. Later on, the Ithna Ashariyah tendencies were effaced by the influence of his staunch Sunni, *Sadr-us-Sudur* Abdun Nabi.<sup>75</sup> As Akbar grew up under the guardianship of Bairam Khan and Mir Abdul Latif, the Ithna Ashari nobles, such antecedents made Akbar open to views that came from sources outside the orthodox Sunni tradition to which his family subscribed.<sup>76</sup>

Moreover, during the Akbar's regime, some important socio-religious Persian traditions like the festival of *Nouroz* and act of prostration to the king penetrated into the Mughal Court. The celebration of *Nouroz* by the Persians is not Islamic holiday but was rather an ancient Persian cultural festival. It was celebrated as New Year's Day on the spring equinox, the 21<sup>st</sup> of March. The conservatism of the Persians can readily be seen in the repetitive character of their history. The conservatism of the Persians in preserving ancient beliefs and customs can be seen in many facets of their culture.<sup>77</sup> The fair of *Nouroz* which also called *Noroz-i-Jalali*, was celebrated with great éclat on the coronation day as a mark of connection with the social life of Persia as Akbar felt that the feeling of Persian residents in the Court had been wounded after the recital of the *Khutbah* and the issue of the *Mahdar* (1580-81 A.D.). "Akbar with his pronounced Persian attitude towards kingship, even demanded from his courtiers the act of prostration (*Sijda*) performed at the courts of the ancient kings of Iran, a practice resented as blasphemous by the proud Afghans and the Turks from Central Asia, and which Shah Jahan abolished."<sup>78</sup>

### ***Akbar's Divine Light Ideology***

This monarchical ideology defined the relationship between the Mughal Emperor and his elite. The exclusiveness of the *padshah's* position, as guarantor of justice and stability, symbol of religious authority, and beneficiary of God's will, predictably centralized his role in state maintenance. And while the Emperor was regarded as the symbol of unity and potency, the nobility were seen as a potential source of disintegration and anarchy.<sup>79</sup> "The synonymous nature of light

and kingship in the Perso-Islamic world was, of course, one of the many cultural features assimilated from the Persian Sassanide tradition.”<sup>80</sup> Mughal dynastic rule came at a point in Perso-Islamic history when using sun-emperor or light-kingship metaphors were enjoying their highest popularity among poets, *munshis*, and political theorists. Jahangir’s personal recognition of this ideology is seen in a poem he recites in his memoirs;

“O God, Thy essence has *shone* from eternity  
The souls of all the saints receive light from Thine  
O king, may the world ever be at they beck  
May thy Shahjahan ever rejoice in thy *shade*  
O Shadow of God, may the world be filled with thy light  
May the Light of God ever be thy *canopy*.”<sup>81</sup>

The prominent role of light-related terminology (shone, shade, canopy), combined with the reference here to the shadow of God, suggests that the principles of Abul Fazl’s *Ain-i-Akbari* were very much in vogue in the early seventeenth century A.D. This theory also concerns with the monarchical powers of sovereignty. In the preface to *Ain-i-Akbari*, royalty is described as “a light emanating from God and a ray from the Sun, the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light *farr-i-izidi* (the divine light) (the sublime halo) and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyan khura*. It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one.”<sup>82</sup> Abul Fazl asserted the divine right of Akbar’s rule by tracing a series of lineages, starting with Adam (A.S.) through the Biblical prophets, to the first Turko-Mughal figure, Mughal Khan. This transmission of divine illumination continues with Babur, whom Abul Fazl describes as “the carrier of the world-illuminating light (*hamil-i nur-i jahan afruz*), to Akbar.”<sup>83</sup> Having established the invulnerability of his claims, the ‘divine light’ argument was protracted to ratify Akbar’s monarchical infallibility. Abul Fazl supersedes the religio-legal constraints on Muslim leadership by asserting that “(Akbar) is a king whom on account of his wisdom, we call *zu-funun* (possessor

of sciences), and our guide on the path of religion. Although kings are the shadow of God on earth, (Akbar) is the emanation of God's light. How then can we call him a shadow?"<sup>84</sup> Abul Fazl's theory of divine largesse imbued the Emperor with the necessary qualities and virtues to govern successfully: trust in God and prayer, devotion, and most important, a paternal love for his subjects. This emphasis on hereditary transmission of divine power is, of course, directly borrowed from Ithna Ashariyah and *Sufi* theologies, whereby the community is led by a series of family-related temporal and spiritual masters guided by the *ruh-i-quds* (Holy Spirit). Whether Abul Fazl's ideology was influenced by the prevalent *Sufi Tariqahs* of northern India, or the large Ithna Ashari number of Persian immigrants in the Court, is difficult to say. More than likely, it was a combination of the two traditions. Akbar, seeking elements of unity in Indian cultural life, looked to religious syncretism as a means of stabilizing his heterogeneous Empire.<sup>85</sup>

This paradox became still more manifest in Akbar's attempt to win recognition, through the famous *mazhar* of 1579 A.D. as *Padshah-i-Islam* and *Sultan-i-Adil* having with the authority to arbitrate between different schools of Sunni jurisprudence. It virtually amounted to the theologians assigning to him the role of the head of Orthodox Sunni Muslims in India at a time when the nobility created by him was already a group in which Persians (majority of them Ithna Asharis) and Rajputs and other Hindus put together represented 33.1 percent (Persians 17.27 percent and Rajputs plus other Hindus, 15.83 percent) of the total strength.<sup>86</sup> In fact, this move of *mazhar* is marked as an attempt to attribute to him the status of a true guide (*mahdi*). The Ithna Asharis was actually bound to perceive it as a move towards further restricting the space for the practice of their faith in the Mughal Empire. It is significant that subsequent to the *mazhar*, the *fatwa* of *kufr* against Akbar was issued by a Ithna Ashariyah divine, Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, who according to Badauni, was earlier allowed by Akbar to make statements in his presence that were hurtful for the Sunnis. The text of Yazdi's *fatwa* is nowhere reproduced. But the circumstances suggest that its main point of reference was the *mazhar* signed exclusively by six leading Sunni

divines of the realm, though five of them did so reluctantly. One cannot but connect Mulla Muhammad Yazdi's response to the *mazhar* with the fact that in the rebellion of nobles during 1580-81 A.D. unlike the revolts of 1564-67 A.D. an appreciable number of Persians were also involved. In short, the *mazhar* not only failed to open up the sensitive issue of *ijtihad* that had the potential of alienating from him a very large section of the Persian nobles as well.<sup>87</sup>

It is, therefore, understandable that soon after its issuance; the *mazhar* was consigned to cold storage to the extent that in 1594 A.D. Abul Fazl found it embarrassing to reproduce the text of this document drafted by his own father Shaikh Mubarak. Akbar's turning away from the *mazhar* of 1579 A.D. and his recourse to a policy of total tolerance under the principle of *Sulh-i-Kul* (Absolute Peace), appears to have paved the way for a fresh influx of Persian notables into the Mughal Empire.<sup>88</sup> The Persian Ithna Ashari notables who came to the Mughal Court during this time included distinguished men of letters like Nurullah Shustri, Shah Fath-ul-lah Shirazi, Hakim Lutf-ul-lah, Mulla Huzuni, Mulla Mirza Jan, Muzaffar Husain Sabzwari and Jamal-ud-Din Anju. Some others who had arrived in India before 1580 A.D. but became famous at Akbar's Court now included Hakim Abdul Fath, his brothers Hakim Hamam and Hakim Nur al-Din, and also Syed Muhammad Jamal al-Din Urfi Shirazi and Sharif Amuli. Among them, perhaps, the most distinguished was Urfi who, in his short stay at the Court, earned enduring literary fame. This accretion in the strength of the Persians occupying high positions in the nobility and Akbar's close personal association with many of them appears to have created a general impression that they were gaining an upper hand in the administration after sidelining the Turani and Rajput nobles. It was, perhaps, this situation that is characterized by Badauni as the time when Ithna Ashariyah Persians were in great favor. At another place in the same context, he speaks of Ithna Asharis having become *ghalib* (predominant) and Sunnis *maghlub* the (conquered people).<sup>89</sup> Akbar's claim to be the caliph, which was never given up, could be sustained only by the Sunni schools of jurisprudence; this did not suit Abul Fazl. No school of Islam could really serve his purpose; therefore, he put forward a theory which he thought would satisfy all.

According to Abul Fazl, “royalty is a light emanating from God (which) is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one; (and) no dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty,”<sup>90</sup> Abul Fazl, however, goes further and expects the king to be the spiritual guide of his people as well, because ‘the light emanating from God’ is the true mark of the ‘royalty’ and also ‘the ray of Divine wisdom, which banishes from his heart everything that is conflicting.’ Sitting ‘on the throne of distinction,’ he is ‘equally removed from joy or sorrow.’ Such an ideal monarch would naturally be the most suitable spiritual preceptor of the people. Abul Fazl also says that “Akbar was such an ideal monarch, and was born with a spiritual and temporal destiny; in plain language this means that Akbar’s spiritual destiny was not shared by all monarchs; this theory of kingship is not universally applicable, and was merely invented to extol Akbar and to justify his spiritual claims.”<sup>91</sup>

### **Persians’ Role in Religion during 1605-1627 A.D.**

Jahangir’s reign is rightly considered as the rule of Nur Jahan, his Queen Consort, and an overwhelmingly occupied epoch by the Ithna Ashariyah Persian nobility. While Nur Jahan almost certainly exercised some influence on the development of Jahangir’s religious policy, her own position at Court as the beloved of her husband and the wife of this particular king may themselves have been the result of religious ideals intimately persuasive to Jahangir and to the people he ruled.<sup>92</sup> In fact, Mughals had a pluralistic Court and a tolerant government policy would have ensured the greatest opportunities and the least hindrances for Nur Jahan’s Ithna Ashariyah family and colleagues. It was in her interest, then, to promote ecumenism at the highest levels in orders, so as to guarantee good fortune for Ithna Ashariyah nobles throughout the Empire. Findly says that, “Nur Jahan’s general tendency in politics and religion was pro-Shi’ah and anti-Sunni.”<sup>93</sup>

The Ithna Asharis had become a permanent fixture in the Muslim society of India. The Persian influence was fast spreading in Hindustan during the



ascendancy of Nur Jahan. "The Mujaddid regarded Shi'ah-ism as the worst form of heresy and condemned its followers bitterly. He devoted his full energy to checkmate the expansion of Shi'ah doctrines."<sup>94</sup> He induced Muslims to forget the quarrels among the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) which had accounted for schism in Islam. The Mujaddid wrote a pamphlet *Radd-i-Rawafiz* or refutation of Ithna Ashariyah-ism, which received a wide circulation both in India and abroad. He has also discussed these problems in his own *Maktubat* in great detail. The Mujaddid even participated in open discussions with Ithna Ashari divines and tried to prove the unsoundness of their doctrines. The Mujaddid preached dynamic hatred against non-Sunnis in general and against non-Muslims in particular. He had no sympathy for anyone outside the fold of Orthodox Islam and regarded toleration as a tacit compliment. As a pious Sunni the Shaikh Mujaddid Sarhindi believed in strict compliance with the Shari'at. To him the love of the world and the attainment of ultimate *nijat* (bliss) were two contradictory things. Hence in order to attain salvation worldly attachments were to be renounced.<sup>95</sup> The mission of the Mujaddid Sarhindi, which filled a large space in the religious and political history of the Muslim community of the seventeenth century A.D., was undoubtedly a success. He succeeded in undoing the work of Akbar, and winning over his successors to his own views of Orthodox Islam. Thus, M. Yasin says: "Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi was (supposed as) the father of the Religio-Political Reform Movement of Orthodox (Sunni) Islam in India. He should certainly get credit for effecting a change of outlook of the Muslim Nobility and upper classes in general."<sup>96</sup>

Persian-ridden Court of Jahangir entertained an enmity towards Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi for his anti-Ithna Ashariyah activities. The Ithna Ashari Prime Minister Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan, warned Jahangir against the rising tides of the orthodox movement which might result in the overthrow of the Empire. The *Wazier* advised that the visits of the soldiers to the disciples of the Shaikh should be stopped and that he should be imprisoned if not executed. The allegations against the Mujaddid failed when he visited the Court. Asaf Khan then pressed the Emperor to demand the *Sijdah* from the Shaikh as a proof of his

loyalty and the consequent refusal of the Mujaddid resulted with his imprisonment. It is true that Shaikh Ahmad bitterly condemned Ithna Ashariyah-ism and regarded Ithna Asharis worse than idolaters. It will not be presumed too much if some allowance is made for this fact. The Mujaddid passed his days in prison with complete forbearance for about one year, then he was set free and was given a robe of honor and Rs.1,000 for expenses.<sup>97</sup>

The Sirhindi incident could also be seen, finally as a result of the political maneuvers of the Ithna Ashariyah faction at court managed, for all intents and purposes, by Nur Jahan. "Although we have no substantive evidence that Nur Jahan was directly involved, many have suggested that both the timing and vehemence of the Sirhindi incident indicate the presence of the empress's heavy hand on Jahangir to respond to the anti-Shi'ah remarks of the Sheikh."<sup>98</sup> Sirhindi earlier in the pre-Sufi period of his life had written a document highly critical of Ithna Ashariyah doctrine and texts. He had called the Ithna Ashariyah heretics and infidels because of their baseless claim that Ali (R.A.T.A.) was the only true successor to the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) and their refusal to acknowledge the consensus of the community (which had included Ali R.A.T.A.) as the authentic heritage of Islam. Similarly, he continued to maintain his position that orthodox Mughal officials should not enter into relationships with any of the Ithna Ashari whom they might meet at the Court. Sirhindi's position, then certainly well known and publicized during Nur Jahan's time, as an anti-Ithna Ashariyah enough to infuriate the Persian faction at the Court.<sup>99</sup> Additionally, as consequence, "communal riots of Shi'ahs and Sunnis, and later on Hindu-Muslim riots became frequent with the tightening grip of reaction and intolerance preached by the Mujaddid."<sup>100</sup> The Mujaddid Sarhindi closed his eyes on the age of sixty-three in the year 1624 A.D. His last words to his sons and disciples were: "Hold *Shari'at* tight with your teeth."<sup>101</sup>

### ***Tradition of Nazr***

*Nazr* originally described a pre-Islamic promise or vow after making a sacrifice to a god. "The consecration placed the person making the vow in

connection with the divine powers; the *nadhr* was an *ahd*, whereby he pledged himself. A neglect of the *nadhr* or *nazr* was a sin against the deity.”<sup>102</sup> The procedure of *nazr*, as a symbolic gesture of devotion, is also mentioned in the Holy Quranic scriptures. This tradition prevailed in almost all the ancient civilizations including the neighbor ancient Persia. In presence of so many Persian religious and cultural traditions in India; in the Mughal setting, this gesture manifested itself in gold and silver rupees or other valuable items; the act of presenting a large gift was metaphoric of the donor acknowledging the king as the source of all his wealth and being. As Sir Thomas Roe had observed that the best route to preferment in the Mughal Court was through the giving of ‘daily bribes’ to the emperor; these ‘bribes’, in turn resulted in advancement in the administrative structure.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, Roe’s statement regarding the European travelers misunderstanding the procedure as bribery or a periodic collection of tribute that “for such is the custom and humor of the King, that he will seize and see all, lest any toy should escape his attention, is a misinformed judgment at the best. Later interpretations of Jahangir’s appetite for gifts also look to his memoirs for vindication, yet on many of these accessions they are specifically referred to as *nazr*.<sup>104</sup>

### ***Jahangir’s Divine Light Ideology***

During the 1610 A.D. James’s opening remarks in the British Parliament were decidedly provocative: “The State of the Monarchy is the Supremes thing upon earth: for Kings are not only God’s Lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God’s throne, but even by God himself they are called Gods (gods).”<sup>105</sup> The emperor’s embodiment of “Divine light” was also a popular motif during the reign of Jahangir and many sources point towards its continued use. These supernatural qualities of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, hinted at by Abul Fazl take on added significance when discussing Jahangir. Akbar’s supposed forest encounter with the *Sufi Shaikh* Salim Chishti in 1568 A.D. and Chishti’s foretelling of Jahangir’s birth was a favorite legend in the Mughal annals.<sup>106</sup> The

divine properties of Jahangir's office and his own familiarity with *Sufi* discourse contributed to a reinforcing of his own mystical qualities. In an *ariz-i-dasht* (petition), the court *munshi* Khanazad Khan addressed the emperor as "*rushan-i-zamir murshid-i-kamil salamat qiblah-i-din va dunya salamat va pir-i-dastgir qablah muradat salamat* (health to the enlightened [royal] mind, the perfect spiritual advisor, the *qiblah* of sacredness and profanity, the *pir* saint [who] provides wishes)"<sup>107</sup> An interesting series of inscriptions found in a ruined palace's vault in the old imperial centre of Ajmir bears the following ode;

"The king of seven climes, of lofty fortune, whose praise cannot be contained in speech,  
The luster of the house of king Akbar, emperor of the age, king Jahangir,  
When he visited this fountain through his bounty, water began to flow and dust turned to elixir,

The Emperor gave it the name *Chashma-i-Nur* from which the water of Immortality acquires its relish."<sup>108</sup>

According to his *Tuzuk* a splendid fountain on the above mentioned palace was constructed by him in 1615 A.D. The spectacular outcome of Jahangir's visit, where water spontaneously erupted from the fountain and dust was transformed into elixir, is reminiscent of the miraculous power wielded by *Pirs* and *Imams*. Miracles or *Karamat*, were not unfamiliar to the Mughal Emperors; Abul Fazl recounts how Akbar "takes the water with his blessed hands, places it in the rays of the world-illuminating sun; many sick people had been restored to health by this divine means."<sup>109</sup> As Mitchel referred to a Persian poet of the court, who jokingly remarked:

"*Padshah imsal da-wai nabwat kardih ast*  
*Gar khuda khvahad digar Sali khuda khvahad shudan*

(This year the king has declared himself as Prophet / In the following year, if God so wills, he will become god)."<sup>110</sup>

## **Persians' Role in Religion during 1628-1707 A.D.**

In religion, Shah Jahan was a more orthodox Muslim than Jahangir or Akbar but a less orthodox one than Aurangzeb. He proved relatively a tolerant ruler toward his Hindu subjects and remained almost broadminded towards his religious policies, but he strictly prohibited the non-Islamic tradition of prostration to the Emperor which was promulgated by his grand father Akbar. Ithna Ashariyah fraction also remained powerful during his regime as his Queen-Consort Mumtaz Mahal was an Ithna Ashari Persian and whose father Asaf Khan was Prime Minister. In presence of these important personalities at the Mughal Court, a large number of Persian nobility was also serving at the important government portfolios. In this way, Ithna Ashariyah-ism was similarly stayed as significant as the previous eon of his father Jahangir. Shah Jahan's son Aurangzeb is considered as champion of Sunni orthodoxy by his constitutional law. Aurangzeb was the executive head of the dominant creed and the *Khalifa* of the age and so he had to enforce the orthodox creed. Personally Aurangzeb wanted to set an example to his subjects by living up to the ideals of a true Muslim as desired by the Sunni *Ulemah*.<sup>111</sup> Political considerations and previous traditions led him to employ Ithna Asharis, both of Persia and Central Asia but the lot of Ithna Asharis was not very happy and anti-Ithna Ashariyah feeling became very strong. The result was that the Ithna Asharis began to practice hypocrisy to save them. Though Aurangzeb disbelieved them, yet he employed them for their skill in book-keeping and accountancy. Sunnis also hated them and inter-marriages did not heal this Ithna Ashariyah-Sunni conflict.<sup>112</sup>

It has been said that "in the War of Succession, Aurangzeb rallied the Sunnis against the Shi'ahs. But the Persians maintained their position partly because of the influx of Persians serving in the Deccan Kingdoms."<sup>113</sup> The fact is that Aurangzeb had much more support among the Persian nobility during the War of Succession as compare with his brothers. Thus, Aurangzeb's victory did not affect the position of the Persians in any way. Bernier says that the 'greater part' of his foreign nobility considered of Persians, and Tavernier says that the

Persians occupied 'the highest posts' in the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb is also said to have entertained great confidence in officers from Khawaf, a province of Persia, who became recipients of considerable favors during his reign. Nor was the position of the Persians affected by the Sunni orthodoxy of the Emperor. He once refused to make an appointment to the office of *bakhshi* which was suggested to him on the ground that the existing incumbent was an Ithna Ashari.<sup>114</sup>

Among the sons of Shah Jahan, Shah Shuja favored the Ithna Asharis most. Upon them he relied in the pre-ordained fight for the throne of Delhi against the Sunni champion, Aurangzeb. He invited a large number of Ithna Asharis from Persia and took them with him to Bengal. There in the capital city of Dacca he settled them in such a large number that Dacca during his viceroyalty became veritably an Ithna Ashariyah city. Aurangzeb's first viceroy of Bengal, Mir Jumla was an Ithna Ashari, moreover, Nawab Ali Wardi Khan and his family was also Ithna Asharis. The result was that there arose a second Lucknow in Bengal, namely, the city of Dacca, if judged by the number, influence and importance of Ithna Ashariyah-ism is still professed there openly by the descendants of ancient families. When no political objectives were to be gained, for example, the conciliation of Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb heartily hated the Ithna Asharis on the ground of their schism and styled them as heretics and *batil-mazhaban* (misbelievers). But he was not slow to recognize merit, as he expressly declared: "What connections have earthly affairs with religion, and what right has administrative works to meddle with bigotry? For you is your religion and for me is mine. Wise men disapprove of the removal of able officers from office."<sup>115</sup>

### **A Brief Role of Some Mystical or Sufi Orders During the Mughal Regime, who Arrived India via Persia**

During the regime of Salatin-e-Delhi Hazrat Moin-ud-Din Chishti (R.A.) came and settled at Rajistan, later on, his *Mureedain* (disciples) started *Silsila-i-Chishtiya* (Chishtiya Order). Almost during the same period Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zikariya (R.A.) came to Multan as devotee of Shihab-ud-Din Suhrwardi (R.A.)

and *Silsila-i-Suhrwardia* came into being. Similarly Syed Muhammad Ghous (R.A.), one of the descendants of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani (R.A.) came to Uchh and began another faction *Silsila-i-Qadriya*. At last through the arrival of Hazrat Baqi Billa (R.A.) established *Silsila-i-Naqshbandiya*. All these major mystic cults penetrated India via Persia and waved spiritually into whole of Sub-continent. The successors of these saints created its numerous other sub-religious groups namely *Nizami*, *Sabri*, *Hamdani*, *Warsi*, *Firdousi*, *Mujaddidi*, *Naushahi* and others.<sup>116</sup> Afterwards, these mystical groups established their *Madrasas* (schools) same as on the Persian and Christian pattern and guided people the right path of virtue, thus, remained successful to conversion of a large number of Hindus and other non-Muslims into Islam. Therefore, after their (mystical saints) death various *mazars* (mausoleums) were created upon their graves and a practice of *peeri-mureedi* started in Sub-continent which still exists today like undetached cultural traditions of past and present Iran.<sup>117</sup>

Every religion has devotees who are consumed by a love of Deity and strives for emotional, intellectual and spiritual communion to God. When Islam came into contact with the Christians, the Jews and the Persians who had long traditions of mystical experience, it could not resist the force of such ideas which did not come into conflict with its fundamental and yet offered further scope for such mystical trends which were inherent in it like the idea of Light, Knowledge and Love and Belief in one God.<sup>118</sup> Sufism indeed was a religion of intense devotion, love was its passion; poetry, song and dance its worship; and passing away in God its ideal.<sup>119</sup>

“The mysticism is universal and eternal; it appears in all cultures and in all periods of man’s history. It is an activity of the human mind obscure and ill-understood, arising out of dark regions carefully protected from the intrusion of intellect, a phenomenon of the subconscious self, a function of the subliminal consciousness.”<sup>120</sup> When the Mughals brought with them to India their Central Asian religious ties, they were merely adding their own connections to a network that had already long been in place by the preachment of mystic saints of Persia and Central Asia. During Mughal regime, Turkish Yasawiyya Sufism spread

reached its highest point. For instance, from the account of Seydi Ali Reis an Ottoman ambassador and traveler to India that "Yasawi Sufis were present everywhere in the Islamic world, Sindh, Punjab, Afghanistan, Trans-oxiana, Khurasan and Azerbaijan."<sup>121</sup> The following are the famous mystical orders of Persian origin which played a significant role in the preachment of Islam in Indian Sub-continent. Almost all these mystical factions were established during the reigns of Salatin-i-Dehli, but, most of them also kept continued their task in the Mughal regime.

### ***Silsila-i-Chishtiya***

This *Silsila* was introduced by the saint Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti (R.A.). It has been the most eminent mystic cult of Sub-continent than any other *Silsila-i-Sufia*. They really strengthened the social values of the time concerned through their soft spoken language and leniency with great zeal. Moreover, they played a vital role in the propagation of Islamic teachings as well as spiritual trainings. *Chishti* saints also used *sama* as their principle method of preachment for the spiritual satisfaction of the people.<sup>122</sup>

### ***Silsila-i-Suhrwardiya***

The founder of this *Silsila* was Shaikh Abul Najeeb Suhrwardi (R.A.), but his nephew Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrwardi (R.A.) really built up this cult, and later on was reinforced by Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakarya Multani (R.A.) in Indian Sub-continent. Gradually this *Silsila* reached up to Bengal by the efforts of Jalal-ud-Din Tabrizi (R.A.). The main features of this cult were emphasis over *touba* and *astaghfar* (penitence), spiritual and physical purification, *karamat*, and as well as the relations of their saints with nobility and *Salatin*.<sup>123</sup>

### ***Sislila-i-Qadriya***

The pioneer of this Order was Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani (R.A.), who is famous with his knowledge, practice, wisdom and *taqwa* (abstinence). He wrote



*Fatuh-ul-Ghaib* and *Ghaniyat-ul-Talibain* like literary books. In Indian Sub-continent, this cult entered via his son Shaikh Isa but it was flourished by the endeavors of Makhdoom Shaikh Muhammad Hussain Gilani (R.A.) to whom Sikandar Lodhi was a loyal devotee. The saints of this faction were true believer of *wahdat-ul-wajood* (existentialism) and *ravadari-i-mazhab* (liberalism).<sup>124</sup> According to S.M Ikram this mystical fraction flourished well during the regime of Shah Jahan.<sup>125</sup>

### ***Sislila-i-Naqshbandiya***

Hazrat Khwaja Baqi Billa (R.A.) introduced and organized this sect in Sub-continent during the reign of Akbar. This *Silsila* actually showed a great protest against the teachings and impact of social evils occurred as result of Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi*. Therefore, Hazrat Mujaddid Sirhindi (R.A.) the successor of Hazrat Baqi Billa (R.A.) played a prime role for the revival of Muslim society with his Renaissance Movement. He used rational logics to propagate Islamic teachings and remained successful to convince majority of the Indian Muslims for a proper and right path of virtue.<sup>126</sup>

### **Shattariyah Method of Mysticism**

This Persianized mystic order flourished in India chiefly during the last era of Lodhi dynasty and the Mughal regime. The follower of this mystic movement was called themselves *Shattari* because they were far ahead in tough practicing the principles of mysticism rather than the other saints of several other mystic orders. The *Sufis* or saints of this mystic order were in favor of *Sama* and *Sarod*. The founder of this order in northern India was Shaykh Abdullah Shattari (R.A.), who came from Persia. According to Shattari traditions, he was fifth in follower's descent from Hazrat Shihab-ud-Din Suhrwardi and likewise seventh from Hazrat Bayazid Bistami (R.A.).<sup>127</sup> Shaykh Abdullah Shattari died in 1572 A.D. After his death Shaykh Muhammad Qazan Shattari became his successor. Shaykh

Qazan's main influenced area was Muzaffar Pur (southern Bihar). Afterwards, his numerous other successors organized this order who were namely, Abdur Rehman Shattari, Shaykh Abul Fateh Hidayatullah Sarmast Shattari, Shaykh Zahoor Haji Hameed, Shaykh Bahlol, Shaykh Muhammad Ghous Gawaliari Shattari, Shaykh Abdul Haque Muhaddis, and Shaykh Abdul Nabi Shattari (R.A.), who wrote near about 50 books and was died in 1611 A.D. S.M Ikram says that it is worth of noticing that Imam-ul-Hind Shah Waliullah (R.A.) and his Shaykh Abu Tahir Madni both learnt the practicing methods of Shattariyah Order.<sup>128</sup>

Indeed, the Mughals established a high standard of religious tolerance, but, there were occurred a lot of disputes among Ithna Ashariyah and Sunni nobles almost during the entire Mughal regime. Indeed, it is a fact that the activities of some Ithna Asharis like Qutub-ul-Mulk, Syed Abdullah, Amir-ul-Umarah Syed Husain Ali Khan and Safdar Jang was a big blow to the solidarity of the Mughal Empire, but, it should not be denied the positive role of Bairam Khan *Khan-i-Khanan*, Amir-ul-Umarah Sharif Khan, Mun'im Khan *Khan-i-Khanan*, Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, Shaikh Gadai *Shaikh-ul-Islam*, Ghiyas-ud-Din *Itimad-ud-Doullah*, Asaf Khan *Yamin-ud-Doullah*, Asad Khan *Jumlat-ul-Mulk*, Shaistan Khan and Mir Jumla, which gave strength and power to that dynasty which caused the zenith of Mughal rule in India.<sup>129</sup>

The relations between the Sunnis and the Ithna Asharis have not always been friendly at the popular level or, for that matter in politics. The Muslims of the Sub-continent have been more tolerant of these differences. When Persia and the Ottoman Empire were at loggerheads, the Mughal Empire maintained more cordial relations with the Safawids, and their political rivalry was not colored by sectarian ill-feelings. Persian men of talent who were mostly Ithna Asharis were always well-come. Aurangzeb Alamgir was personally a staunch Sunni and did not like the Ithna Ashariyah Faith, but he would not brook any injustice towards his Ithna Ashari officers.<sup>130</sup> In the war of independence in 1857 A.D. Sunni theologians and soldiers fought for the Ithna Ashariyah dynasty of Oudh. Thus, despite of the internal tensions, it has been the tradition for the Muslims of

various sects in the Sub-continent to unite against a common threat, and this has developed a sense of loyalty to the community among its various sects. One factor which could and did militate against the creation of a sense of common purpose in the community was the presence of sectarian strife among the Muslims. A religion conscious community could not be free from sectarian feeling.<sup>131</sup>

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# **CHAPTER-V**

## **Role of Persians In the Language and Literature Of Mughal India**

Indeed Persian has been remained as the usual language of private correspondence and a symbol of culture in India. Its position has been compared to that of French in Europe until recent times. Therefore, Persian has rightly been called by Olaf Caroe as 'the French of the East.'<sup>1</sup> Persian poetry as well as prose, both of which were liberally encouraged by Muslim Kings and others well-to-do lovers of learning acted, as it were, a conduit-pipe through which ideals of Islam and Islamic culture were diffused in India among non-Muslims. "It is a fact, historically true, that the Persian language had not gained so complete a hold on the Indian courts, nor on the people of India, before the advent of Mughal Empire by Babur, which is synchronous with the Safawid persecution, as it did afterwards."<sup>2</sup> Although, the Persians were more famous as *ahl-i-qalam* (men of the pen) rather than as *ahl-i-saif* (men of the sword), they had managed to reserve for themselves a special status in the ranks of the nobility and the military aristocracy. They were good politicians and dominated the Mughal Court and state as much as they did in the sphere of the fine-arts. It is not strange to discover that Persia supplied Mughal India, more talented immigrants than all other countries combined.<sup>3</sup> This chapter is an enterprise to illuminate the facts regarding the role of Persian immigrants in the language and literature of Mughal period during the specified chronological limits of the research title.

When Islam entered in Persia and the teachings of the Holy Quran began to spread common, then it was felt essential to learn Arabic language as being the language of Holy Quran. Therefore, instead of Pahlvi, Arabic language gradually overlapped in the literary circles of Persia. Persian thoughts even got mastery of expressing in Arabic that during the early three or four Islamic centuries, most of the books has been written in Arabic language especially *Tafasir-e-Quran*, *Hadith*, *Fiqah*, medicine, language and literature et cetera.<sup>4</sup> Within two centuries of the Arab occupation of Persia in the seventh century A.D. the Persian language became a rival of Arabic in beauty and richness of expression. Ibne Khaldun says that most of the *hadith* scholars who preserved traditions for the Muslims also were Persians or Persian in language and

upbringing. Furthermore, all the scholars who worked in the science of the principles of jurisprudence were Persians. The same applies to speculative theologians and to most Quran commentators. Only the Persians engaged in the task of preserving knowledge and writing systematic scholarly works. Thus, the truth of the following statement by the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) becomes apparent: 'If scholarship hung suspended in the highest parts of heaven, the Persians would attain it.'<sup>5</sup> Hence, the most visible Persian heritage shared among non-Persians is literary.<sup>6</sup>

Indo-Iranian languages comprises two main sub-branches, *Indo-Aryan* (Indic) and *Iranian*. Indo-Aryan languages have been spoken in what is now northern and central India and Pakistan since before 1000 B.C. "Iranian languages were spoken in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C. in present-day Iran and Afghanistan and also in the steppes to the north, from modern Hungary to east (Chinese) Turkistan. Among the modern Iranian languages are Persian (*Farsi*), Pashto (Afghan) and Kurdish."<sup>7</sup> There seems to be general agreement that the Indo-Iranian languages were one of the branches of the great Indo-European family of languages. Persian also had been as one of the primary languages in the formation of Central Asian civilization.<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit was the classical language of ancient India and later on, Persian remained purely as a cultural language of the Muslim period in India.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, "in the field of research on Indo-Muslim history, Muslim scholars, owing to their natural acquaintance with Persian are expected to have an advantage over other scholars in general."<sup>10</sup> The contribution made by the Sub-continent towards the promotion of the Persian language and its literature is something to be proud of. Beginning with Rabia Khuzdari of Pakistani Balochistan, the Sub-continent has produced a galaxy of poets, who enriched Persian poetry with the exquisite beauty of their verses. There are great names like those of Amir Khusrau of Delhi (one of the most versatile of geniuses); Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil of Azimababd; Nasir Ali of Sirhind; Ghani of Kashmir; Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib of Delhi; and in modern time, Shibli of Azamgarh, Girami of Hoshiapur, and one of the greatest Allama Muhammad Iqbal of Lahore.<sup>11</sup>

One must not forget to add that not only the Mughal Emperors and their Persian wives were patrons of Persian poetry, but they themselves composed poetry and recited them in profusion. From Babur, down the line there was a series among kings themselves and their wives and daughters, many who composed Persian poetry. Among these one can mention Babur's daughter Gulbadan Begum, Salima Sultana Begum the niece of Humayum, Nur Jahan the wife of Jahangir, and the Jahan Ara begum the daughter of Aurangzeb. Many of the Mughal princes composed poetry in Persian themselves. Their example of generous patronage of Persian poets was followed by their ministers and other members of the nobility. The Mughal Emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, assembled brilliant gatherings of Persian poets at their Courts.<sup>12</sup> The Mughal Court generously patronized the Persian scholars from Persia. The historian Badauni wrote that at the end of sixteenth century A.D. 170 Persian poets, and almost all of the great poets of Safawid Persia came to India at some point during their careers.<sup>13</sup> While, the majority of the sources in the seventeenth century A.D. near about 37 people came to India from Persia as scholars.<sup>14</sup> S.M Ikram says: "In Persian literature, Mughal India excelled contemporary Iran itself in its ornate prose and poetic fields."<sup>15</sup>

### ***The Causes of Migration of Persian 'Men of Pen' towards Mughal India***

The principal causes of the Persians' migration towards India during the Mughal regime which emerged more likely to be at the root were:

- (i) "The chief reason for this (migration) seems to have been that these kings (Safawid Shahs), by reason of their political aims and strong antagonism to the Ottoman empire, devoted the greater part of their energies to the propagation of the Shi'ah doctrine and the encouragement of divine learning in its principles and laws."<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, in pursuing the same political policy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. leading nobles and men of pen were frequently executed and deprived of their

posts. A good number among them proceeded to India in search of security.<sup>17</sup>

- (ii) The attention of the Safawids towards religious reforms, which being of a drastic and fanatical nature, led to a general persecution of the literati in Persia. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. one of the important factors of the migration from Persia was the unfavorable religious atmosphere in Safawid Persia. According to Irfan Habib; “the sectarian divide could not prevent the intellectual interchange between the scholars of India and Persia; and for this the generally tolerant policy of the Mughal Empire must receive its due share of credit.”<sup>18</sup> A large number of them, who in Persia refused to accept the Ithna Ashariyah Faith forced upon them, had to go into exile. Some went to Turkey, and the Central Asian Provinces, but many came to India,<sup>19</sup> to which they ever afterwards kept on emigrating, being attracted by its superior literary support.<sup>20</sup>
- (iii) Lack of proper patronage by the Safawid Persia towards the literati was another important cause of the fortune seekers for better economic prospects in Mughal India. These Persian poets and scholars of all shades of opinion attracted with the superior literary support and great patronage provided them by the Mughal Emperors in India.<sup>21</sup> A sojourn in India, whether permanent or temporary, appeared to offer better opportunities of economic gain to the Persian poets, as also to a considerable cross-section of the Persian elite.<sup>22</sup>
- (iv) There were some poets and scholars in Persia who for some reason incurred time to time the personal displeasure of Safawid monarchs and then escaped to India.<sup>23</sup>
- (v) Mansura Haider pointed out another interesting reason of this migration, he writes; “many Persians were tempted to visit India because the seed of wandering was sown in their heart.”<sup>24</sup>

Badauni states that Saifi Sayyids in Persia were all orthodox Sunnis and Shah Tahmasp deprived them of their estates in Persia, thus compelling most of



the Persian poets and scholars of merit like; Sharif Amuli, Tashbihi Kashi, Ebadullah Kashani, Ghani Yazdi, Ada-i-Yazdi, Dakhli Esfahani and Amini Darsani towards Mughal India for fear of religious persecution.<sup>25</sup> Ghurur-i-Kashi acquired the displeasure of Shah Abbas-I for having plagiarized a *qasida* of Anwari, therefore, came to India and attached himself to Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. Mir Ilahi Hamadani and Tasalli Lurestani also constrained to come to India under similar conditions. Mir Ilahi, who had gained access successively to the Courts of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, chose finally to attach himself to Zafar Khan whom he accompanied to Kashmir in 1631-32 A.D. he is the author of a *divan* and a *Tazkira* of poets, the *Khazina-i-Ganj-i-Ilahi*.<sup>26</sup> It is by this process and the force of such circumstances, further strengthened by the ties of political and social inter-relations uniting the two countries that the Court of the Mughal eventually became completely Persianized, and in fact everything, language, custom, fashion, food and dress, was adopted after the Persian style and taste. There is no clear statistics are available, but, "there is no doubt that more Persian poetry and prose was written in India under the Mughal Emperors than in Persia during the same period. It will be recalled that Persian was the literary and administrative language of Mughal India."<sup>27</sup> In Mughal India 'men of pen' were clerks, secretaries, accountants, revenue officials and superintendents. They often held low ranks in the *mansabdari* system, 20 to 200 *zat* and filled administrative positions in the towns and cities that served as revenue circle, district, and provincial headquarters. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D. 'Men of pen' were considered as 'mastered in Persian' who produced works of history, poetry and literature.<sup>28</sup>

At the Court of Shah Ismail-I, Turkish language was spoken but he later adopted Persian as official language of Persia. "The literature of the Safawid period is usually regarded as a literature of decline."<sup>29</sup> While the literary language Persian was spoken by the educated classes not only in Persia, but also in Afghanistan. From the creation of the Empire of the grand Mughals at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. down to the suppression of the commercial function of the British East India Company in 1833 A.D. it was the

learned written language of India.<sup>30</sup> Mughal regime is rightly considered as the 'golden age' of Persian literature in India. Mughal Empire developed a new court culture in which the wider use of Persian, not only as the universal language of imperial administration as part of the unprecedented systematization that the Mughals attempted, but also as the main vehicle of cultural and literary discourse among the ruling elites, was an important manifestation.<sup>31</sup> Mughals who had remained a sufficient time in Trans-oxiana and Persia, and have acquired all the civilization of these two countries, long before they attempted to perform quests in India. "The Persian language was the language they used; it was the Persian literature to which they were devoted; and they carried along with them the full benefit of the Persian arts and knowledge, when they established themselves in Hindustan."<sup>32</sup> Moreover, throughout during the Mughal era Persian remained as the Court language of the country.<sup>33</sup>

### **Persian Language and Literature during 1526-1556 A.D.**

The founding of the Mughal Empire by Babur in the early sixteenth century A.D. raised to unprecedented heights the level of patronage of Persian letters in the Sub-continent. A host of poets flocked to the Courts of Babur's successors. The generosity of the Mughal Emperors to Persian poets, and the vying of their literary-minded and art-loving dignitaries with one another in attracting and recruiting poets and artists, have become legendary. It is mostly with the advent of Mughal rule that the Persian language in India has acquired its own significance. Babur's father, Umer Shaikh Mirza was also a literary person and had poetic nature.<sup>34</sup> Babur's mother Qutluq Nigar Khanum was a scholar's daughter and is believed to have been well educated in Turki and Persian. Qutlug Nigar must have had every chance of adding to the knowledge derived from her early education, and like other ladies of high family was almost certainly a scholar of Turki and Persian, besides being well-versed in domestic accomplishments.<sup>35</sup> Umar Shaikh Mirza together with his wife had considerable influence in molding Babur's literary taste. His grandmother, Isan Daulat, too, was a cultured lady who seems to have exercised a more marked influence on

him than even his mother. Babur says about his grandmother: "There were few of her sex that excelled her in sense and sagacity."<sup>36</sup>

By the time Babur came to Hindustan, the day-to-day working of the Lodhi administration was carried on through the medium of Persian. This appears to have created an ever increasing demand for personnel possessing proficiency in Persian for manning minor positions in the administration. Sikandar Lodhi (1491-1518 A.D.) is reported to have tried to tackle this situation by promoting proficiency in Persian among non-Muslims. The coming of a large number of Persian literati to the Mughal Empire from Khurasan at an early stage may, therefore, be viewed as a factor enhancing the role of the Persian language in its formation. These Khurasani men of letters also appear to have brought with them novel notions of kingship and state organization. Some of these notions were sought to be adopted in the emerging Mughal polity in India, a process which, incidentally, also highlights the diminishing impact of the Mongol *tura* (customary law) on the system.<sup>37</sup>

With the advent of the Mughals in India, an era of great splendor and literary effulgence set in. The great Mughals were thus the proud inheritors of the culture and traditions of the Timurids. C.R Foltz says "In sixteenth and seventeenth century (A.D.) Muslim society, a man of letters was by definition a poet."<sup>38</sup> Thus, Babur was himself a patron of Persian poets, in the words of Lane Poole, "(Babur) was an accomplished poet in Persian, the language of culture, the Latin of Central Asia, and in his native Turki, he was master of a pure and unaffected style, alike in prose and verse,"<sup>39</sup> Poetry has been a most popular subject among Muslims from very early days. Their love of beauty found full scope and a most suitable expression in this art.<sup>40</sup> Persian poetry produced in India has always been looked upon by modern scholars with mild contempt. They consider it to be a counterfeit; a spurious imitation of the genuine products of Shiraz and Esfahan, and consequently it has never received the attention so lavishly bestowed upon the poetry of Persia. Yet, it is a fact that India has produced almost as large, a number of Persian poets as Persia herself, and that some of them have left as deep an impress upon Persian literature in general as

any poet of the sister-country.<sup>41</sup> Babur was the last Timurid ruler after Tamerlane who wrote his principal work *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* in his mother tongue that was Turkish but he was a great admirer of Persian as he often quotes Persian references in his *Tuzuk*. He was not only a versatile prose writer but also composed verses in Persian.<sup>42</sup> M.A Ghani commenting upon Babur writes: "He was a fluent Persian speaker and used Persian in India in his private talks."<sup>43</sup>

Babur was also a benefactor of Persian scholars; the great contemporary Persian historian like Khwandamir had joined his Court. Babur had many friends in Persia whom he did not forget in his outburst of generosity after his memorable victory at Delhi.<sup>44</sup> Many of the Persian poets, scholars and theologians present at the Mughal Court during the reigns of Babur and Humayun. These literary figures included Shaikh Zain Khwafi (Babur's *sadr* and author of the *Fatehnama* of the Battle of Kanwah in 1527 A.D.), Khwandamir (author of *Habib-us-Siyar* and *Qanun-i-Humayuni*) and Mir Abdul Hayee (*sadr* around 1556 A.D.). Baha-al-Din Nisari has noticed many other Persian literary men of Khurasan who eventually moved to the Mughal Court in search of patronage. Among them included the poet Qasim Kahi,<sup>45</sup> while, Maulana Nur-ud-Din Khurasani was first introduced to Babur and thereafter became a friend of Humayun as both of them shared a love for astronomy and the astrolabe. He is described as a man of great erudition, a poet with the pen-name of *Nuri*. He was known as Nuri Safidun as he had for some time held Safidun as his *jagir*. He was also a good mathematician. It is said that after Humayun's death, Nuri became the *Mutawali* of his tomb. Afterwards, Akbar gave him the title of 'Khan' and appointed him to Samana.<sup>46</sup> Babur had tried all his life to raise the status of Turki, and his son Humayun, in inverse ratio, neglected it from deference to the feelings of the Persians at his Court, as well as his own liking for Persian. Humayun was deeply versed in Persian literature.<sup>47</sup> He encouraged it at his Court and employed it on all public and private occasions. Humayun himself was a good poet of Persian and Turkish and composed *ghazaliat*, *rubaiyat* and *mathnawis* in Persian. He also compiled a *diwan* using 'Humayun' as his pen-name (pseudonym). His best poetry is to be found in *ghazal*. He got opportunity to understand the beauty of Persian literature and

started liking Persian literature more than before during his exile. Humayun's visit to Persia further stimulated Mughal interest in Persian literature and art. It is evident from the accounts of Jauhar and Bayazid that the poets and scholars who met Humayun in Persia were struck by his discriminate taste and attracted by his personal charm. As soon as Humayun had a throne at Kabul, he invited them to his Court.<sup>48</sup> This influx of Persian literary men into the Mughal Court evidently began after the fall of the Timurid principality of Khurasan in 1507 A.D. and continued down to the early years of Humayun's reign. The persecution of the Sunnis in Khurasan after its migration by many more educated Khurasanis to the Mughal Court where they were apparently employed in various cities.<sup>49</sup> The brief interlude provided by Sher Shah, the Afghan, who by the way, was known for his uncompromising justice, and was forced Humayun to flee for life, provided India with a poet of epoch making significance; this was Malik Muhammad Jayasi who combined in him a rare scholarship, both in Persian and Sanskrit. The exile of Humayun in Persia actually opened the way for the migration of talented Persians to the Mughal Court, and these Persians because of its larger resources, was able to facilitate with a great patronage from the Mughal Emperors.<sup>50</sup> Nobles and scholars migrated to the conquered territory, settled down there, temporarily or permanently, and laid the first foundations of the Indo-Persian culture that was to find its highest perfection in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. in the time of the great Mughals, and naturally these early settlers were the first to produce a large quantity of Persian poetry in India, than ever before.<sup>51</sup>

The Indian Mughals particularly at first Humayun made efforts to flourish Persian language and literature by introducing it as the Court language. Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini was appointed tutor of Prince Akbar at Kabul and later on he joined the imperial services under Akbar. His brother Mir Ala-ud-Daula wrote *Nafais-ul-Maasir*, which is regarded as a standard work of literary activities during Humayun's reign. Sheikh Nizam Zamiri Bilgrami, Maulana Nadiri and Maulana Qasim Kahi were high reputed scholars of Humayun's Court and Badauni paid them high tribute for their scholastic talent.<sup>52</sup> Maulana Zamiri Bilgrami's real

name was Shaikh Nizam. He entered Humayun's service on his second entry into Hindustan. He is said to be an excellent poet of Humayun's Court, and wrote several *Masnavis* and *Qasidas* of which some he dedicated to the Emperor.<sup>53</sup> Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khan *mir-munshi* was a Hussaini Saiyid from Mashhad. Apart from his natural poetical ability he was well versed in the seven different styles of penmanship and was well qualified to instruct the best calligraphists of the world. He was a clever writer, exact in style, and was a renowned calligrapher who improved *taliq*. He was perhaps the first of his age to write the *taliq* and the *nastaliq* characters and was well versed in *Ilm-e-Jafar* (witchcraft). Being in the service of Humayun, Muhammad Asghar got the posts of *mir-i-arz* and *mir-i-mal* and the title of *Munshi*. Later on, he received a title of 'Ashraf Khan' and died at Gaur in 1575 A.D.<sup>54</sup> Humayun's *dabir (munshi)* named Yousuf Bin Muhammad Haravi wrote some books i.e., *Riaz-ul-Insha*, *Jama-i-Al-Fawaid-i-Yousufi* (a book on medicine), *Bada-ul-Ansha*. An eminent scholar named Muhammad Bin Ashraf Al-Hussaini wrote an important book *Jawahir Nama Humayuni* on the topic of the structure and formation of jewels and metals.<sup>55</sup>

Humayun could not succeed to retain scholars and poets in his early reign, but after his return from Persia, he had some scholars and poet with him. Some of them worth of mentioning were; Maulana Abdul Baqi, Mir Abdul Hayee Bukhari, Khwaja Hijri Jami, Maulana Bazmi, Mulla Muhammad Saleh, Mulla Jan Muhammad, Maulana Janubi Badakhshi, Sheikh Gidai Dehlvi, Maulana Nadir Samarqandi, Shah Tahir Deccani, Khwaja Ayub, Sheikh Aman-ul-Lah Pani Patti, Maulana Jalali Hindi, Mir Waisi and Khwaja Hussain Mervi.<sup>56</sup> A large majority of scholars like Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini, Maulana Abul Qasim *Kahi*, Shaikh Abul Wajid Farighi Shirazi, and Shauqi Tabrizi, came actually in bulk from the Safawid Court itself. The last named Shauqi Tabrizi, who was an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by Sam Mirza, at the Safawid Court, had left the Prince's service only to enter Humayun's. Similarly Shaikh Abul Wajid Farighi who came from Shiraz, was a pauper, and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body. He took his role as one of Humayun's Court poets. He had a Sufistic turn of mind and lived a

simple and unostentatious life. Badauni testifies to his fame as poet and his tendency to Sufism. He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry was full of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly *ghazal*.<sup>57</sup> Humayun's Court was decorated by the talented duo, Mir Abdul Hayi of Persia, and his brother Mir Abdullah. The former held the rank of *Sadr* while the latter was a jurist and one of Humayun's intimate and specially honored confidants. Mir Abdul Hayi was an expert of writing *Baburi* script style, which was very difficult one. It is said that nobody had learnt to write in the complicated *Baburi* style more quickly or better than him.<sup>58</sup>

Jauhar Aftabchi writes that the Emperor Humayun loved Persian and whenever he wanted to be understood by few he talked in Turkish, otherwise he spoke in Persian.<sup>59</sup> Jauhar entered Humayun's personal service at a very young age, and attended him faithfully during his reverses and flight from Hindustan. Though not a very learned man, he is the author of a very important work *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, which is of special historical value as being a faithful and unbroken record of Humayun's private life during his exile. Jauhar Aftabchi, was actually ordered by Akbar to write down his memoirs and he commenced it in 1586 or 1587 A.D. writing merely from memory. He divided his *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat* into thirty four chapters and described in detail all those accounts when Jauhar was closely associated with Humayun. Gulbadan Begum, the daughter of Babur was also a memoirist; she wrote *Humayun Nama*.<sup>60</sup> Among the Persian historians who were attracted to the Court of the Mughals, one which is worth of mentioning was Ghiyas-ud-Din bin Humam-ud-Din known as Khwandamir. He was a Persian immigrant and his main contribution in India was the great historical work called *Habib-al-Siyar*. He was also author of numerous other important works like *Maasir-ul-Mulk*, *Dastur-ul-Wuzara*, *Makarim-ul-Akhlaq*, *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, *Khulasat-ul-Akhbar* and *Muntakhab-i-Tarikh-i-Wasaf* continued the Perso-Islamic style of writing history and got the title of "*Amir-i-Akhbar*" from Humayun.<sup>61</sup>

## Persian Language and Literature during 1556-1605 A.D.

Akbar was fond of acquiring knowledge. Abul Fazl records that “among the books of renown, there are few that are not read in His Majesty’s assembly hall; and there are no historical facts of the past ages or curiosities of service; or interesting points of philosophy with which His Majesty unacquainted.” Valuable Persian works like *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*, *Kimia-i-Saadat*, *Qabus Nama*, the works of Sharaf of Munayr, the *Gulistan*, the *Hadiqa* of Hakim Sanai, the *Masnavi* of Manawi, the *Jam-i-Jam*, the *Bustan*, the *Shah Nama*, the collected *Masnavis* of Shaikh Nizamul, the works of Khusrau and Maulana Jami, the *Diwans* of Khaqani, Anwari, and several works on history were continually read out to Akbar. After the conquest of India by the Mughals, further developments in Indo-Persian historiography took place. A number of valuable studies have been produced on medieval Indo-Persian historiography.<sup>62</sup> Akbar’s reign marks the most glorious epoch in the annals of the Mughals. Among the Indian historians, Abul Fazl, Badauni, Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed and Ferishta, were seemed to be more acceptable from the criterion of the Persian standard of the time. Of the well-known historical works written in this period are the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* of Mulla Ahmad Daud, the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badauni, the *Tabakhat-i-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the *Akbarnamah* of Faizi Sarhindi, and the *Ma’asir-i-Rahimi* of Abdul Baqi, compiled under the patronage of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. The most accomplished writer (in Persian) of the reign was Abul Fazl, a man of letters, a poet, an essayist, a critic, and a historian. By order of the Emperor many books in Sanskrit and other languages were translated into Persian. Different sections of *Mahabharata* were translated into the title of *Razm-Namah*.<sup>63</sup>

The rapidly dwindling influence of the Turki dialect at the Mughal Court is more clearly noticeable here than in the reign of Humayun. No Turki work is included in the inventory of books given by Abul Fazl, nor is any recorded instance found of his composing any verse in Turki, or even reciting one from the works of others. Also no conversation of Akbar in Turki language is reported in



any of the available histories of his reign. This was chiefly due to a more affluent language like Persian which was already come to the front in place of Turki. During Akbar's reign it was the fact that the knowledge of Persian had become quite common.<sup>64</sup> Mughal Emperor Humayun opened the gates of India for Persian scholars, while, Akbar gave full patronage to Persian scholars. At the Court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar alone there were fifty-one poets in exile from Persia. Of the poets of Akbar's reign, according to Abul Fazl, there were a legion; but the most important of them were Faizi, Abul Fazl's talented brother, who was also the poet-laureate at the Court. Faizi was considered even greater in certain respects than his brother. According to Balochmann; "after Amir Khusrau of Delhi, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizi."<sup>65</sup> The Mughal Empire has rightly been called a 'cultural state'. Its patronage of learning and education drew scholars from the neighboring Muslim countries. The patronage was not limited to religious education. Abul Fazl mentions the subjects that were taught in schools of Persian medium during Akbar's reign. They include ethics, arithmetic, accounting, agriculture, engineering, astronomy, domestic sciences, civics and politics, medicine, logic, higher mathematics, history, the physical and mechanical sciences and theology.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Indo-Persian and Persian Schools***

The natural result of this universal system of education was the quickening of literary activity. Persian, being the Court language, received greater encouragement, and an enormous mass of literature was produced in it. By this time two distinct schools of writers had come into existence, the '*Indo-Persian School*' and the purely '*Persian School*.' Indo-Persian School as being the first outstanding representative of the former School, who standardized the language and style, was Abul Fazl. The Indo-Persian style developed because it was excessively patronized at the Court.<sup>67</sup> Later on, Abul Fazl's works instinctively even appealed to Shah Jahan because its language was so ornate. And indeed there is an indefinable charm in this Indo-Persian style which excites admiration

in the heart of an Indian, but which is positively annoying to a foreigner who cannot appreciate what it stands for. The glories of the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jahan could not have been penned in a less grandiose language. The second was the purely Persian School which was favored by officers who were either of Persian origin or who traced their descent from Persian stock. In the early part of Akbar's reign Mulla Shukrullah, surnamed Afzal Khan patronized a large number of Persian scholars, among whom Aminai Qazvini and Jalaluddin Tabatabai are the most important. Their works stand in a striking contrast to those of their Indian compeers, and boldly bring out the difference between the two styles.<sup>68</sup> During this epoch many Persian philosophers and scholars migrated or traveled to India, such as Qazi Nur Allah Shushtari, Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani, Fatehullah Shirazi and Mir Murtaza Shirazi.<sup>69</sup> With the help of Persian scholars, Akbar introduced important changes in the syllabi followed in the educational institutions. Akbar took interest in the scientific educational disciplines such as geometry, astronomy, accountancy, public administration, arithmetic, medicine, history and even agriculture. Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani and Fatehullah Shirazi along with Abul Fazl and some other intellectuals became the pioneer of new educational policy during Akbar's regime. Hakim Haziq was the nephew of Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani. He was born and brought up in India, but was an excellent example of a harmonious combination of the Persian and Indian cultures. His poetic style was a mixture of old traditions with new ideas; and he recited his composition with depth and feeling. He was a profile writer but very popular.<sup>70</sup> Mulla Qazi Nurullah of Shustar, who was well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of heart, clearness of perception, and acumen. Badauni says; "he was distinguished for his justice, virtue, modesty, piety, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men. He wrote several good works and also a monograph on the un-dotted commentary of Shaikh Faizi which was beyond all praise. He also possessed poetic facility and wrote impressive poetry."<sup>71</sup> Shaikh Hasan Ali of Mausil was a faithful disciple of Shaikh Fathullah Shirazi. He joined the service of Akbar and was given the charge of Prince Salim's (Jahangir's) initial education until the young prince could repeat certain

lessons from Persian and other treatises on philosophy.<sup>72</sup> The Mughal period was pre-eminently an age of official histories or *namahs*. This new type of history was inspired by the Persian example and stimulated by the influence of Persian scholars and artists who had migrated from Persia for better chances of patronage by the Mughal Emperors and their nobility. Mullah Abdun Nabi, the author of *Maykhana*, who came to India in 1608 A.D., says that every *A'lim* (scholar) of Persia would come to India if he had the opportunity to do so, to take benefit from the generosity and patronage of the Indians. Abdun Nabi had heard the praise of India from merchants and other Persians who had been there. His first impression was that it was an extraordinary country where every thing was cheap and plentiful. Everyone had the freedom to live as he pleased without any interference or persecution.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, Abdul Razzaq Fayyaz Lahiji expresses his eagerness to settle in India in these words: "great is India, the Mecca for all in need, particularly for those who seek safety. A journey to India is incumbent upon any man who has acquired adequate knowledge and skill."<sup>74</sup> These scholars taught them new style of expressions and the practice of these writings were begun by Akbar and ended in the eleventh year (1669 A.D.) of Aurangzeb's reign.<sup>75</sup> Among the poets of the Indo-Persian School the first name to be mentioned is that of Maulana Abul Barkat, surnamed *Munir*. He was also an excellent prose writer and a boon companion of Muhammad Salih, the historian. He was in versatility second only to Faizi, and some of his compositions are delightful. Unluckily the type of poetry, which was popular in both Persia and India at this time, was the subtle and involved style, made popular by Fughani of Shiraz. It lacked the simplicity and spontaneity of early poets like Hafiz, Khayyarn and Amir Khusrau, and the poets wrote more from the head than from the heart. Later on, this school of poetry culminated in Bedil, the best known poet of Aurangzeb's reign.<sup>76</sup>

There was a continuous arrival of Persian poets throughout Akbar's reign. After all, this immigration caused a big blow to the land of Persia and the other hand it proved very fertile for the Sub-continent.<sup>77</sup> During his eon some of the

important poets were indeed Ghazali, Naziri, Urfi and Zahuri. Ghazali Mashhadi, who was a poet of very great merit and who also attained to the rank of poet-laureate. Urfi and Naziri have permanently migrated to Mughal India. Ghazali left his homeland Mashhad, during the reign of Shah Tahmasp. He was invited by the Khan-i-Zaman to Jaunpur; later on he joined the service of Akbar and received the title of *Malikush Shuara* (poet-laureate). Badauni states that the poet had compiled several *diwan* and a book of *masnavis*. It is said that he had written no fewer than 40,000 or 50,000 couplets. Nizam-ud-Din gives the number of his poems as 100,000.<sup>78</sup> Muhammad Husain Naziri of Nishapur wrote a large collection of *ghazals* (lyrics) of exceptional merit. Among the brilliant poets from Persia, of whom Urfi (1590 A.D.) was perhaps the most notable, adorned the Court of the great Mughals in India, and these were in many cases not settlers of the sons of emigrants, but men who came from Persia to India to make their fortunes and returned home when their fortunes were made. This obviously shows that it was not so much lack of talent as lack of patronage which makes the list of distinctively Safawi poets so meager.<sup>79</sup> Urfi, was a renowned poet of Akbar's time who flourished under Mughal patronage and greatly enriched the poetical literature of this period.<sup>80</sup> He was the best writer of the *Qasida* (odes) of his time. Maulana Jamal-ud-Din Muhammad poetically surnamed Urfi, was a native of Shiraz where his father held a high rank in government service. After acquiring a competency in Arabic grammar, logic and Persian prosody, he began his career as a poet in Shiraz. His chief adversaries with whom he held poetical contests were Muhtasham Kashi, Wahshi Yezdi, Arif Lahiji, Husain Kashi and others. On his arrival to India, he first met with Faizi at Fathpur, and then he sought the patronage of Hakim Abul Fath. After the death of Hakim Abul Fath, he attached himself to *Khan-i-Khanan*.<sup>81</sup> He distinguished himself as a man of sound understanding and composed poetry of all kinds well. He was attached to the service of Shaikh Faizi for a brief period and then joined the services of Hakim Abul Fath Gilani at whose recommendation he got entry into the Khan-i-Khanan's court where both his poetry and the esteem in which he was held made great progress. Urfi had to his credit a collection of poems and a *masnavi* written in the

meter of the *Makhzan-ul-Asrar*. His *masnavi* entitled *Majma-ul-Akbar* was often called *Majma-ul-Afkar*. Urfi and Husain Sanai had wonderful good fortune with their poetry, for there was no street or market in which the book-sellers did not stand at the road side selling copies of the *diwans* of these two poets and both Persians and Indians wished to buy them as auspicious possessions.<sup>82</sup> Urfi Shirazi was a young man of lofty disposition and right understanding and composed all kinds of poetry well, but on account of too much vanity and arrogance that he had acquired, he fell from the hearts of people. He died at the young age of 36, and was buried at Lahore but later on; his corpse was removed to Najaf and was re-buried there. Zuhuri was a prolific writer both in verse, as well as in prose. His *Gulzar-e-Ibrahim*, *Nauras*, *Nata-ij-ul Afkar* and famous *Seh Nathr* achieved for him a great name and fame.<sup>83</sup> Zuhuri was the pen-name of Mulla Nur-ud-Din, who was also styled as Mir Muhammad Tahir Zuhuri, while Abdul Baqi Nihawandi, author of *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, calls him Mulla Nur-ud-Din Muhammad. He belonged to Khujand, a small town in Khurasan. He first settled in Ahmadnagar, Deccan, where the poet-laureate of the court, Malik Qomi became a great admirer of Zuhuri, and gave him his daughter in marriage. When Faizi went on deputation to Ahmednagar, he strongly commended him to Akbar's notice, in a special letter which he wrote from Deccan.<sup>84</sup> M.A Ghani says: "It is said that Ghalib, a distinguished poet of the nineteenth century (A.D.), also acknowledges the immense benefit that he derived from Zuhuri's poetry. In his *masnavi Bad-i-Mukhalif*, Ghalib goes a little further in details and touches on Zuhuri's power of composition."<sup>85</sup>

From amongst the lesser-known talented men and poets the names of the following may be mentioned: Sarmadi of Isfahan who had some poetic genius, Mir Sharif Amani of Isfahan spent twenty years of his life in India living in religious retirement and wrote charming verses. Huzni of Isfahan was an inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind and was well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. Shu'uri of Turbat who was a student and practiced book keeping was good enough as a poet to be included in the list of Badauni. Humayun Quli of Gilan, also known as Hakim Humam was an another

learned man at Akbar's Court, and one of his two sons, Hakim Najati was proficient in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. Hakim Zanbil, another son of Hakim Humam, was a *muqarrib* (the closer ones) of Akbar, and was distinguished for his learning.<sup>86</sup>

Amani of Herat possessed both learning and accomplishments and was a man of education. He belonged to the intimate circle of Akbar and was one of the most entertaining men of his times. Talia of Yazd was a pen-man who wrote *nastaliq* well. Ulfati of Yazd was also well skilled in the exact sciences and received one thousand rupees from the Khan-i-Zaman for composing a couplet. Mir Waiz Wuqui of Herat who originally belonged to Badakhshan was famous for his preaching and held stirring meetings for preaching. Nuvidi of Nishapur was a man of considerable attainments and was highly regarded as a poet. He died in Ujjain in 1566 A.D. Liwai of Sabzwar, Musawwir of Mashhad, Mir Muhsin Rizvi of Mashhad, Shaikh Haji Muhammad of Khabushan, Naui and others were also known poets.<sup>87</sup> Nurullah Qasim Arsalan hailed from Tus or Mashhad and was brought up in Trans-oxiana. He was a poet, and was welcome to all great and small for his beauty and graceful wit, open and cheerful disposition, sociability and social amiability. He was unique in writing chronograms, and was a renowned calligraphist of the age and possessed some talent in writing *nastaliq* script well. He was also broadminded on the matters of religion. He died in 1587 A.D. at Lahore.<sup>88</sup>

Many talented poets and scholars came after Shah Tahmasp, in the reign of Shah Abbas the great. The one notable example is that of Masih Rukna-i-Kashi, who is reckoned among the best poets of Persia in his day, and was the chief poet of the Court of Shah Abbas. The Shah not only failed to extend the patronage he deserved, but on one occasion even thought the favor he was showing him was too much for a poet. Therefore, as consequence, he left the Shah's Court and came to India in the reign of Akbar, and remained successful to obtain an excellent patronage from the Emperor.<sup>89</sup> This is one of the main reasons why the literary activities at the Indian Courts in the field of Persian literature outweigh those of the Persians in Persia. This dullness of poetic market

in Persia lasted for nearly three centuries, and was a contrast with India which, through its better appreciation and patronage, attracted all the topmost poets with only a few exceptions like Muhtasham Kashi and Hakim Shifa'i of Safawid Persia.<sup>90</sup> Syed Muhammad Fikri, popularly known as Mir Rubai, as he was distinguished for his quatrains, came to India in 1561-62 A.D. and spent many years at the Court of Akbar. Although he was a cloth weaver of Herat, but in the description of poetry, he was like the Umar Khayyam of the age, and his verses were well-known. His excellence in the field of *rubais* earned for him the title of 'Khayyam of the age.'<sup>91</sup>

Akbar, during his father's life time had been put successively under the six or seven scholars of varied talents to look after his training, among them two tutors Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini and Mulla Isam-ud-Din Ibrahim were Persians.<sup>92</sup> Mir Yahya, a Saifi Syed of Qazwin, was a well-known theologian and philosopher who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammadan religion to his own time. His son Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini joined the imperial service and was gladdened with the generosity of Emperor Akbar. His son Mirza Ghiyas-ud-Din was a personal friend of Akbar, and got the title of Naqib Khan from him. Naqib's son Abdul Latif was also distinguished for his acquirements. Badauni, a school fellow of Naqib claims that, "No man in Arabia or Persia was as proficient in History as Naqib."<sup>93</sup>

Sharif Amuli, a leader of Nuqtawi sect, is also said to have migrated to India from Amul because of religious persecution in Persia. He received the office of *Sadr* of Kabul, Bihar and Bengal during Akbar's reign. He also was poet-Laureate and was granted a *mansab* with 5200 *sawar* during Jahangir's reign.<sup>94</sup> Mirza Qawam-ud-Din Jafar Baig left Persia for India in search of better economic prospects. He was son of Badi-uz-Zaman, who was the *wazir* of Kashan in the reign of Shah Tehmasp Safawi. Jafar Baig received the title of Asaf Khan by Akbar. He composed *Nur Nama*, which was actually dedicated to Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir.<sup>95</sup> The most important among poets-cum-administrators was Hayat-i-Gilani, who received a *jagir* and *mansab* by Akbar, and weighed in silver

by Jahangir. The others in this category were; Salih Tabrizi belonged to noble family of Tabriz. He came to India in search of employment. He joined the literary circle of Khan-i-Khanan. Prince Parviz recommended him to be granted a *mansab*; Lutfi Tabrizi came to the Court of Akbar, later Jahangir bestowed upon him the title of *Mauzun-ul-Mulk* and appointed him controller of the sea-port of Lahri Sindh; Mirza Muhammad Bazil was a poet, and he was appointed Governor of Gwalior and Bareilly.<sup>96</sup> During Akbar's reign still more prominent was Hakim Rukn-ud-Din, popularly known as Hakim Rukna-i-Kashi, who composed under the pen-name *Masih* which suggests with his profession as a physician. He was a competent poet and wrote over 100,000 of verses according to the estimate of Persian biographers. On one occasion he noticed clear inattention and disregard on the part of Shah Abbas, and consequently left his Court for Mughal India. He arrived at the Mughal Court with his famous contemporary Hakim Sadra of Shiraz who subsequently had his title of *Masih-uz-Zaman*, conferred upon him by Jahangir in the last days of Akbar. About the same time another poet Shakibi Isfahani left his native town for Agra to enter the service of the Khan-i-Khanan.<sup>97</sup> Huzuri of Qum was also a known poet. The number of his poems are said to have exceeded 10,000. In Badauni's estimation, he displayed a pleasing fertility of imagination in his poetry though he was an imitator of Asafi. Sharif Farisi, the son of the renowned painter Abdus Samad *Shirin Qalam*, or the sweat-pen, was also unrivalled in the beauty of his penmanship and as well in painting. He had a pleasant disposition. He was also a good poet and left behind a valuable *diwan*.<sup>98</sup>

Mir Rafi-ud-Din Haider of Kashan, whose pen name was *Rafi*, was a composer of enigmas, whose excellent understanding, correct taste, and unrivalled competence in the art of composing enigmas and chronograms was well recognized.<sup>99</sup> Poetry appreciation was one of the pre-eminent cultural occupations of Mughal nobles. A large number of the nobles and higher *mansabdars* had poets in their entourage. Patronage of poets was a status symbol, and the expense incurred was well-justified in a noble's view. Since his *mansab* and estate was not hereditary, he tried to spend his wealth as lavishly and as elegantly as possible during his lifetime. Most outstanding of the patrons



of poets among the Mughal nobility, was Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, himself a poet in three languages. His generosity was princely, as he had Mulla Nawai weighed in gold and gave a thousand gold coins to Shakibi; and took Hayati and Shawqi to his treasury to carry away as many gold coins as they could. His protégé Abdul Baqi Nihavandi has left in his *Maasir-i-Rahimi* accounts and specimens of verses of scores of poets, most of them of Persian origin, who enjoyed his patronage.<sup>100</sup> During the Akbar's regime there was another noteworthy Persian poet like Hayati of Gilan, who was supposed as 'free from the bad qualities of poets,' and was excelled in all descriptions of poetry. He was highly esteemed for his deep learning, therefore, was deeply liked by Akbar, and received a *Jagir* by him. The main reason of the migration of Persian poets in Akbar's reign was the lack of interest of Safawid Shahs towards *qasida-goyee* (encomium) and *ghazal* (verse amatory), some of the modes of poetry.<sup>101</sup> Maulana Mansur Tabrizi came to India and joined the service of Bairam Khan. He composed *ghazals* and *qasidas* with equal ease and eloquence. He was very well appreciated and soon became famous by his forceful, effective, sweet, and high sounding poetry. Another poet from Tabriz was Nizami. Badauni appreciated him in the following words: "The luster of his poetry is vouched for by his trade, which is that of an appraiser of jewels. He has a mind well adapted to poetry and has composed a *diwan* which is well known."<sup>102</sup> Mulla Maqsud of Qazvin, a 'jovial poet of the age,' produced a *diwan* which was properly arranged in alphabetical order. Jafar Beg Qazvini was a man of profound thought and has learnt a good deal and describes very well the events and was unique. He was disciple of Akbar's *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* or *Din-i-Ilahi*. He always had a keen desire to surpass others and made attempts to produce better and more innovative work or at least to excel in any art.<sup>103</sup>

Khwaja Shah Mansur of Shiraz was another of the several skillful and talented persons who came to India. Azduddaula Amir Fathullah of Shiraz acquired a special name and fame for himself and came to India at the invitation of Adil Shah of Bijapur. He was a disciple of Khwaja Jamal-ud-Din Mehmud, Kamal-ud-Din of Shirwan, and Mir Ghiyas-ud-Din Mansur of Shiraz. Azduddaula

Amir Fathullah came to the Deccan after the death of Adil Shah; and later on, he was invited by Akbar, who elevated him to the rank of *sadr* and honored him with the titles Amin-ul-Mulk and later Azduddaula. He was so excelled in all branches of natural philosophy, especially mechanics that Abul Fazl said of him; "if the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amir will restore them."<sup>104</sup> An important Persian historian was Muhammd Sharif Waqui of Nishapur, to whom Badauni bitterly criticizes for his religious views. He wrote *Tarikh-i- Muhammad Sharif Waqui*. Hasan Nizami Nishapuri, who is also called Bistami, possessed immense knowledge of current sciences, especially literature and lexicography, and had a full command over Persian and Arabic; he was acknowledged as both a good poet and prose writer. He belonged to a distinguished family of Syeds of Nishapur. Mir Murtaza Sharifi of Shiraz was the grandson of Mir Syed Sharif who surpassed all the learned men of his age in the knowledge of the exact sciences, in various branches of philosophy, in logic, and in metaphysics. He continued his teaching of the art and sciences till his death in 1566-67 A.D. Another poet Qaydr of Shiraz distinguished himself in the acquisition of the usual sciences.<sup>105</sup> Miyan Kamal-ud-Din Husain arrived in India from Shiraz. Akbar recognized his worth, and he was exceedingly desirous that the Shaikh should join the imperial service. Badauni had known him for a long time and says; "with all his excellence and perfection in religious matters, he had the highest ability and perfect eloquence, excellent penmanship; skill in orthography and a masterly style are his by inheritance."<sup>106</sup>

The Safawids established a department of correspondence much earlier than the Mughals. They also established a more coherent procedure in relation to the drafting of state papers. Mughal and Safawid *insha* reached their high watermark in the spacious days of Akbar and Shah Abbas-I. The historian of Shah Abbas-I's reign Iskandar Beg Munshi, was himself an eminent *munshi*. Similarity of diction in certain passages in *the Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* and in some of Shah Abbas-I's letters dealing with the same subject, is an indication that Iskandar Beg had a hand in drafting some of the Shah's foreign corresponding.<sup>107</sup> Dispatching a diplomatic mission could never be done without drafting from the envoy's

master and, in the Persian and Indo-Islamic culture; diplomatic correspondence (*tarassul*) had become a literary genre in of itself. Such letters were usually drafted by a leading *munshi* of the Court which would then be read and sealed by the ruler himself; on occasion, letters were written by the *vazir*, as Abul Fazl and Itimad al-daulat Hatim Baig both did repeatedly for Akbar and Abbas-I respectively.<sup>108</sup>

The reign of Akbar occupies a long roll of scholars, including poets, historians, calligraphists, philosophers, theologians and those who combined literary merit with administrative capabilities. Abul Fazl, an Indian Muslim was a first-rated scholar of his age, who wrote *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbar Namah* like excellent histories. During the preparation of *Akbar Namah*, Abul Fazl collected the material from every possible source and his privilege as a high official gave him access to all the open and secret record of the state as well as Akbar's personal and domestic documents. Mir Fateh-ul-Lah Shirazi helped him in the conversion of dates in solar chronology.<sup>109</sup> The Mughal Emperor Akbar made efforts to flourish Persian language and literature by introducing translation bureau. A group of wise linguists, who by virtue of their abundance of wisdom and uprightness were free from bigotry and fanaticism and were endowed with equity and justice in their outlook, were collected in order that they should translate the works in Persian. This group of historians was master of Persian language as Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni was decidedly best of them.<sup>110</sup> It is said that Akbar directed Abul Fazl to translate Bible into Persian, which later became a controversial issue. He also translated the Arabic *Kalila-wa-Damna* into Persian. Certain other Greek and Arabic works were also rendered into Persian. These translations, apart from widening the intellectual and moral outlook of the people, should also have certainly gone a long way in enriching Indo-Persian literature of the period.<sup>111</sup>

Bayazid Biyat, the author of the *Tazkirah Humayun-wa-Akbar*, later on, the work came to be known also as *Tarikh-i-Humayun*, commences his memoir with the remark that Akbar had commanded that all Court servant who had the talent to write history should do so and that anyone who remembered anything of

Humayun's reign should write it down. As Bayazid's work was based mainly upon memory, the sequence of events is not properly maintained and some facts are repeated. Being dictated by a man with no literary pretensions, however, it offers an interesting specimen of Persian as spoken by the new masters of India, and includes many colloquial expressions.<sup>112</sup> However, Bayazid's memoir is an important source of proof for broad based character of Akbar's rule. Bayazid's historical work has a very important significance in view of other contemporary works. Other important work regarding Akbar's period is of Alla-ud-Daula. "Both Abul Fazl and Badauni have derived much information from *Tazkirah* and *Nafais-ul-Maasir* of Alla-ud-Daula which is the earliest known work on the history of Akbar."<sup>113</sup>

The early success of the conquering Muslim armies brought Persian as a colonial language to all regions of the Sub-continent except the extreme south, and local Sultans encouraged the cultivation of many regional traditions of Persian poetry and historical writing. The determining influence of royal whim which characterizes the Mughal heyday of Indo-Persian literature was never obvious than during the long reign of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D).<sup>114</sup>

### **Persian Language and Literature during 1605-1627 A.D.**

Jahangir, possessed of an excellent literary taste, also extended his patronage to scholars.<sup>115</sup> In his reign, there were schools in every village and town. Jahangir was educated by tutors like the renowned Moulana Mir Kalam Muhaddis (the traditionalist) and Abdur Rahim Mirza. He knew Persian as well as Turkish. He was the author of an auto-biography in Persian, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, which ranks second only to that of Babur, in frankness, sincerity, freshness, and charm of style. Nur Jahan's father Itimad-ud-Doullah, whose real name was Mirza Ghayas-ud-Din Muhammad was also a learned man. His father was Khwaja Muhammad Sharif, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of *Hijri*.<sup>116</sup> Among the other learned men of his Court were Naqib Khan and Abdul Haq Dehlawi. Jahangir's taste lay in the direction of painting birds, flora, and

fauna, but still his reign produced several historical works, the most important being the *Iqbal Namah-i-Jahangiri*, the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, and the *Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh*. The *Tarikh-i-Alfi* of Mulla Ahmad Daud of Thatta occupies a special eminence, as he was ordered by Akbar to write it independently but was later on completed by Asif Khan Jaffar Beg the brother of Empress Nur Jahan. Jahangir's beautiful and brilliant consort, Nur Jahan was a good poetess. Her hand in the arts extended to literature as well and, consonant with her won family background, she is said to have composed poetry of fairly competent quality. Nur Jahan belonged to a lineage known for its literary and scholarly achievements, and the composition of verse had long been a favored pastime for many of her relatives as it was for those at the royal Court.<sup>117</sup> Women at the Court were also encouraged to compose poetry, but none have been recognized as extensively as Nur Jahan. Like most other women of the Court, she wrote under the name of *Makhfi*, the concealed one, referring to her life behind *mahal* walls, and the verses she composed were often part of a gentle tease she made with Jahangir. Poetry contests were popular at the Mughal Court, and it was here that recognized poets could recite verses composed on the spot before an assembly of their peers. "During these contests, Qasim Khan emerged as Nur Jahan's favorite sparring partner, in part because he was such a good poet and in part because, as a family member, and an exceptionally witty one at that, he made each occasion a lively and under strained affair."<sup>118</sup>

There were further more Persians nobles in the Mughal Court who were poets themselves and patronized and helped other poets of their land of origin. Among them can be mention; Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, Baqir Khan Najm-i-Sani, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, and Jumla Muhammad Amin Shahrestani.<sup>119</sup> Next only to Khan-i-Khanan, the most eminent patron of poets in Jahangir's India was Ghazi Baig Tarkhan, who was *Turani* by race. It is said that whoever from Persia intend to migrate India, at first, must visit the court of Mirza Ghazi Beg at Qandahar, as he was one of the greatest patron of poets and scholars, then they proceeded towards Mughal Court. In this way, several Persian poets and scholars remained with him permanently and sought for other patrons only after

his death. Murshid Borujerdi came to India on Mirza Ghazi Baig Tarkhan's invitation. He was appointed *wakil* and seal-keeper of Mirza Ghazi Tarkhan and received from him a *jagir* in Sindh. Later he joined the services of Mahabat Khan and Prince Khurram. Murshid Borujerdi was also the cause of arrival from Persia of other poets to seek the patronage of Ghazi Baig, including Mahwi Ardabili and Wasli Shirazi, who later received from Jahangir the title of 'Rashid Khan.' One of his protégés, Sorur-i-Yazdi, had earlier been in the service of Abbas-I. Another poet, Ahsani Gilani returned to Persia after Ghazi Baig's death.<sup>120</sup> The poets or scholars who visited Mirza's court were namely; Talib Amuli, Mulla Murshid Barojerdi Shirazi, Mulla Ahsani Gilani, Mir Muhammad Hashim Kashi, Mir Imad-ud-Din Mehmud Illahi (poets), Mulla Abdur Rasheed (scholar and poet), Mulla Asad Shirazi (story teller).<sup>121</sup> There is an account of Abbas-I's displeasure with a literary person named Hasan Beg Takallu Itabi. The more convincing is that he refused to drink a cup of wine offered by the monarch. In any case, he was forgiven and did not visit India until later, he decided to accompany Akbar's envoy Mir Masum Bukhari on his return journey in 1602 A.D. Later, he went back to Persia and again visited India during the reign of Jahangir and attached himself first to the entourage of Mirza Ghazi Baig Tarkhan at Qandahar, and then to that of Nur Jahan's father, Itimad-ud-Daullah. He died in India, probably in 1616 A.D.<sup>122</sup>

Seventeenth century A.D. saw also a number influx of poets from Safawid Persia to Mughal India. Persian poetry blossomed in India rather than in its birthplace in Persia and Central Asia. During Jahangir's reign, among many Persian poets who were attached to his Court were Bab Talib Isfahani, Fasuni Kashi, *Malak-ush-Shu'ara* (poet laureate) Talib-i-Amuli, Mir Masum Kashi, Mulla Ziyai Gilani, Muhammad Sufi Mazandarani, Mulla Haider Khasali, Mulla Naziri Nishapuri, Talib Isfahani, Kalim Kashani, Shaida, Mulla Hayati Gilani and Haj Muhammad Jan Qudsi Mashhadi, who were more prominent than others.<sup>123</sup> A number of prominent Persian poets, like Talib Isfahani and Kalim Kashani permanently migrated to the Sub-continent, and at time level of Persian literature was higher in Mughal India than in contemporary Safawid Persia. It is no wonder,

then that the bulk of the poetry composed in Persia by Persian poets during the Safawid period was written in India.<sup>124</sup> Talib Isfahani earned a reputation as a thoughtful poet with a correct taste both in prose and poetry. Another well-known poet, a pupil of Taqi-ud-Din Muhammad of Shiraz was Shakibi Isfahani, who was the son of Zahir-ud-Din Abdullah Imami of Isfahan. He was also acquainted with chronology and the ordinary sciences; besides, he had acquired good taste and wrote well. When he came to India, he was attached to the literary circles of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, who gave him a reward of 18,000 *ashrafis* (gold coins). Through Mahabat Khan he got an entry into the Mughal Court. Although, he wanted to go back to Persia, Jahangir detained him and appointed him *Sadr* of Delhi and here he breathed his last.<sup>125</sup>

Ghayrati of Shiraz was well acquainted with the history and his diction was also good. Naziri's real name was Muhammad Husain, he belonged to Nishapur. He was really a poetic genius and soon took the leading place among his contemporary poets. He wrote verses with Sufistic touch.<sup>126</sup> Among the poets of the Mughal Court, he was one whose poetry may be said to have a close resemblance with that of Hafiz. Not only in his thought, sphere, and natural tendencies he appears to be a second Hafiz, but that he seems to have endeavored to follow steadfastly in the footsteps of his predecessor Hafiz. The divine love with which Hafiz's poetry is replete, may be observed in Naziri as well, with requisite charm and grace. Naziri's main sphere of thought was *ghazal*, in which he distinguished himself from his colleagues in various points like; use of simple words, construction of new words, materialization of spiritual objects, his description of love, consistency of his thoughts and expression, his philosophy and enriched language etc.<sup>127</sup> It is said that the Persian poet Naziri of Nishapur possessed poetical talent and the garden of thought has a door open for him. Similar ideas were also expressed by Jahangir, as he writes in his *Tuzuk* early in 1611 A.D. that he had invited to his Court Naziri of Nishapur, who is well known for his poems and poetical genius. He presented to Jahangir an encomiastic *qasida*, in return for which the Emperor presented him with a thousand rupees, a horse, and a robe of honor. In India, Naziri enjoyed the

patronage of of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. He is said to have been the equal of Shakibi of Isfahan in graceful wit and clearness of intellect.<sup>128</sup> Fusuni Qomi of Shiraz was also an excellent accountant and knew astronomy well apart from poetry. Inayatullah Shirazi was appointed in the imperial library as a librarian. Mir Azizullah, of the Saifi Syeds of Qazvin, is said to have come first among accountants and scribes, and possessed proficiency in those branches of learning which are not treated of in Arabic literature. He was appointed as *divan-i-saadat* (clerk to the *sadr*).<sup>129</sup>

### **Persian Language and Literature during 1628-1707 A.D.**

Shah Jahan continued the noble traditions of his fore-fathers in his patronage of Arts and letters. Although, his main interests lay in the direction of architecture, but on the literary side, he was a fine scholar of Turkish and set apart some time at night for study. Among the learned men of his time were Abdul Hamid Lahori, author of the *Padshah Namah*, Amin Qazwini, author of another *Padshah Namah*, and Inayat Khan, author of *Shah Jahan Namah*, and others. All these books supply valuable information about the history of his reign.<sup>130</sup> During Shah Jahan's reign five Persian scholars migrated to India, such as Mirza Syed Jalal-ud-Din Tabatabai who was an expert in *Insha* and was held in esteem in the Court of Shah Jahan. He was the author of various books like a part of *Padshahnama*, *Tauqiat-i-Kisrawiya*, etc. Arif Darbari Shirazi, who came to India for financial reasons, has written some books such as *Latifah-i-Ghaibiya*, *Maqamat-i-Salakin* (a book containing music terms and opinion of Islamic scientists about singing) and a *Tazkira*. Baqir Shiraz was scholar, poet and gilder. He served his time in noble service. Hasil Mashhadi was another scholar who belonged to a Syed family of Mashhad. He passed his time as a scholar and poet. According to Banarsi Prasad Saksena another worthy scholar of this age was Aminai Qazvini. Shah Jahan invited Hasan Baig Rafi Mashhadi and conferred upon him a *mansab* of 500 *zat*.<sup>131</sup> He also bestowed his *Diwan* to Mulla Shukrullah Shirazi, a title of 'Afzal Khan,' who was a noted poet in Persian and



composed under the pen name of *Allami*.<sup>132</sup> Muhammad Faruq was the talented son of Khwaja Muhammad Siddiq. He was very popular among the officers and courtiers and wrote delightful verses. First he was patronized by Afzal Khan and then by Sa'id Khan with whom he stayed in Kabul. Salim was a native of Tehran and like many others, left his home to seek patronage in India. He possessed a ready pen and could compose extempore; but his verses were not popular, nor were his merits recognized universally. He was in the service of Islam Khan, and wrote a short *masnavi* on his exploits in Kuch Bihar and Assam.<sup>133</sup>

The inclusion of a large number of men of Persian origin in the Mughal nobility and also the induction by marriage of women like Nur Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal, from important Persian families into the Mughal family, tended to create an intellectual climate at the Mughal Court where the King's being a Turani, perhaps, no longer remained of crucial significance.<sup>134</sup> Poetry like painting and other fine arts reached the pinnacle of its glory under the patronage of the Great Mughals, almost all of whom were poets of distinction, vitally interested in the promotion of poetry. A noticeable feature during Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reigns, in fact, throughout the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. was the influx of a large number of poets from Persia. The fact is very significant that no Indian poet after Faizi held the post of poet-laureate at the Mughal Court. It indicates that although the prose style of Indo-Persian had been standardized, in poetry, pure Persian still held its pre-eminence. When Shah Jahan appointed Abul Talib Kalim as poet-laureate he recognized the fact. As far as the discussion of the types of literature produced in this period is concerned; after history, next in point of volume comes poetry. As remarked above, the best poets were those who came from Persia.<sup>135</sup> Abul Talib Kalim belonged to Kashan but was brought up in Hamadan. He came to India in the reign of Jahangir, and was patronized by Mir Jumla, also called *Ruh-ul-Amin*. He entered the imperial service after the accession of Shah Jahan who in recognition of his merits bestowed on him the highest honor. His *diwan* (collection) consists of *qasidas* mostly addressed to Shah Jahan, *masnavis* describing the buildings erected by him, and a *Saqi-Nama* composed for Zafar Khan, Governor of Kashmir. He also versified famous

*Padshah-Nama*.<sup>136</sup> “The biographies of poets who flourished in different reigns and selections of their verses enhance the importance of their work and highlighted the influence of the Persian literary style.”<sup>137</sup> Hakim Rukunuddin, surnamed *Masih*, was a native of Kashan. He was in the service of Shah Abbas-I, but feeling offended by him came to India, where he found favor with Jahangir as well as Shah Jahan. Afterwards, he returned to Persia and died there in 1656 A.D. Hasan Beg wrote under the pen-name of *Rafi*. He repaired from Mashhad to Bukhara, where Nazr Muhammad Khan employed him as writer of *Farmans* or orders. He came to India about in 1645 A.D. and attached the notice of Shah Jahan. He was not a professional poet but possessed a rich and flowing style, and whenever he presented his compositions to the Emperor, he received abundant praise.<sup>138</sup> During Shah Jahan’s reign a very famous poet Mulla Ali Reza Shirazi whose pen-name was *Tajalli* came to India. But the greatest poet of that period, who is credited with having invented a new style, was Mirza Muhammad Ali, poetically surnamed *Sa’ib*. He was for a long time at Kabul, where he enjoyed the patronage of Zafar Khan. He was favorably received by Shah Jahan, who conferred on him the title of Musta’id Khan. He did not, however, stay at the Court, but accompanied his original patron, Zafar Khan. E.G Browne rated Sa’ib among the greatest Persian poets of all ages.<sup>139</sup> Dadvar says that “he may have been Sunni though he wrote an eloquent *qasida* in honor of Imam Ali Reza. But finally he returned to Iran.”<sup>140</sup>

A very significant group of Persian immigrants during Mughal regime included *sufis*, *dervishes* and *qalandars*. Most of them were motivated by a lust to wander and the quest of new spiritual or emotional experiences. But some of them also came running from the tortures, humiliations and indignities to which they were subjected in Persia. According to Dadver nineteen Persian *shaikhs*, *sufis* and *qalanadars* migrated to India. Among these migrants five persons came in later days of Akbar and fourteen came during Jahangir’s reign. None of them migrated to India during Shah Jahan’s period, who was a contemporary of Shah Abbas-II. The reign of Abbas-II (1642-66 A.D.) marked in certain respects the revival and reinstatement of the earlier status of the *sufis*, period of high *Sufism*

and *Irfan* (Gnostic philosophy). The *sufi* virtuosity was once again respected and favored by the Safawid Shahs. Indeed Shah Abbas-II is often described by his official historians as *Shah-e-Darvish dust* (the *darvish* loving Shah).<sup>141</sup> Shah Jahan was a liberal patron of letters. Like his predecessors, he bestowed his favors on poets and other learned scholars of his time. His son, Dara Shikoh, was a most finished scholar and a generous patron of learning.<sup>142</sup>

There were a lot of contributions of Persian scholars and nobles during Aurangzeb's reign, for the revolutionary changes in the *Madarsas* (schools). He had a great facility in composing verses. Aurangzeb contributed a good deal to the literature of the times. Under his orders, and under the immediate supervision of Mulla Nizam, was compiled the well known work of his times, *Fatawai Alamgiri*, a digest of juristic pronouncements on points of Islamic law. And, though he was averse to have a history of his reign written under his auspices, a number of historical accounts were written to swell the Indo-Persian literature, chief of them being *Alamgir Namah*, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, and the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai Khatri, the *Naqsh-i-Dilkusha* of Bhimsen, the *Futuh-i-Alamgiri* of Ishwar Das and the notorious work of Khafi Khan, the *Muntakhab-al-Lubab*, which was written in secret to avoid the displeasure of the Emperor.<sup>143</sup>

Dara Shikoh was a great scholar, well versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, and was passionately devoted to the philosophical and religious studies like his great sire, Akbar. He was himself the author of several works in Persian on Sufism, the chief of which are *Safinat-ul-Auliya* and *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*. His most well-known contribution to Persian and Sanskrit studies is his work *Majmaul Bahrayn*, *Nadir-un-Nukat*, *Hasnat-ul-Arifin* and the *Risalai Haq Numa*.<sup>144</sup> Mir Muhammad Yahya, surnamed Kashi, traced his origin to Shiraz. He came to India and secured the patronage of the Emperor and Dara Shikoh. He was also entrusted with the work of versifying the *Padshah-Nama*, but he soon fell out of favor and his work remained incomplete. Further, Muhammad Said Sarmad Kashani belonged to Jewish family of Kashan. He was a *qalandar* poet, who went about naked in ecstasy and wrote moving quatrains, was held in esteem by Dara Shikoh and was executed by Aurangzeb.<sup>145</sup> During the age of Aurangzeb

Alamgir, there was some scarcity of Persian poets and scholars at the Mughal Court. Therefore, commenting upon this paucity Roger Savory says; "A brilliant group from Persia, adorned the court of the great Mughals in India, and these were in many cases not settlers of the sons of emigrants, but men who went from Persia to India to make their fortunes and returned home when their fortunes were made. This shows that it was not so much lack of talent as lack of patronage which makes the list of distinctively Safawi poets so meager."<sup>146</sup> Nor were the relations between Persia and India confined to their rulers, for during the whole Safawi period and even beyond it. A whole series of Persian poets including some of the most eminent of later days, who emigrated from their own country to India to seek their fortune at the splendid Court of the so-called Mughal Emperors during the declining era, where, until the final extinction of the dynasty in the Indian Mutiny, Persian continued to hold the position not only of the language of diplomacy but of polite intercourse.<sup>147</sup>

Actually, the development of Persian poetry in the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries A.D. does not seem to have been much affected by political, social or religious events. Neither the destructive invasion of Timur, nor the religious millenarianism of the Safawids, nor the enlightened encouragement of the Great Mughals seems to have substantially altered its course. The facts of the matter seem to be that the India of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan was richer than was Persia from Tahmasp to Abbas-II, and that the Safawid resources of patronage of poets were inadequate compared to the resources of the Mughals.<sup>148</sup> The establishment of a well-organized and central Mughal government with cohesive control over the outlying regions of Sub-continent, resulted in greater linguistic unification, and the influence of Persian became far more dominant. Mughal rule, however, indirectly assisted the regional literatures also.<sup>149</sup> Educated men of the older generations generally conducted their personal correspondence in Persian, and Persian couplets and proverbs were freely quoted in conversation, in what ever language the conversation took place. Even after 1857 A.D. the Sub-continent continued to produce Persian scholars and poets of eminence, such as Shibli and Girami, who kept the torch alight. "At

first, the British East India Company also adopted Persian as their official language. Some of the senior officials of the Company, such as Warren Hastings, the Governor General, and William Jones, the Chief Justice of Bengal, were scholars of Persian. The young writers who trained for the service of the Company at Haileyburg had to learn Persian."<sup>150</sup> To give the British their due, they too continued to promote Persian studies, particularly for the benefit of the army and the foreign and political departments; and among them, they had such mature scholars of Persian as Colonel Phillott of the Army Board of Examinations.<sup>151</sup>

### **Persian Language and Literature's Impact on other Spheres of India**

Apart from the literature in the Persian language, Persian has also exerted a great influence in the development of Indian languages like Urdu and Bengali. Even in a language like Punjabi, its prose and poetry using captions in Persian. And a major example of Persian influence in the Sub-continent is also furnished by Kashmir, which has always been known as *Iran-i-Saghir* (Little Iran).<sup>152</sup> The result was that a marked literary activity in the regional languages continued along with the cultivation of Persian, and particularly in the later part of Mughal rule there was a great outburst of literary activity in Bengali, Deccani, Hindi, Sindhi, Pushto, Kashmiri and other regional languages.<sup>153</sup>

During the Mughal period, Persian language and literature reached the highest stages of development in Bengal and greatly influenced the local language and literature. Contemporary and later chronicles and biographers have referred to the dignitaries of learning at the courts of the Mughal Governors of Bengal: Munim Khan, Islam Khan, Qasim Khan, Shah Shuja, Shayesta Khan and Mir Jumla. These Governors encouraged Persian poetry and offered asylums to many poets. Mirza Jafar Beg Qazvini, another immigrant poet in Bengal, during Akbar's rule, compiled a *masnavi*, titled *Shirin-o-Khusrau*, in the style of Nizami Ganjawi, a renowned poet of Persia. Mirza Nathan, a petty military officer, wrote *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* which contains references to numerous

soldier poets such as Luqman, Mir Qasim and Malik Mubarak, who accompanied the army and composed poems commemorating the victories and achievements of soldiers in the battle-field. Mirza Nathan, who served in Bengal for about twenty years, gives an explicit account of events that took place during Emperor Jahangir's reign in Bengal and Assam. Mir Jumla who hailed from Isfahan was an accomplished scholar and poet. His *kulliyat* (collection of poems) contained 20,000 verses. Shahabuddin Talish, a chronicler of Mir Jumla, who accompanied his master on his military campaigns in Coochbihar and Assam, compiled an authentic account of Assam entitled *Fath-i-Ibriyya* in 1663 A.D. There was also a great contribution of the South to Indo-Persian literature during the Middle Ages. The courts of Adal Shahis of Bijapur, the Qutub Shahis of Golconda and the last though certainly not the least in importance the Walajahis of Arcot, Trichinopoly and Madras were the centers of learning and vied with one another in the promotion of Indo-Persian, and Dakhni (Daccani) languages and literatures in which both Hindus and Muslims participated. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was himself a poet and a lover of art and literature. He invited Mulla Zuhuri Tarshizi of Persia to his capital at Bijapur. He had even invited the king of lyrics, Hafiz, who was only too willing to come but could not set sail due to inclement weather.<sup>154</sup> Qutub Shah was a patron of culture and himself a poet of considerable power, and wrote extensively in the *Daccani* language which was a mixture of Hindi and Persian.<sup>155</sup> During the Qutub Shahi's reign, Shafiq of Aurangabad was a gifted poet; two of his prose works have acquired fame and name. One is *Gul-e-Ra'na* which deals with the lives of Indian poets of Persian origin and the other is entitled *Shawm-e-Ghariban* which deals with Persian poets who settled down in India.<sup>156</sup>

### ***Role of Persian Language in the Creation of Urdu***

The official language and the vehicle of culture remained as Persian. Afterwards, with a mixture of Hindi and Arabic, it gradually came to be known as Urdu, because the idiom used at the Mughal Court called "*Urdu-i-Mu'alla*" found

general acceptance. It gradually became the language of polite intercourse and of poetry; ultimately it replaced Persian almost completely, as it retains much of the vocabulary of Persian and also the content and mannerisms of its poetic thought.<sup>157</sup> “Akbar’s taste for *Bhaka* or soft Hindi as modified by Persian tone and vocabulary, which is but another name for Urdu, is more marked than that of any of his predecessors.”<sup>158</sup> In this way a natural and graceful turn the Hindi-Persian mixture was taking in popular taste. “The songs of Akbar and his *Rajas* were in simple and pure Urdu, which was a result of the long-established cross-breeding of Persian with Hindi.”<sup>159</sup> The adoption of Persian in India, which ultimately led to the emergence of dialect like Urdu, as result of the interaction of foreign soldiers and traders with the Indians, is a prominent example of lingual fusion. Indo-Persian literature was produced in the medium of the Persian language but dealt with Indian ideas, motifs and was narrated against an Indian background.<sup>160</sup> The earliest traces of Urdu language lie in controversial opinions. Some hold that Hindi was the main fount and source of Urdu, while the others think that the chief factor which occasioned its birth was Persian. These two schools of thought sponsor their own theories in support of their contentions. The truth, however, lies midway between the two, as many local scholars along with French, German and English scholars have expressed the opinion that the feeders of Urdu were conjointly Hindi and Persian, and not any one of these languages alone. The influx of Persian language into the country, which occasioned the Persian culture to come in forceful contact with Hindi, is originally responsible for the conception and form of modern Urdu.<sup>161</sup> It was always the proud privilege of Persian language that Persian literate class had been continuously immigrated to India in an appropriate number. It was thus to an appreciable degree due to his keeping touch with the fresh bands of Persian emigrants, at every stage of intellectual advancement in Indian history, that he could keep pace with the Persian elite both in the standard of taste and the display of knowledge. Urdu thus prospered and came to be understood at least by a section of the Indian population even where the local languages remained the chief vehicles of communication. Thus

through Urdu, in addition to Persian and to some extent Arabic, the idea of belonging to a single community prospered.<sup>162</sup>

In view of the topic already discussed in this chapter, following Table No.5.A includes the names of those Persian poets and scholars who migrated Mughal India or born there during 1526-1707 A.D.

**Table - 5.A** **Persian Poets and Scholars who Migrated India or Born there during 1526-1707 A.D.**

Sr. No.	Name	Position in India	Period of Migration	Source
1.	Khwandamir Ghiyas-ud-Din M.	<i>Historian/Author: Habibus Siyar, Qanuni Humayuni</i>	Babur	R.S.A. p.ii
2.	Shaikh Zain Khwafi	<i>Scholar/Author of Fatehnama /Sadr</i>	Babur	I.A.K. p.101
3.	Nur-ud-Din Khurasani or Nuri Safidun	<i>Poet/Astronomer/Mathematician</i>	Babur	A.G.M. p.1561
4.	Afzal Laheji	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.81
5.	Mansur Saveji Tabrizi	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.1367
6.	Ulfat-i-Turbati	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.83
7.	Navidi Neshapuri	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.1491
8.	Amani Kermani	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.106
9.	Maulana Janubi Badakhshi	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.50
10.	Maulana Qasim Kahi,	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	H.A.D. p.100
11.	Mir Waisi	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.50
12.	Qasim Khan Badakhshi	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.50
13.	Khwaja Hussain Mervi	<i>Poet</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.50
14.	Khwaja Hijri Jami	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.50
15.	Abdul Wajid Farighi Shirazi	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Humayun	M.A.G. p.150
16.	Shauqi Tabrizi	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Humayun	M.A.G. p.150
17.	Maulana Abdul Baqi	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.150
18.	Maulana Bazmi	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.50
19.	Mulla Muhammad Salih	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.50
20.	Masood Heravi	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.1291
21.	Mir Abdul Hayee	<i>Poet/Scholar/Calligraphist</i>	Humayun	H.A.D. p.100
22.	Baha-al-Din Nisari Khurasani	<i>Scholar</i>	Humayun	I.A.K. p.102
23.	Mulla Abdullah Amani	<i>Scholar</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.106
24.	Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini	<i>Scholar/Tutor of Akbar</i>	Humayun	H.A.D. p.100
25.	Mulla Isam-ud-Din Ibrahim	<i>Scholar/Tutor of Akbar</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.54
26.	Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khan	<i>Scholar/Calligraphist/Witchcraft</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.60
27.	Qatii Heravi	<i>Scholar/Author: Majmaush Shuara-i-Jahangir Shahi</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.1085
28.	Jauhar Aftabchi	<i>Historian/Author of Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat</i>	Humayun	H.A.D. p.104
29.	Yousuf Haravi	<i>Scholar/Author of Riaz-ul-Insha, Bada-ul-Ansha.</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.51
30.	Mir Ala-ud-Daula	<i>Scholar/Author of Nafais-ul-Maasir</i>	Humayun	H.A.D. p.100
31.	Maulana Ilyas	<i>Scholar/Mathematician</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.51
32.	Ulfat-i-Yazdi	<i>Scholar/Mathematician</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.86
33.	Ghazali Mashhadi	<i>Poet Laureate</i>	Akbar	T.A. p.69
34.	Sharif Amuli	<i>Poet-Laureate/2500 sawar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.621
35.	Mir M. Tahir Zuhuri Turshizi	<i>Poet Laureate (Deccan)</i>	Akbar	A.Dad. p.226
36.	Navidi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1492
37.	Naziri	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	R.M.S. p.209



Sr. No.	Name	Position in India	Period of Migration	Source
38.	Urfi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	R.M.S. p.209
39.	Zahoori	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.L.S. p.196
40.	Leqai Astarabadi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1209
41.	Ahmad Ali Mazandarani	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.Dad. p.211
42.	Qaili Gilani	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1086
43.	Tashbihi Kashi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.221
44.	Mir Rafi-ud-Din or Rafi Kashani	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.460
45.	Wasli Razi Tehrani	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1522
46.	Sharif Tehrani	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.624
47.	Khalqi Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.383
48.	Bahar-i-Qomi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.173
49.	Fahimi Hormuzi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1074
50.	Muhibb-i-Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1224
51.	Hairan Qaini	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.362
52.	Amini Darsani	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.118
53.	Syed Jamal-ud-Din Urfi Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.872
54.	Hakim Rukna-i-Kashi or Masih	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1293
55.	Hakim Sadra Shirazi/Masihuz Zaman	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.Dad. p.191
56.	Lutfi Tabrizi <i>Mauzun-ul-Mulk</i>	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1196
57.	Uns-i-Seyadani	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.Dad. p.230
58.	Naziri Nishpauri	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. P.226
59.	Mulla Qadri Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1091
60.	Liwai Sabezwari	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1209
61.	Mir Muhsin Rizvi Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1230
62.	Sharif Kashi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. P.272
63.	Nur Jahan Gegum ( <i>Makhfi</i> )	<i>Poetess</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1461
64.	Dakhli Esfahani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.271
65.	Maulana Mansur Tabrizi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1367
66.	Muqim Astarabadi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1333
67.	Qasim Razi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1082
68.	Munsif Esfahani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1358
69.	Taqi Esfahani	<i>Poet/Author/Librarian</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.230
70.	Majlis-i-Esfahani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1219
71.	Shams Dada	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.653
72.	Mulla Hussain Naziri Neihshapuri	<i>Poet/Court Noble</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1449
73.	Hayat-i-Gilani	<i>Poet/Mansabdar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.335
74.	Sameri Tabrizi	<i>Poet/Mir Saman</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. P.141
75.	Wujud-i-Shirazi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1506
76.	Naui Khabushani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1471
77.	Jafar Qazwini or Asaf Khan	<i>Poet/Author of Nur Nama</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.283
78.	Asad Baig Qazwini	<i>Poet/Author of Halat-i-Asad Baig</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.45
79.	Malaki Qazwini	<i>Poet/Soldier</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. P.142
80.	Shakibi Esfahani	<i>Poet/Author/Scholar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.638
81.	Mir Abdul Wahab Mamuri	<i>Poet/Author/Diwan/Bakhshi</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. P.142
82.	Munhi Zavarehi	<i>Poet/Port In-charge</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1370
83.	Hashim Khan Juwaini	<i>Poet/Faujdar</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. P.143
84.	Qasim Khan Juwaini	<i>Poet/Governor/5000 sawar/zaat</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1074
85.	Wajhi Heravi	<i>Poet/Assigned Jagir</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1507
86.	Hazini or Aqidat Khan	<i>Poet/Bakhshi</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.144
87.	Jafar Baig or Asaf Khan	<i>Poet/Scholar/Author of Nur Nama</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.283
88.	Hayat-i-Gilani	<i>Poet/Mansabdar/Weighed in Silver</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.335
89.	Salih Tabrizi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.683

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
90.	Itabi Takllu	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.865
91.	Jalal Neishabouri	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.302
92.	Baqai	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.231
93.	Arsalan Mashhadi	<i>Poet/Scholar/Theologian/Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.38
94.	Hasan Qazwini	<i>Scholar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.324
95.	Mir Murtaza Sharifi Shirazi	<i>Scholar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.633
96.	Saiyed Nurullah Shushatri	<i>Scholar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1467
97.	Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani	<i>Scholar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.13
98.	Mumin Taleqani	<i>Scholar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1378
99.	Ahadi Kurasani	<i>Scholar</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.246
100.	Muhammad Sufi Mazandarani	<i>Scholar/Author of Tazkirah and But-Khaneh</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.242
101.	Nasira-i-Hamadani	<i>Scholar/Personal Servant</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.242
102.	Mali Shirazi	<i>Scholar/Author of Tazkira-i-Shau'ara</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.245
103.	Mir Fateh-ul-Lah Shirazi	<i>Scholar/Prepared Akbar Nama's Solar Chronology</i>	Akbar	S.A.R. p.264
104.	Mirza Ghias-ud-Din Naqib Khan	<i>Scholar/Historian</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1456
105.	Fateh-i-Ardastani	<i>Scholar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.994
106.	Amani Isfahani	<i>Scholar/Entertainer</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.105
107.	Talia Yazdi	<i>Scholar/Calligrapher</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.788
108.	Ulfati Yazdi	<i>Scholar/Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.86
109.	Fatehullah Shirazi	<i>Scholar/Hakim/Astrologer/Mathematician/</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.992
110.	Fakhri Haravi	<i>Poet/Scholar/Author of Tazkira-i-Rozat-us-Salatin</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.994
111.	Fidai Safawi	<i>Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.999
112.	Sana-i-Mashhadi	<i>Poet (Qasida Nigar)</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.257
113.	Talib Esfahani	<i>Qalandar/Envoy/Sadr</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.783
114.	Fani Shirazi	<i>Darvish/Poet/Scholar/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.985
115.	Sharif-i-Shushtari	<i>Shaikh/Qalandar</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.625
116.	Sharif-i-Kashi	<i>Darvish/Noble's Service</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.626
117.	Safi Esfahani	<i>Qalandar/Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.729
118.	Fasuni Kashi	<i>Poet Laureate/Court Noble</i>	Jahangir	S.M.J. p.154
119.	Kalim Hamadani	<i>Poet Laureate</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1175
120.	Humai Astarabadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1548
121.	Zamani Astarabadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.500
122.	Nadim Gilani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.211
123.	Sikandar Mazandarani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.561
124.	Ruhi Mazandarani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.481
125.	Makhfi Rashti	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.212
126.	Sharari Hamadani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.616
127.	Wazhi Dargazini	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1500
128.	Asdaq-i-Hamadani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.78
129.	Said Hamadani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.556
130.	Taqi Hamadani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.254
131.	Haider Baig Hamadani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.213
132.	Ami Nihavandi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.214
133.	Girami Tabrizi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1190
134.	Edham	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.215
135.	Nami Urduabadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1418
136.	Ish-i-Ardabili	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.927
137.	Abdul Ali Mahwi Ardabili	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.214
138.	Tasalli Lurestani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.219
139.	Muhaqqaqi Shushtari	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1232
140.	Monim Chekini	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1369
141.	Hobabi Hamadani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.313

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
142.	Bahrami Hamadani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.175
143.	Mirza Ali Asghar Wazih Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.218
145.	Rouzbahan-i-Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.482
146.	Tasalli Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.218
147.	Faregh-i-Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.971
148.	Mumin Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1378
149.	Waqar-i-Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1530
150.	Akbar Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.81
151.	Shuguni Golpayagani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.651
152.	Rashid Kashani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.441
153.	Ghurur-i-Kashi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.928
154.	Yunes Abhari	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1560
155.	Ahank-i-Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.220
156.	Qudrati Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1091
157.	Muhammad Razi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1243
158.	Warastah Chimini Razi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.220
159.	Anwar Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.124
160.	Fauqi Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1067
161.	Ghafuri Taleqani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.950
162.	Baqi Damawandi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.151
163.	Khatmi Razi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.370
164.	Rahai Razi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.493
165.	Tahzim-i-Qoumi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.220
166.	Munsif Qupayehi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1366
167.	Monai Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.221
168.	Mir Husain Tajalli Kashi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.205
169.	Mansur Kashi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.221
170.	Razmi Qazwini	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.438
171.	Moin Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1330
172.	Shuhudi Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.661
173.	Lutf-i-Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1207
174.	Bazm-i-Quz	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.166
175.	Ebad-i-Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.858
176.	Abu Muhammad Dastghib Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.18
177.	Jam Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.306
178.	Moazzam Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1326
179.	Nazir Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.227
180.	Turabi Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.213
181.	Muhibbi Shamlu	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1225
182.	Malik Muhammad Muzaqi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.231
183.	Natiq	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1406
184.	Salih Azadani Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.678
185.	Muhammad Mahdi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.231
186.	Khamoshi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.386
187.	Shitabi Gonabadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.614
188.	Arifi Sarakhsi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.855
189.	Uns-i-Jami	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.120
190.	Waresi Sabzevari	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1497
191.	Taqi Neishabouri	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.254
192.	Baqir Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.150
193.	Mumin Turshizi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1378
194.	Amni Khaufi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.107

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
195.	Shahab Sabzevari	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.659
196.	Amini Heravi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.120
197.	Walih Heravi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1503
198.	Ahvali Sistani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.22
199.	Mulla Hayat-i-Gilani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	S.M.J. p.154
200.	Muhammad Zaman	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.230
201.	Munes	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.230
202.	Sayyid Ashraf Muhiid	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.230
203.	Mulla Haider Khasali	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	S.M.J. p.154
204.	Shaida	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	S.M.J. p.154
205.	Maulana Ali Mani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.231
206.	Nizam Tabatabai	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1443
207.	Talib-i-Amuli	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	T.S. p.297
208.	Mulla Ahsani Gilani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	T.S. p.303
209.	Mir Muhammad Hashim Kashi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	T.S. p.305
210.	Mir Imad-ud-Din Mehmud Illahi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	T.S. p.304
211.	Muhammad Sufi Mazandarani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.247
212.	Abu Talib kalim Kashani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.28
213.	Muhammad Jan Qudsi Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1095
214.	Mulla or Bab Talib Isfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	S.M.J. p.154
215.	Mulla Naziri Neshapuri	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	S.M.J. p.154
216.	Muhaqqiqi Shushatri	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1232
217.	Saib Tabrizi	<i>Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.215
218.	Qureshi Khanum-e-Tabrizi	<i>Poetess</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1135
219.	Jamileh Esfahani	<i>Poetess</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.305
220.	Ghiyas Nasrabadi	<i>Poet/Personal Servant</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.219
221.	Subhi Borujerdi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.713
222.	Sattar-i-Tabrizi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.534
223.	Sayyidi Bowanati	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.740
224.	Hamzeh Bowanati	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.332
225.	Fayez Gilani	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.987
226.	Seyani Hamadani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.213
227.	Taqi Kashi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.253
228.	Shouqi Savoji	<i>Poet/Noble's service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.654
229.	Mir Muhammad Masum Kashi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1318
230.	Ibrahim Shirin Ojaq	<i>Poet/Personal Servant</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.9
231.	Ebadullah Kashani	<i>Poet/Personal Servant</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.858
232.	Ghani Yazdi	<i>Poet/Personal Servant</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.958
233.	Muizz-i-Esfahani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1316
234.	Khazri	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.381
235.	Kalb-i-Baharlu	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1172
236.	Maulana Nizam	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1442
237.	Tarzi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.806
238.	Burhan Neishabouri	<i>Poet/Personal Servant</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.165
239.	Wafa-i-Heravi	<i>Poet/Noble's Servant</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1528
240.	Sarvari Yazdi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.554
241.	Muzaffar Gonabadi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1314
242.	Salih Tabrizi	<i>Poet/Scholar/Mansabdar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.683
243.	Lutfi Tabrizi or Mauzun-ul-Mulk	<i>Poet/Port In-charge</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1196
244.	Mulla Murshid Borujerdi Shirazi	<i>Poet/Governor's Servant</i>	Jahangir	T.S. p.299
245.	Subhi Hamadani	<i>Poet/Personal Servant</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.814
246.	Ruh-ul-Amin-i-Sharhestani	<i>Poet/Mir Saman/Mir Bakhshi</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.471

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
247.	Jam-i-Esfahani	<i>Poet/Mansabdar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.303
248.	Qazi Zada Kashani	<i>Poet/Calligraphist/Diwan</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1085
249.	Tabhi Kandu Sulqani	<i>Poet/Court Noble</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.143
250.	Jafar Heravi	<i>Poet/Chief Pay Master</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.298
251.	Mir Ilahi Hamadani	<i>Poet/Author of Tazkira Khazinah-i-Ganj-i-Ilahi</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.94
252.	Qudsi Gilani	<i>Scholar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1095
253.	Fars-i-Hamadani	<i>Scholar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.970
254.	Naji Servani	<i>Scholar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1397
255.	Nikhati Shushtari	<i>Scholar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1459
256.	Dastour Qazwini	<i>Scholar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.412
257.	Kamil Jahromi	<i>Scholar/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1149
258.	Muqim Darabi	<i>Scholar/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1335
259.	Atai Ardestani	<i>Scholar/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.904
260.	Akhtari Yazdi	<i>Scholar/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.27
261.	Taqi Murwarid Kashi	<i>Scholar/Author/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.254
262.	Khalqi Shushtari	<i>Scholar/School Teacher</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.381
263.	Fusuni Qomi	<i>Scholar/Court Noble</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1023
264.	Asri Damghani	<i>Scholar/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.903
265.	Fani Gilani	<i>Scholar/Theologian/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.987
266.	Reza Hamadani	<i>Scholar/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.445
267.	Wasli Shirazi	<i>Scholar/Author of Majma-ul-Lughat-i-Khani</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1524
268.	Fuzuni Astarabadi	<i>Scholar/Author of Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1012
269.	Sururi Kashani	<i>Author of Khulasat-ul-Majameh</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.550
270.	Nizam Qazwini	<i>Waqia Navis/Diwan/Bakhshi</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.174
271.	Khwaja Jan Khafi	<i>Waqia Navis/Mansabdar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.387
272.	Mir Muhammad Ashraf	<i>Waqia Navis/Diwan/Bakhshi</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.175
273.	Eskandar Qissa Khan	<i>Story Teller/Poet/Court Noble</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.52
274.	Mir Abul Qasim Findarski	<i>Author of Farhang-i-Juk, Kashf-ul-Loghat</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.242
275.	Mulla Abdul Nabi Qazwini	<i>Author: Mai Khana/Dasturul Fushan/Terazul Akbar</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.244
276.	Taqi Auhadi	<i>Author: Firdous-i-Khayal, Arafat-ul-Ashiqin</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.236
277.	Taqi Shushtari or Muwarikh Khan	<i>Author of Tazkirah-i-Arafat-i-Sulemani</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.250
278.	Nazim Tabrizi	<i>Author of Nazm-i-Guzidah</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1413
279.	Baqi Nihavandi	<i>Author of Ma'asir-i-Rahimi/Diwan</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.153
280.	Kaifi Sabzevari	<i>Author of Agahnama (Masnavi)</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1189
281.	Mulla Tughra	<i>Author: Ruqaat Majmual Gharab/Tazkiratul Akhyar</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.813
282.	Mulla Asad Shirazi	<i>Story Teller</i>	Jahangir	T.S. p.301
283.	Wafai Esfahani	<i>Qalanadr/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1525
284.	Amani Esfahani	<i>Darvish/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.105
285.	Nazri Qomshehi	<i>Sufi/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1431
286.	Fathi Ardestani	<i>Sufi/Darvish</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.994
287.	Javid-i-Qazwini	<i>Sufi/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.269
288.	Rasmi Qalandar	<i>Darvish/Noble's Service</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.271
289.	Golshani Shirazi	<i>Qaladar/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1192
290.	Rezai Farsi	<i>Qalandar/Darvish</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.444
291.	Makki Shirazi	<i>Sufi</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.271
292.	Husain-i-Jam	<i>Darvish</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.271
293.	Zamani Khurasani	<i>Sufi</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.501
294.	Kalb-i-Zulqadr	<i>Sufi</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1173
295.	Hozni Alavi	<i>Qalandar/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.321
296.	Saifi Turkman	<i>Sufi</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.597
297.	Hasan Beg Rafi Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	B.P.S. p.253
298.	Tahir Mazandarani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.803

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
299.	Ziya-i-Tabrizi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.752
300.	Nisbat Neyrizi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1434
301.	Muzaffar Tabrizi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1313
302.	Mushi Khalkhali	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.216
303.	Edham-i-Artimani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.31
304.	Dawud Tuysarkan	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.403
305.	Sharaf Tabrizi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.621
306.	Qasim Khan	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.216
307.	Mashhour Tabrizi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1309
308.	Humai	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.216
309.	Ozlati Shushtari	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.896
310.	Ada-i-Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.30
311.	Salik Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.525
312.	Ibrahim Urduabadi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.8
313.	Nazim Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1416
314.	Hasan Ali Yazdi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.322
315.	Husain Wahdat	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.222
316.	Monsif Tehrani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1364
317.	Sharif Taleqani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.625
318.	Salik Qazwini	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.517
319.	Ishrat-i-Forushani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.899
320.	Mast Ali Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1287
321.	Mashud Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.223
322.	Ilham-i-Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.86
323.	Rizwan-i-Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.447
324.	Shukati Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.658
325.	Shakib Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.637
326.	Ahmad Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.20
327.	Nasib Razi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1436
328.	Tyeb Tafreshi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.200
329.	Mumtaz Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1357
330.	Wahidi Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1496
331.	Qaiser Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1146
332.	Hakkak Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.225
333.	Nasir Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.225
334.	Ummi Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.108
335.	Burhan Abarqui	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.160
336.	Muhammad Farsi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1242
337.	Abu Said	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.12
338.	Abu Asafi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.232
339.	Sani Taklu	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.256
340.	Qasim Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1083
341.	Danish Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.391
342.	Ulfat-i-Khurasani	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.83
343.	Hasan Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.324
344.	Husain Mashhadi	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.325
345.	Maulana Abdu Barkat Munir	<i>Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	B.P.S. p.253
346.	Tajalli Shirazi	<i>Poet/Tutor</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.200
347.	Mulla Ali Reza Shirazi or Tajalli	<i>Poet/Tutor</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.200
348.	Mirza Mahmud Bazil	<i>Poet/Governor</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.144
349.	Amani Kermani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.106
350.	Salim Tehrani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	B.P.S. p.253

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
351.	Sayyidi Tehrani	<i>Poet/Personal Servant</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.222
352.	Sharif Amuli	<i>Poet/Calligraphist</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.621
353.	Ashub Mazandarani	<i>Poet/Calligraphist</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.3
354.	Husain Mazandarani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.325
355.	Ishrat-i-Gilan	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.901
356.	Abbasi Esfahani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.860
357.	Safi Kazeruni	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.677
358.	Hokmi Shirazi	<i>Poet/Governor's Servant</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.328
359.	Sarmad Kashani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.537
360.	Raqim Sad-ud-Din	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.144
361.	Girami Shamlu	<i>Poet/Bakhshi/Mir Bahr</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1191
362.	Muhammad Munem	<i>Poet/Military Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.144
363.	Mirza Sai'b or Musta'id Khan	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	B.P.S. p.252
364.	Sakit-i-Tabrizi	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.715
365.	Muqim Fauji	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.230
366.	Siraji	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.536
367.	Ghani Frahani	<i>Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.856
368.	Mulla Shukrullah Shirazi Allami	<i>Poet/Scholar</i>	Shah Jahan	B.P.S. p.250
369.	Mir Yahya Kashi	<i>Poet/Author, (Versified a part of Padshah Nama)</i>	Shah Jahan	B.P.S. p.252
370.	Qudsi Mashhadi	<i>Poet/Versified Padshahnama, weighed in Gold</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1095
371.	Mirza Saiyyid Jalala Tabatabai	<i>Scholar/Author of Tauqiati Kisrawiya</i>	Shah jahan	B.P.S. p.250
372.	Arif Darabi Shirazi	<i>Scholar/Author: Latifah-i-Ghaibiyeh, Tazkira</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.850
373.	Baqir Shirazi	<i>Scholar/Poet/Noble's Service</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.142
374.	Hasil Mashhadi	<i>Scholar/Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.312
375.	Aminai Qazvini	<i>Scholar</i>	Shah Jahan	B.P.S. p.250
376.	Khalis Esfahani	<i>Poet (in Aurangzeb's Srevice)</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.368
377.	Himmat Sistani	<i>Poet</i>	Aurangzeb	A.G.M. p.1549
378.	Bayan-i-Esfahani	<i>Poet</i>	Aurangzeb	A.G.M. p.175
379.	Muhammad Hashim Taslim Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Aurangzeb	A.G.M. p.221
380.	Hijab Qazwini	<i>Poet</i>	Aurangzeb	A.G.M. p.313
381.	Munim Shirazi	<i>Poet</i>	Aurangzeb	A.G.M. p.1369
382.	Farigh-i-Qomi	<i>Poet/Waqia Nawis</i>	Aurangzeb	A.G.M. p.979
383.	Sadiq Taweessarkani	<i>Waqia Nawis</i>	Aurangzeb	A.G.M. p.675
384.	Sabiq Mazandarani	<i>Scholar</i>	Aurangzeb	A.G.M. p.513
385.	Munsif Qupayehi	<i>Scholar</i>	Aurangzeb	A.G.M. p.1367

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**CHAPTER-VI**

**Role of Persian**

**Noblewomen at the**

**Mughal Court**

Among the Persians, the sovereignty of females was not an unusual phenomenon. They belonged to a pastoral society wherein women enjoyed a measure of freedom scarcely to be found among other people-skilled in the use of the bow and the lance; women not only rode side by side with their men-folk, but exercised tremendous influence in all matters of war and peace. These Persian political traditions were supplemented by the Turks and the Mongols for whom the acceptance of a female sovereign was rendered unavoidable by their monarchical theory.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter it will be tried to bring into focus as much as relevant rays radiating from the historical accounts in such a way as to paint a vivid picture of the role of Persian ladies at the Mughal Court.

Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka says; “a man should marry four wives; a Persian to have someone to talk to; a Khurasani woman for his housework; a Hindu for nursing his children; a woman from Mawar-un-Nahr or Trans-oxiana, to have some one to whip as a warning to the other three.”<sup>2</sup> It is undoubtedly very essential to mention about the literary labors of some of the Mughal princesses. The daughter of Babur, Gulbadan Begum, who was a talented lady and wrote the *Humayun Namah*, which is still considered an authority on the life and times of his brother Humayun. Sultana Salima, Humayun’s niece, and Jahan Ara, the talented daughter of Shah Jahan, were all accomplished scholars, and they took keen interest in art and literature. Zaib-un-Nisa, the daughter of Aurangzeb was a gifted poetess, who wrote under the pen name of *makhfi*, the hidden one. She was well versed in Arabic and Persian and her *diwan* bespeaks of her remarkable talents.<sup>3</sup> As far as Mughal *harem* is concerned no nobleman, historian or scholar, not even an *Allama* like Abul Fazl, could enter the harem, meet with Queens and Princesses, discuss their problems and write about them. Most of the Persian chroniclers were official historians: and their entire force of narration was the Emperor. The harem was for His Majesty’s personal pleasure and his women remained far too removed from the chronicler’s official notice. Therefore, their references to the seraglio of the royalty and nobility are based on their observation from a distance and not on intimate personal knowledge. They do not throw light on the day-to-day life of its female inmates or about their

feelings and sentiments. After the Akbar's times, Persian historians began to write at some length about the activities of Queens and Princesses, their role in politics, their interests and hobbies and other affairs.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the above mentioned Mughal ladies, this chapter is specifically an endeavor to bring into light some of the following distinguished Persian ladies who not only dominated Mughal *harem* but also the Mughal Court and as well as Mughal India. These Persian ladies performed an essential role to flourish Indian life with such a great dominating vehemence in political, cultural and literary activities.

### **Maham Begum**

Babur, by his seven legitimate spouses had seventeen children, of whom eight died in childhood. Maham Begum, who bore Humayun and four other children, and Gulrukh Begum, who also bore five children, were perhaps his favorite wives.<sup>5</sup> In fact, among all of his wives the one Babur truly loved was Maham, his chief wife; he called her Maham which means 'my moon.' She was the most favorite wife of Babur, "of whom it was said that she was to Babur what Ayisha (R.A.T.A.) was to Hazrat Muhammad"<sup>6</sup> (S.A.W.). Humayun the eldest son of Babur, was born on March 6, 1508 A.D. to Maham Begum;<sup>7</sup> in this way Humayun's blood was the result of a mixture of the Central Asian with that of Maham Begum, a Persian lady.<sup>8</sup> S.M Ikram says that by sect she was an Ithna Ashariyah.<sup>9</sup> Abul Fazl says she was of a noble Khurasan family, and like Hamida Banu Begum, was of the line of Shaikh Ahmad Jami if implies blood-relationship on the father side. Another four children were born to her and unfortunately all died in infancy. They were Barbul, Mihr Jahan, Isan-daulat and Faruq.<sup>10</sup>

Among prominent concubines of Babur were Gulnar Aghacha and Nargul Aghacha, both of them were gifted by Shah Tahmasp of Persia.<sup>11</sup> However, Maham was supreme, and had well defined rights over other inmates. Maham Begum, used to sit by the side of her husband on the throne, she was powerful, moody and spoilt and it seems Babur denied her nothing.<sup>12</sup> It is worth of noticing that "Babur speaks of his favorite wife, Maham Begum's edict as a *farman*."<sup>13</sup>

Maham Begum loved so much to her children especially to Humayun. An instance presented by Gulbadan Begum in *Humayun Nama* about the love of Maham Begum towards his son Humayun that; “whenever there was a good looking and nice girl, she (Maham Begum) used to bring her into his (Humayun’s) service.” Gulbadan further writes that Mewajan was a domestic in Gulbadan’s retinue, and Maham Begum said, “Humayun Mewajan is not bad. Why do you not take her into your Service? So, at her word, Humayun married her and took her that very night.”<sup>14</sup> In fact, Maham Begum is rightly counted as one of the initial Persian Queen among the Mughals who could be placed on the pinnacle in view of her substantial role and attractive personality.

### **Hamida Bano Begum**

Hamida was to be known as *Maryam Makani* in tribute. She was Persian racially, and was from the province of Khurasan, but had lived with the Chaghatais’ so long that she was fully immersed in their culture and mores. Hamida Bano Begum was a daughter of Syed Ahmad Jam, known as Zindah Pir, at Bhakkar.<sup>15</sup> There is confusion about the father’s name of Hamida Begum: Gulbadan called her the daughter of Mir Baba Dost, Jauhar calls her the daughter of Hindal’s Akhund. Abul Fazl does not give the name of her father but calls him Muazzam, who was with her at Pat.<sup>16</sup> Mir Masum states that she was the daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Jami, who was one of the pillars of Mirza Hindal. Nizamuddin Ahmad says that Ali Akbar was father of Mu’azam. Therefore, Baba Dost and Ali Akbar might be identified as the names of one man. Hamida was related to Banu Agha who was the wife of Shihab-ud-Din Ahmad Nishapuri and was a relative of Maham Anaga (Akbar’s foster mother). Humayun’s another wife Haji Begam also had claim to descent from Ahmad Jami, so that the saint’s posterity was numerous in Akbar’s Court, and included the Emperor himself.<sup>17</sup>

There was an interesting story regarding Humayun’s marriage with Hamida Begum. During his exile period, fugitive Humayun reached the camp of

Hindal (his brother) in Sindh. Here, at the reception provided for him, he was struck by the appearance of a fourteen year-old girl whom he had not seen before and heard that she was Hamida, the daughter of Hindal's preceptor. He demanded her in marriage, but Hindal objected, declaring that he looked on her as a sister or as a child of his own; moreover, there was no adequate dowry to bestow on her. A quarrel between the brothers was about to break out which was patched up by Hindal's mother, Dildar Begum. She approached the girl, but Hamida refused the offer of marriage.<sup>18</sup> When the young lady hesitated, Dildar advised her saying "After all you will marry someone. Better then a king, who is there"? (Hamida replied ;) Oh yes, I shall marry someone; but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch, and not one whose skirt it does not reach."<sup>19</sup> This wooing went on for forty days until Hamida finally gave in and Badauni says Humayun married her in the year 948 A.H. (August 21, 1541 A.D).<sup>20</sup> Humayun fled to Sindh with his family, and it was during this period of misery that his wife Hamida Banu gave birth to Akbar at Umarmkot in October 14, 1542 A.D.<sup>21</sup> Probably Akbar's name was derived from that of his maternal grandfather, Shaikh Ali Akbar Jami.<sup>22</sup> It is also interesting to note that "Akbar was much more a Turk than a Mongol or Mughal, and his mother Hamida Banu Begum was a Persian."<sup>23</sup> Afterwards Hamida Begum accompanied her husband in his wandering in Persia and Afghanistan.

It is rather amusing to note that in his endless prattler, Arif Qandahari in his book *Tarikh-i-Akbari* compares Hamida Begum with Asiah, the wife of Pharaoh who had secretly become a follower of Moses (Hazrat Musa A.S.) and who was tortured to death by her husband.<sup>24</sup> She used to face all the ups and downs of life in Persia during the exile period of his husband Humayun. In Safawid Persia, when Humayun is said to have been hunting, Hamida Begum used to enjoy sighting him from a camel or horse-litter. The Shah's sister and her friend Sultanum Khanum, used to ride on horseback, beside her and was especially kind to the young girl and was hospitable with the giving of all sorts of stuffs, embroidered and others to Hamida Bano Begum.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, she

became widow in 1556 A.D. soon after the re-occupation of Mughal Empire in India, when Humayun died in an accident.

Later on Hamida Bano Begum's position remained as Queen-mother in Akbar's regime, and her *hukm* was containing the words as; *hukm-i-Maryam Zamani* along with the seal of a flower with eight petals.<sup>26</sup> At the Akbar's Court, Hamida Bano remained so energetic and powerful hub of the royal family life, far richer than Gulbadan, though the Princess too was given continual gifts of money and jewels; Hamida Begum gave magnificent feasts at her house for every family occasion, the marriages of the princess, the many births of the Emperor's grandchildren and she was the right person to stage-manage the reconciliation between her son and grandson, the present and future Emperors.<sup>27</sup> Hamida Bano Begum was closely associated with Gulbadan along with other royal ladies in Akbar's Court. Together they interceded for Prince Salim when the latter rose in rebellion.<sup>28</sup>

Hamida Begum had shared in all Humayun's eventful experiences, including his forced sojourn in Persia, and seems to have absorbed something of the artistic spirit of that country, as she turned to it not only for its traditional knowledge in the art of building but also for the personnel to carry out her scheme to build Humayun's mausoleum. For it is recorded that her architect was Mirak Mirza Ghiyas, almost certainly a Persian.<sup>29</sup> Hamida died in the autumn of 1604 A.D. almost sixty three years after her wedding, and after almost fifty years of widowhood, and passed as the proud mother of a great son. If she was fourteen in 1541 A.D. she must have been born in 1527 A.D. the year of Babur's victory at Kanwah, and have been some seventy-seven years old at the time of her death.<sup>30</sup>

## **Anarkali**

Anar-Kali was a woman who is declared by a historical legend to have been loved by Jahangir and put to death for the privilege. Anarkali was the title given to Nadira Begum or Sharf-un-Nisa, one of the favorites of the *harem* of

Akbar. She was indeed one of the most beautiful maiden of Akbar's Court, due to her extraordinary gorgeousness and her crimson skin, Akbar used to call her *anar-kali* (pomegranate bud).<sup>31</sup> It would be a truism to state that in the palace circles, private lives of the princes and their love affairs were subjected to critical scrutiny, and sometimes girls proved a source of discord between father and son, and brother and brother, in a love den like the Mughal harem. One such case is that of Anarkali.

According to the story popular among the European travelers of Jahangir's era, Anarkali had been a wife of Akbar and as suggested by Finch, the mother of Daniyal. Jahangir then Salim, had taken notice of her and had incurred the wrath of his father for climbing up into the bed of Anarkali, his father's most beloved wife. Later tradition said that Anarkali was Akbar's lover not his wife and it has further suggested that she supported Salim during his Allahabad revolt and that perhaps because of this, there were political reasons as well for Akbar's displeasure with her.<sup>32</sup> As Finch noted much more subtly, she was the wife of his father "with whom it is said Shah Selim had to do." Latif's version, based perhaps on popular legend, says simply that one day, in the year of 1598 A.D. while the Emperor Akbar was at Lahore in an apartment looking glasses with the lovely Anarkali attending on him, he saw her reflection in the mirror responding to a loving smile of Prince Salim.<sup>33</sup> Salim was then thirty, youthful and handsome, and Akbar fifty-seven. The ageing monarch's jealousy was also fired by the fear of Salim's political ambitions, as he was so eager to ascend the throne that his relations with Akbar had become strained since 1591 A.D. but when in 1599 A.D. Akbar was affected by a severe attack of colic, he was convinced that Salim had attempted to poison him through the Persian royal physician Hakim Humam. In this atmosphere of mutual suspicion the smile of Anarkali prompted Akbar to think that there was some sinister conspiracy and he ordered her to be buried alive. William Finch and Edward Terry also aver that relations between Akbar and Salim had become strained because of Anarkali. According to Finch, Salim's love for Anarkali could not be kept secret for long and Akbar ordered her to forsake the Prince. When she declined, in any event, Akbar had become very

angry at the liaison or suspected liaison between his wife and his son. Therefore, Akbar ordered her to be entombed vertically alive, and so she died near about in 1598 A.D. Salim was overcome with grief at her death and in token of his love had built for her a sumptuous tomb of stone in the midst of a four-square garden richly walled, with a gate and divers rooms over it. The popular version says that Anarkali was placed alive in an upright position and that the wall was built up around her brick by brick.<sup>34</sup> This atrociously cruel, even cynical, but typically medieval punishment turned the Anarkali's episode into a legend. Salim felt intense remorse at her death, and on becoming Emperor he had an immense sarcophagus of pure marble raised over her sepulcher in 1615 A.D. at Lahore. On the sides is engraved the following Persian couplet composed by Jahangir:

Ah! Could I ever behold the face of my beloved once more,  
I would give thanks unto my God until the day of resurrection.<sup>35</sup>

The inscription shows how passionately fond *Majnu* Salim had been of Anarkali and how deeply her death had grieved him. Anarkali's case has become classic, but instances of backbiting among royal scion resulting in grave misunderstandings were common. The drinking orgies of Prince Salim were meticulously reported to Akbar, creating misunderstanding between them.<sup>36</sup> Regarding the death of Anarkali, K.L Hindi is of different opinion according to him she died at Lahore when Akbar was busy in his Deccan expeditions, and further of a point of view that she was poisoned.<sup>37</sup> If the date of Anarkali's death in 1599 A.D. is correct, then Jahangir had already married several wives and fathered three of his sons by the time of his suspected affair. What he had imagined the outcome of the relationship would be, given its clear incestuous nature (at least by some traditions), is not altogether certain and, in light of Jahangir's known maternal respect and affection for Akbar's wives, the relationship seems somewhat out of character. On the other hand, however, Jahangir was capable of falling madly in love and the Anarkali legend is most significant, perhaps, precisely because it pays tribute to this capacity. Whether the legend of Anarkali



is historically true or not, it does not seem to have curtailed his marital alliances in any way.<sup>38</sup>

### **Qurishi Khanum-e-Tabrizi**

Her original name was Fasiheh Baligeh. She belonged to Tabriz, and came to stay in India during the reign of Jahangir. She was very affable and kindly and she held a high position in India. But reasons of her migration are unknown. She was a poetess.<sup>39</sup>

### **Jamileh Esfahani**

Her original name was Fasiheh or Maliheh but was known as Jamileh. Her origin and birth place was Esfahan. She was extremely accessible and eloquent. In the early youth she was concubine of Khwaja Habibullah Tarkeh. Some poets attributed Khwaja Habib's verses to her. After the death of Habibullah, she migrated to India in the reign of Jahangir in search of good fortune. She passed her life as a poetess. She was very beautiful as she was her name and her pseudonym *Jamileh* (the beautiful one).<sup>40</sup>

### **Nur Jahan**

The history of Nur Jahan is, in part, a story of ambition, power, military skill, and courtly endurance. Unlike other prominent women of the medieval period Raziyya Sultana, Rani Durgavati, Chand Bibi, Mumtaz Mahal and Rani Lakshmi Bai; Nur Jahan can easily be distinguished from any other comparable women. However, by the exceptional good fortune of her circumstances, she happened to be married to the most powerful man in India, and she happened to live at a time of great cosmopolitan and international diversity. Moreover, her relationship with her husband Jahangir appears to have been exceptionally

intimate, its complex structures giving rise to many of the policies and achievements now known singularly to be Nur Jahan's family. As far as her role as Mughal Empress is concerned, her personal abilities extended well beyond politics and economics into the areas of art and architecture, literature and religion, travel and gardening and were such that the range of contributions she made to Indian culture remains almost unparalleled by any other person today. And off course, her interest in jewelry, about her textile designs, about her verses she wrote with superb wit and imagery, and about her boundlessness and munificence of her charity, it all endure as a dynamic and indisputable undercurrent in the Mughal heritage of India.

The Mughal Empire was one of the largest centralized states known in pre-modern world history. In sixteenth and seventeenth century A.D. the Mughal Empire remained a dynamic, centralized and multifaceted organization. One of the most fascinating figures of Mughal India, around whom fact and fiction have woven a labyrinth of zenith and romance, was indeed the Empress Nur Jahan. She remains the only Queen in the history of Sub-continent, whose name was struck on the coin alongside that of the Emperor. Nur Jahan ruled not only over the heart, but also over the Empire of Jahangir, and these were two very difficult territories to keep under control simultaneously. For the heart of Jahangir was just as fuller of contradictions as the kaleidoscopic country of India. To keep him happy and India peaceful were both jobs for a statesman, and that's why most of the historians accused Nur Jahan of being shrewdly power-hungry. Jahangir owes his long years of a peaceful rule to Nur Jahan just as much as he owes his ill health and frailty to his habit of alcohol abuse.

### ***Nur Jahan's Early Life***

Nur Jahan's Persian grandfather had been in the service of Shah Tahmasp and had died in Yazd laden with honors. His heir, however, soon fell upon evil days so that his son, Mirza Ghiyas-ud-Din Muhammad, was forced to set out from Tehran for India with his family. It was on this journey, at Qandahar

in 1577 A.D. that his wife Asmat Begum gave birth to a daughter, who was named Mehr-un-Nisa<sup>41</sup> (moon of the woman), a name which her future title of Nur Jahan has almost brought into oblivion. Mirza Ghiyas got success to have some *jagir* (property) from Akbar and on account of his hard work and honesty; he rose to the high position of *diwan* (chamberlain) of Kabul. He rose further in rank, and continued in service later during Jahangir's reign with the title *Itimad-ud-Daullah* or 'pillar of the state.' In 1594 A.D. at the age of seventeen, Mehrunnisa was given in marriage to Ali Quli Khan Istajlu, a Persian adventurer. Ali Quli had been a *safarchi*, or table attendant, to Safawid monarch Shah Ismail-II of Persia, but on the event of Persian king's assassination had fled through Qandahar to India.<sup>42</sup> Ali Quli, after rendering good military service, had been attracted to Salim's staff, and was rewarded by the title of Sher Afgan (tiger-slayer) for his gallant conduct during a hunting expedition.<sup>43</sup> Later on, he was also bequeathed with a high-ranked important post in the province of Bengal. But in a little while, Jahangir came to know that Sher Afgan was an insubordinate and disposed to be rebellious. Consequently, Qutub-ud-Din Kokultash, the foster brother of Jahangir, and the new Governor of Bengal, was directed to chastise him. When Qutub-ud-Din went to carry out orders, he was killed by Sher Afgan who himself was put to death by the attendants of Qutub-ud-Din. In 1607 A.D. Sher Afgan's widow Mehr-un-Nisa and her little daughter Ladli Begum (the pampered one),<sup>44</sup> was brought to Agra as royal detainees.

When she was merely a noblewoman at Court, and until she was thirty-four years old, there was nothing in her life that gave an indication of how famous, or powerful she would eventually become. Beni Prasad says that; "no gift of nature seemed to be wanting to her (Nur Jahan). Beautiful with the rich beauty of Persia, her soft features were lightened up with a sprightly vivacity and superb loveliness." She possessed an oval face, close lips, ample forehead and large blue eyes.<sup>45</sup> In March, 1611 A.D. Jahangir remained struck to see Mihr-un-Nisa in the New Year's feast, later on, soon he saw her in the palace of Salima Sultana Begum, where she was residing. This time Mehr-un-Nisa, dressed in the usual white, was present in the hall to receive him. A faint, bashful smile on

her face conveyed to Jahangir more than what any words could tell. After a few throbbing moments, the monarch asked if she would marry him. "A subject has no choice", replied the future Queen of Hindustan.<sup>46</sup> Thus, Jahangir married her on May 25, of the same year. Afterwards, Jahangir proclaimed her a partner in his powers and gave her the title of "*Nur Mahal*" (light of the palace) and later on, she was given the title of "*Nur Jahan*" (light of the world). Undoubtedly, she proved to be the light of the Emperor's eyes. Her inclusion in the harem introduced a new force into the life of the Mughal Court. "Slowly but steadily she spread her influence to every nook and corner."<sup>47</sup>

The marriage of Jahangir with Nur Jahan in 1611 A.D. was one of the most romantic and important events in the history of the Sub-continent. For fifteen years she stood forth as a strong and the most striking personality in the Empire. She soon became Jahangir's last and most influential wife. "The facts, however, indicates that far from being an evil genius hovering over Jahangir, she was his guardian angel."<sup>48</sup> Nur Jahan was a good wife and a Queen whose patronage explored and utilized the structures of power available to her without straining their integrity.

### ***How far Jahangir was Responsible for the Murder of Sher Afgan?***

There has been a lot of controversy regarding the circumstances of the death of Sher Afgan and the marriage of her widow Mehrunnissa with Jahangir. Most of the historians are of the opinion that Prince Salim (Jahangir) love Mehr-un-Nisa and he was responsible for the murder of her husband Sher Afgan. Munshi Lal comments that; "Akbar proclaimed that never again shall a Mughal King ask a husband to divorce his wife in his favor. Jahangir respected his father's wish. He did not ask Sher Afghan to divorce Mehr-un-Nisa. He killed him."<sup>49</sup> This love story has a lot of prominence in Indian history. Dr. Beni Prasad, the author of his monumental work on Jahangir writes that Prince Salim had never seen Mahr-un-Nisa before 1611 A.D. He maintained that no contemporary Persian source supported the view that Jahangir as a prince had desired to

marry Mahr-un-Nisa, or Jahangir in any way, was responsible for the murder of Sher Afgan. Likewise, the contemporary European travelers and missionaries are also silent on this point.<sup>50</sup> Thus, it was purely an accident during the execution of an administrative issue in which Sher Afgan and Qutub-ud-Din, both were killed in a rival situation. V.D Mahajan further says in this regard that; “a woman like Nur Jahan would never have agreed to marry the murderer of her husband.”<sup>51</sup>

### ***Nur Jahan’s Personality and her Dimensional Role***

Nur Jahan complemented Jahangir’s shortcoming in so many ways. She had a perfect balance between mind and heart. Jahangir writes about his beloved wife Nur Jahan with emotion; that Nur Jahan Begam, whose skill and experience are greater than those of the physicians, especially as they are brought to bear through affection and sympathy, endeavored to diminish the number of my cups, and to carry out the remedies that appeared appropriate to the time, and soothing to the condition.<sup>52</sup> Manucci says; “Nur Jahan succeeded in making the king drink less than he had done formerly, and after many entreaties he agreed that he would not drink more than nine cupfuls.”<sup>53</sup> Jahangir further says; “she by degrees, lessened my wine, and kept me from things that did not suit me and food that disagreed with me.”<sup>54</sup> Commenting upon Nur Jahan, K.S Lal writes “she had won his heart with her devotion.”<sup>55</sup>

Nur Jahan married Jahangir at the ‘old’ age of 34. She gave him no heirs; in fact, she gave him no children. Yet Jahangir loved her so deeply and obsessively that he transferred his powers of sovereignty to her. With her natural beauty she combined the most fascinating manners and high intellectual attainments. Her quick wit, charming and refined conversation, elegant manners, graceful and dignified deportment and keen intelligence made her a most welcome companion in the circle of the ladies of rank and the royal family. Nur Jahan was fluent in many languages and was an excellent conversationalist. She came from a family that had a strong background in literary and scholarly accomplishments. She wrote poems and prose and opted the pseudonym of

'*Makhfi*' (the veiled one) as a poetess.<sup>56</sup> Nur Jahan was a glimpse of the tremendous influence of the Mughal women had in the imperial harem. They were physically confined behind the walls of a harem, lived behind a veil, and they could be thought of as being inconsequential in the country's politics or even in their own social circles. The ladies of the Harem did not generally participate in outdoor games both because of *parda* (veil) and the physical exertion involved. As a Queen, Nur Jahan did not observe *parda*, her portraits too are probably after her own model. "Nur Jahan is probably the lone example among harem women who shot tigers and lions."<sup>57</sup> She challenged the social and cultural conventions of her day and pushed them to the greatest limits without breaking them.

Nur Jahan had a preference for representational art perhaps reflecting the more emblematic art in her homeland of Persia, and also brought new subject matter into the Mughal Empire. She combined her artistic ideas with influences from the secular subject matter coming in from Europe creating many new paintings with subject matter that had not previously been rendered in Mughal India. Nur Jahan was a woman of great distinction and many interests; she excelled at playing musical instruments and singing. Her accomplishments made her an irresistible companion and her taste extended beyond the patronage of painting and architecture to the designing and creation of new patterns in palace interiors, room-decorations, gold ornaments, brocades, carpets, lace, gowns and dresses so that the fashion in women's clothing adopted in her time were still in vogue.<sup>58</sup> Women's clothes also went through a change at this time because of Nur Jahan, who was responsible for bringing in a number of new materials and styles from all over the world. These new materials were for both the royalty and the populace. Many new patterns and stitches were invented by Nur Jahan. A particular brocade of pattern called *nur-mahali*, *do-dami*, *panchatolia* for *orhnis* (veils), *badha*, and *kinari* are still famous. One such custom that is still current in India and Pakistan is the white floor cloth commonly known as '*farsh-i-chandani*' (white floor sheet).<sup>59</sup> The thrust of Nur Jahan's innovation was on providing something that could be used by the rich and the poor alike. She was careful to

bring out and introduce items that not only had a large group appeal to but they were relatively inexpensive. Jahangir was a lover of fashion and new designs. His clothes and turbans are said to have been extremely more elaborate and luxurious than any of the other previous Emperors. The new fashions and designs that he wore are accounted for during the time of his life with Nur Jahan.

Nur Jahan was fond of arranging great feasts and had become a model for the royal ladies, on another; she cared for the poor and the dispossessed, and made the cause of orphan girls especially her own.<sup>60</sup> She was supposed as a social worker and said to have been the asylum to all sufferers and a generous patron of many needy suppliants, especially of dowry less girls. Through her influence the Court of the great Mughal was filled with great nobles from Persia.<sup>61</sup> Nur Jahan's mother Asmat Begum also invented '*itr-e-gulab*' (rose perfume) which was named '*itr-e-Jahangiri*'<sup>62</sup> and has been erroneously regarded as Nur Jahan's invention.

The Persian influence on the Mughal architecture, as in other spheres of contemporary life, had been mounting with the domination of Mirza Ghiyas Beg and his daughter, the Queen Nur Jahan, in the Court.<sup>63</sup> Jahangir's Court, particularly under the influence of his imperious consort, Nur Jahan, patronized a culture, no doubt eclectic in character, in which the foreign, especially the Persian element predominated.<sup>64</sup> She supported and illustrated wall-carvings in the buildings with the different types of patterns and styles of embroidery. She was also responsible, almost single-handedly, for the many artistic, architectural, and cultural achievements of the Jahangir era. Her cultural and artistic achievements derived largely from the immense resources at her command. But they were also, in equal measure, due to her unflagging energy and the keenness of her aesthetic vision. Jahangir fell in love with it even more deeply with his Queen Nur Jahan that he was to make the famous gardens of Nishat and Shalimar.<sup>65</sup> The most alluring and influential of all the arts of Nur Jahan, however, was the most ephemeral, that of gardening. Villiers Stuarts has ranked Nur Jahan along with Babur as the best and most prolific of all those who inspired and designed Mughal gardens, and even goes so far as to call Nur

Jahan herself “the greatest garden lover of them all.”<sup>66</sup> Her artistic achievements include Nur Mahal Sarai at Jalandhar, the Mughul gardens of Kashmir and Agra, and the tomb of her father Itmad-ud-Daullah, also in Agra. Nur Jahan built this tomb after her father’s death in January 1622 A.D. It took six years to finish the tomb and 1.35 million rupees (1,350,000) to pay for it. She built it in her father’s gardens on the east bank of the Yamuna (Jamna) River across from Agra. Tomb of Itamad-ud-Daullah is indeed the most gorgeously decorated monument of the Mughals.<sup>67</sup> It was the first example of the use of white marble embellished with the precise inlay of precious stones into the surface of marble facing, and technically said to be ahead of even the construction of Taj Mahal. Nur Jahan also created many different gardens throughout the Empire, both public and private; unfortunately, majority of them are not left for viewing in present time. Keeping a garden healthy and tended for five hundred years is a task that could not accomplished easily. All that remains are accounts of what they would have looked like and what species they may have contained. Nur Jahan created a tradition in the gardens design of using water to accentuate the layout with fountains, pools and channels.

### ***Nur Jahan’s Political Role***

Nur Jahan was a woman of unusual ability, and soon acquired a great ascendancy over her husband. In fact, she became the joint ruler of the kingdom. She exercised political authority with intelligence, courage and astuteness. Jahangir was weakened by alcohol and asthma, in 1620 A.D. therefore, he could not dominate Court affairs properly. Nur Jahan exercised a good influence on her husband and got mammoth power in the Court. She checked his item atonement and cruelty to some extent. Her husband took on less and less responsibility as he sank further and further into clouds of opium smoke. She gained dominance at the Court and soon became a powerful, resourceful and honored woman over a relatively short amount of time. She was in short said Manucci, eminently “worthy to be a queen.”<sup>68</sup> Inayat Khan writes in *Shahjahan-nama* that; “Queen



Nur Jahan Begam had gradually acquired such unbounded influence over His Majesty's mind that she seized the reins of government and abrogated to herself the supreme civil and financial administration of the realm, ruling absolute authority till the conclusion of his reign."<sup>69</sup>

During Jahangir's reign, according to Bernier, Nur Jahan was known as the Queen "who wielded the scepter, while her husband abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation," as her "transcendent abilities rendered her competent to govern the Empire without the interference of her husband."<sup>70</sup> Once, Jahangir said that Nur Jahan was wise enough to conduct the business of state, and additionally, according to Abul Fazl, Emperor Jahangir used to say: "Before I married her, I never knew what marriage really meant," and, "I have conferred the duties of government on her: I shall be satisfied if I have a *ser* of wine and half a *ser* of meat per *dium*."<sup>71</sup> Jahangir's failing health after 1622 A.D. led him to rely increasingly on his wife in matters of state and, as he himself admitted, "I gave the establishment and everything belonging to the government and Amirship of I'timadu-daulat to Nurjahan Begum, and ordered that her drums and orchestra should be sounded after those of the king."<sup>72</sup> Her success raised her ambitions and in course of time her influence and active participation in state affairs increased. Nur Jahan was a woman of great judgment and, of a verity. "Jahangir struck coins on her name, which had for symbol the twelve signs of the zodiac, and in her time these were current money."<sup>73</sup> Moreover, "the Emperor granted Nur Jahan the rights of sovereignty and government (and) on all *farmans* receiving the Imperial signature, the name of Nur Jahan, the Queen Begum, was jointly attached."<sup>74</sup> Her firm political ascendancy is also shown by the number of *farmans* or *hukms* issued by her. "Nur Jahan as being the Royal-Consort possessed her *hukm* as *hukm-i-uliyai aliya mahdi uliya Nur Jahan Badshah Begum* along with the seal of a lozenge shape."<sup>75</sup> This seal was engraved in 1620-21 A.D. An exemption was, however, made in the case of Nur Jahan, as the royal seal contained her signature.<sup>76</sup> This was the first time in Indian history that a woman had ever been allowed to do this. Jahangir's heavy gold coin of unit 1,000 *muhar* has now become world's heritage and remains unrivalled world

wide. This gigantic decorated *muhar* though the author of this couplet is still unknown. It is worth of being reproduced below;

*“bi-hukm-i-Shah Jahangir yaft sad zivar  
bi-nam-i- Nur Jahan Padshah Baigum zar.”<sup>77</sup>*

*Which means;* by the order of Jahangir, gold attained a hundred times its beauty when the name of Nur Jahan, the First Lady of the Court was impressed upon it.

All her relations and connections were raised to honor and wealth. Mirza Ghiyas Beg (Itimad-ud-Daullah) in consequences of his daughter's marriage with the Emperor was made *Wakil-i-kul* or Prime Minister, and a commander of 6,000, 3,000 horses. He also received a flag and a drum, and was later allowed to beat his drum at the Court, which was a rare privilege.<sup>78</sup> His son Abul Hasan first received the title of I'tiqad Khan; subsequently the title of Asaf Khan was conferred upon him, afterwards, he relinquished the former title of I'tiqad Khan.<sup>79</sup> Nur Jahan's relatives had been in high offices in the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Mirza Ghias Beg had three sons and three daughters including Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan, they were namely: Muhammad Sharif (known as Mirza Abu Talib Shaista Khan), Governor Bengal, Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jang, Governor of Bihar, and younger than Nur Jahan, and was married to Haji Hur Parwar Khanum (Nur Jahan's *khala* or maternal aunt who lived up to the middle of Aurangzeb's reign),<sup>80</sup> Nur Jahan's sisters also fared well after her marriage to the Emperor. A brother-in-law, Mir Qasim, for example, known as Qasim Khan Juvaini, husband of Nur Jahan's sister Manija, was given a *mansab* of 500 *zat* in 1611 A.D. and by Jahangir's death in 1627 A.D. had been raised to 4,000 *zat* and 2,000 *sawar* and was made the Governor of Agra. The husband of another sister Khadija Begum, a man named Hakim Baig, was in time honored with the title Hakim Khan and with the usual presents due 'one of the household of the Court.'<sup>81</sup> Nur Jahan's role in the rise of her family's fortune was significant; it is true that before 1611 A.D. her no family member held a provincial Governorship under Jahangir, and

between 1611 and 1627 A.D. about twelve such members did.<sup>82</sup> The significance of this family lies in their hold and dominance at the Mughal Court and as well as on Jahangir, as he writes in his Tuzuk that “I presented Itiqad Khan (Asaf Khan) with one of my special swords called *sar-andaz* (thrower of heads).”<sup>83</sup> Likewise Sadiq Khan, the nephew of Itimad-ud-Dowllah, who was permanently employed as *Bakhshi*, was honored with the title of ‘Khan’. Nur Jahan provided for all her relations; even her nurse, Da’i Dilaram, enjoyed much influence, and held the post of *Sadr-i-anas* (*sadr* of women).<sup>84</sup> The family in general and Nur Jahan in particular also contributed to the extravagant lifestyle of both Jahangir and Shah Jahan; which inspired the subsequent use of the word ‘Moghal’ in the English language.<sup>85</sup> There is no doubt that until Asaf Khan’s death in 1641 A.D. for over three decades this obscure family from Persia wielded enormous power in the Mughal Empire and exerted significant influence on the politics and culture of their time.

During this period the Persian foreign element in the imperial service slightly increased when Nur Jahan was at the helm of affairs. Manucci says: “Through her (Nur Jahan) influence the court of the Great Mogul (Mughal) was filled with great nobles from Persia.”<sup>86</sup> Moreover, “the Shias (Ithna Asharis) had become a permanent fixture in the Muslim society of India.”<sup>87</sup> In view of Nur Jahan influence which she exercised in the affairs of the state, many historians have recognized the domination of her small family clique presided over by the Empress during 1622-27 A.D. while others have postulated the existence of Nur Jahan’s Junta for the period 1611-22 A.D. Junta, was an specific team which was included over Nur Jahan’s mother, Ismat Begum; her father, Itimad-ud-Daullah; her brother, Asaf Khan and Jahangir’s second son, Prince Khurram<sup>88</sup> who was married to Arjumand Banu Begum, daughter of Asaf Khan in 1612 A.D. This Junta roused the jealousy of older nobles like Mahabat Khan and others. The entire Mughal nobility was divided into two factions; the adherents of Nur Jahan’s Junta and their opponents.<sup>89</sup> While the theory of Nur Jahan’s Junta has rightly been disputed, it is difficult to deny the fact of her ascendancy during the last five years of Jahangir’s reign when “she actively participated in the politics of her time

as is evident from a number of *hukms* (royal orders) issued by her. These *hukms* bear either of the two seals of Nur Jahan; one refers to her as Queen-Consort, but another mentions her as Empress, which is quite significant in determining her ascendancy.”<sup>90</sup>

The power of Junta was substantial and could be carried, as it often was, to extreme excess up to impossible advancement. Nevertheless, the group managed, by an intricate network of communication and vested interest, to promote their own concerns while at the same time protecting the king from unnecessary responsibility. According to Pelsaert Francisco, a Portuguese traveler during the Jahangir’s era, the Junta worked as follows; “If anyone with a request to make at Court obtains an audience or is allowed to speak, the King hears him indeed, but will give no definite answer of Yes or No, referring him promptly to Asaf Khan, who in the same way will dispose of no important matter without communicating with his sister, the Queen, and who regulates his attitude in such a way that the authority of neither of them may be diminished. Anyone then who obtains a favor must thank them for it, and not the King.”<sup>91</sup> About this political scenario Gascoigne Bamber comments that, “the quarter of advisers whose voices could so easily sway the emperor consisted of Nur Jahan and her father and brother together with Prince Khurram.”<sup>92</sup>

Thence, “the first open indication of the new shuffling of political parties was given in December 1620 A.D. when Shahriyar was betrothed to Ladli Begum, Jahangir’s incapable youngest son, henceforward became Nur Jahan’s candidate for heir ship to the imperial throne.”<sup>93</sup> It is said that Nur Jahan tried her very best to marry Ladli Begum, first to Khusrau, Jahangir’s eldest, then to Khurram, but neither could be made to take an interest in Ladli. Shahriyar was then an immature young man with dissolute inclinations, whose mother had been a concubine. The formal betrothal took place at Lahore to be followed by a wedding at Agra.<sup>94</sup> Thereafter, the seed of trouble between her and Khurram was sown. It was naturally presumed that she would throw her influence on the side of her son-in-law.<sup>95</sup> Khurram’s marriage with Arjumand Bano Begum (Mumtaz Mahal) daughter of Asaf Khan may have been the cause of some ill-feeling

between Khurram and Nur Jahan. During 1617-19 A.D. Nur Jahan had gained sufficient influence to affect the career of certain families and nobles. At one stage in 1620 A.D. the interests of Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan were at variance; Asaf Khan supported the cause of his son-in-law Khurram and the energies of Nur Jahan were at work to promote the cause of her son-in-law Shahriyar. Thereafter they ceased to work in unison as their interests clashed.<sup>96</sup>

The situation has already become fluid as consequence of these marriages. Tensions between Nur Jahan and Khurram rose as the Prince looked forward eagerly to his patrimony and acted more and more as a ruling sovereign.<sup>97</sup> Khurram had become dissatisfied and looked at Nur Jahan's rise with serious apprehension. Subsequently, Nur Jahan started to create difficulties for Khurram who was then tackling for the extension of the Mughal Empire in Daccan, and have already earned from Jahangir the title of '*Shah Jahan*' (the king of the world). In 1622 A.D. the news reached to Mughal Court that Shah Abbas-I of Persia have besieged Qandahar, which had already been from hundred years, as bone of contention between Mughal and Safawid Empires. Nur Jahan, now securely in power herself and with the decisions for the administration of the Empire almost totally in her hands, saw Qandahar as a way to get Shah Jahan into trouble. Consequently, Shah Jahan was ordered by Jahangir to proceed to Qandahar to aid in its defense. These orders were actually instigated by Nur Jahan who wanted to place him in a difficult situation. Shah Jahan's refusal to march for the recovery of Qandahar was actually due to Nur Jahan's intrigues to place Shahriyar on the throne.<sup>98</sup> Shah Jahan then left with no choice but of rebellion. Emperor quickly retorted by giving the leadership of Qandahar campaign to his unskilled son Shahriyar and depriving Shah Jahan of his Jagirs in Hissar and Doab. Soon Shah Jahan's revolt was crushed and it seemed that his chances of ever regaining sufficient power to contest the succession had been irretrievably damaged.<sup>99</sup> During this troublesome period, Nur Jahan remained busy in safeguarding her interest of getting the future throne to her son-in-law. It is true that Shah Jahan fell into rebellion gradually, and all that happened was mainly due to Nur Jahan's nefarious policy of pushing him

aside and forcing him out of the lines of power. Thus, Mughal Empire had to loose on two sides, one was Daccan and the other Qandahar. In this way, Nur Jahan had become an object of controversy, this controversy primarily revolves around:

- (i) Her ambition to rule over through her family around.
- (ii) Her grabbing of royal power through her influence over her loving and doting husband Jahangir.
- (iii) Her plunging the country into disorder because of her animosity to Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan.<sup>100</sup>

Nur Jahan, however, did not stop here. She also wanted to ruin General Mahabat Khan who apparently was a hurdle in her authority and efforts of grasping the throne for Shahriyar. For the prosecution of her ambitious designs, she tried to kneel down and humiliate Mahabat Khan in numerous ways and insulted his own son-in-law on his wedding occasion. Finding no way, she accused him of embezzlement and disloyalty, and was called upon to clear his position. Under these circumstances, the out break of the uprising of Mahabat Khan, in 1626 A.D. yielded more disastrous results. Mahabat Khan had the impunity to tell the Empire in no ambiguous words that it didn't befit a man to become subordinate to a woman. Finding his advice insufficient to move the Emperor, eventually, the situation became so bad that Mahabat Khan even had to capture the Emperor when the imperial camp was crossing the Jehlum for Kashmir. Nur Jahan then made peace with him; Jahangir was released but died soon afterwards.<sup>101</sup> The death of Jahangir on October 29, 1627 A.D. brought the question of the succession to the fore. Nur Jahan, in expectation of the crisis, had for a long time been making almost frantic efforts to perpetuate her domination. However, Nur Jahan made a final bid to retain her power. "She hurriedly sent a messenger to her son-in-law, Shahriyar, to prepare for a struggle, and even tried to imprison her brother. But Asaf Khan was quite alert, and proved too astute to fall a prey to her machinations."<sup>102</sup> On the eve of the death of Jahangir's son Prince Pervaiz on October 18, 1626 A.D. Shah Abbas-I,

the Safawid ruler of Persia, sent a condolatory embassy under Takhta Beg with four letters; two were for Jahangir, one for Prince Shahriyar and the most interesting was one addressed to Nur Jahan Begum. This letter makes a brief mention of recent Persian victories against the Turks, condolence over Pervaiz's demise, and finally, making a reference to his (Shah's) close friendship with Jahangir, says: "If your majesty were to consider this House (Persian Dynasty) as your own and were to assign to servants of this dynasty any business at this end, it would further augment mutual amity and union."<sup>103</sup> This is a unique letter, being addressed by a king to a foreign queen; the only one of its kind in Indo-Persian state correspondence. The letter also indicates the understanding of Shah Abbas towards Nur Jahan's dominant position in the Mughal Empire.<sup>104</sup>

But Nur Jahan's glory never vanished. Beauty and romance enveloped her in youth, power and magnificence during the years of her rule. She knew how to wield power when she possessed it. She renounced it when it went out of her grasp. Jahangir's death in 1627 A.D. left her a widowed recluse and she wrote:

"My eyes have no other work but to shed tears,  
Yes, what work can people without hands and feet do."<sup>105</sup>

At the time of political crisis in 1627 A.D. after the death of Jahangir, Shahriyar, at the instigation of Nur Jahan, proclaimed himself Emperor at Lahore. In these unacceptable circumstances, Asaf Khan played a very important role in securing the succession for his son-in-law Shah Jahan. Thus Sultan Khurram became Emperor of India in January, 1628 A.D. with the title Shah Jahan, which had been conferred on him by his father Jahangir. He made Asaf Khan his *wazir/vakil-i-kul* (Prime Minister), and Mahabat Khan his Commander-in-Chief, and dubbed him "my dear brother and faithful friend *Mobarez-al-Din, Sepah-salar Khan-e-Khanan*."<sup>106</sup> Asaf Khan, permanently held his post till his death in 1641 A.D. Nur Jahan's power came to an end after Shah Jahan became the Emperor. She worked against the interests of Shah Jahan in the lifetime of Jahangir and after his death for the intention of lifting up Shahriyar to the throne. If a man had done it, he would have paid the last penalty and been executed, but Nur Jahan

was given a handsome pension and treated with consideration. She also had the good sense of retiring completely from the political arena.

Just how influential Nur Jahan was at the Court? How much she directed the Empire's policies and politics? No women had wielded more power and for such a long time in Indian history as Nur Jahan Begum. She played a hefty role in influencing and shaping the Mughal Empire, which encompassed almost entire of modern-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and a massive chunk of northern and central India. The manner, in which Nur Jahan became in Indian history, as only a widow with a child to don the robes of an Empress, is worth of noticing. A vast change can be observed, in Nur Jahan's circumstances from being the wife of a Persian soldier to the wife of the Emperor, on her way to becoming the most powerful woman of the Mughal dynasty.

The Empress Nur Jahan was not formally a partner in sovereignty; she was neither enthroned nor crowned but she took an active part in the politics of the empire and became quite powerful; her influence can be felt in every segment of her era. In fact, she was the real sovereign, the power behind Jahangir's throne. She was able to influence political decisions, coins, designs in materials, architecture, the structure and layouts of gardens, traded with foreign countries, owned ships that plied the Arabian Sea routes and many other aspects of Mughal life. In contrast to them, Nur Jahan was off course, mother to orphans of the poor, a leader of female society, generous to the needy people, and ambitious too. Her ambition to rule the Empire and her intrigues to safeguard her dominance created troubles during the last few years of Jahangir's reign. To some extent; the reaction to the rise of the family of Nur Jahan, the rivalry among princes, and groups of Court nobles, all helped to shake the stability of the Mughal Empire.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, she proved herself more than a match for the ablest personnel and politicians of her age.

At the death-bed, just a few days before her death, on a night Nur Jahan suffered a spasm of cutting pain in her belly, and Hakim Shakurullah was called. Aware perhaps that her end was near, Nur Jahan refused to take any medicine. Instead, she requested the waiting physician to take down from her a partying



message. In slow and measured words she narrated to him that what her mother Asmat Begum had told her on the day Jahangir took her as wife: "I have no costly presents to give to an Empress. Perhaps a word of advice will do. Cross not the Emperor's way. In each thing give him way. Submit to his will. This is the surest way to conquer and possess any man, more so a King. Else you may lose him before you know your whereabouts in the zig-zag of the palace. Now go my dearest daughter, ascend the throne, and may Allah keep you there for ever."<sup>108</sup> There were tears in Nur Jahan's eyes as she finished. She requested the Hakim to tell the women of the world the secret of her hold over Jahangir: "I never said no to him; obedience with a smile was the secret of my success. I ruled over Hindustan by letting myself be ruled by one man."<sup>109</sup> After spoken thus, Nur Jahan fell into a coma. She did not gain her consciousness till the morning. In the mean time, a team of royal physicians had come to attend her, but Nur Jahan's reluctance to take medicine, however, remained firm. When Masih-uz-Zaman Shaikh Sadruddin begged her to swallow a few drops of an herbal concoction, she mustered her failing strength, and recited in a low, feeble voice her famous couplet that "on my grave be placed neither a candle nor a flower, that the lark and the moth may thus be saved the agony of love."<sup>110</sup> Then the dying Queen turned to Ladli Begum who stood deep in sorrow. "Grieve not my child", she said, "Allah knows all. I was born in a desert. The wheel will come full circle when my bones are interned in a grave bearing the look of desertion. Neither flowers nor fountains should destroy the despoliation of my last resting place. This is my last will and testament."<sup>111</sup> On the next day October 6, 1645 A.D. in the city of Lahore, the angels of death did the proud act of taking soul into their possession of a woman unparalleled in the history of Hindustan. Queen Nur Jahan Begum was seventy-two years of age when she departed.<sup>112</sup>

Shah Jahan respected the wishes of her illustrious step-mother. She was laid to rest in a modest grave near the tomb of her husband at Shahdara near Lahore.<sup>113</sup> She was buried in the mausoleum which she had erected during her lifetime to the west of the enclosure containing the remains of the late Emperor Jahangir, near the tomb of Yamin al-Daullah Asaf Khan, the *Khan Khanan* and

commander-in-chief.<sup>114</sup> Both Nur Jahan and her daughter Ladli Begum are buried in parallel graves of the tomb,<sup>115</sup> while, Nur Jahan herself lies in a bare and simple grave. "She reaped as a widow what she had sown as the Empress. Her distress at the death-bed was a measure of her disillusionment with Destiny. She died wiser than she was at any stage of her ascendancy."<sup>116</sup> However, there is one powerful testimony to recall those days when Nur Jahan was manifested with power, and to her general character; it is probably her tomb.

### **Qandahari Mahal**

Qandahari Mahal was the daughter of Mirza Muzaffar Husain Safawi, who was a grandson of Shah Ismail and was Governor of Qandahar. Mirza Muzaffar having some problems with the Safawid ruling authorities and perceiving the Uzbek pressure to capture Qandahar was forced to capitulate on terms to surrender it to the Mughals. Therefore, as Akbar who was keenly waiting for any chance to capture Qandahar, immediately sent Shah Beg Khan Arghun, Governor of Bangash, to take prompt possession of Qandahar, and though, as in all his undertakings, Muzaffar wavered at the last moment and had recourse to trickery, he was obliged by the firm and prudent behavior of Shah Beg Khan. In this way Qandahari Mahal had to leave her native place to visit India in the company of her father and came to India during Akbar's reign near about in the end of 1595 A.D. when her father and her four brothers, Bahram Mirza, Haider Mirza, Alqas Mirza and Tahmasp Mirza and 1000 *qazilbash* soldiers arrived in India.<sup>117</sup> Muzaffar Khan received from Akbar the title of *Farzand* (son), and was made a Commander of five thousand, and received Sambhal as *Jagir* (property), "which is worth more than all Qandahar."<sup>118</sup>

Mirza Muzaffar Husain had exchanged the lordship of Qandahar for a high rank and splendid salary in the service of Akbar. His younger brother Mirza Rustam, also immigrated to India in Akbar's reign and rose to eminence under Jahangir. The Mughal Emperors made the most of this opportunity of ennobling their blood by alliance with the royal family of Persia even through a younger

branch.<sup>119</sup> Muzaffar found everything in India bad, and sometimes resolved to go to Persia, and sometimes to Makkah. From grief and disappointment, and a bodily hurt, he died in 1008 A.H. (1599 A.D.). After his death, Qandahari Mahal was married to Shah Jahan in 1609 A.D. Jahangir writes in his *Tuzuk* that “previously to this I had the daughter of Mirza Muzaffar Husain, son of Sultan Husain Mirza Safawi, ruler of Qandahar, betrothed to my son Sultan Khurram, and on this the marriage meeting had been arranged, I went to the house of Baba Khurram and passed the night there.”<sup>120</sup> Qandahari Mahall gave birth in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) to Nawab Parvez Banu Begum. Her three sons remained in India i.e. Bahram Mirza, Hayder Mirza and Ismail Mirza who rose to dignity under Shah Jahan. The *Ma’asir Alamgiri* mentions her other two sons, Alqas Mirza and Tahmas Mirza.<sup>121</sup> The Mughal Emperor made the most of this opportunity ennobling their blood by alliance with the royal family of Persia even through a younger branch.<sup>122</sup> Therefore, two daughters of Mirza Rustam were also married to the Princes Parviz and Shuja. Rustam’s son had become a high grandee with the title of Shah Nawaz Khan. One daughter of Shah Nawaz named Dilrus Banu was betrothed to Aurangzeb in 1637 A.D. and next year another daughter was married to Murad Buksh.<sup>123</sup> After the death of Qandahari Begum, a mausoleum called *Hauz-i-Kalan* at Agra was built for her memory.<sup>124</sup>

## **Mumtaz Mahal**

Arjumand Bano Begum, later known as Mumtaz Begum, was the daughter of Asaf Khan, brother of Nur Jahan, and *Wazir* (Prime Minister) of the Empire of Jahangir. She was Ithna Ashari by conviction; Persian through parentage, this Mughal Queen lived like a Hindu Princess. She was married to Prince Khurram in April, 1612 A.D. She was as exquisitely lovely as her wonderful aunt Nur Jahan. Mumtaz Begum remained as Queen just for three years,<sup>125</sup> but, she was indeed one of the greatest women to have appeared on the Mughal stage. Unlike Nur Jahan or her own daughter Jahanara, who was the fourth important women in Shah Jahan’s life, Mumtaz Begum remains a mysterious, shadowy figure.<sup>126</sup> She

is better known because of her association with the Taj; she possessed a pure and generous heart. Her cheerfulness was imperturbable. She preserved patience under the direst sufferings. She had a lofty sense of conjugal duty. She surrendered her mind and soul to her husband who loved her as never wife was loved. She sustained Shah Jahan in his sufferings, wanderings and exile and also in his flight from place to place in the inhospitable regions of Telingana, Bengal, Rajasthan and the Deccan.<sup>127</sup> Inayat Khan the celebrated author of *Shahjahan-Nama* writes; "Her Majesty Arjumand Bano Begam, who was already betrothed to him (Prince Khurram); and on the night of Friday, May 10, 1612 A.D. At the beginning of the eight year of the reign on March 30, 1613 A.D. a daughter of pure descent was born to Her Majesty, and the Emperor Jahangir gave to this first auspicious child the name of Hur al-Nisa Begam and also adopted her as his own daughter."<sup>128</sup> Emperor Aurangzeb was Shah Jahan's third son with Mumtaz Mahal.<sup>129</sup> On his accession to the throne, Shah Jahan awarded two lakhs of *ashrafis* and six lakhs of rupees to Her Majesty the Queen, Arjumand Bano Begam; and ten lakhs of rupees was fixed as the annual allowance for that Queen of the Age. She enjoyed the title of *Malika-i-Jahan* (the Queen of the world), but she was always been popularly known as Mumtaz Mahal (exalted of the palace), a title bestowed on her by Shah Jahan on his accession.<sup>130</sup>

Mumtaz Mahal participated in the affairs of the state. She was entrusted with the custody of the Royal Seal. The state documents were sent into the harem and it was her privilege to affix the Royal Seal on them. Tirmizi says; "Mumtaz Mahal as being the Royal-Consort possessed her *hukm* as *hukm-i-uliyai aliya mahdi uliya Mumtaz Mahal Begum* along with the seal of a round shape."<sup>131</sup> Shah Jahan usually consulted her on private as well as state affairs. She also advised the king in some matters in which she was personally interested. For example, when Shah Jahan wanted to punish Saif Khan, the Governor of Gujrat, whose loyalty he suspected; Mumtaz Mahal interceded on his behalf because he was the husband of her sister to whom she loved so much. Therefore, Shah Jahan relieved the rigors of the imprisonment of Saif Khan. In Shah Jahan's Court the Persian aristocracy, through the Queen Mumtaz

Mahall, was imbued with Persian ideas of grace and luxury carried almost to the point of over-refinement and exaggeration.<sup>132</sup> The Empress was hostile towards the Portuguese of Hugli. Manoel Tavers, a resident of Hugli, had let down Shah Jahan while he was in rebellion against Jahangir. Tavers took advantage of his helpless position had seized some of his richly laden boats and carried away some of his female servants including two slave-girls of Mumtaz Mahal. This and similar other insults rankled deep in the hearts of the royal couple. According to Mannuci, when Shah Jahan became Emperor his feeling of revenge was kindled by Mumtaz Mahal's resentment who had shared the humiliation.<sup>133</sup>

Shah Jahan indeed was greatly interested in women. Bernier corroborates him and remarks that Shah Jahan had weakness for the flesh.<sup>134</sup> And knowing his propensities some wives and daughters of the nobility placed themselves or had to place themselves at the service of the king. The intimacy of Shah Jahan with the wives of Jaffar Khan and Khalilullah Khan was the talk of the metropolis. K.S Lal says; "Farzana Begum, sister of Mumtaz Mahal and wife of Jaffar Khan, had been the mistress of Shah Jahan. It was even said that her son Namdar Khan was the son of Shah Jahan."<sup>135</sup> "As for myself", adds Manucci, "I have no doubt about it, for he (Namdar Khan) was very like Prince Dara."<sup>136</sup> Afterwards, Jaffar Khan and Khalilullah Khan, the Persian nobles, whose wives Shah Jahan had violated, avenged their humiliation by surreptitiously siding with Aurangzeb in the War of Succession.<sup>137</sup> Mumtaz Mahal had been properly educated and was highly cultured. She was adept in the Persian language, and her perception towards poetry was of excellence, and was also a poetess herself. Jahan Ara, her daughter, was also a good poetess and a prose writer. She wrote *Monis-ul-Arwah*, which is one of her worthiest piece of scholarly work.<sup>138</sup> She was a generous lady, her benevolence provided dowry for many needy girls. On her recommendation many persons received help and scholarships. She used to place before the king cases of the helpless and the destitute for royal favor. Hakim Rukna Kashi was given more than twenty thousand rupees on her recommendation. She also favored and patronized a renowned Sanskrit poet, Vanshidhar Mishra.<sup>139</sup>

Mumtaz Mahal passed away on June 7, 1631 A.D. After her death the rank of honor was transferred to her eldest daughter, Jahan Ara Begum, on whom Shah Jahan bestowed the title of *Sahibatuz Zamani*. She also enjoyed the title of *Badshah Begum*, but was commonly known as *Begum Sahiba*.<sup>140</sup> As if this was not strenuous enough, in her nineteen years of married life Mumtaz Mahal gave birth to fourteen children bringing forth one issue almost every year. Both these factors combined shattered her health and she died in the process of giving birth to the last one; a tragic climax to the life. Inayat Khan the celebrated author of *Shah Jahan Nama* writes that; “on the unfortunate demise of Her Majesty the Queen took place, and made the whole world a house of mourning. This treasury of chastity was buried temporarily in a pavilion in the garden of Zainabad at Burhanpur, which is situated on the other side of the river Tapi.”<sup>141</sup> Later on, she was permanently reburied in Agra and Shah Jahan built over her grave the most magnificent mausoleum in her memory to which the world has known as Taj Mahal. Loyalty won Mumtaz the beautiful trophy that is Taj Mahal. Mumtaz Mahal is rightly called the Lady of the Taj. The Taj Mahal is one of the wonders of the world and is a noble monument of conjugal love and fidelity.<sup>142</sup> Inayat Khan says “40 lakhs of rupees were expended by the skillful and experienced architects in completing this magnificent mausoleum.”<sup>143</sup> It is said that since religion restrained preservation of Mumtaz Mahal’s beauty in the form of sculpture, the Taj truly reflected her loveliness.

## **Sati Khanum**

She was from a Mazandaran family of Persia, and she was sister of Talib Amuli who in the reign of Jahangir received the title of *Malik-ush-Shuara* (Poet Laureate). She came to India during Jahangir’s reign. After the death of her husband Nasir, the brother of Hakim Rukna of Kashan, she entered the service of Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of Shah Jahan. She was adorned with an eloquent tongue and knowledge of etiquette, and knew house-keeping and medicine. She was an accomplished woman, achieved position far beyond the ones the other

servants did, eventually reached the rank of *muhرداری* (sealer). As she knew the art of reading the Holy Quran and was also acquainted with Persian literature; therefore, she was appointed as instructor to the Jahan Ara Begum (Aurangzeb's eldest daughter) and so attained a high distinction. After the death of Mumtaz Mahal, the Emperor in appreciation of her merits made her head of *harem*. As she had no child she adopted her brother's two daughters after his death. The elder one was married to Aqil Khan, and the younger to Zia-ud-Din styled as Rahmat Khan, who was a nephew of famous Hakim Rukna Kashi.<sup>144</sup>

In the 20<sup>th</sup> year of Shah Jahan's reign (1648 A.D.), when the royal residence was at Lahore, the younger daughter of whom the Khanum was very fond unfortunately died. The Khanum went home and mourned her death for some days. After that Emperor sent for her and placed her in quarters that he had in the palace and personally came to see her there and offered her consolation. She after discharging the duties connected with the presence of the Emperor surrendered her soul to God. The Emperor gave from the treasury Rs.10, 000 for her funeral and burial, and ordered that her body should be kept in a coffin placed in a temporary grave. After a year and odd it was carried to Agra and buried in a tomb west of the sepulcher of the Taj Mahal in the Jilaukhana Chauk.<sup>145</sup>

## **Dilras Begum**

Dilras Begum was the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, the son of Mirza Rustam Safawi. She was betrothed to Aurangzeb in 1637 A.D. and next year her sister was married to Murad Buksh.<sup>146</sup> On April 15, 1637 A.D. Aurangzeb arrived at Agra for his marriage. Shah Jahan wrote him a most loving invitation in verse to come and see him quickly and without ceremony. Next day the prince had audience of his father. The royal astrologers had fixed May 8, the date of the marriage. In the preceding evening was the ceremony of *henna-bandi* or dyeing the bridegroom's hands and feet with red juice of the *henna*. Following the Indian custom, the bride's father sent the *henna* in a grand procession of the male and

female friends of his house, servants and musicians. With the *henna* came an infinite variety of presents, a costly full-dress suit for the bridegroom, toilet needments, embroidered scarfs for his kinsfolk, perfumed essence, sugar-candy, huge quantities of confects, dried fruits, prepared betel-leaves, and fire-works.<sup>147</sup>

Aurangzeb combined in him the blood of a Turk, a Mongol, a Persian, a Transoxian and a Hindu, and the virility of Aurangzeb was due to this intermixture of these bloods.<sup>148</sup> He had a numerous progeny. His principal wife, Dilras Banu Begum, bore him five children: (1) Zeb-un-Nisa Begum, born at Daulatabad, on February 15, 1638 A.D. died at Dehli on May 26, 1702 A.D. She wrote Persian odes under the pen-name of *Makhfi* or the concealed one. But this pseudonym was used by many other poets. (2) Zinat-un-Nisa Begum or surnamed Padishah Begum, born October 5, 1643 A.D. at Aurangabad. She died at Delhi on May 7, 1721 A.D. (3) Zubdat-un-Nisa Begum, born at Multan on September 2, 1651 A.D. Died in February, 1707 A.D. (4) Muhammad Azam, born at Burhanpur on June 28, 1653 A.D. slain in the war of succession following his father's death on June 8, 1707 A.D. (5) Muhammad Akbar, born at Aurangabad on September 11, 1657 A.D. died in an exile in Persia about November, 1704 A.D. and buried at Mashhad.<sup>149</sup>



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149. J.N Sarkar, 1991, Op. Cit. p.39.



# **CHAPTER-VII**

## **Role of Persians**

### **In Mughal Culture**

#### **Arts and Society**

The Mughals were Persianized Turks who had invaded from Central Asia and claimed descent from both Timur and Chingiz Khan and they really strengthened the Persian culture in India. Mughal Emperors cultivated arts in the Persian style; enticing to their Courts Persian artists and architects came from Tabriz, Shiraz, Herat, and other cities of the Iranian plateau.<sup>1</sup> Apart from a number of Persian nobles, administrators, and soldiers, there were painters, calligraphers, architects, musicians, poets, physicians and people with diverse skills who immigrated to India during the Mughal regime.<sup>2</sup> This chapter will cover the multifarious role of these Persian immigrants in the cultural and artistic activities of Mughal India with a view to find out the specific change that was occurred as consequence in Mughal culture and society.

“Human beings are by nature family creatures,”<sup>3</sup> and amassment of the families is called society. Individual man is a miracle of the Creator unmatched in the world, but man by himself is, man in a vacuum. Vital to the life cycle of a man are his ties to family and other groups and the larger institutions they form.<sup>4</sup> In one sense culture, society and the individual cannot be separated from one another. Cultural values mold the personalities of members of a society and the structure of a society as well. People create and transmit culture, and society provides the structures, such as art institutes, in which these things take place. Thus, culture can be seen in both the individual and society, and in short culture is a system which can be transferred either by an individual or by people in bulk also.

Neil J. Smelser says that; “empirical knowledge, existential knowledge, values and forms of expression are the major elements of culture.”<sup>5</sup> Culture is the cement of social life which not only passes from one human being to another through socialization and contacts with other cultures, but it also provides a sense of belonging to a group. Members of the same cultural group are likely to understand, trust and sympathize with one another more than with outsiders. These shared feelings are reflected normally in slang and jargon, favorite foods and garments, religious or cultural festivals and traditions, and other artistic activities like painting, music, architecture along with other various cultural traits

of a society. "In short, culture gives structure to human life. Among humans, culture serves the same function that genetically programmed behavior serves among animals."<sup>6</sup> Culture produces not only solidarity to society, but, sometimes also conflict within and between groups. Apart from a little bit cultural conflict between Indian and Persian cultures, there can be a warm welcome seen in Indian Sub-continent towards the Persian cultural heritage on a large scale. Therefore, Persian cultural heritage not only penetrated successfully in Mughal Court but in general thoroughly overlapped Mughal India and Mughal society, in view of its superior, pleasant and attractive traits.

### **Persians' Role in the Society of Mughal India**

The Mughal period, marked for mighty advances in almost every department of human life, and its cultural growth was accompanied by considerable development in all forms of art. The history of any country is very closely related to the development of its people. Civilizations of different regions also influence each other owing to geographical proximity or closer cultural relations in a society. The Indian philosophy of tolerance and its cultural climate have always attracted the rest of the world. In Mughal culture, Central Asian 'Turko-Persian' multifaceted impact is also incorporated; indeed Bukhara and Samarqand the civilization of Babur's land, represents a standing example of it. Munshi Lal says; "The fusion of Indian, Mongol and Persian cultures into what may be called the Mughal way of life is a fascinating landmark in the evolution of our (Indian) civilization."<sup>7</sup> It will not be denied, that the Mughals, the last of the Muslim dynasties of Hindustan, had remained a sufficient time in Trans-oxiana and Persia, to have acquired all the civilization of these two countries, long before they attempted to perform conquest in India. They carried along with them the full benefit of the Persian arts and knowledge, when they established themselves in India.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, combined with the local traditions, Central Asia and especially Persia are the ingredients which made up the genesis of Indian society and civilization.<sup>9</sup>

Persian civilization is much older than Islamic or indeed any other neighboring civilization of India, and is moreover of a remarkable endurance. Therefore, it is not surprising, that Islam as it reached the non-Arab countries, from Anatolia to the Oxus and Indus Valley, passed through a Persian prism. The Persian spirit and atmosphere that is still so evident around Indian Sub-continent is thus attributable to influences far older than Islamic influences brought to bear by many Indian kings and courts over more than three thousand years.<sup>10</sup> Richard Frye says that Persian role has been so imperative in spreading and developing of Islamic culture just was that of Greek civilization for Christianity.<sup>11</sup> Persia, throughout the course of her history, had been the clearing ground of many styles and traditions and it was through Persia that these innovations and new elements reached India. The inter-relations between Indian and Persian cultures are well known and had already been noticed. So, through a long communication of ideas and concepts with Persia, India experienced little bit difficulty in absorbing such innovations and practices and adapting them to the requirements of the new style of the society.<sup>12</sup> However, the current Pakistani regions of Peshawar and Balochistan situated at north and north-west boundaries had been continuously exposed to Persian influences which caused a vital base to its influence over whole of the Sub-continent.

The cultural links between Persia and Sub-continent are deep rooted. The interplay of cultural influences of Persia and India is particularly noticeable in the form of visually significant objects such as miniatures, manuscripts, calligraphy, coinage, book binding, carpets, jewelry and pottery.<sup>13</sup> The Mughal Empire has rightly been called a 'cultural state.'<sup>14</sup> Humayun was greatly impressed by Persian culture and art during his stay in Persia where he spent most of his time in such pursuits. The restoration of the Mughal Empire after Humayun's return from Persia established a tradition of migration from Persian territories, which continued until the Muslim states of India could no longer offer prospects of employment. Persia contributed a good deal to the Indo-Muslim cultural heritage; its share among the immigrants was significant. Prof. Sukumar says that "the exile of Humayun in Iran, though humiliating and painful, was not altogether

barren in its results.”<sup>15</sup> Humayun’s stay in Persia not only established diplomatic relationship between the Safawid and Mughal Courts, it also led to closer contact between India and Persia. During the Akbar’s reign, when the Mughal Empire was consolidated, a general immigration of nobles and generals as well as men of arts and letters from Persia deeply molded the Indo-Muslim civilization.<sup>16</sup>

The transformation of Persian etiquettes and culture in the Mughal Court may be attributed to a variety of various factors; which was indeed as consequence of the arrival of Persian immigrants in Mughal India, and the special respect and courtesy observed by the Mughals in their relations and diplomatic exchanges with the Safawid rulers of Persia.<sup>17</sup> Another noteworthy manifestation of this Court culture was the Akbar’s lenient policy towards religion as well as his inclination towards Persian culture to which Akbar and his successors paid diligent guardianship at the Court. In Akbar’s reign, Persian culture in India continued to flourish. During the Mughal period, these ties between India and Persia were not only political but were also remarkably cultural. These friendly relations and Persians’ migration brought artistic ideas in India which were used by skilled artists in painting, weaving, ceramics, decorating not only the buildings but also the tombs in the cemeteries.<sup>18</sup> The Mughal rule in the Sub-continent gave a new impetus to this art which created a blending of Persian and Indian techniques. In this way the whole area and society had become impregnated with Persian ideas and Persian culture.<sup>19</sup>

The close contact between the Mughals and Persia was their employment of Persian officials and above all their marriages to Persian women which kept traditions alive and constantly renewed. A strong cultural influence was the fact that Persian was the language of the Court. The Persian heritage is also illustrated particularly in many aspects of Indian Hyderabad (Hyderabad Deccan) culture. The Persian influence is even more noticeable in a specific aspect of the Muslim cookery in Hyderabad: its links with an old medical tradition that traveled from Greece to India, through Persia. This is why a number of Hyderabad recipes are explained as prescriptions.<sup>20</sup> While the Persians contributed so much to enrich Mughal society with their culture; the traffic in cultural influence was one

way. The explanation probably lies in the higher material civilization attained by the Mughals and the better opportunities of employment and preferment in Mughal India than in Safawid Persia; but it was certainly not due to any marked inferiority of creative culture in Indian society.<sup>21</sup>

### **Some Persian Cultural Customs and Traditions in Mughal India**

The Mughals were also subtle perpetrators of numerous Mongol traditions, demonstrating the additional layer of their character as products of the pre-Islamic steppe world. Babur's death is said to have resulted from his taking an illness of Humayun upon himself, which was an old Mongol conception. The legend has Tolui's (son of Chingiz Khan) sacrifice himself in the same way in order to save his brother Ogodei.<sup>22</sup> Akbar's *mansab* ranking system was derived from a Mangol model (the evolution of the *mansab* system from its origins in the army of Chingiz Khan is first traced by the British historian W.H Moreland).<sup>23</sup> Similarly, Mughals had other traditions in their culture from their neighboring areas especially from Persia. "The Mughal suffered from the long-standing Persian claim of cultural superiority."<sup>24</sup> But it is a fact that in Mughal period the Persian culture in India prospered. The cultural winds and spiritual breezes continued to move between the two lands, India and Persia. The ladies of the harem did not generally participate in outdoor games both because of *parda* (veil) and the physical exertion involved. Some, however, used to play *chaugan* (polo), and participated in the *shikar* (hunt) of the birds. Persian Nur Jahan is probably the lone example among the harem women who shot tigers and lions. But *kabooter-bazi* or *ishq-bazi* (pigeon flying), *patang-bazi* (kite flying), *ankh-micholi* (blind man's buff) were the common pastimes, which derived indeed from Persian culture. Mughal ladies also enjoyed horse riding and boating. But boxing, wrestling, horse racing and sometimes magic and acrobatics by men were watched only from behind a curtain. Abul Fazl mentions that there were Persian wrestlers and boxers at Akbar's Court. The best wrestlers of the age included Mirza Khan of Gilan, Muhammad Quli of Tabriz (to whom Akbar gave the name

*Sher Hamla* or lion attacker), Ali of Tabriz, Faulad of Tabriz, Qasim of Tabriz, and Mirza Kuhina Sawar of Tabriz.<sup>25</sup>

The *huqqah* (hookah), in its present shape, originated undoubtedly in Persia and must have come to India after the Persianizing influence under the Mughals. A sharp conical vessel resembling the *huqqah* was excavated at Nishapur in Persia and is attributed to ninth or tenth century A.D. These and similar vessels of an earlier origin indicate that the shape was borrowed directly from Persian examples and continued to be used in the Mughal Court for quite a long time. With the increasing demand for glass in India, *huqqah* bases were supplied from various quarters, mainly from Persia, Venice and Holland and even from England. Thus the probable origin of the shape of *hookah* and its distribution in India was almost certainly due to the Persian influence at the Mughal Court.<sup>26</sup>

Another interesting thing was the introduction of *saraparda* in Mughal cultural life. It was a sort of an enclosure around the tent, with which every body in Sub-continent is familiar by the name of *Qanat*, which was initially introduced by the Persian noble Bairam Khan. It is said that in 1576-77 A.D. when Akbar was in Ajmer, *sarapardas* was firstly launched by the proposal of Bairam Khan for security purpose. Originally these *sarapardas* were made of very rough fiber but later on Akbar improved the quality of fiber and ordered the material of floor spreads to be used in them; as this improved the look and also made them more comfortable.<sup>27</sup>

Nur Jahan's mother Asmat Begum, when she was making rose-water also invented '*itr-e-gulab*' (rose perfume), which was named '*itr-e-Jahangiri*', and has been erroneously regarded as Nur Jahan's invention. Jahangir writes about this perfume in his *Tuzuk* that; "this '*itr* (perfume) is a discovery which was made during my reign through the efforts of the mother (Asmat Begum) of Nur Jahan Begum. There is no other scent of equal excellence to it. It restores hearts that have gone and brings back withered souls. In reward for that invention I presented a string of pearls to the inventress."<sup>28</sup> Nur Jahan Begum revolutionized dresses and decorations. She designed new varieties of brocade and lace,

gowns and carpets. She invented new patterns for gold ornaments and new ways of adorning apartments and arranging feasts, as “Jahangir was fond of feasts, dancing, and music.”<sup>29</sup> The inclusion of these traditions in Mughal culture was of prime importance that caused with a great change in Mughal society.

### ***Noroz (Nauroz-i-Jalali)***

It was purely a Persian festival which started in India from the age of Salatin-e-Dehli, but was reached at its zenith during Mughal regime. The *Noroz* or *Nauroz-i-Jalali* (the New Year’s Day) is also called as the *Nauroz-i-Sultani*,<sup>30</sup> was celebrated with great eagerness on the coronation day as a mark of connection with the social life of Persia as Akbar felt that the feelings of Persian residents in the Court had been wounded after the recital of the *Khutbah* and the issue of the *Mahdar* during 1580-81 A.D. *Noroz* was primarily a Court function, the participation of *harem*-ladies in this festival was incidental. The celebration of *Noroz* was borrowed from Persia and it was one of the greatest festivals in the Mughal capital. It marked the advent of spring and was held on 20<sup>th</sup> or 21<sup>st</sup> March or 1<sup>st</sup> *Farwardin*, the first month of the Persian year. The Mughals outdid the Persians and celebrated it for eighteen or nineteen days, while the Persians celebrated it only for twelve.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Rasm-i-Sijda (Act of Prostration)***

Once at the Akbar’s Court in 1582 A.D. the Persian festival of *Noroz* was being celebrated, besides the elaboration of the usual forms of Court etiquettes like *Taslim* or the Cornish, a new form of obeisance to the Emperor *Sijdah* or *Zaminbos* (prostration) was introduced. Balban in the thirteenth century A.D. had also implemented this practice as a compulsion for his Court etiquettes. Exemptions were, however, made for the Syeds and later in the open Court also.<sup>32</sup> Akbar, with his pronounced Persian attitude towards kingship, even demanded from his courtiers the act prostration (*sijda*), as performed at the



Courts of the ancient Kings of Persia, a practice resented as blasphemous and arrogance to which afterwards Shah Jahan abolished.<sup>33</sup>

### ***Nishat Afroz Jashn and Aab-Pashan***

*Noroz* was a popular Persian spring festival, which was celebrated in all the big cities and provincial capitals till Aurangzeb eradicated it, just in the beginning of his reign evidently on the ground of his religious susceptibilities. He substituted for it another imperial festivity which was to begin in the month of *Ramzan* and continued up to the *Eid-ul-Fitr*, and hence was called *Nishat Afroz Jashn*, that which heightens the gaiety of the banquet. In his *Tuzuk*, Jahangir mentions the celebration of another Persian festival, *Aab-pashan* or *Gulab pashi* (rose-water scattering). It was a spring festival, in which the people amused themselves with sprinkling rose-water over each other. This festival was so amazing that Aurangzeb was also used to celebrate it with full enthusiasm.<sup>34</sup> This was perhaps an additional Persian *Holi* (a similar Hindu festival in which colors use to spray each other) that amused the Emperor and his courtiers.

### ***Khushroz or Mina-Bazaar***

Persian festivals like *Khushroz* or *Mina-Bazaar* (fancy bazaar) and many other minor ceremonies had already entered into the social life of the Mughals since the entry of Persian ladies into the harem. Emperor Akbar arranged this fair-cum-bazaar exclusively for the ladies of the *Mahal* every month for three days. According to Badauni, Akbar also ordered that “for a stated time (it) be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and women of the harem.”<sup>35</sup> This fair was held prior to Akbar’s time, and was continued by his successors also. But probably Akbar had reasons to elevate it to the status of an institution and make it a source of great enjoyment. It was necessary to hold a market within the precincts of the *mahal*. Commoners and even nobles could make purchase in the city markets, and their ladies could visit markets or the better shopping centers,

like the one established in the fort of Fatehpur Sikri. These *Khushroz* or *Mina-Bazaars* were held from the door of Jodh Bai's palace to the courtyard and garden of Mariyam's Mahal in Fatehpur Sikri, and in the Agra Fort in the courtyard adjacent to the Mina Masjid. For the convenience of the harem-ladies in general, and his own amusement in particular, Akbar began to arrange the bazaar exclusively of women and Abul Fazl rightly says that "His Majesty gives to such days the name of *Khushroz*, or the joyful days, as they are a source of much enjoyment and magnificent appointments."<sup>36</sup> When this festival became combined with the vernal festival of *Nauroz*, the duration and celebrations of this festival increased in time and gaiety. Badauni saw *Khushroz* in the following light. "In order to direct another blow at the honor of our religion, His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the fancy bazaars, which are held on New Year's Day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and the women of the harem, and also for any other married ladies. On such occasions, His Majesty spent much money; and the important affairs of harem-people, marriage contracts, and betrothals of boys and girls, were arranged at such meetings."<sup>37</sup> "*Khushroz* served as an occasion for the king to select beauties to fulfill his desires,"<sup>38</sup> the wives and daughter of all sorts come, no man daring to refuse to sending them if the Emperor require them. No *parda* (veil) was observed in *Khushroz* festival, women need not be veiled before the Emperor as their bridegroom. Besides collecting beauties, the Mughal Emperors regularly enjoyed the performances of dancing girls. These, both singers and dancers, were known by the common name *kanchanis*. K.S Lal the author of *Mughal Harem* says; "there were licentious and lascivious motives for Akbar behind organizing *Noroz*, *Khushroz* and *Mina-Bazaar* festivals."<sup>39</sup>

### **Persians' Role in the Artistic Activities of Mughal India**

In this context it is hardly surprising to notice the striking parallelism between the development of Maurya art in the third century B.C. and the Mughal art 1800 years later in the sixteenth century A.D. and the way in which styles of

Persian inspiration in each case were quickly and dramatically transformed under the impetus of the Indian artistic environment and taste. Persian art was a composite art which was born for the royal fancy.<sup>40</sup> Of many arts decorative elements adopted by the Mughals for embellishing the interior and exterior of their buildings; just to mention mosaic tile, fresco, *pietra-dura*, mirror work and calligraphy are essentially of Persian origin or reached the Sub-continent through Persia. The Safawid had occupied the city of Herat in 1510 A.D.<sup>41</sup> and made it their prominent centre of arts. Mughal rulers introduced the manufacture, and brought craftsmen from Shiraz, Baghdad and Samarqand. As Shireen Moosvi writes the eye witness account of an infamous contemporary Persian author Budaq Qazvini about the houses of Shiraz during 1527-77 A.D. "the wife is a copyist (*katib*), the husband a miniaturist (*musawwir*), the daughter an illuminator (*muzahhib*) and the son a binder (*mujjalid*)."<sup>42</sup>

More than any thing else, it was in the field of arts that the Persian influence on Mughal India profoundly marked. Whatever it may be, whether the design were conceived by the Persians or they executed the designs conceived by the Indian mind; the fact is incontrovertible that the Persians artists added a good deal to the development of Indian art.<sup>43</sup> Mughal Empire was a place where the wishes of aspiring artists were fulfilled with unmatched generosity. Large number of people of excellence and quality, skilled artisans and other skilful persons from various cities of Iran, like from the other parts of the world visited the Mughal imperial court as well as the nobles establishments with expectations and anticipations. They entered into the service of the Mughals, which served as a kind of asylum for the people of the entire world.<sup>44</sup> Mughal Emperors and as well nobles were sophisticated patrons of the arts and their palaces and mansions were centers for cultural and artistic activities. However, it remained for the Mughals to carry forward and express the Persian traditions in their works of art, architecture, decorations and paintings to the greater heights and successfully adapt them for producing such monumental specimens of architecture as the Taj Mahal, Shish Mahal, Itimad-ud-Doullah's tomb at Agra and Badshahi Mosque at Lahore, just to cite its few examples.<sup>45</sup>

During the Safawid period, altogether there was a remarkable flowering of the arts, and the reign of Shah Abbas-I marks its high point. It produced carpets and textiles of unparalleled richness of color and design; ceramic tiles of astonishing intricacy and beauty, which adorned such masterpieces of Persian architecture in Persia.<sup>46</sup> Although, Safawid metalwork cannot be declared even equal with the production of Seljuk and early Mongol period; but in book painting, illumination of manuscripts, in ceramics, in textiles, in carpets and rugs, the Persian genius found its highest expression during the Safawid period. Mughal India as being an immediate neighbor of Safawid Persia was influenced obviously with the artistic achievements in their neighborhood, as large number of Persian artists were constantly migrating India during this period. Thus, the articles which were of fine workmanship were very often the products of skilled Muslims who brought the art from Persia to Mughal India.<sup>47</sup> The ebb and flow of nomads across Persia was also relevant in many ways to the development of the Mughal arts in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. The Central Asian invaders of India also passed first through Persia, and carried with them into India some echoes of Persian culture. In this way, due to specific gigantic role played by the Persians, the basic elements of Indo-Persian style had been established and its syncretistic nature of the arts had become accepted in Mughal India.<sup>48</sup>

## **Calligraphy**

The art of calligraphy was cultivated by Muslims from the earliest times and was highly esteemed in the Muslim world. In the art of calligraphy, Persians with their keen sense of design developed it to the most sophisticated standards of rhythm, expressive form and precision. As in other fields of Islamic learning, Persia has played an important role in the development of the art of Muslim calligraphy.<sup>49</sup> The calligraphy reached in the regions of Indian Sub-continent via Persia. Calligraphic compositions of Persia constituted a distinctive characteristic of their art not only in the Far East but also ranked as a major elemental art in

India and other Islamic World. The Mughals brought with them the tradition of Persian language on broader scale as an official means of communication to this region. During the Mughal period, the earlier Timurid influence, which equally affected Persia and the Sub-continent, became much more significant. A number of master calligraphists were employed in the Mughal Court; among these calligraphists, several were Persians who had migrated to the Sub-continent, settling down here and teaching their art to a host of native pupils.<sup>50</sup>

The Persian calligrapher Mir Ali Tabrizi is credited to have introduced and devised rules for *Nastaliq* script, which got a lot of appreciation during the Mughal regime.<sup>51</sup> From thence, *Nastaliq* remained as a popular style of writing which evolved gradually. It is perfectly a Persian script with a drooping ducts, strongly repetitive curvature and almost complete elimination of straight lines. It attained perfection in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. and is commonly used for writing Persian books in Mughal India.<sup>52</sup> Persians have employed both angular and circular styles, specifically in the *Kufic* and the *Naskh* scripts, and for the ornamentation of their architectural works also. Maulana Maqsud of Herat, a servant of Humayun, wrote well the *Riqa* and *Nastaliq* characters. Humayun had two other important persons namely Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khan *Mir Munshi* and Mir Qasim, who used to draft official Persian documents of the Empire. Later on, these persons also worked under Akbar and were expert in *Nastaliq* style.<sup>53</sup>

The artistic age which dawned in India with the accession of Akbar gave greatest impetus to the development of calligraphy as architectural ornament as well as the art of writing manuscripts. Expert calligraphers, who came from Persia, were liberally patronized by Akbar besides his lack of proper education.<sup>54</sup> Abul Fazl boasts that the patronage of His Majesty (Akbar) perfected the art of his reign. During this regime, Maulana Ibrahim of Yazd excelled in the art of cutting of carnelians. In the estimation of Abul Fazl, Maulana Ibrahim had even surpassed the ancient engravers, and it was impossible to distinguish his *Riqa* and *Nastaliq* from the masterpieces of the best calligraphers. He engraved the words *La'al-e-Jalali* or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value.<sup>55</sup> Abul Fazl also mentions some other famous copyists and calligraphists of Akbar's

period who came from Shiraz, Tabriz, Mashhad, Qazwin, Herat and Neshapur. Among the contemporary masters of calligraphy he named Maulana Abdul Hayee, Maulana Sultan Ali Mashhadi, Maulana Hijrani, Maulana Mir Ali, Muhammad Amin Mashhadi, Nizami Qazwini, Maulana Dervish, Amir Mansur, Khwaja Ikhtiyar, Munshi Jamal-ud-Din, Muhammad Qazwini, Maulana Idris, Khwaja Muhammad Hussain Munshi, and Ashraf Khan who was Private Secretary of the Emperor Akbar. It may be noted that they were artists of Persia who immigrated to India in search of better prospects. The Mughal Court liberally patronized them and it were they who worked on various projects of Akbar of book-writing and translation. The calligraphic art has been used in Mughal numismatics from Akbar's reign to almost the first half of eighteenth century A.D. Some of the famous Persian calligraphist of Jahangir's reign was Muizz Yazdi, Wallih Shirazi, Muhsin Shirazi, Ibrahim Farsi and Atai Cherudi Shirazi. While Jawahar Raqam Tabrizi, Muqim Tabrizi and Abul Baqa Abarquii were some of the finest calligraphists of Shah Jahan's reign. It is, however, not the lavishness but precision, delicacy and grace of its design that are the characteristics of this art during the age of the grand Mughals. Among the calligraphists of Aurangzeb's reign, the famous Persian calligraphists in *Naskh* style were; Abd-al-Baqi Haddad and Rada Tabrizi.<sup>56</sup> The calligraphic art has also been employed on a very large scale for the architectural ornamentation from Akbar to Shah Jahan and some examples are unique from the point of view of their meaning as much as of their art, not only in India but in the whole Islamic world.

## **Carpets and Rugs**

The history of Indian carpets began in Persia and manufacturing of Indian textiles was connected with Persia through commercial intercourse.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, Indian Muslims also derived this art from Persia, as even displayed upon their Mosques and *Jaaye-Namaz* (carpets for prayer).<sup>58</sup> According to the *Cambridge History of Iran*; "the finest Persian carpets are considered to be those of the Safawid period."<sup>59</sup> Carpets occupy the major position in the textile field of

Safawids with its key weaving centers in Kerman, Kashan, Shiraz, Yezd and Isfahan. These carpets gained in popularity since the establishment of Mughal and Safawid Empires. As Frye N. Richard, the author of *The Golden Age of Persia* says; "In no other art or craft is the genius of a people so well represented as in the art of rug making for a Persian."<sup>60</sup>

Superb quality of Mughal carpets or the hand-woven floor coverings in Persian style were made in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. for the Mughal Emperors and their Courts. The characteristic features of the Persian carpets of the Mughal and Safawid periods which reached their height of excellence in the sixteenth century A.D. were animals, flowers, and ornamental designs.<sup>61</sup> Aside from patterns in the Persian manner, a series of distinctively Indian designs were developed, including scenic and landscape carpets; and several magnificent prayer rugs with a prominent central flowering plant. The Persian styled Mughal prayer rugs with a central flowering plant motif had approximately 2,000 knots to the square inch (300 per square cm). Most of the Mughal rugs having a thick foundation of cotton had been produced in Kashmir. Mughal carpets are thought to have been made in Lahore, Agra, and perhaps Fatehpur Sikri. Fine quality of Mughal carpets with the warp in bands of contrasting colors and with pile of such extremely fine wool that it is sometimes taken for silk on a silken foundation have the tightest and most delicate knotting found among antique Orientals. While, it is interesting to recall that some of the Persian carpets of seventeenth century A.D. depict hunting scenes. The panels showing elephant fight indeed are of special significance, because it was one of the favorite recreations of the Mughal Court.<sup>62</sup>

## **Coinage**

Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (1325-51 A.D.) who is famous in the history of numismatics for his 'forced currency,' was perhaps the first who used Persian legends extensively on his coins to induce the people to accept the billion coins for gold value. The Mughal Emperors gave the coinage a sumptuous

look; the series of gold and silver coins issued by them have been regarded as one of the most beautiful in the world. The credit for introducing the exquisite *Nastaliq* on their coins also goes to the Mughal Emperors. Above all, they introduced the innovation of Persian couplets on the coins. A regular series of mints was established throughout in the Mughal Empire. A comparison of these coins with those of Persia reveals the deep-rooted influence of Persian culture, partly attributable to the great influx of Persians which took place during the period.<sup>63</sup>

Akbar reformed Mughal currency to make it one of the best known of its time. All monetary exchanges were, however, expressed in copper coins in Akbar's time. Akbar's aim was to establish a uniform coinage throughout his Empire; some coins of the old regime and regional kingdoms also continued. In the seventeenth century A.D. the influx of silver rupee with new fractional denominations replaced the copper coin as a common medium of circulation. The famous coins of Jahangir's reign, *Nurjahani* (gold) and *Jahangiri* (silver) were paired from the very beginning as coins of equal weight if not of value.<sup>64</sup> The most significant aspect of the Persian Mughal Empress Nur Jahan's minting was its zodiacal design along with the use of the *Khutba* and the issuing of *Farmans* (Royal Orders), which was the supreme symbol of sovereignty for a Mughal ruler.<sup>65</sup> In this way the important section of Mughal numismatics was also influenced to a great extent by the Persians as well.

## **Book Binding**

In Persia the art of book binding reached its zenith during the Timurid period, and its surviving specimens are among the finest ever produced. Similarly, during the sixteenth century A.D. under the Safawid dynasty, book-covers were medallions and other compartments consisting of stamped and gilded arabesques interlaced with delicate floral scrolls and Chinese cloud bands. This tradition was brought to the Sub-continent, and under the patronage of the Mughal Courts, achieved distinctive forms and styles. During the Mughal regime



the books prepared for the royal libraries had a special binding, not only for protection, but also to provide an exterior worthy of the contents. The covers of the bindings had decorations on the exterior of the cover as well as on its interior.<sup>66</sup> Accordingly, Persians also played a significant role in Mughal India for the improvisation of this important segment of books safeguarding with perfection and estheticism.

## **Medicine**

*Yunani* (Greek) medicine made its way into the Mughal world from Central Asia just as Greek astronomy did, although less directly, through Persia. "The tradition of the eleventh century (A.D.) Central Asian physician and philosopher Ibn-i-Sina (Avicenna) took firm root in Iran through subsequent centuries, especially in Shiraz. Most of the important physicians in Mughal employ were from Shiraz or from northern Iran,"<sup>67</sup> but one notable exception is Khawaja Khawind Mahmud of Samarqand, who had learned medicine at Shiraz, before coming to join Babur's Court at Agra. A number of the descendants of Khwaja Khawind's brother Khwaja Yusuf were noted practitioners of *yunani* medicine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D.<sup>68</sup>

Hakim Abdul Fateh came to India with his two talented and eminent brothers, Hakim Humam (Humayun Quli) and Hakim Fateh Nur-ud-Din. They rose higher in Akbar's reign especially Hakim Humam who possessed an immense influence in the state matters and became successful to include in the famous nine-gems of Akbar.<sup>69</sup> Among other Hakims of Akbar's age, Hakim Misri is said to have been a very learned man and a clever doctor, a man of a most amiable and unselfish character who had full command over the theory and practice of medicine. Another simple and pious man was Hakim Masihul Mulk Shirazi, who was exceedingly well-skilled in medicine. Hakim Zambil and Hakim Lutfullah Gilani were also good practitioners of medicine, and possessed great learning.<sup>70</sup> Hakim Masih Kashani and Hakim Sadra Shirazi were the other significant figures of Akbar's Court.<sup>71</sup>

Jahangir's era has been considered as much more Persianized regime due to his Queen-consort Nur Jahan and her family's political domination at the Mughal Court. Therefore, the field of medicine could not remain spared with the Persians. Some of the important Persian physicians of the Jahangir's Court were Feyez-i-Gilani and Qasim Deylami. At the Court of Shah Jahan, Hakim Fatehullah Gilani was one of the most prominent Persian physicians. Interesting enough, there was a physician named Hakim Saif-ul-Mulk Lang, who got the nick-name of *Saif-ul-Hukama* (the sword of doctors) because he helped his patients' very-well on their journey to the next world.<sup>72</sup> During Aurangzeb's reign, Shams-ud-Din of Gilan surpassed all his contemporaries as a physician. Hakim Ainul Mulk of Shiraz was said to be a learned man and remained posted on various important high *mansabs*. Therefore, it is worth of noticing that at the Mughal Court, Persian physicians were held in high estimation and Persian diagnosis and medicines were also appreciated than others.<sup>73</sup>

## **Music**

Music in the Indian Sub-continent is a reflection of the diverse elements; racial, linguistic and cultural, that makes up the heterogeneous population of the region. The extraordinary variety of musical types in India is probably unparalleled in any other equivalent part of the world. Music plays a vital role in the religious, social, and artistic lives of the people. A great deal of it could be termed functional, as it is an indispensable part of the activities of every day life, ranging from work and agricultural songs to the music which accompanies life-cycle events, such as birth, initiation, marriage, and death. Classical music is the most refined and sophisticated music to be found in the Sub-continent of India. "The present Indian music is distinctly the outcome of a fusion of Indo-Arabic-Persian forms of music based on Indian principles and systems with a mixture of Turkish, Persian and Arab tunes."<sup>74</sup>

The Mughals, with their Central Asian tastes, retained their love for Central Asian music. How similar Central Asian music was at that time with

Persia is a problematic issue; the terminology was the same, but that in itself is inconclusive. It does seem, however, that Central Asian and Persian music differed considerably from Indian music by that point, even though the latter was considered to have evolved from the Persian tradition and through the thirteenth century's Persianized poet and musician, Amir Khusrau (1253-1325 A.D.) in particular. The Indo-Muslim repertoire of religious songs, called *Qawwali*, is said to have begun with Amir Khusrau. This repertoire includes songs in praise of Allah (God), and of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) and his descendants. It also includes songs in praise of the patron saint of the singer. Hindu *Bhajans* have the same spirit and mode like *Qawwalis*. *Ghazals* are another form of song that is derived from Persian and Hindi based Urdu poetic form which is composed of independent couplets. There is essentially underlying, love or erotic poetry (*majazi shayeri*); however, are the themes of the *Sufi* mystics, or (*haqiqi shayeri*) for whom God is the beloved. The verses of the *Ghazals* are open to a number of different interpretations; secular, mystical and sometimes social, and philosophical as well. The *ghazal* form has achieved a great deal of popularity in the Indian Sub-continent from medieval times; and a special meeting, called *musha'ara*, are held expressly to enable poets to sing or recite their poem.<sup>75</sup>

*Sama* which in its original Arabic meaning signifies 'hearing' and *Sama* are also found in Indo-Persian *sufi* context almost with the same meaning. In Indo-Persian context, the term *surod* seems to cover a wide range of music; vocal and instrumental and also dance, which makes it a rather close equivalent of the word *sangita* in Sanskrit. Medieval Arabic and Persian literature indicates the importance of music in the prerequisite knowledge imparted to respect rulers, hence aristocratic patronage to musicians was observed in Persia and India as well.<sup>76</sup> "Among sources documenting the history of art-music in India, Indo-Persian literature highlights the interaction of both the Persian and the Indian traditions of art-music, with precious remarks on folk and regional forms of music."<sup>77</sup>

The Mughal Emperors were indeed a great patron of music. Like all the Timurids, Babur was fond of music and was himself a composer of songs. Babur

was very much fond of Persian and Turkish songs, and mentioned in his *Tuzuk* the name of a fine Persian musician, Banai of Herat who wrote a song on Babur's name. At the Court of Humayun, a Persian named Udhem Qazwini was a fine musician of his age. Music reached its noon-day splendor during the reign of Akbar the great who besides being an expert in the art, having a considerable knowledge of its technicalities, was its most powerful patron. Attracted by Akbar's encouragement, "a large number of musicians hailed to his court from Persia and other places. They belonged to both the sexes."<sup>78</sup> The best Persian instrumental performer of Akbar's Court was Dost Muhammad of Mashhad and Bahram Quli of Herat. Jahangir spent a good deal of his time in hearing the sweet songs sung by his Court musicians. Among them some important Persians were Muhammad Naii Neyrizi (Ishrat Khan), Baqiya-i-Naini, Samandar Shamlu and Ali Esfahani. Shah Jahan was also a good singer and a great patron of music. It was doubtless from Babur that Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan inherited their taste for vocal and instrumental performances. Akbar, as Abul Fazl informs, took lessons in singing from a Hindu maestro and harmonized a large number of Persian airs.<sup>79</sup> After the fall of the Mughal Empire the musicians of the day moved to Oudh and found powerful patrons in its independent rulers like Wajid Ali Shah and others.

Some European travelers of the Mughal Court, praises the dance of the *Domnis* (Indian women), some others of Persian women. "There are many classes of dancers," writes Pelsaert, "among them (are) *Lolonis*, who are descended from courtesans who have come from Persia to India and sing only in Persian; and a second class, *Domnis*, who sing in Hindustani, and whose songs are considered more beautiful, more amorous, and more profound, than those of the Persians, while their tunes are superior; they dance, too, to the rhythm of the songs with a kind of swaying of the body which is not lascivious, but rather modest."<sup>80</sup> According to Manucci, "All these (*Lolonis* or Persian) women are pretty, have a good style of and much grace in their gait, are very free in their talk and exceedingly lascivious; their only occupation, outside the duties of their office, being lewdness."<sup>81</sup> All Mughal Emperors enjoyed the dance performances

of these girls, some less some more, but all. They were “not indeed the prostitutes in bazaars, but those of a more private and respectable class, who attend the grand weddings of *Omrahs* (nobles) and *Mansabdars*, for the purpose of singing and dancing. Most of these *Kanchanis* are handsome and well-dressed, and sing to perfection; and their limbs being extremely supple, they dance with wonderful agility and are always correct in regard to time.”<sup>82</sup>

## Painting

The painting is rooted in new artistic form introduced in Indian Sub-continent, primarily from Persia in the wake of the Muslim invasion. It is worth of surprising that the striking parallelism between the development of Maurya art in the third century B.C. and the Mughal art 1800 years later in the sixteenth century A.D. and the way in which styles of Persian inspiration in each case were quickly and dramatically transformed under the impetus of the Indian artistic environment and taste. The main reason of this similarity was the intense bilateral relations between the two areas in ancient and as well as in post-medieval times. It is a reality that Persian influences assimilated the artistic development of Mughal paintings, and finally gave them a clear shape with profoundness of an overlapped Persian character. Mughal painting was essentially a Court art; it developed under the patronage of the ruling Mughal Emperors and began to decline when the rulers lost their interest in this regard. The subjects treated were generally secular, consisting of illustrations to historical works and Persian and Indian literature, portraits of the Emperor and his Court, studies of natural life, and genre scenes. The history of Indian painting from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century A.D. is filled with many riches and provides only the faintest indications of its wealth.<sup>83</sup> The art of painting owed much to Mughal patronage in India. The Mughal Emperors saved it from decay, and through their liberality it attained to a high level of excellence. Indeed they occupy a position unique among all Asiatic rulers.

“Mughal paintings were essentially Persian in origin.”<sup>84</sup> The painting styles associated with Tabriz, Shiraz, Herat, and Bukhara and elsewhere represent variants of a Persian tradition of painting. Herat was the greatest Persian miniature painting centre of the Timurid period, but in 1507 A.D. after its capture by the Safawids, the leading artists immigrated to Mughal India. During the first half of sixteenth century A.D. Safawid master trained under Bihzad such as Dus Muhammad, Abd-al-Samad, Mir Musawwir and Mir Sayyid Ali all went to work for Mughal patrons in India.<sup>85</sup> Abd-al-Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali in particular are credited with founding the Mughal School of painting under Akbar. These talented artists synthesized the Mughal painting style from Persian, indigenous Indian and European sources. Another major figure in Safawid painting was Mahmud Muzahhib of Herat, who began his career as an apprentice under Bihzad at Herat, before being captured and taken to Bukhara in 1530 A.D. by the Shibanid Abd-al-Aziz. Mahmud Muzahhib formed a living link between the Timurid, Persian and Turani painting traditions.<sup>86</sup>

Although Mughal miniature painting is commonly thought of as a synthesis between the formal delicacies of classical Persian paintings with the livelier, nature-infused local traditions of northern India, a subtle Central Asian component is attested to by textual as well as visual evidence. Abdullah Khan, the Uzbek leader of Central Asia, for example, sent painters from Samarqand and Bukhara to work for Akbar. It is true that the Persian painters who sought employment at the Mughal atelier probably never consciously made a serious attempt to make their work conform to the style of the Mughal School. Their encounter can be marked the beginning of an integration of the two great oriental art traditions, Persian and classical Indian, at the Mughal studio.<sup>87</sup> Mughal miniature paintings are the most realistic in account and form a very important source also for the study of the Mughal Harem. These paintings helped a lot in unveiling the secrets of the behind curtains history of the Mughal Harem. The works of the Indo-Persian draughts-men and painters furnish a gallery of historical portraits, lifelike and perfectly authentic, which enable the historian to realize the personal appearance of all the Mughal Emperors and practically of

almost every public man of note in India for more than two centuries. "It may be doubted if any other country in the world possesses a better series of portraits of the man who made history."<sup>88</sup>

### ***Painting during 1526-1556 A.D.***

The Mughals had their own ideas about art which they loved and patronized in all its forms and phases. Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur the founder of Mughal dynasty, brought with him all the choicest specimens of paintings which he was able to obtain from the library of his Timurid ancestors, who were noted for their love and proficiency in the art of painting. Babur was indeed a cultured man who felt equally at ease with art or poetry, as he did on the battle field. Babur, the first representative of the Bihzadian School in India, did not live long to develop all that he wanted to do in that country.<sup>89</sup> In this way, he remained unable to do something in the field of arts in view of his only four years of reign, in which he was profoundly pampered in warfare activities, as it was for him the difficult task of acquiring his confirmation of sovereignty in India. Percy Brown called Bihzad as 'Raphael of the East,' what Raphael was to the art of Europe, Bihzad was to the art of the East. Artists like Sultan Muhammad, Shah Muzaffar, Mirza Ali and Agha Mirak along with numerous others were his pupils and followers. These artists were great painters but none of them excelled Bihzad in the mastery of drawing and superb coloring.<sup>90</sup> Abul Fazl says, most excellent painters are now to be found, and masterpieces worthy of a Bihzad, may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters. His artistic minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc., which can be observed in his pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life.<sup>91</sup> Thus Bihzad who himself was a Persianized Turani, and his School became the exemplars of Indian artists and the elements of Persian paintings engrafted themselves on Indian art traditions. The art of the Bihzadian School was bound to be manly and vigorous.

Babur's unfortunate son, Humayun had a most unsettled reign, during which it was impossible for him to indulge in his artistic fancy, but, he developed a fine taste for painting during his exile in Persia. Humayun became fascinated by the Persians craftsmen, especially the painters of the exquisite miniatures. In his enthusiasm Humayun was delighted when some of these followed him to India, and they helped to found the Mughal School of miniature painting.<sup>92</sup> During the period of his exile in Persia, Humayun came into touch with a number of Persian nobles and other endowed artisans whom he invited to join him if he succeeded in recovering his lost dominions and quite a number did. This opened the way for the migration of talented Persians to the Mughal Court, which because of its larger resources, was able to pay higher salaries.<sup>93</sup> This exile laid the foundations of the Mughal style which half a century later, would emerge from its Persian chrysalis as an indigenous achievement in which Indian elements would blend harmoniously with the traditions of Persia and Central Asia. "It was Humayun who introduced the art of miniature painting (from Persia) to India."<sup>94</sup> In this way, the art of miniature painting in the Sub-continent really began during the later phase of the reign of the Emperor Humayun, who on his return from Persia brought with him two master miniature painters, Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi and Khwaja Abd-al-Samad Sheerazi, from the Court of Shah Tahmasp. They were the pioneers to introduce and established the Persian painting in India.<sup>95</sup> These two notable Persian artists introduced the Persian ideas, themes and subject matter into the Indian paintings, thus providing new life to the dying art, a grandeur not equaled in the contemporary world.<sup>96</sup> These two Persian artists, working with their Indian assistants, formed the nucleus of the Mughal School of painting. The overall Persian painters who served Humayun were namely, Dost Musawwir, Maulana Yusuf, Maulana Dervish Muhammad, Mir Musawwir or Mir Mansur, Mir Saiyid Ali and Khwaja Abd-al-Samad, who greatly contributed to the evolution of the Persianized School of Indian art which matured as the Mughal School of Art.<sup>97</sup> Humayun engaged him in the task of preparing the illustrations to the famous *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* (story of Amir Hamza) which was later completed in Akbar's reign.<sup>98</sup> About the impact of art and its glory of the Agra city



which remained later on as capital of the Mughal Empire, Khawandamir the famous contemporary historian of Humayun's regime, writes a verse in his celebrated work *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, its English translation by Bains Prasad are as under;

A heaven was prepared by art,  
It spread its shadows from country to country.<sup>99</sup>

### ***Painting during 1556-1605 A.D.***

Humayun passed away very early in his reign, but his son Akbar was virtually a more successful continuation of his father's policies, hopes and dreams for the re-establishment of Mughal art and culture. The *Kitab Khana* (library) of Akbar was a fusion of the traditional Court art of the Mughals with the established art of the Indian Sub-continent. Akbar was willing to spend whatever it took to re-establish his Mughal heritage. The greatest talents were drawn together and put in an environment where they could excel. During Akbar's reign, in the art of paintings, tradition of book illustrations was gradually abandoned and there was laid a pronounced emphasis on portraiture. The great *Darbar* (Court) pictures, thronged with courtiers and retainers, were essentially an agglomeration of a large number of portraits. The compositions of these paintings were also much more restrained, being calm and formal. A large number of studies of birds and animals were also produced for the Emperor Akbar, who was passionately interested in natural life, and who never ceased to observe, describe, measure, and record the things rare and curious with which the natural world abounds.<sup>100</sup>

The Mughal Emperor Akbar was the real founder of the Mughal School of art. He gave the first definite impulse to the Mughal School of Painting. Under his special instructions the architectural monuments of Fatehpur Sikri were decorated with paintings of unparalleled splendor, in which elegance was added to beauty in due proportions. During most of the fifty years of his reign (1556-1605 A.D.) a large number of painters were busy in their ateliers illustrating manuscripts, such as the *Hamza Nameh*,<sup>101</sup> *Shah Nameh*, *Akbar Nameh*, and

the *Ajaib-al-Makhlūqat* et cetera. In the manuscripts and album paintings, the Persian delicacy of detail and linear grace combined with the characteristic Indian palette of varied greens, glowing reds and oranges. Som Parkash Verma says that a great credit goes to Akbar “who showed great interest in manuscript painting under the impact of Persian book-illustration. Under Akbar, copies of Persian classics were made and manuscripts acquired from Persia were decorated with pictures and border paintings.”<sup>102</sup> Major Persian literary works, the *diwans* of Hafiz, Amir Nizam-ud-Din Hasan, Anwari and Amir Khusrau; the *Gulistan* and *Bostan* of Sa’di, the *Baharistan* of Jami and the *Nafhat-ul-Uns*, were also repeatedly illustrated at Mughal atelier.<sup>103</sup>

The Mughal School of painting which owed so much to Persia blossomed under Akbar’s liberal patronage. Though retaining the upright format, general setting, and flat aerial perspective of Persian painting, the Indian artists of Akbar's Court exhibited an increased naturalism and detailed observation of the world around them. V.A Smith says “The Mughal emperors of India looked to Iran for the graces of civilization, and it was natural that Akbar should desire to add the charms of Persian pictorial art to the amenities of his court.”<sup>104</sup> Mughal art developed the ancient Indian art under the new impulses of Persian and Central Asian styles. Due to rather foremost influence of Persian art, the Indian art during the Mughal regime may be rightly called as ‘Indo-Persian art’. In Mughal paintings, the clarity of out-line, the emptiness of spaces, the devotion to details like the ornaments and drapery the picturesque scenery, the graceful pose are all Indian versions of the Persian art.<sup>105</sup> Under the vigorous patronage of Akbar, the Indo-Mughal style in painting art, distinct a little bit from the purely Persian style, emerged and flourished. Persian artists and men of learning continued to arrive.<sup>106</sup>

### ***Khwaja Abd-al-Samad Shirazi***

Persian painter who together with Mir Sayyed Ali, was one of the first members of the imperial atelier in India and is thus credited with playing a strong

part in the foundation of the Mughal School of miniature painting. Abd-al-Samad was a native of Shiraz in Persia. Humayun gave him the title of *Shirin-Qalam* or sweat-pen.<sup>107</sup> He received many honors from Akbar. In 1576 A.D. he was appointed master of the mint, and in 1584 A.D. at the end of his career he was made *diwan* (revenue commissioner) of Multan. Abd-al-Samad had already gained a reputation as a calligrapher as well as a painter when he met the Mughal Emperor Humayun, during his exile in Persia. At Humayun's invitation, he followed him to India in 1548 A.D. first to Kabul and later to Delhi. He instructed both Humayun and his young son, the future Emperor Akbar, in the art of painting. Among his students, while he was superintendent of Akbar's atelier, were Dasvant and Basavan, both were Hindus who became two of the most renowned Mughal painters. Similarly, his son Sharif Farisi was also unrivalled in the beauty of his art of painting. Sharif Farisi distinguished himself in a similar art by boring eight small holes in one poppy seed and then passing wires through them; he also drew on a grain of rice a picture of an armed horseman, preceded by an outrider and bearing all the things proper to a horseman such as a sword, a shield, a polo stick, etc. While his father, Abdus Samad was also famous for writing in a full and legible hand on one side of a poppy seed the *Surat-ul-Ikhlās* and the other side of it the argument of the chapter.<sup>108</sup>

### ***Mir Syed Ali Tabrizi***

Mir Syed Ali was born probably in the second quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. in Tabriz. He learned the art from his father Mir Musawwir a well-known artist of the Safawid School of Art. Mir Syed Ali went in 1550 A.D. to Kabul and then to Delhi, where he was responsible to a great extent for founding the important Indo-Persian School of Painting. From the time of his introduction at Court, the ray of royal favor has shown upon him. He has made himself famous in his art, and has met with much success. In the list of the finest painters of Akbar's Court, Abul Fazl awarded the first place to Mir Syed Ali, as he writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*: "Among the forerunners on the right road of art, I may mention first

Mir Saiyid Ali of Tabriz.”<sup>109</sup> Among Abd-al-Samad's greatest achievements was the supervision, together with his fellow Persian Mir Syed Ali, of a large part of the illustrations of the *Dastan-e Amir Hamzeh*, a series that numbered about 1,400 paintings, all of unusually large size. As none of the paintings is signed, it is not certain whether he himself did any of them. Among the miniatures bearing his signature is one in the Royal Library in the Gulistan Palace, Tehran, depicting Akbar presenting a miniature to (his father) Humayun. The work, though Persian in treatment in view of its many details, hinting towards the Indian style to come, and as well evident in the realistic presentation of the life of the Court. His style, before he left, was a distinct one, which to some extent changed in India.<sup>110</sup>

### ***Painting during 1605-1627 A.D.***

Akbar laid the foundation of the Mughal miniature painting, but it was his son Jahangir, who by his knowledge and artistic intuition guided the new School of Indian Art to maturity and taught it by the influence of his own rare judgment to achieve success. Jahangir is rightly called ‘the Prince of Artists’ was indeed a most fastidious critic of art. He gave a fresh impetus to the Mughal School of Painting, founded by his father, and raised its standard considerably high. During his reign the Mughal painters excelled in portrait-painting because the Emperor was very fond of it. The amalgamation of Persian and Indian artistic traditions that had been going on since the advent of the great Mughals became complete during the reign of Jahangir and in consequence a large number of gallant creations of art came into existence.<sup>111</sup>

Under Jahangir the art of miniature paintings flourished exceedingly, and owing to his patronage it reached great heights. During this reign, a naturalistic tendency remained predominant. It is evident in the careful studies of animals, birds, flowers and trees executed during this period, which rank among the most exquisite examples of Mughal art. Throughout in this regime, Mughal art reached the zenith of its distinctive style and glory. Besides scenes from nature, of which the Emperor was a keen lover, the depiction of Court life constituted the main

thematic component of the paintings of this period. It was during the same period that the practice of elaborately decorating the mounts of paintings came into vogue.<sup>112</sup> Under Jahangir the Indian School completely freed itself of imitation, portrait painting acquired unusual fineness, and scenes of hunting became very popular. Mughal painting at the Court of Jahangir, have a common technique of both the Indo-Persian Schools, ostensibly derived from Persian paintings.<sup>113</sup>

During Jahangir's late period female portraits began to appear due to the influence of Nur Jahan. She produced an artistic force inventive and strong enough to influence the art of her husband's Court. In this regime, the influence of Nur Jahan's family and his own regard for Shah Abbas-I also ensured that all Persians of real attainments would receive a warm welcome. There is no doubt that Persian influence achieved its peak under the patronage of Jahangir, and the art of Indo-Persian paintings flourished immensely. The famous Muslim artists of his Court were Aqa Riza and his son Abul Hasan of Herat, Muhammad Nadir and Muhammad Murad from Samarqand and Ustad Mansur.<sup>114</sup>

### ***Aqa Riza***

Aqa Riza was a Persian painter trained in Persia who came to work under Jahangir while the latter was still a prince something around 1588-89 A.D. During the reign of Jahangir, there were women who did paint and that in several cases their instructor was Aqa Riza.<sup>115</sup> He died around the time of Jahangir's accession in 1605 A.D. Nur Jahan has been said a student of master like him that's why K.S Lal states convincingly that "Nur Jahan herself painted with some amount of excellence."<sup>116</sup>

### ***Abul Hasan***

To Jahangir, painting was the preferred art; he prided himself on his connoisseurship, and greatly honors his favorite painters. Abul Hasan, the son of Aqa Riza, originally Persian who migrated to the Mughal Court from Herat, was most admired, besides other famous and worthy Hindu painters like Bishandas,

Manohar, and Govardhan. Jahangir awarded him the title of Nadir-uz-Zaman (the wonder of the age), and also praised him in his *Tuzuk* with fulsome words.<sup>117</sup> His study of European prints may have reinforced his naturalism and sympathy for his subjects. He is known to have also worked early in the reign of Shah Jahan.

### ***Ustad Mansur***

Ustad (master) Mansur was a leading member of Jahangir's studio of Mughal painters. He is singled out for praise as a painter of animals and birds. The Emperor Jahangir honored him with the title Nadir-ul-Asr (the wonder of the time), and in his memoirs Jahangir praises Mansur as 'unique in his generation' in the art of drawing.<sup>118</sup> Mansur was primarily a natural history painter who avoided personal expression in his careful studies. Mansur made many studies of natural life under the direct orders of his patron, who was passionately fond of recording the rare specimens that were brought before him. In 1612 A.D. on the instructions of Jahangir, Ustad Mansur painted a turkey cock which marks that bird's first appearance in India. Similarly, while on a trip to the Kashmir Valley, Jahangir ordered Mansur to paint as many varieties of local flowers as possible, stating in his memoirs that the number depicted exceeded hundred.<sup>119</sup>

### ***Painting during 1628-1658 A.D.***

During the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan, the basic style of Jahangir's period was continued with the development of new forms. Technical perfection, astute use of candid colors, and masterly brushwork were the outstanding features of the paintings of that time. Thematically, the Court and its splendor, along with portraits in groups, of courtiers or dervishes were dominated in the miniatures of Shah Jahan's time. A new technique of portraiture, which originated during Jahangir's reign and involved lightly touching a sketch with color or gold, became into its own during this period.<sup>120</sup> Although, Shah Jahan's main interest was in architecture, but he was also a keen aficionado of painting. The compositions of Mughal traditional paintings became static and systematical, the

color heavier, the texture and ornament more sumptuous. The freshness of drawing, the alert and sensitive observation of people and things, is overlaid by a weary maturity, which resulted with marvelous representation of painting art. There are also several portraits of Shah Jahan and the grandness of the Mughal Court which again demonstrate the movement towards richness and luxury at the expense of Mughal royal life. Representations of animals and birds were similarly idealized by Shah Jahani painters, like Ustad Mansur his celebrated artist of the Court.<sup>121</sup> Persian painting style of book-illustration, which was started in Akbar's reign also continued until the end of this epoch.

The reign of Shah Jahan saw the culmination of art, the rules of perspective and foreshortening of modeling and shading were introduced, the finest brushes and the most costly colors were used. The artist of the Court was usually engaged in painting either portraits or scenes. In portraiture the principal aim of the artists was the natural and truthful delineation of the features of the face and the character of the individual as revealed through them. Many Mughal images with Persian subjects were not independent pictures, but rather illustrations to poetic, historical, and philosophical Persian texts. These works were especially popular during the early decades of Mughal rule when artists from Persia supervised the royal atelier. "The demand for illuminated copies of Persian texts, however, began to diminish under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, both of whom preferred luxurious albums of independent paintings and calligraphies. Illustrated Persian classics, to be sure, were produced, but they were fewer in number and not always very successful."<sup>122</sup> Under Shah Jahan who himself was a good painter and a master in the art of illuminating books, miniature and portrait painting underwent a great deal of elaboration. His eldest son, Dara Shikoh, was also a great patron of painting.

### ***Painting during 1658-1707 A.D.***

Aurangzeb's era saw the decline of Persian influence in India. According to Jadunath Sarkar; "to the ambitious and gifted Shi'ah adventurers of Persia, India ceased to be a welcome home, or a field where the highest career was

open to their talent.”<sup>123</sup> From the time of Aurangzeb and onwards, while the Court art became less vigorous and less distinguished there and to the atmosphere of native Indian life, the exotic Persian element has particularly disappeared. Aurangzeb, the ultra-orthodox Muslim, could not be very fond of painting, but he did not forbid it, and the number of paintings produced during his reign does not seem to have been smaller than in the previous reign. There is no evidence of ambitious book illustrations like the *Ramz Namah*, which is said to have cost the equivalent of 40,000 rupees. In this case, he for the sake of artist’s skill sent Bishan Das to Persia for training purpose.<sup>124</sup> Aurangzeb the last of the great Mughals, was a man of different type and tastes; simple, austere unostentatious and all averse to indulgence in luxuries. S.M Jaffar says; “but, though he (Aurangzeb) did not actively patronize painting, he is said to have felt delighted in the pictorial records of his own exploits and to have sought to distinguish between the artists of his own creed and those of others.”<sup>125</sup>

During the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir, patronage seems increasingly to shift away from the Court. This would at least indicate a lack of interest, though Aurangzeb’s antipathy to the arts has been greatly exaggerated. It is an incontrovertible fact that unfortunately he had to remain indulged in responding to various oppositions and uprisings throughout in his reign. Consequently, a rapid paucity occurred in the patronage of arts which led to the inevitable decline of all kind of arts including painting. Mughal paintings were essentially a careful nurtured Court art, and its removal from the natural habitat led to its impoverishment and debasement. Therefore, a fairly large number of paintings assigned to his reign were probably executed for patrons other than the Emperor. There was a brief revival took place during the reign of his successor, Muhammad Shah 1719-48 A.D. but the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire sealed the fate of the arts which were intimately associated with it.<sup>126</sup>

## **Architecture**

Architecture was indeed, born as a science but developed into an art. The three necessary requisites of any architecture are its utility, stability and beauty.



The character of an architectural structure depends upon its architect. "Throughout the history of the human race, architecture, the mother of all arts, has supplied shrines for religion, homes for the living and monuments for the dead."<sup>127</sup> Architecture is the mother of arts of sculpture, painting and allied decorative crafts. Many of the world's greatest rulers have been its patrons and some like Rameses the great (13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-88 A.D.), Akbar the Great (1556-1605 A.D.), and Shah Jahan (1628-58 A.D.), have used architecture as the symbol of their power and glory. The history of architecture is a record of continuous evolution; it was striding down the ages, and was evolved, molded and adapted to meet the changing needs of nations in their religious, political and domestic development.<sup>128</sup>

In addition to poetry and paintings, architecture was another field where Persian influence notably enriched the Indo-Mughal tradition. A new architecture developed in India, a combination of Indian ideals and Persian inspiration, and Delhi and Agra were covered with noble and beautiful buildings. "The soul of Iran incarnated in the body of India."<sup>129</sup> Indeed, in Mughal architecture the impress of Persia is clear as well as explicit. On a final analysis, it may be briefly stated that the borrowings from Persia were entirely assimilated. If Persian ideas and techniques had been solely or chiefly, responsible for the efflorescence of this brilliant style, one is at a loss to understand why Persia has not produced a single monument that can aspire to equal the Taj Mahal in its magnificent design and superb form. Perhaps in this regard, the greater wealth and larger resources of the Mughal Empire relatively than the Persian Safawids was greatly responsible. The Mughals were the most remarkable builders of India. Mughal architecture developed through a process of correct assimilation with the Indo-Persian traditions, which resulted with the most significant monuments of harmonious blending and fusion of the two cultures.<sup>130</sup> The beautiful buildings they constructed in different parts of the country still stand and serve as an imperishable index to their refined tastes and afford an excellent testimony to their cultural advancement. The style of their architecture, so wide and varied,

was a medley of many influences, combining in itself all that was good in other styles from their point of view.<sup>131</sup>

“The Mughal Empire has earned universal praise for its architectural achievements. Its buildings combine strength with refinement and delicacy; it has been rightly said of the Mughals that they built like Titans and finished like jewels.”<sup>132</sup> With the arrival of the Mughals in Sub-continent, an attractive synthesis of Persian and indigenous elements was gradually transformed into an original Indo-Persian style popularly known as the Mughal School of Architecture. The vault and the dome, was put into practice by the Persian builders and were accepted by the masons working in India.<sup>133</sup> The art of carving rock-crystal had developed in Mughal India almost on the same lines as Persia.<sup>134</sup> The Mughals added greater elegance and impressiveness to their buildings particularly from Akbar to Shah Jahan than the Sultans. This Indo-Persian Mughal style saw its perfection during the reign of Shah Jahan, the greatest builders the Sub-continent has ever seen.

The popular view that Mughal architecture is in wholesome Persian style, is not true, it was partly influenced by the Persian design, but it remained different because of the local Indian influences. The history of the Mughal architectural style is likewise the story of the intermingling of many streams and currents. Broadly speaking, two main currents can be recognized; one Indian and the other foreign mainly Persian. Of these, the Persian current has been taken note to a certain extent, unduly stressed as being mainly responsible for the excellence of the Mughal monuments. But in this regard Jadunath Sarkar is of opinion that when the Mughal Empire was firmly established in the country, its rulers imported experienced builders and craftsmen from the west mainly from Persia.<sup>135</sup> According to Percy Brown, in some respects this Mughal architectural influences emanating from Persia took an unusual form. In several important instances buildings were erected during Mughal regime were purely and intentionally Persian in their design and style of construction that some of them looks like transferred bodily from Persia.<sup>136</sup>

With the appearance of the Mughals in the political arena, the city of Lahore entered the front rank of Asian cities, with a number of magnificent structures. The Lahore Fort, and its palaces; tombs of Itimad-ud-Doullah, Jahangir and Nur Jahan; the Shalimar Garden and Wazir Khan's Mosque are some of the outstanding monuments which recall the great patronage of art and architecture by Mughal Emperors. Among the many Mughal monuments at Thatta (Sindh), the Shah Jahan Mosque, with colored tile work, is outstanding. Numerous remarkable mausoleums of saints, princes, ministers, governors and commoners are spread over Makli Hill, near Thatta, making it probably the biggest necropolis of the east. With the arrival of the Mughals in Bengal, the only notable Persian influence can be discerned at the Mausoleum of Bibi Pari, the daughter of Shaista Khan, the Mughal Governor of Bengal. This tomb of Bibi Pari is its nine-roomed ground plan, resembling the Tomb of Humayun at Dehli.<sup>137</sup> Among the Persianized monuments of importance built outside Fatehpur-Sikri, may be mentioned the tomb of Humayun in Dehli, the most Persian in style and noted for the simplicity and purity of its design; Akbar's tomb at Sikandara, a unique structure among the sepulchers of Asia, the *Jahangiri Mahal*, the *Diwan-i-Aam*, the *Diwan-i-Khas*, with the beautiful pillar and four galleries, within the Agra Fort; the magnificent Mosque at Mithra in Rajputana and the Hall of Forty Pillars at Allahabad.<sup>138</sup> Jaunpur as the capital of the Sharqi rulers, situated in northern India, was generally known as 'the Shiraz of India.' Deccani architecture also bears the impact of Persian architecture.<sup>139</sup>

### ***Mughal Gardens***

The love of gardening displayed by Indian Muslim Kings, particularly the Mughal Emperors, had an enduring impression on the taste of the people of India. When the great Mughals came and conquered India and consolidated their power there, they carried the art of gardening like other fine arts to the highest pitch ever attained by it before. The greatest epoch of the Mughals was spread over the reigns of six Emperors from Babur to Aurangzeb. During this time the

successive Emperors, their wives and their noblemen created innumerable gardens in northern India. An enduring part of Persian art and tradition were the paradise-parks or the paradise gardens, a concept which goes far back into history and which was linked from the earliest times a deep love of trees and flowers.<sup>140</sup> Indeed, these paradise gardens transcended the Islamic ideology as close as man can come to paradise on earth. John Brookes, in his book *Gardens of Paradise*, states saying about the Islamic gardens that: "Islamic art (in India) was the very antithesis of Hindu art; for Hindu adornment was individualistic irregular and symbiotic, while Islamic decoration was mathematical, continuous and abstract."<sup>141</sup>

Since the establishment of Mughal and Safawid Empires, the glorified age of *Chaharbagh* gardening began both in Persia and India. Similarly, the four cornered flower arrangement became common in wooden shawls and kerchiefs which were known as *Chaharbagh* kerchiefs. The idea of Persian *Chaharbagh* gardening was a perfectly balanced formal composition of space, vegetation and architecture, texture and color, light and shade, designed to address and delight all the senses. It shows the Muslims love of systematic designs in all the sphere of their life. Its closer links with Persia and Sub-continent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. could have made *Chaharbagh* design a popular pattern in the textile industry of the region. In the true Persian tradition, the Mughals laid a number of ornamental gardens in the Sub-continent. Mughal Emperor Babur and his nobles also tried to plant a large number of gardens.<sup>142</sup> In fact, the early Mughal gardens in India followed closely on their Persian origin. "Persian garden is essentially a terraced garden, a garden in descending stages, with the life-giving water as one of the principal adornments as well as the very life and soul. Water was manipulated beautifully in canals, jets of water, waterfalls, cascades, ponds and lakes."<sup>143</sup> As D.E Ross also comments that the key-note of these Persian styled Mughal gardens was "the central artificial pool (*hauz*) which varies in size according to the dimensions of the garden."<sup>144</sup>

Gardens were certainly an integral part of Mughal life. The Mughal Court being constantly on the move, garden palaces and gardens within fort complexes

were highly appreciated as places of relaxation and as sittings for Court ceremonial. The Mughal gardens included on the World Heritage List, various gardens in Kashmir, Shalimar Garden in Lahore, the gardens of the Red Fort in Agra, the great tomb gardens of Humayun in Dehli and the Taj Mahal at Agra, fully illustrate the splendor and sophistication of the art of Mughal garden making.

### ***Use of Tiles and Mosaics in Mughal Architecture***

In the first half of seventeenth century A.D. the Safawid art of Persia had attained its zenith, and for a time Lahore appears to have come under its powerful spell. Shah Abbas-I, adopted a pragmatic approach to the ceramic industry of Persia.<sup>145</sup> The brilliantly colored glazed tiles which beautify so many of the Mughal buildings in the Punjab and elsewhere are another instance of the cultural inspiration from Persia; they are known as *kashi* work, a name apparently derived from the town of Kashan in Persia noted for its faience, and many have been imported in bulk from that country. Moreover, *Kashi* is derived from the word 'Kash' which in Persian means 'glass.' However, both these definitions strongly denote a Persian origin of this art.<sup>146</sup> "The Indian ceramic tiles of the Mughal period were essentially inspired from Persia; but had also distinctive features of their own."<sup>147</sup> The tile decoration, though primarily introduced under Persian influence, was also comprised a number of local elements, and its illustration can also be observed prominently on the northern and western walls of the Lahore Fort.<sup>148</sup>

Lahore ranked among the three largest cities of the Mughal Empire along with Agra and Delhi. The tomb of Shah Musa, popularly called *Subz Gumbaz* is the earliest Mughal example of tile-decorations at Lahore, built in Akbar's early reign. Likewise, the Picture-Wall of Jahangir at Lahore Fort (1612-20 A.D.), tomb of Farid Pakkiwala (1621 A.D.), tomb of Asaf Khan (1634-38 A.D.), the *Chauburji*-Gate (1646 A.D.), the *Gulabi-Bagh* Gate (1655 A.D.), and the Mosque of Muhammad Salih Kamboh, popularly called *Chini-Wali Masjid* (1659 A.D.), is the most faithful translation of the superb Persian glazed-tile works at Lahore.<sup>149</sup> The

faience mosaic in Lahore Fort is also of Persian origin. The art of inlaying precious stone *pietra-dura* work is yet another instance of cultural inspiration received from Persia. This type of decoration with *pietra-dura* has been used in *Shish Mahal*, *Diwan-i-Khas* and in the cenotaph of Jahangir's tomb at Shahdara.<sup>150</sup>

There were many Persian architects and engineers who came to India during the Mughal regime. Ali Mardan Khan, the former Persian Governor of Qandahar and afterwards who came into Mughal service, was himself a builder of no mean attainments.<sup>151</sup> The tomb of Akbar at Sikandara near Agra (1605-12 A.D.), the tomb of Itimad-ud-Doullah at Agra, built by Nur Jahan during Jahangir's reign, are the chief example of Persian mosaic works. Other full-fledged examples of this sophisticated Persian *Kashi* style in India are Wazir Khan's Mosque at Lahore (1634 A.D.) and the *Chini-ka-Rouza* (1627-39 A.D.) at Agra. The dome of the *Nila Gumbad* (Blue Dome), situated to the south-east of Humayun's tomb was originally entirely ornamented by the blue glazed-tiles. Similarly the dome of the *Subz Burj* (Green Tower) built in 1560 A.D. and the tomb of Shams-ud-Din Atagah Khan who also styled as Azam Khan built in 1567 A.D. is situated near Nizam-ud-Din Aulia's Mausoleum at Ajmer.<sup>152</sup>

Glazed tiles were also used at Agra during the reign of Akbar as well as of Jahangir purely in an indigenous way; the technique continued as Persian but it was put to an Indian use and in this fact laid the great Indo-Persian ingenuity of the Mughal artisan. The Persians manufactured the glazed tiles from simple ingredients like clean white sand, soda or wood ash and potash. These alkaline glazes were extraordinarily brilliant and had most harmonious colors. One of the most distinctive characteristics of Persian ceramics was their luster. From about the eleventh to seventeenth centuries A.D. the Persians were perhaps the best decorative artists the world had ever seen.<sup>153</sup>

### ***Use of Glasses and Mirrors in Mughal Architecture***

Mughal glass of the seventeenth and eighteenth A.D. centuries shows an obvious indebtedness to Persian influences. Floral arabesques and sprays, and

to a lesser extent, geometric motifs were popular with Mughal glassmakers. Bottles, hookah bowls, dishes, and spittoons were made in various fanciful and elegant shapes, the use of colored glass with painted designs becoming increasingly frequent. Dehli and Gujarat were the important centers of its production. Glass and mirror in Mughal India has received very scanty attention, because so many specimens of the period have survived. Mughal glass constitutes a very prominent land-mark in the history of glass making in Indian Sub-continent; and the source of this major movement is very closely linked with Persia. It is well-known that many Persian craftsmen were attracted to the Mughal Court and under this Persianizing influence, Indian art and architecture at once changed into an aristocratic majesty which was never experienced before in India.<sup>154</sup> Persian artists were patronized by the Mughal rulers, and in this respect the role played by them was very significant and pervades through all their products in Mughal India. The works of these artists were so Persian in character, and the acme of the Indo-Persian art may be said to have reached particularly during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.<sup>155</sup>

### ***Architecture during 1526-1556 A.D.***

Babur and Humayun had little time to create any masterpieces, though both of them constructed a number of buildings. Babur was particularly depressed to find no gardens in India such as he had known in Central Asia and had himself laid out in Kabul. Nevertheless the Mughals, first headed by Babur, brought with them the Persian *Chaharbagh* concept of the garden to be employed in India. Later on, Mughals modified this Persian concept into an eventual unique type of garden containing both Islamic ideas and local Indian traditions. Therefore, not long after his arrival in Agra, he selected a site across the river from town where, despite his initial mistrust of its potentialities, he soon had the ground cleared, a well dug and a bath-house constructed. This was followed by a tank and a pavilion, and soon a Persian garden began to take shape, remaining him of his northern home.<sup>156</sup>

Among the gardens laid out by Babur, may be mentioned *Bagh-i-Wafa* and *Bagh-i-Kilan* near Kabul and the *Ram Bagh* and the *Zohra Bagh* at Agra as the most sumptuous and outstanding piece of work. During his restless years of adventure, Babur managed to indulge his artistic in other directions. Although few of his building now survive, he set an example of architectural activity, which ultimately fructified in the magnificent buildings of his Mughal descendants. After his arrival in India he really applied himself to building, and summoned famous architects from Central Asia and Ottoman Empire.<sup>157</sup> Babur had no time to devote to this improvement, but his son Humayun, displayed in the construction of *Qasr-i-Rawan* (moving palace), *Bagh-i-Rawan* (moving garden), and *Bazar-i-Rawan* (moving bazaar), which were built on boats and set afloat on the River Jumna. These were indeed, the first of its kind in India which was built by Humayun. Humayun on his return from Persia, apart from the memory of lavish architectural traditions, brought artists and architects, particularly a dome builder (*gumbad-saaz*) with him.<sup>158</sup> This shows that it was mainly the Persian inspiration which was responsible for the appearance of high, bulbous, double-dome at *subz-burj* in Dehli, and almost contemporarily at the tomb of Humayun.<sup>159</sup>

### ***Architecture during 1556-1605 A.D.***

Akbar's activities were not confined only to the great masterpieces of architecture; but he also built a number of forts, villas, towers, inns, schools, tanks and wells. Akbar was strictly adhered to the Persian ideas, which he inherited from his mother Hamida Bano Begum, who belonged to a Persian Shaikh family of Persia.<sup>160</sup> Building style that developed in India under the patronage of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.), is best exemplified by the Fort at Agra (built 1565-74 A.D.), and the magnificent city of Fatehpur Sikri (1569-74 A.D.), but fine examples are also found in the gateway to the Arab *Sarai*, Delhi (1560 A.D.), the Ajmer Fort (1564-73 A.D.), the Lahore fort with its outstanding decoration (1586-1618 A.D.), and the Allahabad fort (1583-84 A.D.), now largely dismantled. The most imposing of the buildings at Fatehpur Sikri is



the great mosque, the *Jami Masjid*, which served as a model for later congregational mosques built by the Mughals. The massive gateway, the *Buland Darwazah* (Victory Gate), gives a feeling of immense strength and height, an impression emphasized by the steepness of the flight of steps by which it is approached. He built a garden the *Nasim Bagh* on the west bank of Dal Lake, in Srinagar, of which little now remains. Percy Brown states that “the form of building architecture that the Emperor Akbar selected to fulfill his own purposes in preference to appropriating the ready-made style from Persia, as it was done in the case of Humayun’s tomb.”<sup>161</sup>

### ***Humayun’s Mausoleum***

The impact of Humayun’s experience during his exile in Persia and the importance of specifically Persian architecture are best demonstrated by his tomb, raised near the city he had founded in Dehli called *Din-Pannah*. Humayun’s tomb is generally regarded as a prototype of the famed Taj Mahal of Agra. The construction took eight years to complete which was made of white marble and red sandstone. This tomb is rightly regarded as a synthesis of the Persian and Indian building styles. This magnificent memorial was built not by Hamida Bano Begum, but Haji Begum (Humayun’s senior widow), in memory of her husband, during the years 1556-69 A.D. of the Akbar’s reign.<sup>162</sup> Its garden has other tombs including Humayun’s barber and the tomb of Issa Khan (the architect of Taj Mahal). It was the first imperial Mughal mausoleum in India, the architect of Humayun’s tomb; Mir Ghiyas Mirak was according to Percy Brown, “almost certainly of Persian origin, Humayun’s tomb stands as an example of the synthesis of two of the great building styles of Asia; the Persian and Indian.”<sup>163</sup> Havell describes Humayun’s tomb as “perhaps more Persian in character than any other important building in India.”<sup>164</sup> With the construction of Humayun’s tomb, the Persian style in fact established in India. In both spirit and substance Humayun’s tomb is a symbol of Persian architecture, not quite of the best but certainly of a very high standard, beautifully proportioned and with an instinctive

feeling.<sup>165</sup> The tomb of Humayun at Delhi, strikes a new note in the order of funerary monuments in India. The Persian character is clearly evident in the plan as well as in the elevation of the building. This is not surprising as Humayun, apart from his inherited Persian predilections, strongly imbibed the Persian culture due to his forced contact with the Safawid Court of Persia.<sup>166</sup> Perhaps the nearest definition of the architectural style of Humayun's tomb is that "it represents an Indian interpretation of a Persian conception."<sup>167</sup>

### ***Architecture during 1605-1628 A.D.***

Jahangir had no architectural pretensions, and during his reign the Akbari style of architecture was already losing its simplicity and vigor. But later on, Jahangir proved himself as the greatest gardener among the great Mughals. "Through Jahangir's love of nature, inherited from his progenitor, Babur, the Mughal garden was brought to perfection and at all places which this Emperor sojourned for any length of time, one of these pleasantries (gardens) was generally prepared."<sup>168</sup> Jahangir built *Dilkusha* Garden at Shahdara, *Badami Bagh* at Lahore, the *Shalimar Bagh*, the *Achabal Bagh* and the *Vernag Bagh* in Kashmir, the Royal Garden at Udaipur, the garden attached to the tomb of I'timad-ud-Doullah at Agra, and the *Wah Bagh* at Hasan Abdal.<sup>169</sup> The most alluring and influential of all the arts of Nur Jahan, however, was the most beautiful gardening. Her own gardens known as *Jarogha Bagh* or *Darogha Bagh* on Lake Manasbal and *Bagh-i-Bahar* Ara at Dal Lake were the supreme manifestation of her refined taste of gardening. Nur Jahan also created numerous other gardens throughout the Empire, both public and private. Nur Jahan's brother, Asaf Khan also developed *Nishat Bagh* at Kashmir, which was indeed the largest and most spectacular of all.<sup>170</sup>

Jahangir's Court, particularly under the influence of his imperious consort Nur Jahan, patronized a culture, no doubt eclectic in character, in which the foreign, especially the Persian elements predominated. The most permanent of all of Nur Jahan's artistic achievements, however, were the buildings she

designed and patronized; in fact, she made enduring contributions to the history of Mughal architecture. Jahangir's principal delight was in the laying out of large formal gardens, the aesthetic reputation of the Mughal dynasty.<sup>171</sup> Eight years after the death of Akbar, his mausoleum was completed at Sikandra in 1613 A.D. and the tombstone made of marble with 99 names of God on the top of its Mosque.<sup>172</sup> Another notable monument of Jahangir's reign is the tomb of that Emperor himself at Lahore, built by his consort Nur Jahan. Notable example of Persian double dome building in Mughal regime is that of Maryam Zamani's Mosque at Lahore. It was built during Jahangir's reign in 1614 A.D. by Queen Maryam Zamani, the mother of the Emperor Jahangir.<sup>173</sup>

### ***Nur Afshan Bagh***

Babur built a garden at Agra which was named *Ram Bagh*, but Jahangir gave it as present to his Empress Nur Jahan. Afterwards, with some alterations did by Nur Jahan it became famous by the name of *Nur Afshan Bagh* (light scattering garden). Jahangir called it *Gul Afshan Bagh* (flowers scattering garden) when he visited there first time in 1619 A.D. and rewarded an honorary title to its Persian keeper Dost Muhammad as 'Khwaja Jahan.' As he himself writes in his *Tuzuk* that, "On Wednesday, together with the ladies in a boat, I went to the Nur-Afshan garden, and rested there at night; as the garden belongs to the establishment of Nur Jahan Begum."<sup>174</sup> The Nur Afshan or Ram Bagh has the distinction of being one of the oldest recognizable Mughal gardens in India.

### ***Nur Manzil or Zahra Bagh***

The garden of *Nur Manzil* (abode of light), was built by Babur for one of his daughter named Zahra, which is known today as the *Zahra Bagh* and is located just South of the *Ram Bagh*, along with the eastern bank of the Yamuna River in Agra. Likewise, it went under the purview of Nur Jahan in Jahangir's reign and increased substantially. Its first reference appeared in the *Tuzuk* in the year of 1619 A.D.<sup>175</sup>

### ***Tomb of Itimad-ud-Doullah***

An important tomb built towards the close of Jahangir's reign; represent more successful achievements in respect of design as well as in execution. It was the mausoleum of Itimad-ud-Doullah, the father of Jahangir's remarkable Empress, Nur Jahan. The tomb of Itimad-ud-Doullah represents the pure Persian element dominating in Mughal art of architecture and rightly marks the stage when Persian influence at the Mughal Court was at its zenith. Nur Jahan began the construction of her father's tomb in a garden along the bank of the Yamuna at Agra, which is the finest architectural gem of Jahangir's reign. It was completed in 1628 A.D.,<sup>176</sup> and took six years to finish the tomb and 1.35 million rupees (1,350,000) to expense for it. This tomb was the first example of the use of white marble embellished with the precise inlay of precious stones into the surface of marble facing, and technically said to be ahead of even the construction of Taj Mahal. This tomb has been described as a 'jewel-box.'<sup>177</sup>

### ***Tomb of Anarkali***

Anar Kali was Persian women declared by the legend to have been loved by Jahangir, and was put to death by the Akbar. Her tomb is situated at Lahore which was built in Jahangir's reign in 1615 A.D.<sup>178</sup> Jahangir's interest centered mainly round painting and gardening, yet his reign was not altogether without its architectural glory.

### ***Architecture during 1628-1658 A.D.***

In Shah Jahan's Court the Persian character was even more emphasized than earlier. The life in this Court composed mainly of a Persian aristocracy; and was imbued with Persian ideas of grace and luxury carried almost to the point of over-refinement and exaggeration. Persian-ism became the fashion of the day, and it is from this time that Persian ideas prevailed in the art and culture of the Mughals. Shah Jahan was indeed the greatest builder amongst the Mughals.

One secret of his success was the liberal use of the marble. The style of his principal edifices is basically Persian, but it is clearly distinguished from the Persian style by the lavish use of white marble, minute and tasteful decorations.<sup>179</sup> After passing through many preliminary phases of experiments with continuous inflow and assimilation of Persian and Central Asian traditions, it was during the reign of Shah Jahan that Mughal School of architecture emerges from its conceptual form and found its real expression in palaces, gardens, Mosques, mausoleums with equal emphasis on devising rich variety of interior and exterior decorative patterns, lending additional charm and pageantry to the buildings.<sup>180</sup>

It is indeed understandable that with the increased influence of the Persian nobility like Asaf Khan and Ali Mardan Khan and many others; in the Court of Shah Jahan, architectural traditions were bound to be affected profoundly. It was chiefly due to this and many other contributive factors that the Mughal architecture continued to be replenished by the traditions transmitted from Persia. The strong influence of the powerful Persian nobility in the Mughal Court irresistibility affected the art and craft tradition in the Sub-continent.<sup>181</sup> Under Shah Jahan's patronage, decorative architecture attained to its highest watermark. In the construction of his buildings he made a most extensive use of marble and the *pietra dura* and employing the services of the jewelers and painters; thus, produced that specimen of arts which still stand unrivalled in India, perhaps in the whole world.

Shah Jahan's reign produced Mosques like the *Moti Masjid* of Agra, *Jammah Masjid* of Delhi and *Sau Gumbad Wali Masjid* (Mosque of hundred domes) at Thatta, a mausoleum like Taj Mahal, palaces like *Diwan-i-Khas* of Delhi and cities like Shahjahanabad.<sup>182</sup> Shah Jahan akin to his father, Jahangir, was a major patron of gardens and built many more gardens besides *Chashma Shahi* and *Anguri Bagh* (Garden of the grapes) at Kashmir, Taj Mahal Gardens in Agra and one of his largest and most famous is the *Shalimar Bagh* at Lahore. The Mughal style under Shah Jahan finds its most brilliant manifestation in the Taj Mahal which shows the Indian and Persian traditions in perfect union. The

love of gardening displayed by Indian Muslim Kings, particularly the Mughal Emperors, had an enduring impression on the taste of the people of India.<sup>183</sup>

### ***Tomb of Nur Jahan***

Tomb of Nur Jahan is also an important example of Persian architecture during the Shah Jahan's reign, which is situated at north-west of Lahore at Shahdara, where lies Nur Jahan's old pleasure garden once known as the Dilkusha Garden. Empress Nur Jahan herself lies in a bare and simple grave. She wrote her own epitaph, which is translated by the poet John Bowen in these words that;

Upon my grave when I shall die,  
No lamp shall burn nor jasmine lie,  
No candle, with unsteady flame,  
Serve as remember of my fame,  
No bulbul chanting overhead,  
Shall tell the world that I am dead.<sup>184</sup>

This tomb of Nur Jahan and her brother Asaf Khan were damaged by the Sikhs during the Sikh rule, when almost in 1799 A.D. Ranjit Singh removed their marble and employed it in the construction of his own buildings.<sup>185</sup>

### ***Asaf Khan's Tomb***

It is one of the largest tombs situated at Lahore. Instead of the tomb of Ali Mardan Khan, no one is parallel with Asaf Khan's mausoleum. This marvelous tomb is built of marble from its bottom to the top.<sup>186</sup> The tombs of Asaf Khan and Ali Mardan Khan at Lahore were built in 1641-45 A.D. and 1656 A.D. respectively, which are the outstanding and prominent specimens of typical Persian type of double dome style construction. The design and execution of

these tombs indicates that it was the production of men accustomed to working in brick masonry, and in a method implying wholesome Persian influence.<sup>187</sup>

### ***Taj Mahal***

The Taj Mahal was Shah Jahan's one of the largest project which has been greatly admired as one of the triumphs of monumental building in world history. On June 17, 1631 A.D. Mumtaz Mahal the beloved Persian wife of Shah Jahan died in childbirth at Burhanpur in the Deccan. The Emperor was devastated by grief and went into prolonged mourning for her. The dead Queen's body was temporarily interred at Burhanpur before being brought to Agra by her son, Prince Shuja. On a plot of land on the bank of the Yamuna River, Mumtaz Mahal was again buried. At Shah Jahan's orders, imperial architects and builders began to erect the marble plinth for a tomb over the grave that would be known as the Taj Mahal. The tomb itself, with its great bulbous dome of white marble flanked by four slender minarets is merely the central feature of a larger walled complex comprising some forty-two acres.<sup>188</sup> According to Inayat Khan, Taj Mahal had been erected in the course of twelve years, and 50 Lakhs Rupees (5-million) were expended by the skillful and experienced architects in completing this magnificent mausoleum.<sup>189</sup>

The Taj Mahal, which in style is in direct line of descent from the tombs of Humayun and the Khan-i-Khanan in Dehli, stands on a white marble plate-form 22 feet high and 313 feet square at the far end of a large formal garden enclosed on three sides by lofty walls and gateways. The total height of the building including the metal pinnacle surmounting the dome is 243 feet. The first and perhaps the most enduring impression left by this incomparable monument is its Persian origin. With reference to Shah Jahan's architecture in general, Vincent Smith says: "The style is essentially Persian, but sharply distinguished from the fashions of Isfahan."<sup>190</sup> Taj Mahal should so often be regarded as the quintessence of the Mughal spirit, but, in the quality of its combination of

monumentality and delicacy, and in the quality of its decoration it represents the culmination on Indian soil of the Persian genius at work.<sup>191</sup>

The Taj Mahal is the most famous and beautiful mausoleum in the world. No other building in the world has captured the romantic imagination of mankind as the Taj Mahal. It gave through the Mughal vision to give mankind one of the most marvelous realizations of human intelligence.<sup>192</sup> Many names have figured as designers and craftsmen at the Taj Mahal. According to Richards Foltz it was designed by a *Turani* architect named Muhammad Sharif Samarqandi and its head sculptor was Ata Muhammad from Bukhara.<sup>193</sup> Sir. Jadunath Sarkar is of opinion that “at least two of the chief designers of the Taj Mahal were Persians.”<sup>194</sup> He also writes that Amanat Khan Shirazi as writer of the Tughra inscription and Ustad Isa as mason, were the Persian master-artisans who were employed in Taj Mahal’s construction.<sup>195</sup> In view of Jadunath Sarkar’s statement and the majority of the other contemporary chronicles, the Persians Ustad Isa Ahmad can be credited with much of the responsibility of the construction of Taj Mahal. Likewise, V.D Mahajan also says that “the Taj (Mahal) was constructed under the guidance of Ustad Isa and he was paid a salary of one thousand rupees per month.”<sup>196</sup> Similarly, Sylvia Crowe and Sheila Haywood the celebrated authoresses of *The Gardens of Mughul India*, also says that two Persians Ustad Isa and Ustad Hamid were the main builders of this magnificent building of Taj Mahal.<sup>197</sup> The design and the decoration of the Taj Mahal have undoubtedly certain pronounced Persian features that strengthen the above mentioned statements that its architect and builders were certainly Persians.

The Taj Mahal is one of the wonders of the world and is a noble monument of conjugal love and fidelity in the world. It is flawless in design and execution and has been described as a ‘lyric in stone.’ It is certainly a ‘dream in marble,’ and is an ‘immortal tear on the cheek of eternity.’<sup>198</sup> The final plan of the Taj Mahal was prepared after a lot of discussion and many variations. To begin with a model of the Taj was prepared in wood and this was followed by the artisans. Surprisingly, the origin of the name ‘Taj Mahal’ is not clear. Court histories from Shah Jahan’s reign only call it the *rouza* (tomb) of Mumtaz Mahal.



It is believed that the name Taj Mahal is an abbreviated version of her name, Mumtaz Mahal.<sup>199</sup> Hence, Taj Mahal is indeed rightly called the Muslims noblest contribution to the grace of Indian womanhood.

### ***Diwan-i-Aam and Diwan-i-Khass***

*Diwan-i-Aam* was a hall for public audience; and was a ceremonial place for the general assembly. The *Diwan-i-Aam* with an exquisitely ornamented ceiling supported by profusely decorated pillars, an excellent niche in the middle and a marble plate-form which was once the seat of the far-famed Peacock Throne.<sup>200</sup> Shah Jahan's confident sense of Mughal grandeur found creative expression in monumental building at various scales. His first commissioned work, *Takht-i-Taos* (the Peacock throne), set the tone for a new era of ceremonial display. At his coronation the emperor set aside diamonds and other precious stones worth 10 million rupees for use on the new throne. The Empire's most skilled Indian and Persian craftsmen labored seven years on the intricate design. Every possible surface was covered with motifs formed by hundreds of beautifully set rubies, emeralds, diamonds, and pearls. Above the canopy was the famed peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other colored stones, the body being gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats. Shah Jahan occupied this new seat in a grand audience in Agra fort in March, 1635 A.D.<sup>201</sup> The famous Peacock Throne adorned this magnificent hall (*Diwan-i-Aam*) before Nadir Shah, the Persian conqueror, carted it off to Persia in 1739 A.D.

*Diwan-i-Khas* is an exotic marble chamber with intricate artwork inside the Red Fort where the Emperor held private meetings with 'khas' (important) people. *Diwan-i-Khass* was a hall for private audience; which was reserved for important nobles, to conduct confidential and important business of the state.<sup>202</sup> The official name of the *Diwan-i-Khas* was *Dawlat-Khanah-i-Khas*, which was conferred upon it by Shah Jahan. Afterwards, this building came to be called *Diwan-i-Khas* in course of time.<sup>203</sup> It is also known as the *Shah Mahal* and is

rightly regarded by Shah Jahan as a paradise on earth.<sup>204</sup> An inscription on it described it in these words;

“Agar firdous bar ruye zamin ast (If on earth be an Eden of bliss),  
Hamin asto, hamin asto, hamin ast” (It is this; it is this, none but this).<sup>205</sup>

### ***Tomb of Qandahari Mahal***

Qandahari Mahal or Qandahari Begum was one of the wives of Shah Jahan. She was the daughter of Mirza Muzaffar Hussain Safawi, who was an important Persian noble of the Mughal Court and belonged to the royal family of Safawid dynasty of Persia. Her tomb is also an imperative example of Persian architecture and is situated at Agra.<sup>206</sup>

### ***Chini Ka Rouza***

*Chini Ka Rouza* (China Tomb) is believed to be the tomb of Afzal Khan, a Persian who served as a minister to Shah Jahan and died in 1639 A.D. There is a pure Persian influence in the shape of the tomb, and its tile work, too, is Persian in both design and technique.<sup>207</sup>

### ***Rang Mahal***

The gorgeous *Rang Mahal* (Color Palace), with its garden court, the most marvelous baths, fed by a canal brought from the Jumna, is counted as the finest monument, immortalizing the memory of that great Mughal. It is also known as *Saman Burj*, situated just south of *Diwan-e-Khas*, contains the most delightful Persian styled arches inscribed with Persian verses.<sup>208</sup>

### ***Moti Masjid***

The *Moti Masjid* (Pearl Mosque) is situated within the Agra Fort and described as the purest and loveliest house of prayer in the world. The elegant Pearl Mosque or *Moti Masjid* entailed an expense of Rupees sixteen lakhs (1.6

million). It is built of black and white marble and is still in a good state of preservation. It is said to have been built by Ali Mardan Khan who was one of the Persian favorites of Shah Jahan.<sup>209</sup>

### ***Jamma Masjid Dehli***

Some way south of Chandni-Chowk, Shah Jahan constructed the imposing *Jamma Masjid* also called *Jami Masjid*, which must rank only a little behind the Taj Mahal, and itself as one of the finest monuments erected during his reign. This Mosque is the largest congregational Mosque in northern India. Its central courtyard is 325 feet square and is surrounded on three sides by cloisters and on the fourth by a decorated prayer-hall flanked by two tall minarets and supporting three cupolas similar in shape to the dome of the Persian styled Taj Mahal.<sup>210</sup>

### ***Shalamar Garden Lahore***

The charming example of Persian styled garden architecture is well represented by the Shalamar Garden which was built by Shah Jahan in 1642 A.D. On Emperor Shah Jahan's instruction, it was planned and built by the well-known Persian architects Ali Mardan Khan and Mulla Ala-al-Mulk Tuni.<sup>211</sup>

### ***Chashma Shahi Bagh***

*Chashma Shahi Bagh* or also famous as The Royal Spring Garden at Kashmir was built in 1632 A.D. attributed its construction to Shah Jahan himself. But its Persian features seem more likely that the actual builder was Ali Mardan Khan, at that time as Governor of Kashmir, working to the Emperor's instructions.<sup>212</sup>

## ***Nishat Bagh***

When the great Mughals started going to Kashmir to escape the dreadful and dusty heat of the Indian summer, they made their residence in the multi-terraced garden on the mountainside overlooking Dal Lake.<sup>213</sup> *Nishat Bagh* was built at Srinagar Kashmir, by Asaf Khan (the brother of Empress Nur Jahan), who was of a pure Persian origin.<sup>214</sup>

## ***Architecture during 1658-1707 A.D.***

Aurangzeb could not give his attention towards the works like architecture, due to the political crisis during throughout his reign, as result of his continuous confrontation with the Maratha power. Although, the most important buildings erected by Aurangzeb are the Marble Mosque within the Delhi Fort and the *Badshahi Masjid* at Lahore. The latter is the latest specimen of the Mughal style of architecture. It has lost most of its original beauty and splendor, but even as it is, this is an excellent piece of art.<sup>215</sup> Among the best gardens of the reign of Aurangzeb may be mentioned the garden attached to the *Badshahi Masjid* at Lahore, the garden of Raushan Ara Begum at Delhi, the *Chauburji Bagh* and the *Nawankal Bagh* at Lahore. The later Mughals were even more devoted to the fine-arts than their predecessors; they indulged in them even to the neglect of state affairs. Under them the Mughal gardens retained its splendor undiminished.<sup>216</sup>

Indian kings were used to import Persian artists to a foreign land like India, because of their excellence and mastery in the field of arts and diverse skills. Migration from homeland to an alien country in anticipation of economic betterment and congenial socio-political environment has been practice of men ever since the ancient times; in this regard Annexure-III is demonstrating the names of Persian traders and tourists who came to India during 1530-1658 A.D. Indeed, India has been a heaven especially during the Mughal regime, for the fortune seekers from the adjoining countries, especially Persia and Central

Asia.<sup>217</sup> Following Table No.7.A is showing almost the overall Persian artists and people with diverse skills that immigrated India during the stated Mughal regime.

**Table - 7.A** **Persian Artists, Craftsmen, and People With Diverse Skills Who Emigrated India Or Born there During 1530-1707 A.D.**

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
1.	Maulana Yusuf	<i>Painter</i>	Humayun	F.R. p.41
2.	Maulana Dervish Muhammad	<i>Painter</i>	Humayun	F.R. p.41
3.	Dost Musawwir or Dus Muhammad	<i>Painter</i>	Humayun	S.P.V. p.151
4.	Mir Musawwir or Mir Mansur	<i>Painter</i>	Humayun	S.P.V. p.150
5.	Mir Saiyed Ali	<i>Painter</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.52
6.	Khwaja Abdus Samad (Shirin Qalam)	<i>Painter/Calligraphist</i>	Humayun	T.A. p.52
7.	Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khan	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Humayun	F.R. p.40
8.	Mir Qasim	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Humayun	F.R. p.40
9.	Hakim Khwaja Yusuf Haravi	<i>Physician</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.1558
10.	Udhem Qazwini	<i>Musician</i>	Humayun	A.G.M. p.38
11.	Maulana Abdul Hayee	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
12.	Maulana Sultan Ali Mashhadi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
13.	Maulana Hijrani	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
14.	Maulana Mir Ali Tabrizi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
15.	Muhammad Amin Mashhadi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
16.	Maulana Nizam Qazwini	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1442
17.	Maulana Ibrahim	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
18.	Khwaja Ikhtiyar	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
19.	Munshi Jamal-ud-Din	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
20.	Muhammad Qazwini	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
21.	Maulana Idris	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	C.A.M.A. p.12
22.	Khwaja Muhammad Hussain Sanai	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Akbar	M.H. p.389
23.	Hakim Abdul Fateh	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	M.H. p.387
24.	Humayun Quli (Hakim Humam)	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	M.H. p.387
25.	Hakim Fateh Nur-ud-Din	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	M.H. p.388
26.	Hakim Misri	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	M.H. p.388
27.	Hakim Masih-ul-Mulk Shirazi	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	M.H. p.388
28.	Hakim Zambil	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	M.H. p.388
29.	Hakim Lutfullah Gilani	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	M.H. p.388
30.	Hakim Masih Kashani	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.186
31.	Hakim Sadra Shirazi	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.187
32.	Hakim Mashhadi	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.187
33.	Hakim Najati	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Akbar	M.H. p.388
34.	Dost Muhammad Mashhadi	<i>Musician</i>	Akbar	S.M.J. p.168
35.	Bahram Quli	<i>Musician</i>	Akbar	S.M.J. p.168
36.	Nazm-i-Tabrizi	<i>Jewler//Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1444
37.	Mirak Mirza Ghiyas	<i>Architect</i>	Akbar	G.M.A. p.19
38.	Farrukh Beg	<i>Painter</i>	Akbar	M.R.K. p.599
39.	Khusrau Quli	<i>Painter</i>	Akbar	M.R.K. p.599
40.	Jamshed	<i>Painter</i>	Akbar	M.R.K. p.599
41.	Amini Mashhadi	<i>Designer/Decorator/Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.119

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
42.	Baqir Kashani	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.143
43.	Wasfi Kermani (Meshkin Qalami)	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.294
44.	Mir Muhammad Momin Akbarabadi	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.294
45.	Mir Muhammad Salih	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Akbar	A. Dad. p.294
46.	Fasuni Tabrizi	<i>Astronomer</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1013
47.	Rafiq Amuli	<i>Architect</i>	Akbar	A.G.M. p.467
48.	Tajalli Gilani	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.206
49.	Ismail Nasrabadi	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.296
50.	Iksir Esfahani	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.82
51.	Wahshat Ardestani	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1513
52.	Rashida-i-Abbasi	<i>Goldsmith/Enamellist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.442
53.	Saeed-i-Gilani	<i>Calligraphist/Goldsmith</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.558
54.	Asaf Qomi	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.5
55.	Forsi Shidani	<i>Calligraphist/Librarian</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.296
56.	Saida-i-Gilani	<i>Goldsmith/Engraver</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.293
57.	Fayeq-i-Lahijani	<i>Calligraphist/Musician</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.990
58.	Muhammad Nahi Neyrizi (Ishrat Khan)	<i>Musician</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.296
59.	Raunaqi Hamadani	<i>Musician/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.487
60.	Chalabi Tabrizi	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.309
61.	Rafati Tabrizi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.451
62.	Wesali Tabrizi	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1519
63.	Yusuf Aziz Esfahani	<i>Goldsmith/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1557
64.	Siraja Esfahani	<i>Musician/Astronomer/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.535
65.	Ali Esfahani (Musannef)	<i>Musician/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.908
66.	Samandar Shamlu	<i>Musician/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.582
67.	Zamani Esfahani	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.500
68.	Bahari Kashani	<i>Binder</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.295
69.	Zaman Esfahani	<i>Goldsmith/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.498
70.	Baqiya-i-Naini	<i>Musician</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.158
71.	Sirati Qazwini	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.596
72.	Muizz Yazdi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1316
73.	Shamimi Yazdi	<i>Calligraphist/Musician</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.654
74.	Jesmi Hamadani	<i>Calligraphist/Musician/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.277
75.	Walih Shirazi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1503
76.	Mohsin Shirazi	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1228
77.	Ibrahim Farsi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.10
78.	Asiri Shirazi	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.59
79.	Muhammad Tanburah (Maktub Khan)	<i>Painter/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.297
80.	Ruzbeh Shirazi	<i>Calligraphist/Gilder/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.297
81.	Atai Cherudi Shirazi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.905
82.	Mumin Gonabadi	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1379
83.	Khadim Heravi	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.366
84.	Mujrim Shamlu	<i>Calligraphist/Musician/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1214
85.	Faghfur Lahiji	<i>Hakim/Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p. 1028
86.	Feyez-i-Gilani	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.987
87.	Qasim Deylami	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1081
88.	Aga Reza	<i>Painter</i>	Jahangir	E.B.F. p.224
89.	Abul Hasan (Nadir-uz-Zaman)	<i>Painter</i>	Jahangir	E.B.F. p.224
90.	Ustad Mansur (Nadir-ul-Asr)	<i>Painter</i>	Jahangir	M.R.K. p.599
91.	Dost Muhammad (Khwaja Jahan)	<i>Architect</i>	Jahangir	C.D.M.A. p.27
92.	Ali Esfahani	<i>Architect</i>	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.908

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
93.	Mir Abdul Karim Mamuri Esfahani	<i>Architect</i>	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.174
94.	Jawahar Raqam Tabrizi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.307
95.	Muqim Tabrizi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1336
96.	Abul Baqa Abarquii	<i>Calligraphist/Poet</i>	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.11
97.	Hakim Dawud Taqarrub	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.186
98.	Muhammad Ali Khan	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Shah Jahan	A. Dad. p.186
99.	Hakim Fateh Gilani	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Shah Jahan	M.H. p.388
100.	Hakim Saif-ul-Mulk Lang	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Shah Jahan	M.H. p.388
101.	Ustad Ahmad Esfahani	<i>Architect</i>	Shah Jahan	G.M.I. p.175
102.	Ustad Hamid	<i>Architect</i>	Shah Jahan	G.M.I. p.175
103.	Amanat Khan Shirazi	<i>Architect</i>	Shah Jahan	G.M.A. p.ix
104.	Ustad Isa	<i>Architect</i>	Shah Jahan	G.M.A. p.ix
105.	Ali Mardan	<i>Architect</i>	Shah Jahan	K.H. p.437
106.	Mulla Ala-ul-Mulk Tuni	<i>Architect</i>	Shah Jahan	K.H. p.437
107.	Shams-ud-Din Hakim-ul-Mulk Gilani	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Aurangzeb	M.H. p.389
108.	Hakim Ainul Mulk Shirazi	<i>Physician/Hakim</i>	Aurangzeb	M.H. p.389
109.	Abd al-Baqi Haddad	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Aurangzeb	T.H.H. p.87
110.	Rada Tabrizi	<i>Calligraphist</i>	Aurangzeb	T.H.H. p.87

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# CHAPTER-VIII

## C o n c l u s i o n

The world history in terms of different regimes is somewhat thought provoking. The Role of Persians at the Mughal Court is significant event in the history of Indian Sub-continent. This study perhaps has not ever been conducted extensively as the present effort. The Persian influence, however primary for all the Muslim civilizations of Asia, but especially to Indian Sub-continent its impact on Mughal India is of prime importance that was needed essentially to be unearthed. Unlike the German School of History I started without any theory; or even a hypothesis, which might induce me to mould facts to fit in with any preconceived theory or a pre-determined research track.

The preliminary to any examination of the multifarious relationship between Persia and Sub-continent must be an appreciation of the geographical setting. This appreciation has been attempted above on the basis of land routes which connected both the countries in antiquity. Persian civilization had a high prestige in contemporary Muslim Asia, and the cultural frontiers of Persia extended far beyond her political boundaries. Mughal India, in view of its geographical settings stood closest to her in many assorted interactions. Islam entered India from Afghanistan and Persia. The history of culture shows that Persia had been playing a dominant role along with India. Lying between India and Persia, in fact Afghanistan formed the meeting ground where the two cultures interpenetrated and superimposed. The Muslims of the Sub-continent have always been motivated by an intense love of Islam in their policies and movements; while considerably the Persians have always sought in their pre-Islamic history. Muslims of the Sub-continent had only one name for their community prior to the establishment of Pakistan and that was 'Muslims'. In their own language when they had to talk of themselves as distinct from the Muslims of other lands, they seldom used the appellation 'Indian Muslims' the expression which was more common. These attitudes are the result of historical causes, which have been active over long periods and in various forms. A strong factor has been a continuous sense of insecurity. Undeniably, Indian Muslims took such a fancy to the Persian culture that in their eager fascination for it they did not even pause to pick and choose from Persian ideas but assimilated them

wholesale in almost every department of administration and in every aspect of their social life. Politically, they adopted the principles of Persian government, the division and organization of the various departments of the state, including their names, the personality of the Persian king, his seraglio, his slaves, his servants; State ceremonials and all other symbols of sovereignty, including his dress; the rules of military organization and equipment, the tactics of war and even the titles and designations of the rank and in fact every minute detail of administration. Of all these ideas, the most important and significant was the theory of Divine Right, the most distinctive feature of Persian monarchy, which may be referred to at some length. In relation to his subjects, the Persian monarch was their lord and master, absolute disposer of their lives, liberties and property; the sole foundation of law and right, incapable himself of doing wrong, irresponsible, irresistible, a sort of god upon earth. Therefore, the Muslim king in India was styled as *Zill-i-illahi* or the 'shadow of God' on earth and divine honors were paid to him. Socio-culturally, they imbibed the ideas of the Persians about social pleasures and pastimes and borrowed from them chase, chess and *chaugan* (polo), drinking, music and songs and even the spring festival of *Nauroz*. They also made Persian as their Court language and took over almost all Persian ideas, and practically used them wherever they could be utilized.

Since the establishment of the Mughal Empire, a large number of men of sword and pen, the people of excellence, quality and learning, men of letters, poets and writers, skilled artisans and eminent persons from the cities of Persia came to this splendid Empire with great hopes and anticipations. They entered with the service of this bountiful kingdom, which was a sort of asylum for the people of the world. Persians were accounted for a high proportion of personnel in all branches of service in the Mughal Empire. With their multifarious capabilities, they could handle different assignments, professions, and creative hobbies with ease and dexterity. Many Persian families attached to the Mughal Court exhibited their talents in various forms and in different fields. With their multifarious capabilities, they outshone and exceeded their contemporaries in the

spheres of administrative and political administration, literati activities and artistic bequests.

### **Persians' Political and Administrative Role**

This study concludes specifically Persians role in the politics and administration of the Mughal Empire in order to highlight its relevant core findings. Persian intelligentsia played indeed a vital role in the establishment and durability of the Mughal Empire. The tradition of migration from Muslim lands never came to an end; and many distinguished families of administrators and soldiers during the Mughal rule hailed from Persia.

**Table - 8.A Persian Emigrants in Mughal Politics and Administration**

	During Babur's Reign	During Humayun's Reign	During Akbar's Reign	During Jahangir's Reign	During Shah Jahan's Reign	During Aurangzeb's Reign
Arrival of Total Persian Emigrants Who got Jobs in Administration	09	28	44	39	24	27
Total Persian Mansabdars/ Nobility	09	21	27 21.95% 500-Above 3000 During 1595 A.D	68 28.10% 500-Above 5000 During 1621 A.D	113 26.97% 500-Above 5000 During 1637-38 A.D	136 27.98% 1000-Above 5000 During 1658-78 A.D
Over-all Persian Central Ministers	-----	05	11 57.89%	13 76.47%	18 81.82%	Unclear
Over-all Persian Provincial Governors	-----	02	15 28.85%	22 33.33%	43 48.86%	14

In fact, the nobility of Babur and Humayun shows that the Mughal ruling class was far from constituting a disciplined and effective organization to cope with the complex problems of a newly established Empire in India. The attempts made by Babur and Humayun to bring about some changes in its composition, to improve its working and making it loyal and subservient to the Mughal throne



were not fully successful. The most apparent reason seemed to be the presence of powerful clan and family groups of nobles with their roots in Central Asian traditions or claims of high descent. To break their power, some fundamental changes were required in the administrative structure, but this required time and security. Though, Humayun for the sake of equilibrium tried his best to induct increasingly Persians in his nobility, but neither Babur nor Humayun were able to counter dominant fractions of their nobility. During the tiny reign of Babur only 9 Persian immigrants came and it was just beginning of their entry into Mughal India. Later on, Humayun's stay in Persia not only established diplomatic relationship between the Safawid and Mughal Courts, it also led to closer contact between India and Persia. The restoration of the Mughal Empire in July, 1555 A.D. established a tradition of migration from Persia, which continued until the Muslim states of India could no longer offer prospects of employment. Although, after the re-occupation of India, Humayun realizing the importance of including local elements in the ruling class, made a beginning by entering a few local nobles in Mughal nobility; but, near about 28 Persians arrived Mughal India and entered into various segments of Humayun's establishment department. Among them Bairam Khan, Khwaja Ghazi Tabrezi, Afzal Khan, Mir Abdul Hayi and Mir Abdullah were of prime importance. That's why, Prof. Sukumar rightly says; "the exile of Humayun in Iran, though humiliating and painful, (but) was not altogether barren in its results."<sup>1</sup>

During the Akbar's reign when the Mughal Empire was consolidated, a general immigration of nobles and generals as well as men of letters from Persia which deeply molded the Indo-Muslim civilization. In fact, Akbar's large Persian nobility escalated his reign with Persian ideas and impact. Akbar promoted Persian nobles to high ranks as a reward for their loyalty when he faced difficulties to his plans because of the inordinate ambitions of the Central Asian Chaghtais. Among 44 Persian immigrants during his reign, Mirza Ghiyas-ud-Din, Asaf Khan, Jafar Khan, Mir Abdur Razzaq Esfahani, Mahabat Khan, Asad Beg Qazwini, Baqir Khan Najm-i-Sani, Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jang and Hakim Hamam were of significance that performed noteworthy character in his politics and

administration. Akbar's regent Bairam Khan played a key role to salvage Mughal Empire after the sudden death of Humayun in 1556 A.D. He was the only Bairam Khan by whose help and devotion the reign of Akbar the Great really strengthened. Nevertheless, his role can not be denied for the reinforcement and solidarity of the Mughal Empire. Akbar's epoch is also underlined with the massive role of Persians in the category of mansabs 500-3000 and above during 1595 A.D. by 21.95 percent along with in Central Ministry and Provincial Governorship by 57.89 and 28.85 percent respectively.

During the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan Persians are found to have improved their position in number and *mansabs*. Jahangir's Court, particularly under the influence of his imperious consort, Nur Jahan generously patronized Persians and gave especial priority to them in nobility, thus, at his Court Persian elements dominated ever than before. The Persians' domination in his epoch was so steadily enhanced in each and every segment of Mughal politics and administration that it is worth of noticing that nearly the entire of Jahangir's important ministers were Persians including all three of his *wakils*, six of his *diwans*, all his *mir-bakhshis* and *mir-samans*. During Jahangir's reign near about 39 Persian immigrants moved towards India and inserted in Mughal administration. Among them Azam Khan, Ahmad Razi, Yahya Qomi, Islam Khan Mashhadi, Saif Khan Mirza Safi, Qazi Zada Kashani, Mir Muhammad Sharif and Qazi Najm-ud-Din Shushtari were of key importance. Jahangir's reign has been credited with the immense role of Persians with 28.10 percent in the cadre of mansabs 500-5000 and above during 1621 A.D. Moreover, their over-all strength in Central Ministry and in Provincial Governorship was 76.47 and 33.33 percent respectively. During Shah Jahan's reign the Mughal Empire attained to the zenith of its prosperity and affluence. Under Shah Jahan near about 24 of the great men of administrative talent from Persia migrated to India. Some of eminent among them were Shaista Khan, Jaffar Khan, Mukhlis Hussain Tabrizi, Banda Reza Tabrizi, Makaramat Khan and most importantly Ali Mardan Khan who in 1638 A.D. as Persian Governor of Qandahar, gave it to the Mughals and joined their service. Shah Jahan's eon has been highlighted with the gigantic role of Persians

in the field of administration and politics as during 1637-38 A.D. they were 26.97 percent in the mansabs of 500-5000 and above, while as never before they were at their peak of power in Central Ministry and Provincial Governorship having 81.82 and 48.86 percent strength respectively.

Aurangzeb's sovereignty was a period of many domestic problems in view of his confrontation with Maratha power and numerous other rebellions. In his reign, Persians were still in dominant position in Mughal nobility like the previous Mughal eons in India. He had a great support of Persian nobility in the War of Succession during 1658-1659 A.D. as 28 Persians were joining hands with him among those 125 *mansabdars* who were footing with him. Hence, with much more better support of Persian nobility he could execute his ambitions to snatch throne from his other confronting brothers. After becoming Emperor says Bernier; "the 'greater part' of Aurangzeb's foreign nobility consisted of Persians."<sup>2</sup> This also corroborates with the arrival of 27 Persian fortune seekers during his reign in India. Among these immigrants Khalilullah Khan, Shaikh Mir Khwafi, Mulla Shafiq Yazdi, Hakim Daud Taqarrub Khan and Muhammad Tahir were worth of mentioning. The Persians maintained their position in Mughal politics and administration partly because of the influx of Persians serving in the Deccan Kingdoms. During 1658-1678 A.D. Persians amazingly as never before were at the record strength of 136 that were serving in the cadres of Mughal nobility 1000-5000 and above with 27.98 percent. However, their strength in Central Ministry and Provincial Governorship little bit decreased, though it did not entirely cease.

As far as the bilateral relations of the Mughal and Safawid Empires is concerned, despite of the presence of cordial relations during the regime, there was also a continuous tension between both Empires regarding the permanent possession of Qandahar. In view of these Indo-Persian hostilities over the question of Qandahar, in fact majority of the Persians were very sensitive about the prestige of Persia and naturally they remained joining together. The Persians in India kept in touch with their connections in Persia, and many of them had large interests at home. The loyalty of these Persians to the Empire was not

whole-hearted regarding the question of Qandahar and their numbers were deliberately kept low in the last three attempts of expeditionary forces sent by Shah Jahan during 1649-1653 A.D. It was the leading Persians who counseled Shah Jahan against launching a fourth expedition project to re-conquer Qandahar. "Persians," as Manucci says, "are famed for favoring their own nation in the Mogul (Mughal) Empire."<sup>3</sup> There were, however, many influential Persians who, by the very logic of their position, merged their interests completely with the Mughals. Persons like Bairam Khan, Rustam Mirza Safawi, Mirza Ghiyas-ud-Din, Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi and Ali Mardan Khan, became completely identified with the Mughal imperial interests. During Shah Abbas-II's investment of Qandahar, no Mughal commander acted more energetically on the Indian side than did Ali Mardan Khan. And even Queen Nur Jahan was willing to finance from her own private wealth as expedition to recover Qandahar after its seizure by Shah Abbas-I in 1622 A.D.

Mughal nobility indeed, was in power to control the whole politics of the Empire and was exercising an imperative role in administration too. The nature of their nobility shows that the Mughals were great believer in merit, and they established a high standard of religious tolerance too. That's why many talented Persians along with numerous natives of other areas especially from Central Asia occupied positions of prominence in Mughal politics and administration in view of their merit. There were also jealousies and confrontation among Persian and Central Asian nobility as being the two major fractions of Mughal's foreign nobility. During Aurangzeb's reign, controversies between them substantiated a big blow to the solidarity of the Mughal Empire which was already in quarrel with the Marathas. To sum up, the Persians were fortune-hunters, who had accompanied the ranks of Babur and his successors in large number, and their success at the Mughal Court had induced many others to follow in their footsteps. Although in the lower cadre of mansabs in nobility, Persians remained lesser than *Turanis* (Central Asians) almost throughout the Mughal regime, but their ability and fidelity had recommended them to the highest posts of trust and importance in greater number. They were good politicians and dominated the

Mughal Court and State as much as they did noticeably in the sphere of the fine-arts. Persians as Bernier says; “were in possession of the most important offices in the kingdom, and exercised the largest share of influence at the Court of the Mogol (Mughal).”<sup>4</sup>

## **Persians’ Religious Role**

Toleration in the true sense of the term had been the sheet-anchor of Muslim rule in India, and the Indian kings never interfered with the religion of their subjects. At the other hand, the relations between the Sunnis and the Ithna Asharis (Twelvers) have not always been friendly at the popular level or in the matter of politics. Besides, considerably there were religious differences between the Ithna Asharis and the Sunnis, and the traditional rivalry of the Safawid and the Mughal (Chaghatai) Dynasties. The Mughal Empire was certainly much more liberal and pragmatic in religious affairs than the contemporary Ottoman and Uzbek Empires. When Persia and the Ottoman Empire were at loggerheads, the Mughal Empire maintained more affable relations with the Safawids, and their political rivalry was not colored by sectarian ill-feelings. In fact, the Muslims of the Sub-continent have been more tolerant of these differences. It must be underlined that although the Mughal Emperors were Sunnis, but they always welcomed Persian Ithna Ashari immigrants. An interesting explanation of Mughal Emperors was their proclivity towards deputing Ithna Ashari Prime Ministers throughout their mainstream administration. Accordingly, there was a rivalry between Persian (Ithna Ashari) and Central Asian (Sunni) nobility.

Persian men of talent who were mostly Ithna Asharis were always well-come. The Indian Muslim community also lost its sense of solidarity by the importation of the Ithna Asharis from Persia, because sectarian and group jealousies began to undermine the unity of the Muslims. As consequence, it was natural to growing up a tradition of co-operation between the Ithna Asharis and the Hindus against the major section of the Muslim community. In this way Mughals made it more acute in their Empire by following policies which sought to

derive advantages from these differences. Later on, this sectarian difference gradually proved an essential factor against the creation of a common sense of unity in the community among the Indian Muslims because a religion conscious community like that could not remain free from sectarian feelings. Persians had physicians, poets, lawyers, soldiers and other multidimensional professional classes in their ranks. They professed the Ithna Ashariyah form of Islam and were strongly attached to it but being in minority and by virtue of serving the Mughal state which strictly adhered to the Sunni sect, the rival of Ithna Ashariyah-ism, they often played diplomacies to please their masters. It is undeniably a historical fact that Mughals remained normally non-sectarian and unprejudiced towards inducting foreigners in their nobility and numerous other fields of their Empire. During Mughal regime the Persian religious influence on the growth of a series of Sufi traditions in India is to a great extent of significance. And though the Persians, great or small, serving the Mughal Empire with greatness in skill and faithfulness, always tried for their overweening desire to exalt their nation in view of the difference of faith and nation. At the other hands, the diplomatic relations between Persia and the Deccan kingdoms and the recitation of the Shah's name in the *khutba* in Golconda were highly irritating and frustrating to the Mughals.

In his early career, Babur was deprived of his ancestral kingdom of Transoxiana by the Shaibanids. For that restoration the price demanded by the Shah Ismail Safawi from Babur was amounted to the reading of the *khutba*, issuing of coins in the name of the Shah, observing of Ithna Ashariyah court etiquette, and the encouragement of the Ithna Ashariyah creed. In fact, Babur was a liberal person and was also intensely keen on ruling over Samarqand, agreed to issue coins in the name of the twelve Imams, and adopted Ithna Ashariyah styled dress himself. Babur after establishing Mughal Dynasty in India remained as a noninterventionist monarch, and adopted almost lenient policy in religious matters throughout his small regime in India. He had a very few Persian nobility in his administration while the majority of his nobility were consisted over *Turani* or Central Asians, who were by sect Sunnis. Hence, neither Babur faced any sort

of Ithna Ashariyah-Sunni argument in India, nor there was any contemplative religious role of Persians during his reign. Humayun was born of a converted Ithna Ashari father, Babur, and a born Ithna Ashari Persian mother, Maham Begum. Humayun's early education was carefully planned by Babur when the Ithna Ashari influence was on him of supreme. Indeed, during his exile the Emperor Humayun in view of his political necessity had professed Ithna Ashariyah-ism formally by signing a paper presented by Qazi Jahan Qazwini, *Diwan* of the Shah Tahmasp. The relations of the Mughals with Persia had drawn closer since Humayun's flight and return from the Persia. Safawid military aid to re-occupy his lost domain in Central Asia, which later on resulted by regaining his throne in India, must have had something to do with the increase in the Persian strength at the Mughal Court in the mid of the sixteenth century A.D. Humayun acknowledged the great help he had received from the Shah Tahmasp and after his return from Persia his letters addressing to the Shah shows that he regarded him as his ally. Although, Humayun had re-embraced Sunni-ism after his return from Persia, but as he had no hesitation in marrying Ithna Ashari Hamida Bano Begum during his flight to Persia, similarly after his coming from Persia, he appointed Ithna Ashariyah Bairam and Abu al Ma'ali as his chief officers of the state.

After Humayun, when the situation improved for the Mughals, the real power was exercised by Akbar's guardian Bairam Khan who was suspected of entertaining Ithna Ashari beliefs. Akbar's reign appear to have favored the emergence of a community of Ithna Ashariyah Muslims in Mughal India in the sixteenth century A.D. As Akbar grew up under the guardianship of Bairam Khan and Mir Abdul Latif, the Ithna Ashari nobles, such antecedents made Akbar open to views that came from sources outside the orthodox Sunni tradition to which his family subscribed. Bairam Khan appointed Shaikh Gadai, a Persian who was also accused of Ithna Ashariyah leanings as the *Sadr-us-sudur*, the highest religious dignitary in the state. However, the forms of orthodoxy were maintained and neither Bairam Khan nor Shaikh Gadai could openly allege the Ithna Ashariyah creed. Later on, these Ithna Ashariyah tendencies were effaced by the

influence of his staunch Sunni, *Sadr-us-Sudur* Abdun Nabi. During the Akbar's reign, some important socio-religious Persian traditions like the festival of *Nouroz* have penetrated into the Mughal Court. His Divine Light Ideology also substantiated his inclination towards Persian religious philosophy. Akbar with his pronounced Persian attitude towards kingship even demanded from his courtiers the act of prostration (*Sijda*) as performed at the courts of the ancient kings of Persia. The Ithna Ashariyah influence was fast spreading in Hindustan during the reign of Jahangir as result of strong ascendancy of his Persian Queen Nur Jahan and his family. Jahangir's Divine Light Ideology and tradition of *Nadhr or Nazr* were actually also inspired from the Persians religious beliefs. Persian-ridden Court of Jahangir entertained an enmity towards Mujaddid Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi for his anti-Ithna Ashariyah activities. The Ithna Ashari Prime Minister Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan, warned Jahangir against the rising tides of the orthodox movement which might result in the overthrow of the Empire. Moreover the Sunni-Ithna Ashariyah communal disturbance and afterwards Hindu-Muslim riots became frequent with the tapering grip of reactions and passions preached by the Shaikh Mujaddid Ahmed Sirhindi. Emperor Shah Jahan remained almost broadminded towards his religious policies, but Ithna Ashariyah fraction remained powerful during his reign as his Queen-consort Mumtaz Mahal the daughter of Prime Minister Asaf Khan was an Ithna Ashari Persian. In presence of these important personalities at the Mughal Court, a large number of Persian nobility was also serving at the important government portfolios. In this way, Ithna Ashariyah-ism was similarly stayed as significant as the previous rule of his father Jahangir.

Aurangzeb Alamgir had come to the throne as the avowed champion of orthodoxy. He was personally a staunch Sunni and it is said that he did not like the Ithna Ashariyah doctrine, but he never brook any injustice towards his Ithna Ashari officers. It has also been said that in the War of Succession, Aurangzeb rallied the Sunnis against the Ithna Asharis; it is not true, because he had greater support of Persian nobility than all his rival brothers (for its details see Table-1.Q in Chapter-III). During his reign, the position of the Persians was not affected by



the Sunni orthodoxy of the Emperor. He once refused to make an appointment to the office of *Bakhshi* which was suggested to him on the ground that the existing portfolio holder was an Ithna Ashari. Political considerations and previous traditions urged Aurangzeb to employ Ithna Asharis both of Persia and Central Asia. But the majority of Ithna Asharis remained not very pleased and anti-Ithna Ashariyah feeling became very strong during his reign. Though, Aurangzeb disbelieved religious bigotry and he employed a great number of Persians as per their merit and skill, even though he did not bloom to heal these ill-feelings of Ithna Ashariyah fraction.

### **Persians' Role in Language and Literature**

The Mughal dynasty which ruled India from 1526 to 1857 A.D. was an extension of the Timurid line, and was so thoroughly Persianized that the corpus of Persian literature produced in India vastly outweighs that from Persia. Under the Mughal patronage, Persian language and literature flourished and evolved to new heights. Writing of history got new dimension and received inspiration and stimulated by the influence of Persian language. Mughals adopted Persian as their official State language and probably the main reason for that as it was historically belonged to the Perso-Turkish culture of Central Asia, beforehand to which Mughals were very well accustomed. Due to scarcity of patronage and lesser resources of Safawid Shahs most of the Persian literati and scholars migrated to Mughal India. Great wealth and richer economic resources of Mughal Empire, better job opportunities in Mughal service, warm welcome of Persians in India, liberal atmosphere and invitation of nobles were the probable reasons which attracted Persian fortune seekers to arrive India. Therefore, they came full of hope and expectations.

**Table - 8.B**

**Persian Poets and Scholars who Migrated  
India or Born there during 1526-1707 A.D.**

During Babur's Reign	During Humayun's Reign	During Akbar's Reign	During Jahangir's Reign	During Shah Jahan's Reign	During Aurangzeb's Reign
03	29	85	179	80	09

When Babur came to India that was a time when the influence of Hindi over Persian was distinctly beginning to be felt. During his reign only 3 Persian men-of-pen arrived to India as it was just the commencement of continuous series of Persian immigrants into Mughal India. Humayun, was very well influenced by Persian culture and was deeply versed in Persian literature. His sojourn at the Persian Court was a blessing in disguise. He invited many Persian literary men including poets and prose writers to India as 29 literati came during his eon. Although, the Persians were more famous as *ahl-i-qalam* (men of pen) rather than as *ahl-i-saif* (men of sword), they had managed to reserve for themselves a special status in the ranks of the nobility and as well as in literary circles of Mughal India. From Babur's time down to Aurangzeb's there is a brilliant row of poets who kept migrating to India from various conurbations of Persia, Bukhara, Samarqand, Herat, and Turkistan, being attracted by the munificence of the Mughal and the Deccan Courts. Along with them the centre of Persian poetry gradually shifted to India. Their efforts combined with those of the indigenous writers in the field of Persian prose and poetry equal and in certain phases excel those of the Persians themselves, and for this the Mughal period in India stands conspicuous in the history of Persian literature. For a good deal of time Persia had a poor show and compared ill with India both in quality and quantity of the work produced. Indeed, next to Islam the Persian literary heritage is certainly proved the most important basis of the cultural unity in Mughal India. Although, in presence of the confrontation between *Persian School* and the *Indo-*

*Persian School* of literature with the determining influence of royal whim Akbar's reign proved a heyday of Indo-Persian literature. The Mughal Emperor Akbar made efforts to flourish Persian language and literature by introducing translation bureau. A group of wise Persian and Indian linguists, who by virtue of their abundance of wisdom and uprightness were collected in order that they should translate the works in Persian. During Akbar's reign a full-fledge department where philologists were constantly engaged in the translation of books from Persian into Hindi. But this galaxy of meritorious men could not overshadow the radiance of Persian eminence. Akbar's reign saw the arrival of 85 Persian learned men, poets, scholars, who distinguished themselves in the medley and left an indelible stamp not individually to his epoch but generally to the cultural history of India.

The Persian poetry of Sadi, Rumi, Nizami and Hafiz accomplished with far more subtle overtures what straightforward politics and war could not. Of the poets who flourished at the Courts of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, were Naziri, Talib Kalim and Saib, indeed, who have left permanent poetic impressions on the literature of their times. In this way, Persian culture was patronized by the Mughal Court, and Persian language flourished under Mughal patronage and was also enriched by the Indian contributions. Later on, both Ghalib and Iqbal are so well established in the Sub-continent and outside in view of their mastery in Persian poetry. The inclusion of a large number of men of Persian origin in the Mughal nobility and also the induction by marriage of women like Nur Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal from important Persian families into the Mughal family, tended to create an intellectual climate at the Mughal Court where the King's being a Turani, perhaps, no longer remained of crucial significance. Poetry like painting and other fine arts reached the pinnacle of its glory under the patronage of the Great Mughals, almost all of whom were poets of distinction, vitally interested in the promotion of poetry. A noticeable feature during Jahangir and Shah Jahan's rules, in fact, throughout the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. was the influx of a large number of poets and scholars from Persia. They gave asylum to 179 and 80 Persian scholars and poets respectively that migrated during their

reigns. Therefore, from the total 385 Persian poets and literates who immigrated to India during the reigns of Babur to Aurangzeb, 259 came merely in the eons of Jahangir and Shah Jahan (for its details see Table-5.A in Chapter-V). During the disturb rule of Aurangzeb only 9 Persian literati came to India, but there could be observed a good deal of contribution of previously presented Persian scholars and nobles during his reign for the revolutionary changes in the *madarsas* (schools). Aurangzeb himself had a great facility in composing verses, and he contributed a good deal to the literature of his times.

During the Mughal period, Persian language and literature reached the highest stages of development and also greatly influenced the local languages and literature. Persian literature produced in Sub-continent is important, not only for its intrinsic worth, but also on account of the influence it has exercised on the formation and shaping of regional literatures, especially those cultivated by Muslims. Apart from the influenced vocabulary and deep invisible influence on thought, Persian contributed a number of literary genres to Urdu and regional languages. It also provided models for writers and supplied themes for many major literary works. Even the fresh bands of literate Persians and their best poets like Urfi, Zuhuri, Talib, Amuli, Naziri, Kalim, Sa'ib, and others, on their entry into Hindustan recognized such Hindi words and incorporated them in their compositions. Afterwards, with a mixture of Hindi and Arabic, Persian gradually came to be known as Urdu, because the idiom used at the Mughal Court called "*Urdu-i-Mu'alla*" found general acceptance. It gradually became the language of polite intercourse and of poetry; ultimately it replaced Persian almost completely, as it retains much of the vocabulary of Persian and also the content and mannerisms of its poetic thought. The adoption of Persian in India and its synthesis with the other dialects finally contributed to the emergence of a soldier's and trader's dialect 'Urdu,' a noteworthy example of lingual fusion. Indo-Persian literature was produced in the medium of the Persian language but with Indian ideas and an Indian background. After the decline of the Mughal Empire, Persian language eventually became the parent of present-day Urdu.

To sum up the whole, in Mughal Court Persian was familiar but foreign, a language of culture with a status somewhat similar to the French in Europe. There was a continuous inflow of extra-territorial talents into Mughal India. Persian scholars performed a key role in the educational reforms there as teachers in Indian *madarsas*, and they also wrote Persian books for educational syllabus during the Mughal regime. Persian poets and writers produced such an augmented poetry and prose work of enormous significance. The Persian style of history writing influenced the pattern of historiography in India. The work of the secretariat and courts of law and the pronouncements of jurist-consults on legal and religious issues were all in Persian. The *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, a collection of judicial pronouncements on matters concerning religious law, compiled under the direction of the Emperor Aurangzeb, is an obvious example. It remained as an official and Court language of the Mughal Empire, whereas the language of Ottoman and Uzbek territories was Turkish. Therefore, the Persian people who migrated to India were simply very large in number as compared to those who left for Central Asia or the Ottoman lands. It continued to be the official language of Muslim rule down to 1857 A.D. the year in which the Mughal Empire came to an end. Even after the fall of the Mughal Empire, Persian continued to be the language of private correspondence among the educated classes, and the basis of Indo-Muslim culture.

### **Role of Persian Noblewomen**

The close contact between the Mughals and Persia was their employment of Persian officials and above all their marriages to Persian women which kept traditions alive and constantly renewed. Some of the eminent Persian ladies performed a crucial role to flourish Indian life with such a great dominating vehemence in political, cultural and literary activities. Akin to the general pattern, women are given lesser space in historiography and indeed in view of the relevant period of this historical study where women were not usually involved in political, cultural or any other activities. Thus, the role of Persian ladies at the

Mughal Court is confined merely to some eminent ladies who got fame in view of their massive character during the Mughal era. Among these Persian ladies, Hamida Bano Begum, Nur Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal are of main importance. Their momentous role was in the meadow of politics, culture and arts where they indeed performed with multifarious capabilities and astuteness.

### **Persians' Role in Culture, Arts and Society**

The cultural links between Persia and Sub-continent are deep rooted. These cultural influences are specifically noticeable in the form of visually significant objects such as miniatures, architecture, calligraphy, coinage, book binding, carpets, jewelry and pottery. The Indo-Persian cultural and commercial relations were the sub-structure upon which the super-structure of political relations between the two countries was raised. Indeed Islam in India took on a distinctive culture which may be called Indo-Persian Culture. The acme of the Persian connection with India was reached during the Mughal rule. Thoroughly imbued with Persian graces, the Mughal rulers patronized Persian as a Court language and transplanted in this country what they had seen of Persian administrative practices, having brought along Persian administrators, jurists, artists, architects, litterateurs and poets.

In fact, the Mughal Empire has rightly been called a cultural state as it encouraged cultural endeavor through lavish patronage. The Mughals brought about a renaissance in which, helped by good government and patronage, genius found a scope for blossoming into masterpieces. They also set a noble example of munificent patronage to the talented scholars and artisans that were followed by many great officials in rearing and rewarding the talent. Persia contributed a good deal to the Indo-Muslim cultural heritage; its share among the Persian immigrants was worthy to be appreciated.

**Table - 8.C Persian Artists, Craftsmen, and People with Diverse Skills Who Migrated India or Born there during 1530-1707 A.D.**

During Humayun's Reign	During Akbar's Reign	During Jahangir's Reign	During Shah Jahan's Reign	During Aurangzeb's Reign
10	37	46	13	04

The friendly Indo-Persian bilateral relations and Persians' migration brought artistic ideas in Mughal India which were used by skilled artists in every nook and corner of the Empire. Mughal Empire was a place where the wishes of aspiring artists were fulfilled with unmatched generosity. From the reign of Humayun to Aurangzeb near about 110 people of excellence and quality, skilled artisans and other skilful persons from various cities of Persia, like from the other parts of the world visited the Mughal imperial Court as well as the nobles establishments with expectations and anticipations. Apart from a little bit cultural conflict between Indian and Persian cultures, there can be a warm welcome seen towards the Persian cultural heritage on a large scale which not only penetrated Mughal India but also overlapped Mughal society as being superior, pleasant and attractive traits. Persia's cultural sphere of influence, which may be called 'Greater Persia,' is and has always been far greater in area and importance than the political boundaries of Persia. Persian painters and architects, artisan and calligraphists, and people with other diverse skills have accomplished what kings and generals could not conquer. The continuous exchange of ideas, technical skills, and artistry between Mughal India and Safawid Persia is most clearly seen in the sphere of the fine arts. Mughal paintings are an excellent example of Perso-Mughal artistic interaction and cultural amalgamation with India. More than any thing else, it was in the field of arts that the Persian influence on Mughal India profoundly marked. Whatever it may be, whether the design were conceived by the Persians or they executed the designs conceived by the Indian

mind; the fact is incontrovertible that the Persian artists contributed a good deal to the development of Indian art.

Humayun was greatly impressed by Persian culture and art during his stay in Persia where he spent most of his time in such pursuits. Painters like Mir Syed Ali Tabrizi, Mir Musawwir and Khwaja Abdus Samad Sheerazi, calligraphist like Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khan were of great importance among the 10 Persian artists who arrived during his reign. During the Akbar's reign 37 Persian artists of diverse skills immigrated to India and in the same period Mir Syed Ali Tabrizi and Khwaja Abdus Samad Sheerazi were the pioneers to introduce and established the Persian painting in India. Moreover, *Nastaliq* which was a brainchild of Syed Mir Ali Tabrizi, remained as a popular style of writing which evolved gradually. It is a fact that the calligraphy reached in the regions of India and Pakistan via Persia and they were Persians who spread it in this region. The Persian School of painting left a deep impact on the Mughal art of painting through the influence of other experts like Aqa Riza, Abul Hasan and Ustad Mansur who proved themselves as the best Persian painters of their age. Emperor Akbar laid the foundation of the Mughal miniature painting, but it was his son Jahangir, who by his knowledge and artistic intuition guided the new School of Indian Art to maturity and taught it by the influence of his own rare judgment to achieve success. Persian features seen in early Mughal miniature are the spongy rocks, dragons or spiral clouds, architectural ornamentation of the buildings even the treatment of human figures, the use of *chenar* and cypress trees along with the use of fine calligraphic line with rich and bright colors. Jahangir is rightly called 'the Prince of Artists' and was indeed a most fastidious critic of art. His court, particularly under the influence of his imperious Consort Nur Jahan, patronized a art culture, no doubt eclectic in character in which the foreign especially the Persian elements predominated. Nur Jahan and her brother Asaf Khan built many gardens that were pure Persian in its characters. Actually, the gardens built by the Mughals during their whole regime took their pattern from centuries-old Persian antecedents which were executed after the minor modification of contemporary Persian builders. During his reign 46 Persian artistic talents came



to Mughal India. Persian elements became an integral part of the Mughal painting, and no Mughal painting can be explained without the knowledge of the Persian School of Art. Even so, the Mughal School should not be considered a mere offshoot of the traditions of Persian painting; in fact, it is always possible to distinguish a Mughal from a Persian painting.

With the coming of the Mughals in the Sub-continent, an attractive synthesis of Persian and indigenous elements was gradually transformed into an original Indo-Persian style popularly known as the Mughal School of Architecture. Mughal architecture was enormously influenced by Persian architects and Persian ideas. Under Shah Jahan, who himself was a good painter and a master in the art of illuminating books, miniature and portrait painting underwent a great deal of elaboration. But his epoch is rightly considered as 'Golden Period' of Mughal Dynasty in view of his architectural achievements. In Shah Jahan's Court the Persian aristocracy, was imbued with Persian ideas of grace and luxury carried almost to the point of over-refinement and exaggeration. Persian-ism became the fashion of the day, and it is from this time that Persian ideas prevailed in the art and culture of the Mughals. Persian-ism is a late feature in the history of Mughal architecture. Indo-Persian or Mughal architectural style saw its perfection during the reign of Shah Jahan, the greatest builder to which Sub-continent has ever seen. This style under Shah Jahan finds its most brilliant manifestation in the Taj Mahal which shows the Indian and Persian traditions in perfect union. Near about 13 Persian people of diverse skill arrived during his reign, among them Ustad Isa, Mulla Ala-ul-Mulk Tuni, Amanat Khan Shirazi and Ustad Ahmad Esfahani as architects are of prime importance. Ustad Isa was the chief architect of the world fame Taj Mahal. Shah Jahan's eldest son Dara Shikoh was a great patron of painting. Aurangzeb's era can be declared as the period of eradication of artistic activities in Mughal India as only 4 Persian artists arrived during his reign. In fact, the Mughals suffered from the long-standing Persian claim of cultural superiority over the colonial Islamic lands in India. As in the Mughal Court the Persian physicians were held in high estimation and Persian diagnosis and medicines were also appreciated. Furthermore, Persians

were also excelled in other fields of arts like carpet making, coinage (numismatics), book binding and music. Thus all these arts were accomplished by the Persian artists with enthusiasm, intelligence and great professional mastery that amalgamated Mughal culture and their society towards the symbolization of Persian cultural heritage.

Therefore, it may conclude, that the plentiful cultural materials along with numerous historical archives of Mughal India bear evidence of close political, social and cultural contacts with Persia. These edifices remind us of the lasting effects of Persian art and culture on the cultural heritage of Indo-Pak Sub-continent. The Mughal rulers of India kept up the closest of contacts with Persia and there was a stream of scholars and artists coming over the frontiers to seek fame and fortune at the brilliant Court of the Great Mughals. Surprisingly most of the Persians were talented people who were excelled in several arts including superb administrative qualities and had mastery in various sciences. Additionally, they were valiant men who remained continuously immigrated to Mughal India and always true to the salt of their masters except when the interest of the Indian Empire collided with that of Persia, the land of their ancestors. The social position and the cultural hegemony of the Persians in India were most significant. Persians formed the cream of the Muslim society and were the life and light of the Muslim community. They hailed from a country which was the seat of culture, learning, fashion and polished manners, and they were respected as the masters of social decorum in all Asia. Persia was undeniably the sole channel for any cultural influence that came to India. Mughals had less prejudice to import silently colorful Persian customs in the festivities of their own, and to partake of the mirth and joy of the Persian festivals like *Noroz*, *Aab-pashan* and *Khushroz or Minabazar*. Indeed, among the many peoples and races who have come in contact with and influenced India's life and culture, the oldest and most persistent have been the Persians. As in his *Discovery of India*, Pandat Jawaharlal Nehru observes: "Few people have been more closely related in origin and throughout history than the people of India and the people of Persia:"<sup>5</sup> How true!

## **Future Prospects & Suggestions**

Geographical proximity and political amity played a very vital role in the maintenance of cordial relations and the brisk exchange of men, commodities, and ideas. Indeed, the geographical location further added to this cohesion as Persia had all along been accepted as a 'land bridge' between Europe, Turkey, and the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and Central Asia, South-east Asia, India and Pakistan, on the other hand. Indo-Persian cultural relations have a pleasant past and it is interesting to note how the multi-dimensional contacts from the pre-historic periods down to our own times had brought the two different regions of Indo-Pak Sub-continent and Persia so close to each other.

Ever since its birth in August, 1947 A.D. Pakistan had generally enjoyed cordial relations with Iran. It had consistently tried to cultivate close and warm relations with her neighbor Iran, bearing in mind the specific geo-political compulsion between the two countries. This cordial relationship between Iran and Pakistan, on the one hand and the almost consistent temper of hostility pervading between India and Pakistan, on the other, had been instrumental in the emerging pattern of relationship between India and Iran. Because of its fear and animosity towards India, Pakistan carried out a strident and pernicious anti-India propaganda in Iran to which Iran, due to its friendship with Pakistan, responded in a positive manner. This was clearly exhibited during the 1965 and 1971 A.D. Indo-Pak Wars, when Iran denounced India as an aggressor and condemned her for armed intervention in the internal affairs of Pakistan. Although, the recent steady growth in Indo-Iranian relations was also facilitated by the realistic approach of the leaders of both countries. The Indian leaders had a clear-cut realization that there was no direct clash of interests between India and Iran and they just could not write-off Iran because of Pakistan. Therefore, India and Pakistan's relations with Iran cannot merely be traced from their independence in view of a continuation of age-old historic ties among them. The friendship between Iran and Pakistan has stood the test of time, for it has closer to each other and to contribute each other's efforts at national building.

Mutual socio-cultural interchange between India and Persia inevitably followed as the political interests of the two regions were interlinked. The history shows that Persia and India have lived together as comrades and brothers of the spirit for three millennia years or so; and if the past is any indication of the future, they will march on together towards new achievements and horizons in which their common spirit and their mutual influence will continue to manifest. The brotherly relations between the two territories Pakistan and Iran are not new as is revealed by the various cultural ideas received and inspired by constant acquaintances with ancient and medieval Persia. These connections are deeply rooted from time immemorial and in fact, the present efforts towards strengthening friendly ties are nothing more than the reaffirmation of the past relations. This sense of proximity and intimacy can also be beneficial for the better improvisation in Pak-Iran and Indo-Iran bilateral relations in view of their colossal historical, cultural and regional bonds in multidimensional aspects. In fact, this dissertation will be served as an Instrument in the bilateral and mutual negotiations for future development in Pak-Iran and Indo-Iran relationship as a recall or remembrance of historical bonds in diverse aspects of all the Three Regions. India and especially Pakistan, as being a part of Sub-continent, still retains its connection with Greater Iran, and since Independence, there have been signs that a revival of the old bonds of cultural and political unity may not be far off.

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## Annexure-I

### List of the Persian Supporters to Dara Shikoh In the War of Succession during 1658-59 A.D.

Sr. No.	Name	Rank/Mansab
1.	Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi	6000 zat & 6000 sawar
2.	Qasim Khan	5000 zat & 5000 sawar
3.	Khalilullah Khan	5000 zat & 5000 sawar
4.	Ibrahim Khan	4000 zat & 3000 sawar
5.	Mughal Khan	3000 zat & 2000 sawar
6.	Zafar Khan Ahsan	3000 zat & 1500 sawar
7.	Abdullah Beg Ganj Ali Khan	3000 zat & 1000 sawar
8.	Iradat Khan	2000 zat & 2000 sawar
9.	Faizullah Khan	2000 zat & 1000 sawar
10.	Abdullah Khan (Najm-i-Sani)	1000 zat -----
11.	Husain Beg Khan	1500 zat & 1000 sawar
12.	Mir Miran	1500 zat & 500 sawar
13.	Mir Rustam Khwafi	1500 zat & 500 sawar
14.	Ghazanfar Khan	1000 zat & 900 sawar
15.	Imam Quli	1000 zat & 800 sawar
16.	Muhammad Salih Wazir Khan	1000 zat & 800 sawar
17.	Asfandiyar Beg	1000 zat & 1000 sawar
18.	Maghol Khan Khwafi	1000 zat & 700 sawar
19.	Sultan Husain	1000 zat & 500 sawar
20.	Fakhir Khan Najm-i-Sani	2500 zat & 1000 sawar
21.	Ismail Beg	1000 zat & 300 sawar
22.	Ishaq Beg	1000 zat & 300 sawar
23.	Muhammad Sharif Qulij Khan	1000 zat & 200 sawar

#### Source

M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobilty Under Aurangzeb*, Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1997., pp.113-120.

## Annexure-II

### List of the Persian Supporters to Aurangzeb Alamgir In the War of Succession during 1658-59 A.D.

Sr. No.	Name	Rank/Mansab
1.	Mir Muhammad Saeed	6000 zat & 6000 sawar
2.	Abu Talib Shaista Khan	6000 zat & 6000 sawar
3.	Shaikh Mir Khwafi	5000 zat & 5000 sawar
4.	Muhammad Tahir Mashhadi	5000 zat & 5000 sawar
5.	Muhammad Beg Zulfikhar Khan	4000 zat & 2000 sawar
6.	Multafat Khan Azam Khan	4000 zat & 2500 sawar
7.	Mirza Muhammad Mashhadi	4000 zat & 2000 sawar
8.	Mirza Sultan Safawi	4000 zat & 2000 sawar
9.	Mir Malik Husain Bahadur Khan	3000 zat & 1500 sawar
10.	Murshid Quli Khan	3000 zat & 1500 sawar
11.	Muftakhar Khan Sipahdar	3000 zat & 2000 sawar
12.	Sadat Khan	2000 zat & 1500 sawar
13.	Mir Shams-ud-Din Mukhtar	2000 zat & 1000 sawar
14.	Muhammad Tahir Saf Shikan Khan	2000 zat & 1000 sawar
15.	Mir Murad Mazandani Ghairat Khan	2000 zat & 400 sawar
16.	Mir Masum Khan	1500 zat & 1000 sawar
17.	Rad Andaz Beg	1000 zat & 400 sawar
18.	Mir Ahmad	1500 zat & 800 sawar
19.	Mir Abul Fazl Mamuri (Mamur Khan)	1500 zat & 500 sawar
20.	Mir Hoshdar (Hoshdar Khan)	1500 zat & 700 sawar
21.	Hameed-ud-Din Khan	1500 zat & 200 sawar
22.	Mir Bahadur Dil Jan Sipar Khan	1000 zat & 400 sawar
23.	Qazalbash Khan	1500 zat & 700 sawar
24.	Mir Askari Aqil Khan	1500 zat & 500 sawar
25.	Masud Yadgar Ahmed Beg Khan	1500 zat & 600 sawar
26.	Niamatullah	1000 zat & 200 sawar
27.	Hakim Muhammad Amin Shirazi	1000 zat -----
28.	Mir Muhammad Mehdi Urdistani	1000 zat -----

#### Source

M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobilty Under Aurangzeb*, Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1997., pp.121-131.

## **Annexure-III**

### **Persian Traders/Tourists who Arrived India During the Reigns of Humayun to Shah Jahan.**

#### **Introduction**

Geography played a vital role in determining the scope and nature of the explorations of land routes, and the line of communication in ancient and medieval times. The expansion of routes in any region depends on numerous factors, particularly its geographical condition, its produce, its travel conditions, the volume of trade, the nature of occupation of the bulk of the people and the attitude of the State. Trade system is perhaps an important element, which play a vital role in the exploration of routes through tourists, merchants and travelers. The travelers also moved to India by the Gates of Tirmiz and the passes of the Hindukush, and then through Herat, Sistan, Qandahar, Ghazni, Gomal and Bolan routes down to the Sindh and the Indus regions. Whilst it has also been the most important point of inter-section, from which commands numerous important routes to the other areas such as Persia and Central Asia too.

The efforts of the Safawid, Mughal and Uzbek rulers to facilitate trade bore fruit which was advantageous pacification of trade routes and construction of roads and caravanserais throughout North India, Iran and Turan (Central Asia) in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century established exceptionally favorable conditions for trade throughout the entire region.<sup>1</sup> Whereas, the Persians became very influential in the politics and culture of the Mughal Empire, the Indians attained a strong position in the economic life of the Persian capital and ports. During the reign of Shah Abbas-I, there was an increase of diplomatic and commercial activity in Persia. The Dutch, the Portuguese and the English fought fiercely for commercial supremacy in the Persian Gulf.<sup>2</sup>

The sea-routes for Indo-Persian trade, in the post-Islamic days, were traditional ones dating back to the pre-Christian era i.e. from West Coast of India to the Persian Gulf and from there overland through Mesopotamia to the



Mediterranean Coast.<sup>3</sup> The main overland trade routes to the north-west were via Khaibar and Kabul, and via Bolan and Qandahar. The sea trade route between India and Iran, of which the main ports were Surat and Bandar Abbas, carried a very large proportion of the total trade between the two countries.<sup>4</sup> But in 1615 A.D. the volume of trade via Qandahar increased fourfold as a result of the sea-route being closed due to war between Persia and the Portuguese. On the other hand, Mughal-Safawid rivalries over Qandahar inevitably affected the overland trade and increased the traffic by sea.<sup>5</sup> Up to the thirteenth century A.D. Indian exports to Persia consisted of spices, precious stones, pearls, cotton, silk and indigo. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. export increased considerably to include pepper, ginger, and more particularly cotton cloth and Bengal muslin. During the Mughal period, India imported costly items as well as novelties, such as woolen cloth, silk goods, velvet, glass and mirror etc.<sup>6</sup>

**Table of the Persian Traders and Tourists  
Who Arrived India during 1530-1658 A.D.**

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name of Migrants</b>	<b>Position in Iran</b>	<b>Position in India</b>	<b>Period of Migration</b>	<b>Source</b>
1.	Gharibi Khurasani	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Humayun	A.G.M. p.932
2.	Arif Eigi	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Akbar	A.G.M. p.839
3.	Wafa-i-Heravi	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1528
4.	Shikoh-i-Zawarahi	Poet	Tourist/Poet	Akbar	A.G.M. p.637
5.	Najdi Yazdi	Trader	Trader	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1427
6.	Salahi Esfarayemi	Trader	Trader	Akbar	A. Dad. p.333
7.	Qurbi Shirazi	Trader	Trader	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1133
8.	Shahpur Tehrani	Trader	Trader	Akbar	A.G.M. p.599
9.	Furoghi Qazwini	Grocer/Poet	Trader	Akbar	A.G.M. p.1008
10.	Tajiri Khwansari	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.197
11.	Touri Tabrizi	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.822
12.	Johari Tabrizi	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.308
13.	Ami Esfahani	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.331
14.	Amin-i-Kashani	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.116
15.	Tahir Taleqani	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.802
16.	Salih Kashani	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.685
17.	Rahmat Tabrizi	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.437
18.	Askari Kashani	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.898
19.	Qasimi Esfahani	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1135
20.	Taqi Pirzada Mashhadi	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.244
21.	Mujibi Nehi	Trader	Trader	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1221
22.	Qasmati Astarabadi	Tourist	Tourist	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1135
23.	Munesi Shushtari	Tourist	Tourist	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.350

Sr. No.	Name of Migrants	Position in Iran	Position in India	Period of Migration	Source
24.	Tazeh Resideh Esfahani	Tourist	Tourist	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.199
25.	Muniri Taleqani	Tourist	Tourist	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1372
26.	Nutqi Mashhadi	Tourist	Tourist	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1441
27.	Qaisari Hamadani	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1146
28.	Razi Esfahani	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.447
29.	Qasim Esfahani	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1075
30.	Subhi Esfahani	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.713
31.	Neyazi Esfahani	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1493
32.	Javed Qazwini	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.269
33.	Muhsin-i-Razi	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1226
34.	Izadi Yazdi	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.138
35.	Yaqini Mashhadi	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1554
36.	Nami Ali Khan	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1417
37.	Sulhi	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.740
38.	Amir Talib	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.354
39.	Sharif Rafi-ud-Din	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A. Dad. p.354
40.	Mehdi Khekelo-i-yeh	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1383
41.	Yamani Gurji	Slave	Tourist	Jahangir	A.G.M. p.1555
42.	Salik	Tourist	Tourist	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.517
43.	Mati'a-i-Tabrizi	Trader	Trader	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1311
44.	Qudrati Esfahani	Trader	Trader	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1090
45.	Nasib-i-Esfahani	Trader	Trader	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1435
46.	Haji Muhammad Makki	Trader	Trader	Shah Jahan	A. dad. p.333
47.	Kazim Savoji	Trader	Trader	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.1148
48.	Aqa Ahmadi	Trader	Trader	Shah Jahan	A Dad. p.333
49.	Shamkhal Esfahani	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.652
50.	Raqim Mashhadi	Tourist/Poet	Tourist/Poet	Shah Jahan	A.G.M. p.431

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## **Annexure-IV**

### ***Mughal-Safawid Relations: In the Historical Perspective of Qandahar***

In the first half of sixteenth century a new era began with the Mughal and Safawid empires which were established in Sub-continent and Persia respectively. Whenever it is spoken about the foreign policy of the Great Mughal Dynasty of India, it means their relations especially with Central Asia and Persia. The amicable relations between Safawid Persia and Mughal India were occasionally disturbed by contest for the possession of Qandahar. Moreover, it is indeed a fact that Mughal-Safawid relations remained a victim of fluctuation on the question of Qandahar which sowed the seeds of enmity between the two ruling houses. This annexure is an analytical survey of these Mughal-Safawid relations based on rivalries for the question of Qandahar.

#### **Geo-Strategic importance of Qandahar**

On account of its strategic position and commercial importance Qandahar was the bone of contention between India and Persia, and then was in the possession of Safawid Empire. It was the gateway to India and a natural base of operations for an invader coming from Central Asia or Persia. The power controlling Qandahar could also easily capture Kabul and that is the reason why the Mughals attached great importance to the possession of Qandahar. Moreover, Qandahar was the place where merchants from India, Central Asia, Turkey and Persia met. Qandahar is rightly considered as one of the two eyes or gates of India. Indeed, it is only to remember that nearly every invasion of India from the north-west, in ancient or modern times, has been preceded by an advance upon, or towards, Qandahar.<sup>1</sup> Alexander, Seleucus Nikator, the Parthians, the Sassanides, the Arabs, Mehmood Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghorī, Chingiz Khan, Taimur Lang, Babur, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abadali and the numerous other rulers who have attempted to invade

India, nearly always made Qandahar as their principal attacking station.

### **Mughal-Safawid Relations and their Rivalries on Qandahar**

In the beginning of the 16th century Qandahar was in the hands of the Arghun family (descendants of Hulagu). Babur (founder of Mughal dynasty) had long desired to get possession of Qandahar on account of its strategic importance. "Like every other conqueror who has been attracted by India, he deemed it of vital importance to secure himself in the first place of Kandahar."<sup>2</sup> In those days, Shaibani Khan, the Uzbek leader, has captured Herat in 1507 A.D, and without much difficulty he became the master of the whole of Khorasan.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, Shah Baig and Muhammad Muqim the Arghun princes in Qandahar, appealed to Babur of military aid.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile Shaibani Khan had attacked Qandahar, but withdrew without taking it, his presence being required in the north owing to the rebellion of one of his chiefs.<sup>5</sup> Some days later, Shaibani had become the possessor of Khurasan and of Qandahar, but his power began to decline. In 1510 A.D, Shah Ismail, the founder of Safawid dynasty, wrote a letter to Shaibani Khan to withdraw his troops from some parts of his dominions, on which the Uzbeks had made encroachments.<sup>6</sup> In the same year, a decisive battle at Merv was fought between them, fortune declared in favor of Shah Ismail, and Shaibani Khan was killed. Later on, Shah Ismail also occupied the city of Herat.<sup>7</sup> Among the captives at Merv, was a sister of Babur named Khanzada Begum (widow of Shaibani Khan), who was treated with honor by the victor and restored to her brother.<sup>8</sup>

### **Babur's Occupation of Qandahar in 1522 A.D.**

Shah Beg realized, that he held Qandahar by uncertain tenure, in face of its desirability for Babur and his own lesser power, knew his weakness, he for several years had been pushing his way out into Sindh by way of the Bolan Pass.<sup>9</sup> "He took possession of Tatta (Thatta) itself, and completed the

subjugation of the country, finding his affairs in Kandahar reduced to the last extremity, sent an embassy to the Emperor (Babur) with proposals for peace.”<sup>10</sup> Negotiators from both sides having met, a treaty was soon concluded and signed; by which it was stipulated, that “Shah Beg should hold Qandahar till the following year, when the city and all the dependent provinces were to be delivered to the Emperor (Babur).”<sup>11</sup> The interval thus allowed, Shah Beg employed in removing his own family and effects, and those of his followers and adherents, in the first instance to Shal and Siwi; and next year when Babur again advanced to Qandahar, the keys of that capital and of the citadel were presented to him by Mir Ghias-ud-din, the nephew of the historian Khondemir, the celebrated author of the *Habib-es-Seir*. Consequently, in 1522 A.D, Babur took possession of the whole country of Qandahar and its dependencies including parts of the Gernsir along the course of the Helمند. “After the conquest of Kandahar, Babar remained in Kabul,”<sup>12</sup> and finally, “gave it to his son Kamran Mirza,” then a mere child, along with the nominal charge of Kabul, and set out for the conquest of India.

Babur after many alternations of fortune succeeded in defeating the Afghan king of India, Ibrahim Lodhi, at the battle of Panipat and founded the Mughal Empire in India. In this way he became master of an empire which comprised Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Punjab and India. During 1526 to 1530 A.D, Qandahar remained the portion of Mughal Empire. After the death of Babur in 1530 A.D, his son Humayun successfully seated himself on the throne of Agra on December, 30, 1530 A.D.<sup>14</sup> When Humayun, became Emperor, Tahmasp, the eldest of the sons of Shah Ismail had already succeeded him in 1524 A.D, at the age of ten. Babur left to the care of Humayun a vast empire “which extended from the river Amu to Bihar. Kunduz, Badakhshan, Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar were his western possessions.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Humayun in Exile**

In 1540 A.D. the battle of Kanauj was fought and lost; and a consequence Humayun became fugitive and Sher Shah Suri became the master of Agra and Delhi. Thus for Humayun and his companions, a weary

exile towards Persia begun that lasted for nearly 15 years; Annexure-V includes its relevant details. In September, 1545 A.D. Humayun remained successful to conquer Qandahar with the help of Persian forces and his close friend and companion Bairam Khan was appointed as Governor of Qandahar. In the same year, he also captured Kabul from his brother Kamran and secured his position enough to look back towards his lost domain. He defeated Siknadar Shah Suri (the successor of Sher Shah Suri) in the battle of Sirhind, and entered Dehli in July, 1555 A.D.

### **Tahmasp's Occupation of Qandahar in 1558 A.D.**

During the troublesome period following the death of Humayun, Tahmasp watching the time favorable for him, in 1558 A.D occupied Qandahar. After the fall of Qandahar, one of the important event was the arrival of the ambassador of Shah Tahmasp Safawi at Mughal Court. Tahmasp sent his cousin Saiyid Beg, the son of Masum Beg (Prime Minister of Persia), to convey condolences on the sudden death of the late Emperor Humayun, and to congratulate Shahinshah Akbar on his accession.<sup>16</sup> Probably, the intention of sending an ambassador on this occasion was to compensate or to remove the tension which have aroused between the two empires soon after the occupation of Qandahar by Tahmasp. The ambassador communicated the Shah's prayers for his prosperity, then he presented a letter of Shah Tahmasp which from commencement to conclusion was decked with the writings of love and sincerity. Dr. Riazul Islam describes a brief summary of this letter in these words, that; "Long titles and compliments. Recalls his deep personal friendship with Humayun. Says he had been desirous of sending an embassy to condole upon Humayun's death and congratulate Akbar on his accession, and Sayyid Beg Safawi is being sent as an ambassador (ba rasm-i ilchigari) to convey condolences and felicitations. Requests kind treatment and early dismissal of the ambassador."<sup>17</sup>

An important event took place in Persia, when on May, 14, 1576 A.D, Shah Tahmasp died at the age of sixty-four after a reign of fifty-three years and a half, the longest reign of any Muhammadan sovereign except the Fatimid Caliph Al-Mustansir Bi'llah. Upon the death of Tahmasp, Ismail-II, and Khudabanda, secured them on the throne of Persia, but proved them-selves unfit to cope with state affairs. As far as Mughal-Safawid relations were concerned, a new factor was then straining it a little bit, due to their rivalry over Qandahar; this was the rise of Abdullah Khan, the Uzbek leader of central Asia. Once, Abdullah Khan offered Akbar a share of Persia if he joined him in a campaign against that country. At the other hand, Shah Abbas-I of Persia who have already ascended on the Safawid throne in November, 30, 1587 A.D, also tried to entice Akbar into a joint campaign against the Uzbeks, promising with the return of Samarqand as a prize of victory. Although Akbar kept in touch with both of them, he did not get involved in any rash action and so managed to maintain the balance of power in the whole region.<sup>18</sup>

### **Akber's Re-occupation of Qandahar in 1595 A.D.**

The year 1595 A.D, saw the completion of the conquests and annexations in the north-west affected by the arms of Akbar's officers or through diplomacy based on the terror of his name. The road to Qandahar had been opened by the capture of the fortress and district of Sibi. The Safawid prince, Muzaffar Hussain Mirza who held Qandahar nominally as fief of the Persian Empire by in fact as an independent ruler, having quarreled with his royal kinsmen and being menaced by the Uzbeks, and finding no hope of aid from Persia, had lately signified his desire of giving up Qandahar and retiring into Hindustan. He therefore, requested that an officer might be deputed to receive charge of the fortress and province.<sup>19</sup> On this request, Akbar gladly dispatched Shah Beg Khan Kabuli, to take possession of Qandahar from Muzaffar Hussain Mirza.<sup>20</sup> In this manner, Qandahar came into Akbar's possession, in April, 1595 A.D, without bloodshed. Muzaffar Hussain received the title of 'Farzand', and was made a Mansabdar of 5,000,

and also received Sambhal as Jagir, which was worth more than all Qandahar. Shah Abbas became very displeased to know the loss of Qandahar, hence, afterwards he spare no efforts to regain it, at any cost.

Akber died in October, 1605 A.D. Immediately after the accession of Jahangir (Akbar's son), Hussain Khan Shamlu, the Persian Governor of Herat, thinking Akbar's death would lead to disturbances, made war upon Shah Beg and Besieged Qandahar from three sides, which he hoped to starve out. To vex him, Shah Beg gave every night feast on the top of the castle before the very eyes of the enemies. One day, Hussain Khan sent an ambassador into the fort, and Shah Beg, though provisions had got low, had every available store of grain spread out in the streets, in order to deceive the enemies. Not long after, Hussain Shah received a reprimand from Shah Abbas for having raised the siege.<sup>21</sup> Shah Abbas wrote a letter to Jahangir that he had punished the responsible officials, who were involved in the 'un-official' expedition of Qandahar. In this way, by fair words and repeated messengers, he disarmed the suspicion of his contemporary Jahangir, and convinced him of his good intentions and faith. Both monarchs had vied with each other in expressing their mutual friendship and affection. According to Eskandar Beg Monshi; the Shah Abbas-I often says "the Emperor of India (Jahangir) and I treat each other as brothers."<sup>22</sup> They used to address each other as 'biradar ba jan barabar' (Brother as dear as life) and frequently exchanged expensive and novel presents. Shah Abbas, a staunch enemy of the Ottomans, kept Jahangir posted on Ottoman affairs; the Shah also sent him detailed reports of his war and peace with the Ottomans. From time to time Jahangir also provided the Shah with monetary support in his war against Ottomans. According to Naimur Rehman Farooqi that the "Jahangir's extremely genial relations with Shah Abbas-I (1587-1629) of Persia were primarily responsible for his unfriendly attitude towards the Ottomans."<sup>23</sup>

### **Occupation of Qandahar by Shah Abbas-I in 1622 A.D.**



Jahangir's pro-Persian policy was not destined to last long; when he heard the news in mid-June, 1622 A.D, that Persian forces have besieged Qandahar. Jahangir at first refused to believe the report, because of past friendly relations with the Shah. Finding it to be true, however, that the Shah have laid siege to Qandahar with troops from Iraq and Khurasan, Jahangir ordered his high-ranking commanders with armies from the Deccan, Gujrat, Bengal and Bihar to proceed toward the area. While the Emperor was still engaged in collecting the army and settling the affairs of Shah Jahan (his son who had revolted against him), the Persian King captured the fort of Qandahar after a siege of forty five days. It was indeed a great blunder on the part of Jahangir that he did not act according to the advice of Khan-i-Jahan Lodhi, who had urged immediate reinforcement of Qandahar, and decided to wait till a grand army, could muster and the internal affairs were settled. According to R.P Tripathi that, "the bones of Akbar would have smarted in his grave at the inability of Jahangir to retain Qandahar which was so much prized by him."<sup>24</sup> Shortly after the Persian capture of Qandahar in June 1622 A.D, Shah Abbas sent his ambassador Wali Beg with a letter stressing the claims of Persia over Qandahar and conveying this message to Jahangir that; "it was during the interregnum in Khurasan that Qandahar passed into Mughul possession. The continued occupation of the fort by the Mughuls had become a ground for taunts against Iran everywhere. The writer (Shah'Abbas-I) had for long stayed his hands from action on Qandahar as this might give the impression of mutual hostility, and also in the hope that Jahangir's ever-increasing kindness and friendliness would lead him to restore the fort of his own accord. Jahangir is requested to consider Iran as his own dominion, to accept the key of the kingdom of Iran, which is being sent with the bearer, and to consider the Persian commander of Qandahar as his own obedient servant. Any misunderstanding caused by this affair should be wiped out."<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, the health of Jahangir was completely shattered on account of too much of drinking and died on October 29, 1627 A.D.<sup>26</sup> His son Shah Jahan succeeded to ascend the throne on 19th January, 1628 A.D. In

the meantime matters had been changing with extraordinary rapidity. On hearing the news of Emperor's death, Shah Abbas-I sent his envoy Bahri Beg with a letter to Shah Jahan, offering his help if he needed it. While Bahri Beg was on his way to India Shah Abbas-I died in Mazandaran on January, 9, 1629 A.D. When the news of his death reached to Shah Jahan, he cancelled his idea of going on the campaign of Qandahar, which he was thinking for the time of his accession to the throne.<sup>27</sup> Shah Abbas-I was succeeded by his grandson Sam Mirza, who is known to history as Shah Safi. According to the time honored etiquette the Shah Safi took the earliest opportunity to send his envoy Muhammad Ali Beg to congratulate Shah Jahan on his accession. Meanwhile Shah Jahan who had heard of the death of Shah Abbas, dispatched Mir Barka to Persia on exactly the same mission. The two envoys probably crossed each other on the way. In his letter, Shah Jahan wrote to say that he was willing to assist Shah Safi to strengthen his power. This letter concluded with friendly advice to the Shah to whom it was suggested that he should follow in the footsteps of his grand-father.

### **Surrender of Qandahar by Ali Mardan Khan in 1638 A.D.**

The loss of Qandahar in the time of Jahangir was largely due to the rebellion of Shah Jahan. But when the Imperial responsibilities fell on him, he showed as much anxiety as any one of his predecessors to recover it. In spite of an exchange of friendly correspondence and diplomatic missions, Shah Jahan had directed the Governor of Kabul, Qulij Khan, to welcome any favorable opportunity to recover Qandahar and with that end in view open negotiations with Ali Mardan Khan who governed that place on behalf of the Shah. Ali Mardan had a personal grievance against Saru Taqi, the minister of the Shah. He was summoned to the Persian court to explain why the revenue from his districts had been allowed to fall in heavy arrears. Since Ali Mardan did not obey the summons he was relieved of his governorship and ordered to hand over charge to Siya Wash, who was sent with a large army to enforce the command of the Shah. Fearing the wrath of the Shah, Ali Mardan Khan

asked help from the Mughal officers at Ghazni and Kabul, and offered to surrender Qandahar to them. Ali Mardan Khan publicly acknowledged his change of allegiance by having the name of Shah Jahan recited in the Friday prayers and stamped on the coinage of the city, while the fortress was formally handed over to the Mughals on March 22, 1638 A.D. He was handsomely rewarded and later in the year was made Governor of Kashmir and honored by a visit from the Emperor.<sup>28</sup> The Mughal troops under Said Khan and Jagat Singh beat back the Persians, re-annexed to the Mughal empire all the territory of Qandahar, Bist and Zamindawar, which had been conquered by the Shah of Persia. Prince Shuja was sent to Kabul and a large army was dispatched to defend Qandahar, should it be invaded by the Persians.

The Persians were not to let Qandahar go easily. The Shah clearly wrote to Shah Jahan that he could not afford to lose Qandahar at any cost. In 1639 A.D a Persian army attacked Qandahar and succeeded in capturing the fort of Khanshi, near Bist. Owing to the war against the Turks and the problems of the western front, Shah Safi could do no more than collect a large army in Khorasan. Shah Safi died in 1642 A.D, he was succeeded by his son Shah Abbas-II, who was then only in his tenth year.<sup>29</sup> Shah Abbas-II very soon after his accession to the throne of Persia began to make preparations for an attack on Qandahar. News of this movement was conveyed to India. Ali Mardan Khan, then Governor of Kabul, sent reinforcements and money to Qandahar; and orders was issued for the mobilization of troops in India to protect Qandahar from Persian invasion. In the meantime, Doulat Khan, the Governor of Qandahar reported to the Emperor that Shah Abbas had besieged Qandahar on December, 16, 1648 A.D, at the head of 50,000 horsemen, and with huge amount of artillery.

### **Shah Abbas-II and his re-occupation of Qandahar in 1649 A.D.**

It was the shrewdness of the Shah Abbas-II that he astutely wrote a letter to Doulat Khan full of threats and conciliation. He emphasized the strength of his army, which, he said, was the same as had recovered Eerwan

from the Turks. Shah also held out to Doulat Khan a promise of respectable employment in case of his submission. At last, on the promise of safe conduct, and seeing no other alternative, Doulat Khan capitulated on terms. The fort was occupied by the Persians on February 11, 1649. After the occupation of Qandahar, the Shah appointed Mehrab Khan its commander, and sent Shah Verdi Beg with the following ironical apologetic letter to Shah Jahan; "Feeling certain that the noble uncle would not grudge this, he (the Shah) proceeded to Qandahar. The Mughal commanders of the fort assumed a hostile attitude and prepared to fight. At this, being detrimental to the friendship of the two powers, amounted to a defiance of the will of the Emperor himself, he (the Shah) considered it his duty to punish this act of disobedience. Therefore the fort was besieged and stormed. As this action (seizure of the fort) was taken on the basis of mutual accord, it is expected there will be no misunderstanding. The above-mentioned wilayat (Qandahar) and the entire realm (of Iran) belong to the Emperor. Shah Verdi Beg is being sent to convey his (the Shah's) sincere devotion to the respected uncle (Shah Jahan)."<sup>30</sup>

### **First Expedition of Qandahar, 1649 A.D.**

It was January; one month after Qandahar was laid under siege that Shah Jahan learnt of it. Immediately he ordered his third son, Aurangzeb Alamgir, along with the Wazir (Prime Minister), Sa'dullah Khan, as his mentor and guide, to march with fifty thousand horsemen from Multan and Lahore respectively and make a joint attack to the relief of the fort. Shortly after, the Emperor himself moved his camp from Lahore to Kabul. The two commanders joined at Bhira and pushed on to Peshawar, they arrived at Kabul on March 25, 1649. In the meantime Qandahar had fallen and the Emperor ordered the prince to quicken his pace, and reach there before the Persians consolidated their position. They arrived before Qandahar and encamped at the Garden of Ganj Ali Khan; in this way the siege operations were begun on May, 16.

It very soon became evident that the task would prove very difficult. The siege operations dragged on and the veteran Mehrab Khan foiled every effort of the besiegers, and attempts to storm the fortifications were repulsed with heavy loss. Lack of proper siege guns prevented the besiegers from doing anything substantial. After three months and a half the scarcity of provisions, the fear of coming winter and the arrival of Persian reinforcements from the Shah, who was watching the progress of the Mughals from Herat, obliged them to return. After the fortress of Qandahar had been besieged for three months and twenty days, supplies of grain and fodder started to become extremely scarce. According to the Shah Jahan Nama of Inayat Khan; "Moreover, despite the praiseworthy exertions of the faithful servants of the crown, since they possessed neither a siege train of battering guns nor skillful artillerymen, the capture of the fortress still seemed as distant as ever."<sup>31</sup> Famine proved an affective ally, and the Emperor at last set out from Kabul in the autumn for India, after ordering the raising of the siege. Four months had been spent in fruitless efforts, and the besieger's lost were estimated to be 2,000 to 3,000 men; and from 4,000 to 5,000 animals perished in this expedition. "Shahjahan's failure to recover Qandahar in May, 1649 had further exposed the myth of the invincibility of the Mughal armies."<sup>32</sup>

### **Second Expedition of Qandahar, 1652 A.D.**

The loss of Qandahar, however, rankled in the breast of the Emperor Shah Jahan, and on his return to the capital in 1650 A.D; orders were issued to raise an army for service in Southern Afghanistan. The attempt on Qandahar which was given up in 1649 A.D was repeated again in 1652 A.D. Once again Prince Aurangzeb was sent to recover Qandahar,<sup>33</sup> along with Sa'dullah Khan. On 26th February, 1652 A.D, being the moment that had been fixed for the auspicious departure, the royal cavalcade started off from Lahore in the direction of Qandahar. The troops numbered, an army of fifty thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry including musketeers, gunners, bombardiers and rocket-men. Sa'dullah's force was further accompanied by

“10 large and ferocious war elephants; eight heavy and 20 light cannon; and 20 elephants carrying hathnal guns and 100 camels and shutarnals-besides a well-replenished treasury and other suitable equipment.”<sup>34</sup>

The Emperor again set out for Kabul, where he arrived after a journey of two months and four days, on the 14th of April; and the divisions of the army united near Qandahar in the last of April, 1652 A.D prince Aurangzeb and Sa’dullah Khan were ordered to open the siege on May 2, 1652 A.D. The incidents of the former siege were repeated. “The besiegers adopted every possible method to open some breach, but their guns failed them; eight guns cracked; others were not well handled, while munitions and provisions ran short.”<sup>35</sup> Opposed to this were the skilled Persian gunners whose shots rained death among the Mughals, and who calmly waited till the enemy reached within the range of their fire. During the siege, Prince Aurangzeb tried to corrupt the Persian commander Autar Khan who had succeeded Meharab Khan in Qandahar. He sent to him Haji Bahadur with a message offering him an honorable post in the Mughal employ. But Autar Khan taunted the messenger with the previous failure of the prince and sarcastically remarked that if the latter was ashamed to return India, he might go to Persia and seek service with the Shah as his ancestor Humayun had done before.

### **Third Expedition of Qandahar, 1653 A.D.**

The two successive failures of Aurangzeb and the heavy loss of men and money were not enough to subdue finally the pride of Shah Jahan. He still entertained some hopes of success, which were brightened when his eldest son Dara Shikoh requested him to be appointed to reduce Qandahar. For three months Dara exerted his best energies in making preparations on a grand scale. Large quantities of ammunitions were collected for the strength of the force. The forces and armament provided for this expedition were; four heavy guns, 30,000 iron shot, great and small; 1,500 maunds of lead; 5,000 maunds of gunpowder; 5,000 artillerymen, for working the guns and rockets;

10,000 musketeers; 6,000 pioneers, sappers and axe-men; 3,000 ahadis (independent cavaliers); 60 war elephants;<sup>36</sup> and “70,000 cavalry; in all, 104,000 men.”<sup>37</sup>

Dara Shikoh left Lahore on February, 11, 1653 A.D, and set off with the gallant army toward Qandahar, and reached there on the April, 23, 1653 A.D. He encamped at the garden of Mirza Kamran, and once more siege operations were begun. On this occasion the fort of Kala Bist was captured, and the fort at Girishk was surrendered to the Indian troops. Urged by repeated orders from the emperor, and by his jealousy of his brother, Aurangzeb, Prince Dara Shikoh made desperate efforts to capture Kandahar. The skill and constancy of Mehrab Khan and the resolution and superior training of his men, once more proved too much for the Indian troops. Five great assaults were delivered and frustrated with very great number of casualties. Ultimately, as the duration of the siege of Qandahar had extended beyond five months with these unavailing operations, the ammunition of the besiegers again began to run short, and neither was there any forage left in meadows, nor provisions with the army. In the mean time cold and wet weather had set in, men and animals were dying in great numbers from hunger and exposure. Therefore, on September 27, 1653 A.D. in consequence of all these factors, Prince Dara Shikoh had set out from Qandahar for Hindustan.

### **Causes of the Failure of the Mughals in the Expeditions of Qandahar**

Due to the following reasons the Mughal attempts to capture Qandahar ended in failure and Qandahar was lost once for all;

- i) In fact, Qandahar defenses had never been broken by force either by the Persians or the Mughals. During these expeditions, Persians were always on the defensive, which advantage was greatly enhanced by the peculiar strategic situation and strength of the fort which had been immensely improved by Ali Mardan Khan, during his governorship.
- ii) The crowing folly of the Mughal Emperor was to lose sight of the

improved artillery of the Persians. They had attained the utmost proficiency in engineering and artillery practice, owing to their constant warfare with the Turks. Persians understood the use of fire-arms better than the Mughals. The artillery of the Mughals, on which they counted so much, failed them. V.D Mahajan says; "They (Mughals) had guns, huge hollow cylinders, with balls of irregular shapes, but they could seldom be fired, their fire was most inaccurate, owing to windage."<sup>38</sup>

- iii) Next the Persians had learned much of European methods of warfare by the instruction and reorganization of the Sherley brothers in the reign of Abbas the Great. They also had gained great experience during their own siege and capture of the fortress. Indian troops relied rather on their moral than on their material effect. They had hardly advanced beyond the use of irregular cavalry, and their cavalry not fit to face even the cavalry, and were much less the infantry of the Persians.<sup>39</sup>
- iv) The inhospitable land of Qandahar always involved the Mughals in serious difficulties regarding the maintenance of provisions; and the greatest mistake which the Mughal Emperor committed was to send huge army necessitating a big camp, which instead of advancing seriously retarded the progress of the Mughals. Qandahar was also not a fertile country to feed such a big army. The hardships caused by the climatical conditions of Qandahar prevented prolonged and continuous operations. Hence it became almost impossible for besiegers in all expeditions, to continue their siege anymore. Moreover, the two commanders Mehrab Khan and his successor Autar Khan were men of especial merits, who scorned danger, possessed sustaining courage and retained the confidence of their followers.
- v) It was only after the final failure to capture Qandahar that Shah Jahan regretted his misbehavior towards his father. Afterwards, as an emperor, in his unmitigated pride of power Shahjahan failed to take note either of the Persian resources or of the power of their resistance. He forgot that never before had the fortress of Qandahar been taken by



Qandahar was never forgotten, but despite of the increasing disorders that were taking place in Qandahar, the Indian Emperors could make no attempt to take advantage of them to regain their lost dependency. Aurangzeb after having personally launched two unsuccessful campaigns was also not interested in recovering Qandahar because he knew the futility of such an exercise. Aurangzeb had thus no reason, at least for the time being, to curry favors with the Ottomans, to whom they have been neglected for a long time. Afterwards, Aurangzeb's relations with Persia received a setback. His embassy which was sent to Persia in November, 1663 A.D, under the supervision of his envoy Tarbiyat Khan, was miscarried.<sup>42</sup> Shah Abbas-II's conduct towards the Mughal ambassador had been highly objectionable and inappropriate. He had derided the envoy and had made insulting remarks about Aurangzeb in presence. The Shah had even threatened to invade India, and sent his reply in March, 1666 A.D, with following humiliated letter along with the same Mughal envoy; "recently we have learnt from comers and goers that at many places in Hindustan refractory and seditious people, considering that Solomon-like monarch (Aurangzeb) to be impotent and resource-less, have raised the dust of disturbance, and having taken possession of some parts of the country are giving trouble to the inhabitants and travelers of that kingdom."<sup>43</sup>

Thus by the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the Mughal Empire had no diplomatic relations with Persia. Though Aurangzeb was not responsible for the breach with Persia in 1666 A.D, he was certainly so far the continuation of the breach. The state of diplomatic isolation in which Aurangzeb left the Mughal Empire was by no means enviable.<sup>44</sup>

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storm or assault.

In the case of Persia, though the Mughal sovereigns gave expression to feelings of amity and good will and though this attitude was reciprocated by the Safawid monarchs, there is sufficient evidence to show that they were jealous and distrustful of each other. "The court of Persia, on its part, so far as possible, never recognized the high-sounding titles of the Indian rulers, and displayed, as it were, a patronizing attitude towards them."<sup>40</sup> In the contemporary correspondence they repeatedly referred to the help which Shah Ismail gave to Babur, and the protection which Shah Tahmasp extended to Humayun. In contrast to this, the Moghul Emperors regarded themselves as superior to the Shahs, because the extent of their territories was larger, and by reputation their wealth was greater.

In fact, it is very difficult to arrive at a conclusive decision on the rival claims of the Persian and Mughal monarchs regarding the possession of Qandahar. Persian based their claim on territorial evidence to prove Qandahar as a part of Khurasan in those existing period; however, it is true, but they forgot this reality that Shah Beg Arghon from whom Babur snatched Qandahar (on his will), was a complete independent ruler there. As far as the claim of Indus as their boundary line concerned, it is entirely illogical to understand. Perhaps, this claim was based on this reason that in those days, Arghons after losing their domain Qandahar were settled in Sindh and Persians considered them as their ally. If the natural boundaries and the right of priority be taken into consideration, then Qandahar rightfully belonged to the Mughals, "seeing that the river Helmand is the actual boundary line of Persia,"<sup>41</sup> and Babur had first occupied it on the request of his original master Shah Beg Arghon. Duplicity of Safawid Shahs resolved the question of the occupation of Qandahar into a trial of strength by the rival parties for the maintenance of prestige.

Official relations between the Persian and Mughal court ceased until after the accession of Aurangzeb. Shah Jahan in his lifetime could never forget the disgrace which his arms suffered in Qandahar. The loss of

## **Annexure-V**

### **Humayun's Exile and his Flight to Persia**

The history of Humayun has attracted the attention of historians less than that of other Mughal Emperors; and the story of his exile in Persia is a neglected chapter of that history. The historians of India treat it rather as something outside their scope, for they consider that the doings of Humayun in Persia do not directly concern the history of India. On the other hand the historians of Persia pay little attention to events which, they regard, as properly belonging to the history of an Indian Emperor. The account of Humayun in Persia forms also an interesting chapter in the relations of the Mughal Emperors of India with the Safawid Court. To some the exile may appear as the just retribution of a king who probably loved opium more than the throne; to many the account of the wanderings of an enthroned monarch, who had lost his throne, will appear as tragic as it is interesting. Humayun's stay at the Safawid Court though humiliating to some extent, but it also resulted with acquiring a great help from Persia for the recovery of Qandahar, Kabul and Badakhshan, this later helped him for the recapture of his lost Empire in India.

After the death of Babur in 1530 A.D. his son Humayun successfully seated himself on the throne of Agra on December 30, 1530 A.D. When Humayun, became Emperor, Tahmasp, the eldest of the sons of Shah Ismail had already succeeded him in 1524 A.D. at the age of ten.<sup>1</sup> Babur left to the care of Humayun a vast Empire "which extended from the river Amu to Bihar. Kunduz, Badakhshan, Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar were his western possessions."<sup>2</sup> At the time of Babur's death his son, Kamran, was at Kabul. He was anxious to oust his elder brother, Humayun, from the throne of the Empire, but distance and lack of sufficient strength prevented him from taking any action. Hence, he thought it prudent to remain nominally under Agra, and taking advantage of the weak

character and good nature of his elder brother, he became practically independent.<sup>3</sup> His jurisdiction comprised “Cabul (Kabul), Ghuzni (Ghazni), and Kandahar.”<sup>4</sup> Humayun, taking his insecure seat on the throne, generously assigned “the westerly Punjab, Kabul and Qandahar to be governed by his brother Kamran, and made smaller provisions for the two younger brothers.”<sup>5</sup> Among the problems which Babur had left, one that demanded Humayun's immediate attention was that of the Afghans, which were looking out for any opportunity to recover their lost domains.<sup>6</sup>

Humayun had in the meantime many troubles in India, and had to face several revolts. He could not suppress them, and at last defeated by Sher Khan, which is known as Sher Shah Suri, at Kanauj in 1540 A.D. In this way Humayun became a fugitive and Sher Khan became the master of Agra and Delhi. Under these miserable circumstances, Humayun came to Lahore in distress, and from thence in October, 1540 A.D. by reason of the advance of the Afghans and the opposition of his brothers,<sup>7</sup> especially the ingrate Kamran Mirza who deserted him at the time that Sher Khan, the Afghan, was following him into the Punjab. The unfortunate monarch, thought it advisable to turn his face towards Sindh. After a toilsome journey, most probably through the Bolan Pass, Humayun reached the district of Shal-Mastang (Mastung), near northern limit of Balochistan, and about a hundred and fifty miles from Qandahar, on which it was dependent.<sup>8</sup> He learnt that his brother, Askari, with a considerable force, was close at hand, and that immediate flight was necessary. He and his wife Hamida Bano were ready, but there was confusion, regarding their newly borne child (Akbar), that what to do with him, then only one year old and quite unfit to make a rapid journey on horseback in the boisterous weather.<sup>9</sup> Humayun thought that the uncle would not make war against a baby. Consequently, he decided to leave him with the whole of their camp equipage and baggage, and the ladies who attended him. Scarcely had they gone when Askari arrived, veiling his disappointment at the escape of his brother with some soft words, he treated the young Prince with affection, and he conveyed him to Qandahar, of which place

he was Governor. Askari placed the child, in the careful custody of his own wife, during the whole period up to the year 1544 A.D.<sup>10</sup>

Humayun and his party, after galloping off from their camp, soon reached the desert waste. He had then, made up his mind to proceed through Persia, to the Holy City of Mecca. But, though they do not seem to have been pursued by Askari, their danger was not yet over, therefore, they kept on their course towards Siestan. One night, after a long march, a party of Balochs met, and stopped them. About this event William Erskine writes; "They spoke in their own language, which was not understood: but fortunately one of the ladies, who were with the Emperor's suite, was herself a Baloch, the wife of an officer in his service. She was employed to interpret, and it appeared that they were followers of Malek Khati, a Baloch chief, whom Abdul Fazl styles the Captain-General of the banditti of the desert."<sup>11</sup> This leader being at that moment absent, his people insisted that the little troop should not pass onward without their master's leave.

On finding that it was the Emperor, he was obliged to comply, and entering the fort, the freebooters salaamed to him respectfully, spread a carpet on which he and Hamida Bano Begum sat down, and supplied the wants of the party with all the hospitality of the desert. When day began to dawn, Malek Khati, who had been sent for, returned.<sup>12</sup> Saluting the Emperor, and making the usual polite inquiries after his health, the chief informed him, that three days before, an order from Kamran Mirza had reached him, commanding him not, on any account, to suffer the Emperor Humayun to pass that way, but to seize and make him prisoner. But, he added, "now that your Majesty has visited me, on my head and eyes be it. Yet it is better that you should ride on, and I will myself conduct you to the borders."<sup>13</sup>

The party was again put in motion, and entered the Germsir, which lies between Qandahar and Khorasan. From here, in December, 1543 A.D. Humayun as being a desirous of ascertaining the sentiments of the King of Persia, the hereditary friend of his family, addressed to him a letter, and dispatched it by the hands of Chuli Beg. Dr. Riazul Islam writes the summary of this letter, in which

Humayun explained his situation and his wishes to Shah Tahmasp, in these words, that; "Protests sincere affection for the Shah and begs to present himself before him. (Barely) mentions the revolution of his fortunes which brought him from the spacious kingdom of Hindustan to 'the airless and dark defile of Sind.' Hopes, with God's grace, to relate his affairs to the Shah in person."<sup>14</sup>

In the meantime, Kamran had dispatched a large body of men from Qandahar, in quest of Humayun and his party. Seeing, therefore, that he could nowhere be safe in the wide spreading dominions of his father, Humayun unwillingly crossed the Helmund, and encamped in the Persian territory.<sup>15</sup> Commenting upon this historical event, Naimur Rehman Farooqi, the author of *Mughal-Ottoman Relations* says; "the Emperor did not solicit aid from the Ottoman Sultan, his Sunni compeer; instead, he went into exile in the Shia stronghold of Safavid Persia."<sup>16</sup>

### **Humayun in Persia**

On entering Siestan, in January, 1544 A.D. Humayun was received with the greatest respect and hospitality by Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the Governor. He, at first spent much of his time in the amusements of hunting and hawking, waiting till an answer should be returned to the letter which he had addressed to the Shah. Here news was at last received from the Court of Persia. When Humayun's letter reached to Shah Tahmasp, then a young man of twenty-seven years of age found that the arrival of the Emperor of India, the representative of the great Taimur, to seek refuge at the foot of the throne of Safawids, would be an historic event, which gave additional glory to his reign.<sup>17</sup> When Humayun was on the way to Herat, he received a reply letter from Shah Tahmasp. About the summary of this letter, Dr. Riazul Islam again writes, that; "Has received, with all respect and honor, the Padshah's letter and learnt of his vicissitudes. As he is proceeding thither in a spirit of sincere devotion and, like his exalted father (Babur), is seeking aid from and alliance with this dynasty, all his affairs will be



set right by the grace of the Imams and the help of the writer (the Shah). Humayun should come quickly, for his arrival is keenly awaited.”<sup>18</sup>

Together with the letter of invitation to Humayun, orders were sent to all Governors and chiefs of the provinces and cities through which he was likely to pass, prescribing in every detail how he and his retinue were to be received, entertained and provided with food and comforts. The minutest directions were given; “loaves of white bread baked with milk and butter, five hundred trays of different kinds of meat, sherbets cooled in ice, sweetmeats of different kinds, grapes and other fruits, rose water, amber and perfumes had to be offered to the guests.”<sup>19</sup> They were to be supplied with table linen, sheets, plate, changes of wearing apparel, and ornamental clothes of gold tissue and brocades. A thousand men on horseback were to attend him, and never less than fifteen hundred trays with food were to be served daily to him and his suite.<sup>20</sup> When Humayun preceded to Herat, where he was met by the prince Muhammad Mirza, the eldest son of Tahmasp. This prince omitted nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character, and provided abundantly with every requisite for his journey to the Persian Court. In his progress, Humayun was met by all the Governors of the provinces, who paid him their respects, and made magnificent entertainments for him. On his arrival at Qazwin, the capital of Persia, he deputed Bairam Beg as his ambassador, and sent him to the king of Persia, who was in Isfahan, and awaited his return at Qazwin.<sup>21</sup>

At last, in July, 1544 A.D., Humayun was escorted there and led to the presence of Tahmasp. About this occasion, Humayun’s sister Gulbadan Begum writes in *Humayun Nama*, that; “the Shah sent all his brothers to meet his majesty, Bahram Mirza, and Alqas Mirza, and Sam Mirza. All came and embraced him and escorted him with full honor and respect.”<sup>22</sup> When the two sovereigns met face to face, the Shah received the Emperor with all honor, seating him upon his right hand, and insisted upon his assuming the Shi’ah (Ithna Ashariyah) Taj, which he said, was the Taj of greatness. Humayun consented,

with a graceful play upon the double meaning of the word that robbed the act of its religious significance. The Shah placed the cap with his own hand upon Humayun's head, whereupon all the nobles shouted Allah! Allah! evidently satisfied at the success which God had vouchsafed to their sovereign. Then Humayun requested the Shah to allow the Mirzas to sit down, but he was told that the etiquette of the Persian Court did not permit of such a practice.<sup>23</sup>

There is a difference of opinion among historians as regards the treatment accorded to Humayun by the Shah. "All historians of Mughal India give us a rosy picture of the behavior of the Shah and intentionally do not refer to the insults which Humayun had to suffer at the Safawid Court. The other side of the picture we find only in the frank and straightforward memoirs of Jauhar."<sup>24</sup> Edward G. Browne quotes the reference of Jauhar's plain and unvarnished tale of reality, who was a servant of Humayun and remained with him in Persia, that; "Humayun had much to suffer and many humiliations to endure."<sup>25</sup> In the course of conversation the Shah asked what had led to his defeat; Humayun incautiously replied, 'the opposition of my brothers'. Bahram Mirza, the brother of the Shah, who was present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humayun in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise.<sup>26</sup> The next day, "Shah's bigotry again manifested itself and he bluntly demanded that Humayun should embrace the Shi'ah beliefs, otherwise he would have him burnt to ashes with the firewood which had been collected for his entertainment."<sup>27</sup> This at first, Humayun stoutly refused to do and remind the Shah of the story of Namrod and Khalil Ibrahim (A.S.) and declared that he had in him the soul of Khalil (A.S.) and that he was not afraid of death. He protested that he had beliefs of his own and that kingship did not weigh with him as much as the supreme dictates of religion and conscience. He desired that he might be permitted to proceed to Mecca,<sup>28</sup> but the Shah threatened again "to burn the entire fugitive party alive, if Humayun demurred any longer."<sup>29</sup> Humayun knew that he was at the mercy of a man who would not scruple to push his advantage to the uttermost to gain his ends. For nearly two months after these events, all

intercourse, whether personal or in writing, between the two monarchs, was suspended. For this, various reasons are assigned.

### **Causes of Dissention between Humayun and Shah Tahmasp**

From the very beginning, Humayun received ill treatment at the hands of the Shah. According to Prof. Sukumar Ray, the author of a book *Humayun in Persia* that; Jauhar enumerates several causes of dissension between the two monarchs, which are as under;

- i) Some disaffected nobles, Rushan Koka, Khwaja Ghazi and Sultan Muhammad, who were followers of Kamran, reached the Court of the Persia, after the arrival of Humayun, and told that Humayun was deserted by his brothers because he had no ability, and they suggested that if the Shah would supply them troops, they would seize Qandahar for and deliver it to him.<sup>30</sup>
- ii) Bahram Mirza had some enmity against Humayun, hence, a few Persian officers along with him pleaded to the Shah, that; if the Shah would send them as auxiliary to the Emperor, they feared treachery on the part of him, to continue this argument Bahram Mirza said, that; “This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbash soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trampled under foot by the Ozbaks.”<sup>31</sup> This refers to the battle of Ghajdawan, in which the Persian suspected Babur of treachery with Shah Ismail, and caused the slaughter of twelve thousand Persian soldiers.<sup>32</sup>
- iii) Thirdly, “one day at Agra, after his victorious return from Gujarat, while Humayun was 'amusing himself with divining arrows', he wrote his own name on the twelve first class arrows and the name of Shah Tahmasp on the twelve second class arrows; and this several people reported to the Shah. Shah Tahmasp now asked explanation from Humayun and his frank statement that he considered the Shah inferior to him as Persia was

smaller than Hindustan only angered the Shah more.”<sup>33</sup>

- iv) Fourthly, Kamran also secretly wrote to the Shah against his brother, and he began to think poorly of Humayun and regretted having given him shelter.<sup>34</sup>
- v) There were religious and political differences between the Ithna Ashariyahs and the Sunnis, and the traditional rivalry of the Safawid and the Chaghatai (Mughal) Dynasties. Regarding this religious controversy, Ishwari Prasad says that the Shah is reported to have sent the following message to Humayun: “For a long time I have been thinking that I should march the armies against the Sunnis and luckily you have come of your own accord. I do not wish that you should continue in your religion. My heart has got what it wanted from God.”<sup>35</sup> Moreover, he refused clearly to give him any political assistance, unless he became a convert to Ithna Ashariyah Faith, and he let him know that his own life and the lives of his seven hundred retainers were in jeopardy unless he agreed to do so.<sup>36</sup>

Most fortunately for Humayun that he had three steady and eminent friends, the Shah's sister Sultanam Khanum, the Shah's minister Qazi Jahan and the royal physician Nuruddin, who constantly tried to establish friendly relations between Humayun and Shah Tahmasp. Humayun, was relieved from the dangers that surrounded him, “chiefly by the generous intercession of Sultanum Khanum, who strongly represented to her brother the impolicy, as well as injustice, of using any severity towards an exiled Prince (Emperor) who had sought his protection and hospitality; and flattered him with the hopes of removing in due time the stranger's religious errors, and of gaining a royal convert.”<sup>37</sup> After this, the Shah sent Qazi Jahan to Humayun, who advised him to come to a compromise in view of the special circumstances in which he was placed. Then Humayun asked Qazi to put the matter in writing, and Qazi Jahan soon brought three papers from Shah Tahmasp. Humayun read two of the papers and approved them, but he pondered over the third paper. Shah then

began to call aloud in anger, and Qazi Jahan again came to the king and advised him to temporize as it was not the time for the least disobedience. Humayun complained that the Shah did not think that there should be no compulsion in religion. However, he approved of the third paper as well,<sup>38</sup> and signed papers embodying statement of 'Ithna Ashariyah Theology'.

The first difficulty to free intercourse between the sovereigns having been thus surmounted, Shah relaxed his attitude to some degree, with proud to have achieved the conversion, arranged magnificent feasts and splendid hunting parties. One day, Humayun sent several pieces of diamonds and rubies, through Bairam Beg, as presents to the Shah with a message that these were brought from Hindustan expressly for him. Jauhar says that one of these diamonds was very large "and most probably the celebrated Koh-i-nur."<sup>39</sup> The Shah was astonished to see these precious stones, specially the 'Great Mughal' diamond, and bestowed on Bairam Beg the title of 'Khan' with standard and kettle-drum.<sup>40</sup> Then for a while, the good relations of the monarchs were disturbed again by the intrigues of jealous Persian courtiers.

### **The agreement between Humayun and Shah Tahmasp**

One day, Shah Tahmasp called Bairam Khan in Private and made some enquiries. His ill-humor gradually passed away, and he made up his mind, beyond the possibility of change, to support Humayun.<sup>41</sup> At last, in the late of 1544 A.D. the two sovereigns met for several hours in private, and entered into a regular league, that;

- i) The Shah on his part was to help Humayun, in recovering Qandahar, Kabul and Badakshan (not to regain the Mughal possessions in India), and that Qandahar when taken was to be restored to Persia.<sup>42</sup>
- ii) On the other hand, Humayun and his suite were to listen attentively to the theological instruction of Qazi Jahan, on the subject of their religious

differences.<sup>43</sup>

- iii) "It was officially agreed that Humayun was to favor the Shiah (Ithna Ashariyah) creed,"<sup>44</sup> and the Shah affected to believe that Humayun and his suite were sincere in their professions.<sup>45</sup>
- iv) "The Shia divines wrote out the article of their faith, all of which Humayun read and assented to, and agreed that the Khutba, or prayer for the Sovereign, should be recited in the Shia form."<sup>46</sup>

By way of cementing the reconciliation, a grand feast was held, which lasted for three days, and on the fourth day the sovereigns took formal leave of each other. On this occasion, Shah standing up and laying his hand on his breast, said, "O King Humayun, if there is any defect; let your generosity excuse it."<sup>47</sup> The ultimate purpose of the meeting was not just to exchange pleasantries but to come to an agreement on far-reaching political and military plans. Humayun needed help, and the Shah agreed to supply him with 12,000 of his finest cavalry,<sup>48</sup> "under the nominal command of his third son, Mirza, Murad, an infant,"<sup>49</sup> under the protection and guidance of the Persian commander Bidagh Khan Kajar. Shah Tahmasp also nominated this infant as Governor of Qandahar, under the said protection. In addition he also promised to lend 300 veterans of the Imperial Bodyguard.<sup>50</sup>

Humayun reached Siestan, he was agreeably surprised to find that the Persian contingent numbered fourteen thousand instead of the promised twelve. He then marched upon Qandahar with his Persian allies.<sup>51</sup> When Humayun reached Germsir, the enemies of Kamran began to show hostility, and his friends, disaffection. Abdul Hayee, the Governor of the country, was now only too eager to support an Emperor who had some prospect of being able to protect his friends. He met Humayun, no longer poor and destitute, but in command of a fine army and promptly put himself and the entire resources of his province at the Emperor's disposal. As the Humayun pressed on, the strong fortress of Bist, a strategic centre of the district of Zamindawar fell and most of the garrison joined

him.<sup>52</sup> Kamran, who had long dreaded an invasion from the territories of Persia, had placed all his frontiers fortresses in a state of defense. On hearing of the Emperor's arrival nearer, his first concern was to remove the infant Akbar, Humayun's only son, from Qandahar, where he still remained under the care of Askari's wife. The infant Prince was conveyed to Kabul, in the depth of severe winter, where he was lodged with his grand-aunt Khanzada Begum.<sup>53</sup> Humayun arrived at Qandahar on March 21, 1545 A.D. and laid siege to the fort. Mirza Askari was the Governor of Qandahar on behalf of Mirza Kamran. The fort was defended by a strong garrison and the siege was likely to be prolonged. For three months fight took place every day and men of both sides were killed. Accordingly, Humayun sent Bairam Khan to Kabul as his ambassador to Kamran, to bring him on any reasonable terms.<sup>54</sup> The siege was protracted on account of the energy and diligence of Askari, who spared no pains to defend it. But one night the Mughals stealthily approached the Chahar Dara side of the fort and established a battery there, and next morning the Persian troops moved forward to attack. But Askari opened negotiation and sent a message to cease hostilities till the arrival of Khanzada Begum from Kabul. Actually, he simply deceived Humayun to have a respite and strengthened the fort.<sup>55</sup>

After a month and a half Bairam returned to Qandahar. In spite of the best efforts of Khanzada Begum, who came with Bairam Khan "from Kabul to Qandahar in the service of peace between Kamran and Humayun,"<sup>56</sup> Askari kept continuing hostilities. The Persian troops grew weary of the long siege and thought of returning home. They had expected that at Qandahar the followers of Humayun, would now join him but they did not. At this time, they heard that Kamran was coming to help Askari. The Persians therefore, became dubious as to their success. Kamran, however, could not come to the aid of Askari. Soon the diplomacy of Bairam Khan bore fruit, and many of Kamran's chiefs deserted him and joined Humayun. The garrison also became impatient and many began to escape.<sup>57</sup> Kamran, although he had begun to look upon Qandahar as lost, but was expecting the siege to last much longer. He was greatly dismayed by the

sudden fall of the town,<sup>58</sup> when Askari having despaired of success, sued for peace and surrendered the fort on September 3, 1545 A.D. The siege of Qandahar thus lasted for about five months and a half.<sup>59</sup>

After the surrender of Askari, Humayun ordered the Persians to give three days time to the garrison and inmates of the fort to come out during which they should in no way be molested. "The city of Qandahar, in accordance with the stipulation of the Shah, was given over to Prince Murad on September 7, 1545 (A.D.) and Humayun and his followers retreated to the Char Bagh of Babur of the Arghanab."<sup>60</sup> The Persian troops in fact had conquered Qandahar by their arms and they were in possession of the fort. The treasures of the fort were sent to the Shah as offering of friendship from Humayun and the Shah also sent him nine robes and one mule (a rich dagger). But the jealousies which had sprung up between the Persians and the Mughals now assumed serious proportions. The Persian considered that their duty was now done; they refused to obey the commands of the Emperor, and their commandant Bidagh Khan peremptorily ordered the Mughal troops beyond the range of the guns of the fort.<sup>61</sup>

### **Causes of Mughal-Persian Rivalries, after the Occupation of Qandahar**

Soon after the siege of Qandahar, Mughal-Safawid rivalries aroused apparently due to the following principal reasons;

- i) In the first place, the Mughal Amirs, especially those who had accompanied Humayun into exile, bitterly disliked the Persians, who served to remind them only of the hardships they had undergone. "They were also annoyed by the boastfulness of the warriors of Iran, who went about proclaiming that, the Emperor would still be a beggar, homeless and destitute."<sup>62</sup>
- ii) The Persian soldiers demanded that Mirza Askari should be sent to Shah Tahmasp, which Humayun refused.<sup>63</sup>
- iii) The Persian after taking possession of Qandahar, refused to let the



Mughals, winter near the town, and they also tried to cut off all provisions to the Mughal camp which lay in the neighborhood of Qandahar. With the result that Humayun suddenly found his men beginning to desert back to Kamran,<sup>64</sup> which he can't afford in the situation like that.

- iv) Bidagh Khan and his men oppressed the helpless townfolk of Qandahar, who complained to the Mughals of their ill treatment, and asked for help.<sup>65</sup>
- v) When Humayun was to march to Kabul, he asked Bidagh Khan for accommodation in the fort for some of his ladies and for his goods and chattel, but Bidagh Khan refused.<sup>66</sup>
- vi) Nor should the religious question be forgotten, the Persians were like their master, rigid and fanatical Ithna Asharis while the Qandaharies and the Mughals alike were stout Sunnis. "Here were the elements of explosion, when Yadgar Nasir Mirza, in a fit of zeal, struck dead a Persian who was abusing the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.), the two parties were ready to fly at each other's throats."<sup>67</sup>
- vii) Unfortunately, for the Persians, their child leader Murad, and the emblem of Shah Tahmasp's authority, suddenly died, and this is usually accounted an important reason for the outbreak of open hostilities between the allies. Humayun felt that it would be improper to leave the population to the tender mercy of the Persians, who, Abu'l Fazl adds, "had not only acted contrary to orders but had joined the enemy and was intriguing with Mirza Kamran."<sup>68</sup>
- viii) The strategic importance of Qandahar was also fully realized by Humayun and he saw the unavoidable necessity of possessing Qandahar, as a base for his military operations against Kamran, who was in Kabul, and to recover the territory of Hindustan, which was his lost domain.<sup>69</sup>

He was thus led to consider the possibilities of seizing Qandahar and ejecting the Persians. "The *Alamara-i-Abbasi*, though written from the Persian point of view, plainly says that Humayun took the fort from Budagh Khan on grounds of necessity his affairs were still unsettled and his people had no

shelter.”<sup>70</sup> Then Humayun made a plan, with the help of Haji Muhammad Khan Koka, one of his loyal nobles, and himself made his entry into the city, and was received with shouts of joy. Bidagh Khan, who was not prepared to sustain a siege, having, in the course of the night, thrown down a part of the back wall of the citadel, marched off unmolested towards his own country, loudly expressing his indignation at the treachery and ingratitude of his allies. Bairam Khan was appointed Governor of Qandahar, and ambassadors were sent to Shah Tahmasp, to assure him that, “though Bidagh Khan, having acted contrary to his Majesty’s intention, had been dismissed from the command, his faithful subject Bairam Khan, who had succeeded him, was ready to obey all the orders of his master, the Shah.”<sup>71</sup> The date of the siege and conquest of Qandahar by Humayun is not given in any chronicle. Humayun delivered the fort to Bidagh Khan on September 7, 1545 A.D. so his capture of Qandahar could not occur before the second week of October, 1545 A.D.<sup>72</sup>

Humayun also captured Kabul on November 15, 1545 A.D. without opposition, and Kamran ran away to Sindh. “Here, he met his son Akbar, now a little more than three years old, whom he had not set eyes on for more than two years.”<sup>73</sup> After securing his position, Humayun left Kabul with the intention of invading India in 1554 A.D.<sup>74</sup> About that Khwandamir says; “for the advancement of the affairs of the country and the possessions,”<sup>75</sup> Humayun made necessary preparation for his attack on India, and in February, 1555 A.D., he occupied Lahore. Humayun marched onwards, and gained a decisive victory over Sikander Shah Suri, at the battle of Sirhind, in July, 1555 A.D. after an interval of about 15 years.<sup>76</sup> Unfortunately, only six months after his restoration to the throne, he died in an accident on January 27, 1556 A.D.

The importance of this historical event lies in its consequences. After the capture of Qandahar by the Mughals in 1545 A.D. Qandahar remained a constant subject of contention between the Mughals and the Persian Safawids, and it has been several times captured and recaptured by each others.<sup>77</sup> Apart from that Humayun had always acknowledged the great help he had received from the Shah and after his return from Persia he wrote several letters which

35. R.P Tripathi, Op. cit. p.462.
36. William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghals*, Dehli: Eurasia Publishing House Private Ltd., 1962., p.289.
37. H.G Raverty, Op. cit. p.22.
38. V.D Mahajan, Op. cit. p.146.
39. Ibid. pp.145-46.
40. B.P Saksena, Op. cit. p.210.
41. Naimur Rehman Farooqi, Op. cit. p.225.
42. Riaz-ul Islam, 1979, Op. cit. p.446.
43. Naimur Rehman Farooqi, Op. cit. p.146.
44. Riaz-ul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations*, Lahore: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1970., p.134.

show that Humayun regarded the Shah as his ally. After the recovery of his dominion Humayun sent a messenger to the Shah expressing good wishes and appreciation of Tahmasp's kindness. Similarly, on the eve of death of Humayun Shah Tahmasp wrote a letter to his son Akbar, expressing condolences for his death, the Shah refers in that letter to the friendship and concord that existed between him and Humayun. Humayun's stay in Persia not only established diplomatic relationship between the Safawid and Mughal Courts, it also led to closer contact between India and Persia. Prof. Sukumar says that "the exile of Humayun in Iran, though humiliating and painful, was not altogether barren in its results."<sup>78</sup>

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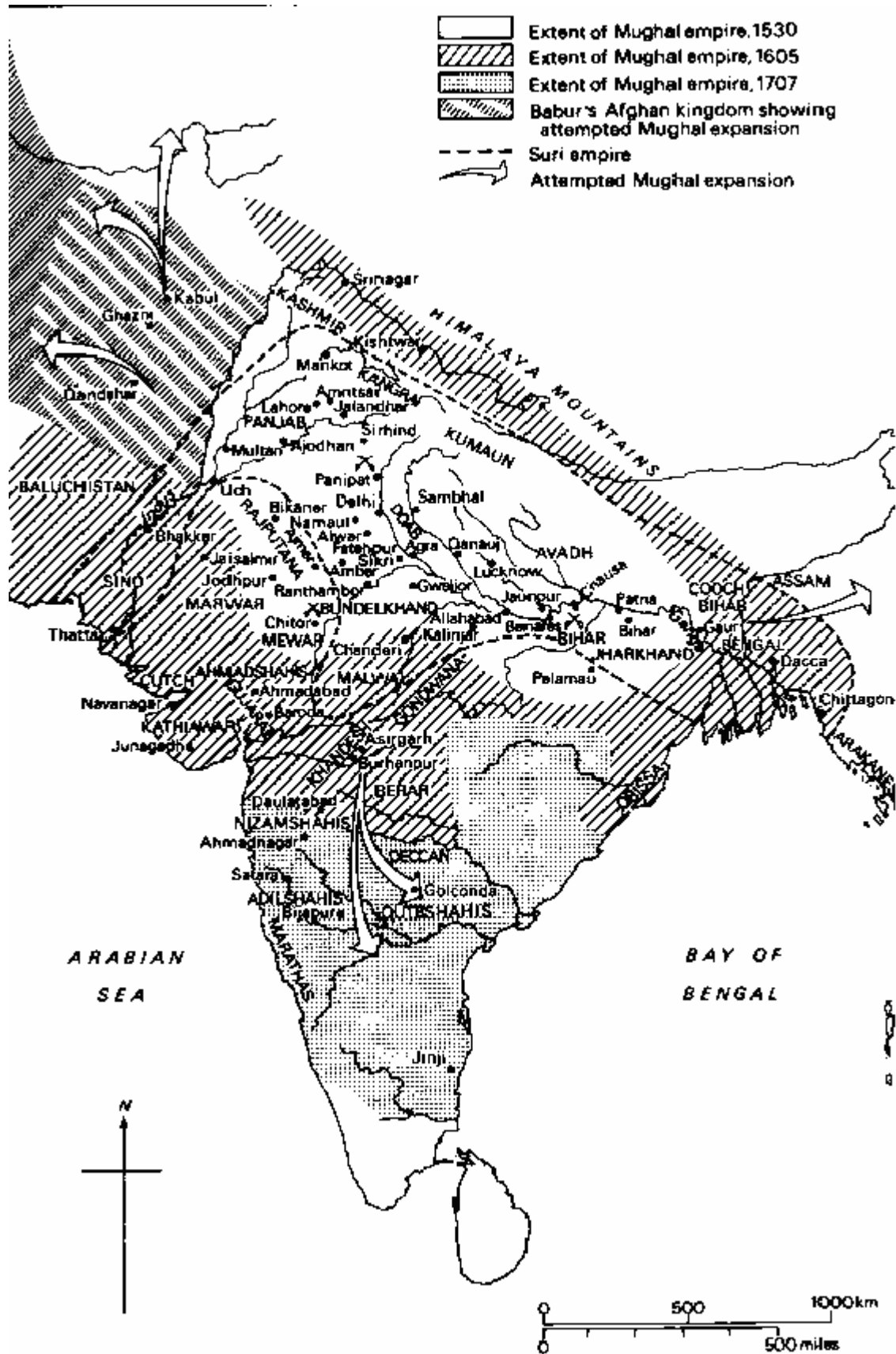
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