CHAPTER - V

Cultural relations between Hindustan and Persia during
the reigns of Shah Abbas I and Akbar
The cultures of Hindustan and Persia are as old as the history of civilization of the world itself. Historically Persian culture is usually divided into two distinct periods, i.e., pre-Islamic and post-Islamic. Yet, the people of Persia, living in Islamic age, preserved their ancient (pre-Islamic) culture and glorified it in the realm of language, literature, script, calligraphy, paintings, sculpture, architecture and various fine arts. This owning up of pre-Islamic legacy is also clearly evident in the cultural relations between Hindustan and Persia, which are centuries old. The cultures of these two countries are interconnected in such a manner that they look like the rings of a chain. Here, we shall make a brief survey from ancient time down to our age.

Cultural relations between Hindustan and Persia in pre-Islamic days (1600 B.C.)

Cultural relations between Persia and Hindustan distinctly start from 1600 B.C. when some clans of Arayans started their migration from central Asia and Caspian littoral, and occupied Iranian plateau.

This land, being a plateau has always been a bridge between the East and the West, which has been used throughout the ages by travellers, traders and the invaders of various tribes and clans. This is one of the reasons that the people of this region have always kept their direct relations with the other nations of the world and which resulted in the exchange of ideas, art and culture in general.  

These relations between Hindustan and Persia also continued as usual in later periods. Here, we can refer to the reign of Cyrus (550 B.C.) who was contemporaneous with Mahavira (500 B.C.), the founder of Jainism. During the reign of Darius (522-486 B.C.) the Persians carried their attacks towards Indus valley in 550 B.C. and after, capturing that region called the twentieth satrap (the province). But, this attack in later period led to the development of cultural relations between the two countries, which also continued during Gupta period. Their contemporary in Persia were the kings of Achaemenid dynasty for whom the rulers of Gupta dynasty had great regard and had adopted their administrative system and court etiquettes. The word satrap was used for the governors of Hindustan throughout the fourth century B.C.¹

Relations between Hindustan and Persia were also very cordial during the reign of Khusrau Parviz (590-628 A.D.), the Sassanid ruler of Persia, whose contemporary in Hindustan was Pulakesin II, ruler of Chalukya dynasty (608-642 A.D.). Their relations were so cordial that they had also established diplomatic relations, which are evident from one of the wall paintings, in one of the canvases of Ajanta. Firdausi, the greatest epic poet of Persia, has also mentioned in the Shahnama the diplomatic relations between Hindustan and Persia.² During the reign of Sassanid ruler Anushirvan, the just, the book of wisdom, called Panjtantra was carried from Hindustan to Persia by Borzuya, the chief physician of Anushirvan the just, and translated into Pahlavi which is still

¹ For further detail See: The early History of India by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford Press, 1904, p.129.
famous with the title *Kalila-o-Dimna*. This book was later translated into Arabic in prose and also in poetry and has left remarkable impression on Persian literature, particularly on the books related to moral teachings. This book has not only influenced Persian literature, but has also played an important role in introducing the culture of Hindustan to the whole world.¹

**RELATIONS BETWEEN HINDUSTAN AND PERSIA AFTER THE ADVENT OF ISLAM**

After the emergence of Islam in Arabian peninsula, the Arabs though small in number, being united and full of zeal after embracing the new religion - defeated Khusrau Parviz Yazdgerd, the Sassanid ruler of Persia during the twentieth year of his reign. No doubt, Persia at that time was militarily a powerful country but, from religious and moral points of view the whole society was in a state of corruption and deterioration. The clergy as well as the ruling class had kept the common people under oppression, which made them detached from the affairs of state and indifferent to their religious matters. It was for this reason that when the Arabs started their attack on Persia, the soldiers of this country, being disheartened, were not prepared to meet the challenge. In some cases they provided such opportunity to the enemy that it caused the surrender of the Sassanid dynasty for ever.

The class discrimination, practised by the Sassanid rulers on their subjects forced them to bring about some change in their crippled society and accept some new rules, regulation, customs and faith. It was for this reason that when

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the Muslims got victory over Persia, the Persians instead of showing any
caseist resistance received them with open arms. They also took pain for the
propagation, progress and prosperity of Islam and by throwing off the yoke of
imposed rule they surrendered to the new religion, i.e. Islam.\(^1\)

No doubt, the Persians embraced Islam, the faith that originated in the
Arab society but they did not get absorbed in Arab culture of pre-Islamic days of
which the Arabs were very proud. On the contrary they struggled for securing
their cultural identity as a nation and kept their art, culture and literature alive.

One of the examples of maintaining their cultural identity was the
establishment of semi-independent state by Abu Muslim Khurasani, in Khurasan
province in the year 130 A.H. (747 A.D.), which was at that time within the
realm of the Abbasid caliphate (750-1258 A.D.) Besides, the Persians got such a
strong hold over Baghdad, the capital of Abbasid caliphate, and influenced the
Abbasid caliphs so much that they not only appointed Persian nobles to key posts
but also adopted the etiquettes of the Sassani courts and were proud that they
lived like Persian aristocrats.\(^2\)

The nobles functioning at the court of the kings of Samanid dynasty,
(279-389 A.H./892-998 A.D.) belonged to those families who were originally
Persian by race. As they were very proud of their genealogy, they wanted to

\(^1\) For detailed study see: Khadamat-i-Mutaqabil-Islam-o-Iran (Reciprocal services of
Islam and Iran) by Murtaza Motahhari, Sadra publication, twelfth edition, vol.II,
Tehran 1362 A.H, pp.80-142.

\(^2\) The Abbasid caliph Mansur (136-158 A.H./753-774 A.D.) took to Persian dress in 153
A.H./770 A.D. and forced his subjects to adopt Persian culture. For further details
See: Tarikh-i-tamadudn-i-Islami (History of Islamic Culture) by Jurji Zaidan, edited by
Dr.Husain Munis, Cairo, 1958 A.D, P.127.

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preserve the literature that contained the achievements of their ancestors. It was for this reason that they paid much of their attention to the development of Persian literature. By the time the Tahiris (206-259 A.H./821-872 A.D.) and the Saffaris (247-393 A.H./862-1002 A.D.) came to power, ground was already prepared for the beginning of Persian literature under the patronage of these two ruling Persian dynasties. Rudaki Samarqandi (d.329 A.H./940 A.D.), Abu Shakur Balkhi (d.336 A.H./947 A.D.) and Abu Mansur Daqiqi (murdered in 365 A.H./975 A.D.) were such eminent poets, out of many others, as produced the masterpieces of Persian poetry, which created a sense of racial unity among the different tribes living in Transoxiana and Khurasan. Efforts were made for the revival of cultural heritage along with Islamic traditions. Though these regions were inhabited by Turkish speaking tribes, all the literary movements had started during their reign and under their patronage the result of which was that the idea of producing a national epic came into being in Khurasan.¹

This was the time when the Persians came into direct contact with the people of the Indian sub-continent. The domination of the Ghaznavids (366-582 A.H./976-1186 A.D.) (though Turkish speaking, yet great patrons of Persian literature) over this region, particularly its northern part was stronger than ever. The gates of this contact were opened by the invasion of Amir Nasir Uddin Sabuktagin (366-387 A.H./976-997 A.D.) and his son Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (387-431 A.H./997-1039 A.D.), who ransacked this region seventeen times in the name of holy war against the infidels, but his main aim was to

plunder the wealth deposited here and there in this region and establish his strong hold over it.¹ This was followed by, the people of Khurasan and Transoxiana coming in direct contact with the people of Hind.²

Sultan Mahmud compelled his contemporary rulers to send to his court men of learning under their patronage, if they had any. In this way he assembled many renowned poets, astrologers, astronomers, historians and scientists round him who were bound to be in attendance. Scholars like Abu Ali Sina (d. 428 A.D./1036 A.D.), commonly known as Avicenna in the scientific world, Abul Fazl Baihaqi (d.470 A.H./1077 A.D.) Abu Ali Miskawaih (d.421 A.H./1030 A.D.) Firdausi (D.411 A.H./1020 A.D.), Farrukhi (d.429 A.H./1037 A.H.) and Manuchihri (d.432 A.H./1040 A.D.) first gathered at Ghazna and later some of them shifted to Lahore with Mahmud’s successors and descendants, who had made this region their second capital. In short, by the year 582 A.H./1186 A.D. Lahore was considered one of the great centres of learning in the realm Ghaznavid sultanate.

This city, besides being the centre of cultural, scientific and literary activities also became the abode of saints, Sufis and Islamic preachers. Here, the great scientist Abu Rayhan Alibiruni, (d.440 A.H./1048 A.D.), the author of *Mā’īl Hind*,³ the celebrated Saint Ali ibn-i-Usman Hajveri (d.465 A.H/1072

2. Short form of Hindustan, usually used by all Persian, Turkish and Arabic speaking people.
3. For further information see: *Tahgig Mā’īl Hind*, translated into Persian by Minoucher Sadugi, Suha publication, published by Muassesa-i-Motaleat Wa Tahqiqat-i-Farhangi (the institute for cultural studies and research), Tehran. 1362 A.H./1982 A.D.)
A.D.) the compiler of the saintly book *Kashf ul Mahjub*¹ (disclosure of the concealed secrets) in Persian and eminent poets Abul Faraj Runi (d.492 A.H./1098 A.D.) and Masud Sa'd Salman (d.514 A.H./1120 A.D.) not only made Persian culture in Indian sub-continent popular but Abu Rayhan Albiruni led the vanguard in introducing the Hindu philosophy to Muslim society and then to the whole world.

It is noteworthy, that the Arabs though, during the days of the Caliphate of Usman (23-35 A.H./643-655 A.D.), Maaviya Son of Abi Sufyan (44 A.H. 664 A.D.) and Valid son of Abdul Malik Amavi sent their forces respectively under the command of Obaidullah son of Jabellite Alabdi (during the days of Usman), Haris son of Morrah Al Abdi, Mahtab son of Abi Sofrah (during the caliphate of Maaveya son of ibn-i-Sufyan) Muhammad ibn-i-Qasim Saqafi (during the period of Valid son of Abdul Malik Amavi) to invade Hindustan and finally the region of Sindh was captured by Muhammad ibn-i-Qasim and annexed to the caliphate of the Amavid dynasty.² But, these invasions failed to convey the teachings of Islam to the people of this part of the Indian sub-continent.

Even the invasion of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna did not prove fruitful and could not propagate Islam and the Persian culture. But, the efforts of some sages (particularly those saints who kept themselves away from the attractive life

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¹ This book has been edited by Professor Valentin Zhukofeski, with the introduction by Qasim Ansari, Tahuri publication, III edition, 1373 A.H. 1994 A.D.) also *Safinat ul Aulya* by Prince Dara Shukuh, Agra edition, 1853, A.D. p.63.

² *Fath Nama-i-Sind*, commonly known as Chachnama by Ali bin Hamid bin Abi Bakr al Kufi, edited by Umar bin Muhammad Daud Pota, published by Majlis-i-Makhtutati Farsiya (Persian manuscript society), Haydarabad, Deccan Printed at Latifi Press, Delhi, in 1358 A.H. (1939 A.D.).
of the courts of Turk Sultans) succeeded in preaching Islam among the common people with the help of Persian culture, which had penetrated deep in their minds and souls. Moreover the Persian saints had won their hearts by their love, affection and blessings. No doubt, the Ghaznavids were Turks, but they adopted the Persian language and culture, because of the richness of its literature and cultural heritage reflected in the literary works of scholars and other men of letters. This was the main reason behind the popularity of the Persian culture and even today, when centuries have rolled by it is still deep rooted in the minds of the people of this sub-continent.

The Ghaznavids, were followed by the Ghorids and other Turk dynasties, but none of them could establish a strong hold over their realm for a very long period; the advent of Timurids called Mughals in Indian history is a turning point. With the invasion of Babur a new era called the Mughal period is ushered in. This dynasty normally ruled for about three hundred twenty years and effectively for two centuries, under which Persian culture, developed as a whole in such a manner that it established its independent identity, which was first identified as the Persian-Islamic and later the Indo-Islamic culture.

At the time when the Ghorid dynasty was on the decline in Hindustan, Ala Uddin Muhammad Kharizm Shah (596-617 A.H./1199-1220 A.D.) had started his predatory activities in Khurasan which was followed by the outbreak of Mongol invasion in 616 A.H./1219 A.D., that caused great havoc in
Khurasan and Transoxiana. Finding no peace there, many sages, saints, poets and historians, migrated to Hindustan where they were patronized by the rulers and their courtiers who were the connoisseurs of art, culture and literature. Among these immigrants was Khwaja Moin uddin Chishti, a great saint of his time and the founder of the Chishti order in Hindustan. His was such a dynamic personality that not only he proved instrumental in popularising the Islamic culture but his successors and disciples too rendered valuable service to Islamic teachings, mysticism and Persian literature. Among them were the great saints like Qutbuddin Bakhtyar Kaki, Farid Uddin Ganj-i-Shakar and the mystic poets like Amir Khusrau and Hasan Sajzi. Most of them lived during the Khiljid period and fulfilled their mission of preaching Islamic teachings and producing Persian literature).

As mentioned by Zia Uddin Barni, besides saints and sages, many men of letters had also assembled in Delhi. Most of them had migrated from Khurasan. Among them are Qazi Muhi uddin Kashani, Qazi Shams uddin Kazeruni, Maulana Wajih uddin Razi, Maulana Shamsuddin Qummi and Maulana Iftekhar Uddin Razi. 2

Besides the migration of saints and literary figures, the trade relations between Hindustan and Persia also contributed a lot to the expansion of Islamic culture and literature produced in Persian. These saints, sages, poets, and

1. The compiler of Tarikh-i-Farishta, Kanpur, 1301 A.H., (Vol.II, p.118) writes: the court of Sultan rulers of Delhi had become the place of refuge for great Saiyids, princes, nobles, theologinas, and men of letters who had escaped from Khurasan and had assembled in Hind (i.e. Hindustan).

traders, living during the Sultanate period, in a way, prepared the ground for the Timurid rulers of Hindustan, who surpassed all the preceding dynasties so far as the revival and popularisation of the Persian culture was concerned. It reached its zenith during the reign of Akbar. At that time, both the rulers, Akbar and Shah Abbas I tried their best to establish cordial relations between the two countries (i.e. Hindustan and Persia) in every sphere of life. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapters to show the causes of the migration of many historians merchants, poets as well as administrators. Some of them came with their families and made this country their permanent abode. Even though, as we have noted above relations between Hindustan and Persia go back to pre-historic times, our focus in this study is on the reign of Akbar in India and that of Shah Abbas I in Persia.

The Safavids ruled over Persia for about two and half centuries - from Shah Ismail (907 A.H./1501 A.D.) down to Sultan Shah Husain (1135 A.H./1722 A.D.). Historical records testify to the fact that about seven hundred fifty Persian poets, migrated from their homeland (i.e., Persia) to Hindustan. Besides, poets, artisans and craftsmen also came to this country and engaged themselves to promote their art; In Hindustan they played an important role in the field of culture and literature. The number of people, other than poets who came to Hindustan and associated directly either with the Mughal court or with nobles is given below:

118 Sages, scholars, men of letters and theologians, 22 physicians, 6 astronomers and astrologers, 9 scholars, profound in Arabic language and literature, 20 experts of accounts, 57 calligraphers, 24 musicians, (singers,
reciters, players, tune setters etc.), 47 saints and savants, 27 men of various arts and crafts, 18 dramatists (story tellers, reciters of Shah Nama of Ferdausi, epics of Nizami, Amir Khusrau and Jami; jesters, actors and the counsellors), 42 merchants, 48 travellers, 43 dignitaries who got some administrative job or military service with the rank of one thousand to seven thousand (foot soldiers and horsemen). 88 persons who were appointed to some high rank in the court of justice. 4 poets laureate, and 38 soldiers.¹

Besides, during the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) Asad (the story teller), Hayati and Said (both the poets belonged to Gilan province, Persia) and Nayee Nayrizi (the lute player) were weighed against silver coins.

During the reign of Shahjahan (1627-1651 A.D.) Baqi of Nayin, Said of Gilan, Qudsi of Mashhad and Kalim of Hamadan (all poets) were awarded with silver coins equal to their physical weight.

Even at the time when the Mughal empire was on its decline, Muhammad Shah (1719-1748 A.D.) also weighed his physician Alavi of Shiraz against silver coins.

Here, only those noteworthy persons have been mentioned who, in some way or the other, belonged to the reign of Akbar. Among them 259 persons have been described with their particulars and their main field,² some of them will be discussed in coming pages.

¹ For further details see: Karavan-i-Hind (Karavan to India) by Ahmad Gulchin-i-Maani, Astana-i-Quds-i-Razavi, Mash-had (Iran), 1369 A.H.(1990 A.D.) 2 Vols. Vol.I, p.4-5.
Did the Muslim rulers and Hindu rajas receive them open heartedly? Could the immigrants adjust themselves properly to the new environment? Why did these immigrants prefer this sub-continent to the Ottoman empire or Transoxiana; and, finally what was the direct or indirect impact of Persian culture on the life of the local people of this region. Here, we shall deal with such questions and try to seek some answers to them.

While taking into account the migration of the people who settle down at a particular place, one should divide their circumstances and conditions in the three following categories.

1. The conditions in which people are living at a particular place.
2. Prevalent conditions at the place where people want to settle down after migration.
3. Social condition and personal circumstances of an immigrant which either compel or encourage him to migrate from his or her homeland.

Under this situation, there starts a tussel of two contradictory forces- the pull factors and the push factors-come in conflict in the mind of the person who intends to migrate.

Pull factors belong to the place which attracts a person towards itself and lures him to migrate, Push factors are related to the environment in which a person lives. These circumstances are so unfavorable that they make life quite miserable.

Besides, the personal attitude of an individual towards life and his outlook on the society also play an important role. In some cases it has been seen that social environment for a particular class or for the common people are very
favourable but, it may not suit an individual or a group. This inclemency eggs on the individual or the group to improve their condition and change the social environment. For example, after the disintegration of the Sassanid empire and advent of Islam in Persia, there came about a revolutionary change in social and political set up in the whole Persian society. The state religion of the Sassanids was Zoroastrianism. Therefore, some priests associated with the court and being in dominant position, interpreted the law and authority in their own interest which resulted in social injustice and class discrimination. This attitude of the priestly class made the common men their bitter enemy. Under such circumstances, they had no other alternative, except to migrate. Most of them settled on the coastal area of Arabian sea, now called Gujrat, where they have always been considered a privileged class.

Now taking in view the above mentioned phenomena, we have to consider which push factors were working in Persia and what pull factors were attracting the people of every class and craft to come to this sub continent. To find the correct answer to such question we will have to make a survey of the cultural situation like the political conditions, obtaining in these two countries, so that we may discover the root cause of this migration towards this sub-continent.

**Cultural condition of India during the Mughal Rule**

Zahir uddin Muhammad Babur, son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, was the sixth descendant of Amir Timur Kurkan and the founder of the Mughal empire in Hindustan. When he captured this part of the sub continent, there was a revival of Indo-Islamic as well as Indo Persian cultural relations which had already been established during the Ghaznavid period (366-582 A.H./975-1186 A.D.).
Zahir Uddin Muhammad, commonly known as Babur Shah, was born on 6th of the month of Muharram 888 A.H. (15th Feb. 1483 A.D.) at Furghana. In 899 A.H. (1494 A.D.) when he was only twelve years old, he sat on his hereditary throne at Andjan, the capital of Farghana. Transoxiana was the cradle of culture and civilization at that time. Samargand, Bukhara and Farghana were the seats of learning, where scholars, under the patronage of the descendants of Timur, particularly by the support of Sultan Husain Mirza Bayeqra, were busy in learning and accomplishing their scholarly works.\(^1\)

It was this cultural and literary environment in which Babur got the opportunity to develop his talents. He was a man of great literary taste. Besides, he was himself a renowned poet, ornate prose writer, literary critic and admirer of the masterpieces of fine arts. In Persian calligraphy he proved himself so dexterous that he produced a new style called *Khatt-i Baburi* (Baburian style of calligraphy.)\(^2\)

As he was himself a creative artist and had developed his talents under the supervision of those Timurid kings of Persia (771 A.H. 911 A.H./1369-1505

\(^1\) About him Abulfazl writes: His Majesty had an exalted place in writing prose and poetry, particularly in Turki. His Turki Diwan (poetical collections) is also full of elegance and other literary merits. He has expressed his ideas in novel and wonderful style. His Persian compositions are also attractive. See *Akbar Nama* Calcutta edition, 1877 A.D. p.118.

In the same manner Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah writes:
"In the art of music, poetry, composition and orthography he had no equal see: *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Naval Kishor edition, vol.i, Lucknow, 1933, p.211.

\(^2\) Abdul Qadir Badauni writes: "Among other wonders and innovations of that deceased monarch was the invention of Khatt-i-Baburi (the style of calligraphy introduced by Babur), in which he wrote a copy of the Glorious Quran and sent it to Mecca. Besides, his poetical collection in Persian and Turki is well-known". See: *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Calcutta edition, 1828 A.D, Vol.I, p.343.
A.D.) who were also great patron of Timurid culture, he also found favourable circumstances for the revival and popularisation of that Timurid culture that had become almost dead after the decline of Timurids in Persia.1

This should also be noted that Amir Timur Kurkan, spent most of his time in waging wars to satisfy his lust for power and propitate his craze for superiority, but in spite of that he also paid much attention to cultural activities. He persuaded many artists and men of learning to shift to Samargand and Bukhara and developed these two cities into centres of learning. Though, the motive working behind these activities was to glorify his name, yet, in a way, he had prepared a ground for the development of Persian culture in Transoxiana.2

The motive working behind these cultural and literary activities was to gain eternal fame. Besides, the great occurrences that took place in his time, the new information that he gained and the relations that he established with different Christian rulers of Europe, were such events which his contemporary historians—particularly Nizam Uddin Shahab Ghazani of Tabriz commonly known as Nizam Shahi, were bound to record as his achievements. These historians, chroniclers and keepers helped a lot in the development of the art of

2. Zafar Nama-i-Shami, p.22.
historiography, which forms a significant part of the culture and literature produced during that period.¹

As mentioned earlier Timur's ambition was to gain everlasting name and fame, so he engaged several renowned historians to maintain records of his achievements. It was for this reason that his court historians produced several remarkable works such as:²


1. Nizam Shami and Sharf Uddin Yazdi both compiled the records of Timur's achievements under *Zafar Nama*. Nizam Shahi wrote the account of Timur, by his order up to the year 806 A.H./1403 A.D. while Sharafuddin took upon himself the continuation of the same work at Shiraz in 828 A.H./1424 A.D. by the order of Mirza Ibrahim Sultan, son of Shah Rukh. As Sharaf Uddin had also very delicate literary taste, therefore he wrote the history of Timur in an ornate style and interspersed it with his own poetical compositions, wherever he felt necessary. Sharaf Uddin's *Zafar Nama* is considered to be one of the masterpieces of Persian ornate prose produced during the ninth century and early tenth century A.H. (15th century A.D.). About Nizam Shah see: *Habib us Siyar* Vol. 3, pp.547-548, *Ganjina-i-Sukhan* by Zabih ullah Safa, Tehran 1370 A.H./1991 A.D. Vol.V, p.152.


2. The victories of the Ottoman sultans in Europe on the one hand and dominance of Timur over Sultan Bayazid in the war of Ankara, on the other, were such events which horrified the European rulers. They felt it necessary to maintain close cultural relations with Timur and his successors. Immediately after the Victory of Timur over Bayazid, Henry IV, the king of England and Henry III, the ruler of Castile exchanged letters with Timur. At the same time the king of Spain sent his delegation to the court of Timur under Ruy Gonzalez di Clavijo. He was very much impressed by the grandeur of the court of Timur and the magnificence of the city of Samargand, which he recorded in his travel accounts. For further details see: *Zafar Nama* by Sharaf Uddin Ali Yazdi Vol.II, p.598. *Matla'-i-Sadain*, edited by Prof. Muhammad Shafi, in three volumes, printed at Lahore, 1365 A.H./1945 A.D. pp.290, 644, 684,687, 721, 834, 837, 868,871,1445, 1461, 1462,1466, 1467, 1468,1471, and 1491. *Zubdat ut Tawarikh* by Hafiz Abru, edited by Saiyid Kamal Haj Saiyid Javadi, Vol.II, pp.273, 460 and 464.

In the same manner the successors of Timur were also great admirers of art, culture and scientific studies. The names of some of those who patronised Persian culture and extended their generosity to several scientists, historians, poets, miniaturist and literary figures were.

Shah Rukh (807-850/1404-1446 A.D.), Ulugh Beg (850-853/1446-1449 A.D.) Mirza Bay Sunqur (d.837 A.H./1443 A.D.) son of Shahrukh, Sultan Abu Said son of Muhammad son of Miran Shah son of Amir Timur (855-873 A.H./1451-1468 A.D.) and also Sultan Husain Mirza Bayeqra (875-911 A.H./1470-1505 A.D.) son of Mansur son of Bayeqra son of Umar Sheikh son of Amir Timur, the last king of the Timurid dynasty in Persia. In fact, their efforts made the Timurid period the golden age of the history of Persian art, culture and literature.¹

The reign of Shahrukh, in the whole history of Persia is considered most glorious. In that period, miniaturists, poets and other men of letters were highly encouraged to produce masterpieces of their art and dexterity. It was for this reason that his darbar became the focus of attraction for artists and literary figures. His personal collection of books was counted as one of the most valuable libraries of Persia, in which he had preserved a number of valuable books related to Persian literature. One of the distinguished feature of the period of Shahrukh was that the city of Herat became an unrivaled and unparalleled centre of Persian paintings and miniature works.

¹ He died at the age of 35. 14 years before the death of his father, the cause of which was the excessive use of alcoholic drinks. See: *Habib us Siyar* Vol. III, pp.622-623.
Mirza Baysunqur was the fifth son of Shahrukh. He paid special attention to learned men and creative artists. It was on account of this, that under his generous patronage his darbar, in the city of Herat, became the centre of poets, historiographers, men of letters, Persian calligraphers, miniaturists and book-cover designers. He was so fond of art and learning that about forty Persian calligraphers were always engaged in copying manuscripts under the supervision of Jafar-i-Tabrizi, who was the student of Abdullah son of Mir Ali, the renowned calligrapher of his time. The written books were given to gilders, illuminators and miniaturists for elaboration. The illustrated copies were handed over to dexterous book-binders, who adorned their covers with ornate Arabesque designs. Afterwards the books were brought for evaluation.

Among the masterpieces of calligraphy and miniature paintings was the illustrated copy of Shah Nama of Firdausi, the renowned epic poet of Persia, which reached us after a lapse of many centuries and is known as Shah Nama-iBaysunquri, and is still considered the best piece, produced so far.

Ulugh Beg was another son of Shahrukh, who was the ruler of the region commonly called Turan or Turkistan (Transoxiana) during his father's reign. In the year 824 A.H./1421 A.D., he established his observatory at Samarqand, called Zij-i Ulugh Begi or Zij-i Jadid-i Sultani. The (Sultan's new observatory). There he prepared astronomical tables with the help of Salahuddin Musavi Qazi.

zada-i-Rumi, Maulana Ala’uddin Ali Qushchi, Ghayasuddin Jamshid Kashani and Muinuddin Kashani, the renowned astronomers of the period. He was killed by his son Abdul Latif in the year 853 A.H./1449 A.D. He was succeeded by Abu Said, the grandson of Miranshah, son of Timur who also engaged himself in scholarly pursuits and revived scientific and cultural activities. Finally in the last days of Timurid empire, Sultan Husain Mirza Bayeqra (85-911 A.H./1470-1505 A.D.) came to throne.¹

During his reign, the city of Herat received unprecedented glamour and this can be said with certainty that the reign of Sultan Husain Bayeqra was the golden age in the history of this city, because at the time it had become the unparalleled centre of Islamic world in the realm of master craftsmanship.

Sultan Husain Bayeqra himself was undoubtedly a poet and had scholarly genius. But, this goes also to the credit of his learned minister Amir Ali Shir Nawai (844-906 A.H./1440-1500 A.D.) who besides being a good politician was also well-versed in music, poetry and miniature painting. He gathered many scholars, poets and several master craftsmen at Herat and encouraged them to work under his supervision and in this way glorified the name of his master. He opened many libraries and established several seats of learning (schools, colleges and universities) for scholars at Herat. There, he provided them with such facilities, as no man of learning had received anywhere at that time. He footed the bill of about ten thousand students from his own purse.

Following the example of Amir Ali Shir Nawai, the other nobles at the court of Sultan Husain Bayeqra, also built such magnificent buildings which

were considered unparalleled models of the Timurid architecture and unique pieces of Islamic craftsmanship.

It was under the liberal patronage of Sultan Husain Bayqara and the generous encouragement of his learned ministers that Herat became the seat of Persian scholarship. It was by their effort that there gathered the celebrated poet Mulla Nur uddin Jami (d.18th of the month of Muharram 898/Nov. 1492 A.D.), the moral fable writer and poet Kamaluddin Husain Wa’iz Kashifi (d.910 A.H./1504 A.D.), Daulat Shah Samargandi (842-900 A.H./1438-1494 A.D.), the¹ compiler of the biographies of Persian poets; the great historiographers Mir Khand (b.at Balkh in 838 A.H./1434 A.D.) and his grandson Khand Mir (lived at Herat in about 880 A.H./1475 A.D.), Behzad, the dexterous miniaturist and Sultan Ali Mashhadi, the excellent calligrapher. The² generous patronage of the king and affectionate supervision of the learned ministers gave such splendour to the city of Herat, that it seemed that there was a revival of the Sassanid³ period, which has always been a model for all the rulers of Persia who lived during the Islamic period.

Mughals: The Descendants of Timur in Hindustan.

In the last days of the reign of Shah Sultan Husain Bayeqra, the political crises in Persia had reached its climax. The main cause, on the one hand was


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the war of succession among the descendants of Timur and on the other, the emergence of the Uzbeks and other Tartary tribes, who had started their attacks over Persia after the death of Shahrukh, son of Timur. The internal disintegration and the attacks from outside caused the decline and finally the down-fall of Timurid dynasty, in the eastern part of the Islamic world with the death of Sultan Husain Bayeqra, which took place in 911 A.H./1506 A.D.

At the same time the movement of Shah Ismail, the great grandson of Sheikh Safi uddin of Ardbil, like smouldering fire, burst out which proved helpful in capturing power. Now, Shah Ismail stepped into the shoes of the Timurids in Persia and laid the foundation of his own dynasty called the Safavids.

The Timurid rule, though had lost power in Persia, it was not completely extinct. Because, at the same time Babur - a descendant of Timur from his paternal side and of Chingiz Khan Mongol from his maternal side - was making serious attempts to establish his sovereignty in Hindustan and succeeded in reaching his goal in the year 932 A.H./1526 A.D. Here, we shall only deal with the relations of Timurids of Hindustan, called Mughals, with the Safavids.

Babur, though was a Turk and the Chaghtay dialect of Turkish language was his mother tongue, Yet, he was very fond of Persian art, culture and literature. As he was a very good calligrapher of Kharizmi style of Nastaliq writing, he made some innovations in it and introduced another modified style
called Khatt-i-Baburi or Baburi style of Kharizmi Nastaliq. He was also a great patron of learning. He invited many men of letters of Hindustan and created in this country though at a small level, the literary and artistic atmosphere, prevailing in Transoxiana. His court attracted scholars like, Maulana Shihab Uddin Muammai, Mirza Ibrahim Qanuni, Sheikh Zainuddin Khafi, Sheikh Abdul Wajid Farighi, Sultan Muhammad Kusa, Sheikh Jamali, Mir Abul Baga, Maulana Yusufi, Nizam Uddin Khalifa and several others. These scholars of different branches of knowledge engaged themselves in their works and received generous awards from him.

Babur, as mentioned above, was a Turk and lived most of the time in Transoxiana, the greater part of which is Turkish speaking. But, he was a great admirer and patron of Persian culture and literature. On the contrary, Shah Ismail Safavi, though established his dynasty in Persia, lived most of the time in Persian speaking area and as he had good literary taste, sometimes composed poetry in Persian. Yet, he spent his whole energy in establishing the rule of the Shiite sect in Persia and modified its tenets according to his own desire.

1. Herman Ethe writes that, "Ghyas Uddin son of Humam Uddin Khand Mir was born at Herat in 880 A.H./1475 A.D. In 935 A.H./1528 A.D. he went to Agra at the invitation of Babur Shah. See: Tarikh-i-Adabiyyat-i-Farsi (the history of Persian Literature) translated by Dr. Reza Zada Shafaq, Tehran, 1337 A.H/1958 A.D., P,282.

2. Sheikh Zain Uddin was the court historian of Babur, He translated the accounts of Babur from Chaghtai Turki into Persian during his reign. About this Badauni writes, "Among the other learned men of his reign, one was Sheikh Zainuddin Kahfi. He translated the accounts of Babur (Waghat-i-Rahuri) in eloquent style..... see Muntakhab ut Tawarikh, Vol.I, pp.471 and 477.

Politically he gave stability to his country, distinctly marked its boundary lines, established internal peace to a great extent (by annihilating the followers of the four schools of the Muslims of Sunnite sect) restored that unity and strength that Persia once enjoyed during the Sassanid period, but, from cultural and sectarian point of view he did irreparable loss to the people of Persia and the whole Islamic world.

This approach of Shah Ismail as compared with that of Babur, the founder of the Timurid (Mughal) dynasty in Hindustan was both repulsive and attractive in some way or the other. The Safavids though removed the Timurid dynasty from the political scene of Persia and took their place yet they could not check the migration of those who belonged directly or indirectly to the Timurid dynasty. In view of the sectarian prejudice of Shah Ismail, they preferred to migrate to Hindustan, rather than be associated with the Safavids.¹

Babur had hardly ruled Hindustan for four years when he sacrificed his life for the recovery of his son Humayun from illness. After his demise (937 A.H./1530 A.D.) his eldest son, Humayun came to the throne, whose contemporary ruler in Persia was Shah Tahmasb Safavi (930-984

¹ About his scholarship Abul Fazal writes; "In different branches of mathematics he was so profound that he had no equal in his time. He also paid his attention to poetry and looked at the poets favourably. As he was gifted with the poetic talent, which is the characteristic of a sound mind, he, therefore, composed poems, occasionally, being inspired by the spiritual and figurative ideas." See: Akbar Nama, Calcutta edition, 1877 A.D. Vol.I, p.368 (About poetical collection of Humayun, See: Bazm-i-Timurya by Sabah Uddin Abdur Rahman, printed at Azamgarh 1948, p.35). About Humayun Nizam Uddin Harvi writes: "He was unique in Astronomy, astrology· and mathematics. See: Tabagar-i-Akbari, Calcutta edition. 1912 A.D., Vol.II, p.184. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni writes "He was the king of perfect internal and external qualities, unique, in Astronomy, astrology and other wonderful sciences; he was the patron of men of letters, admirer of poets, fond of poetry and also composed excellent poems, see: Muntakhab ut Tawarikh, Vol.I, p.467.
Humayun was himself a man of letters and very fond of art and culture. He wanted to continue cordial relations with Persia following in the footsteps of his father. But, his brother Kamran Mirza (b.919 A.H./1513 A.D.), who was the governor of Kabul, Qandhar and Ghazni provinces during the reign of his father occupied the Punjab province also and annexed it to his own territory and stood as a cumbersome barrier and a great hindrance between the rulers of Hindustan and Persia. It was for this reason that Humayun in the early days of his reign could not maintain relations with Persia.1

Humayun, being a victim to the intrigues of his brothers, i.e., Kamran (b.919 A.H./1513 A.D.) Mirza Askari (b.922 A.H./1516 A.D.) and Mirza Hindal (b.923 A.H./1517 A.D.) was defeated by Sher Shah Suri, the Afghan ruler of Hindustan and was wandering about for refuge with a number of his loyal and faithful attendants.2

Humayun, in view of the cordial relations that had been established by his father with Shah Ismail Safavi, proceeded to Persia via Sistan province of Persia on the advice of his Shia minister Bairam Khan in 947 A.H./1540 A.D. and on the 1st of Shawwal 950 A.H. (28th Dec.1543) wrote a letter to Shah Tahmasb and asked him for refuge in his country. In the letter, writing about his miserable condition, he also used those verses of Masud-i-Sad-i-Salman with a slight amendment that he had composed while addressing his patron;3 they are as follows:

2. Ibid, p.354.
Sovereign for a long time long ago, the phoenix of my exalted magnanimity, had kept its nest on the peak of the Caucasus of good fortune.¹

But, now the ignoble time, so hypocritical, has made me content, like a parrot, with millet.

The star of my fortune is the Leo, which for a long time had turned its back to me. Now, it gazes at me, with the looks of enemity.

Presently, this is my request to you that, treat me as Ali had treated Salman, in the plain of Arzan.²

The response of Shah Tahmasb Safavi to the request was so friendly that it was referred to later when letters were exchanged between Shah Abdas I and the Mughal emperor Akbar. In this correspondence, a keen desire was shown from both sides to continue good relation between the two countries, at the same level as they had been between the two former rulers.

From the accounts, recorded by the chroniclers, appointed at the Mughal court, one can derive the conclusion that the Mughal rule (or the rule of Timurids) had come to an end with the defeat of Humayun inflicted by Sher Shah Suri. But, the warm reception accorded to Humayun at the Persian court, his stay for fourteen years at Isfahan and the strong support given by Shah Tahmasb to him to regain his lost throne are such great events that they are still considered as landmarks in the cultural History of Hindustan and Persia.³

1. Salman was originally Persian, embraced Islam during the time of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and was his advisor in war tactics.

2. Dasht-i-Arzan is the name of the region which is in Fars province, Persia. Once it was the den of lions. It is also birth place of Salman, the poet. According to one of the traditions Ali, the caliph Saved Salman, one of the companions of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), from the clutches of a lion in the plain of Arzan. See: *Wagiat-i-Darul Hukumat-i-Delhi*, Vol. I, p.286. also *Shahan-i-Shaer* (King of Poets) by Abul Qasim Halat, Ilmi publication, Tehran, 1346 A.H. (1967 A.D.) p.279.

When Shah Tahmasb Safavi received the letter of Humayun, he, being a poet, composed the following lines extempore:

_Hud Hudi and furu taj-i Karamat bar sarash_  
_Nama-i Iqbal-o Daulat basta bar bal-o Parkash._

(The hoopoe has come down with the miraculous crown at its head with the letter of good fortune fastened to its wing).

And in the letter that he wrote to Humayun also mentioned this verse:

_Humaye auj-i Saadat be dam-i ma oftad_  
_Gar tura quzari bar Maqam-i ma oftad_

(If you happen to come to this side, (I would feel that Humayun (the Phoenix) flying high on the peak of good fortune has come to my catch).  

Shah Tahmasb, after receiving the letter of Humayun, immediately issued a mandate to Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan province and instructed him to provide all the possible facilities to Humayun and his entourage.

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Humayun, while continuing his journey, first paid his visit to the shrine of Ahmad Jam and via Turbat-i-jam entered the sacred city of Mashhad in the month of Muharram 951 A.H. (March 1544 A.D.) and there paid homage to the holy shrine of Imam Musa Reza, the 8th Imam of the Muslims of Shiite sect.\textsuperscript{1} There he was received warmly by Muhammad Khan Sharafuddin, the governor of Khurasan, as he had already been instructed by Shah Tahmasb. Finally, in the month of Jamadi ul Awwal 951 A.H. (July 1544 A.D.) he met Shah Tahmasb at Qidar nabi, the summer quarters, situated between Abdar and Sultanya. Shah Tahmasb accorded him warm reception, quite appropriate to a monarch.\textsuperscript{2}

Though Humayun, was received warmly, yet his fourteen years stay was not free from some bitter experiences. Sometimes he was humiliated by the king, but he tolerated it patiently. One of the reasons of Shah Tahmasbs harsh attitude towards Humayun was the sectarian differences between the two. The Safavid rulers were strictly followers of the Shiite sect of Islam and showed much prejudice regarding this sect, which resulted in irreparable loss to Persia in religious and cultural matters. The Muhgals or the Timurid rulers of Hindustan were quite liberal in their religious view and sectarian matters. While in Persia the people felt a repulsion for the Safvid ruler, they found themselves attracted to the Mughals in Hindustan for their liberal and tolerant attitude with the result that this caused the migration of a number of broad-minded people.

\textsuperscript{1} Regarding the reception of Humayun by the governor of Khurasan, See: Majmua-i-Ansad-o-Mukatibat-i-Tarikh, Nawai, pp.53-62 and Tazkira-i-Humayn Wa Akbar pp. 12 to 31.

When Humayun visited Shah Tahmasb, he was at the first instance asked by the king of Persia to put on Qazilbashid head gear, which was worn by Shia Muslims. Humayun accepted willingly and put it on his head, with the comment that it was a matter of great pride for him. Humayun, though put on Qazilbashid headgear and felt honour in it, yet he was not willing to adopt the Shiite sect.

This alone could not satisfy Shah Tahmasb. On another occasion, he told in no unambiguous terms that if Humayun was willing to embrace the Shiite sect, he would certainly get help from him. This attitude of Shah Tahmasb embittered the mind of Humayun, and this change was felt by Sultanam Begam, the sister of Humayun, Qazi-i-Jahan and Hakim Nuruddin.¹

With a view to removing this bitterness, appeasing the mind of Shah Tahmasb and normalising relations between the two, a meeting was held, at which in the presence of Shah Tahmasb, some verses in praise of Ali, the caliph, were recited, and they were attributed to Humayun. These verses are:

(I am an earnest devotee of the descendants of Ali. I always have with me the sweet memories, regarding Ali. As the secret of the succession (of prophet Muhammed) was revealed by the personality of Ali, therefore I always recite "Nad-i-Ali").²

After this compromise at sectarian level, Humayun was able to come closer to the priests, poets, calligraphers and miniaturists, who had assembled in

1. Amir Mahmud, Tarikh-i-Amir Mahmud., G.U., or 1406, Arberry, no.932.
2. Nad-i-Ali is a small prayer, the meanings of which are: Recite the name of Ali, because he is the revealer of wonders. You will find him your helper when you are in difficulties. He is remover of every grief and sorrow Oh Ali I testify that you are the successor of prophet Muhammad.
Isfahan, then the capital of Persia. These memorable events of his stay in Persia, in fact proved the substructure of the cultural relations, which were later furthered between Persia and Hindustan. Shah Tahmasb, was a poet and an art designer, he had gathered at his court many dexterous artists (calligraphers, miniaturists, gilders, book-cover designers and picture painters), who were at that time busy in compiling an illustrated copy of the *Khamsa-i-Nizami*.¹

This was a good opportunity for Humayun to see closely the talented artists engaged in their works. Several miniature paintings and pieces of calligraphy came to his sight. At that time he came across Mir Saiyid Ali, the poet and Abdul Samad, the calligrapher. He promised them to invite to his court and stand by his words if and when he regained his lost throne. When these two persons, with several others, came to the Mughal court, Humayun made them their close companion. He entitled Abdul Samed as *Shirin Qalam* (Sweet penman) and bestowed the title of *Nadir ul mulk* (a rare personality in the country) on Mir Saiyid Ali who composed poems under the penname Judaii (separation).²

At last, tables were turned in favour of Humayun in 961 A.H./1544 A.D. and he to regained his lost throne. Shah Tahmsab appointed prince Sultan

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1. *Khamsa-i-Nezami* is a collection of five epics composed by Nizami of Ganja. The titles of these epics are  
   1) *Makhzan ul Asrar* (the treasure house of Divine secrets)  
   2) *Khusrau-o-Shirin*, 3) *Laili-o-Majnun*, 4) *Haft Paikar* (Seven portraits) and (5) *Sharafnama*.

2. For further detail See: *Tazkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar*, (the accounts of Akbar and Humayun), pp.65-69.
Mirza, as the chief of twelve thousands soldiers, belonging to different Qazil-bashid clans and gave their command to Abul Fath Khan Qajar who was one of the eminent nobles and Ataliq (the tutor guardian) of Sultan Mirza. Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan province and Shah Quli Afshar, the governor of Kirman province were his military advisors, who commanded the unit of three hundred royal armoury guards. Humayun was also accompanied by the priest Kachal Shah Virdi, as his personal advisor. These preparations were aimed at for Humayun to crush down his enemies and regain his lost realm.

Besides, many artists, miniaturists and men of letters also accompanied Humayun Abul Fazl writes about them:

"When the crescent of world ruling exalted banner of Jannat Ashyani (nestled in paradise) gave a new lustre to Hindustan, a number of Irani and Turani (Scholars) also joined the (primary) school of that master who was well-acquainted with the secrets of the universe and the human beings. He gave a new splendour to the assembly of Sagacity."

It is worth mentioning here that when Humayun was coming back to Hindustan he ordered the army to march towards Khurasan province, so that before going on the other side of the territory of Persia, he could pay his homage

1. He was younger than princes Sultan Muhammad and Ismail Mirza, while all other princes were younger.
3. Akbar Nama, Vol.I p.340. Besides, Bayazid Bayat also has mentioned the names of those persons who had accompanied Humayun when he was marching towards Hindustan. See: Tazkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar, pp.4-12.
to Musa Reza, the eighth Imam of the Muslims of shiite faith.\textsuperscript{1} Then he proceeded to the shrine of Sheikh Ahmad Jam Zhinda Pil and there he prayed to God, to give him so much strength and courage, that, by the grace of the holy saint, that he could regain his lost kingdom.\textsuperscript{2}

Humayun, after capturing the region of Qandhar, Garmsir, Bangash, Badakhs and Kabul, reached Delhi, the capital seat of the empire, in the holy month of Ramazan 962 A.H. (July 1554 A.D.). There he declared himself the ruler of Hindustan by striking coin and asking the priest to recite khutba in his name. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, in the account of Humayun, mentions that no king had preceded him who regained his kingdom after being defeated in the battle field.\textsuperscript{3}

The emperor Humayun after regaining his lost empire could not rule more than one year and died\textsuperscript{4} on 11th of the month of Rabi ul Awwal 963 A.H./25th Jan. 1556 A.D.) when he was coming down at the time of evening prayer from the terrace of his library (at old fort, Delhi). His foot slipped at the step of the stair way and he fell headlong. Though, he could devote himself fully to solve

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Muntakhab ut Tawarikh, Vol.1, p.445.
\item \textsuperscript{2} In the enclosure of the grave of Sheikh Jam, the following quatrain is carved on a marble slab, which indicates that Humayun had been to the shrine: Oh (your blessing) accept the excuses of every one (and pardon him). It is revealed upon you what is hidden in the heart of any person. The door of your threshold is the destination of everybody Your miraculous favour is helper of every one. Wanderer in the boundless desert Muhammad Humayun Padshah-i-Hindustan (the king of Hindustan), 14th of the month of Shawwal 951 A.H. (30th Dec. 1544.)
\item \textsuperscript{3} Muntakhab ut Tawarikh, Vol.1, p.462.
\item \textsuperscript{4} All the historians agree that he died in 963 A.H. But the chronogram written by Kahi, has 961 A.H. as the year of his death. Because the numerical value of the hemistich (Humayun, the king fell down from the roof) is 961. See: Shahan-i-Shaer, by Abul Qasim halat, published by Ilmi publication, 1366 A.H./1987 A.D. p.284.
\end{itemize}
the administrative problems of the country that he had regained recently, yet as he was very fond of art, literature and science and patronized the scholars of various subjects of his liking, many scientists, artists and men of letters from distant parts of the world were attracted to his court. Badauni mentions his devotion to learning in the following lines.

"Some of the artists, who had no equal in that age and had met his imperial Majesty in Iraq and Khurasan were honoured with countless benefits. They found access to him in the month of Shawwal 959 A.H. (Sept. 1551 A.D.) and exalted their heads by obtaining his favour in different ways."

Among the prominent poets, historians, men of letters and other scholars who were associated with the court of Humayun and enjoyed royal favour were:


3. Khand Mir was one of those few historians who during the Timurid period in Persia served Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqara. He came to Agra, on the invitation of Babur and after his death joined the court of Humayun. In his life time he left a will in which he had desired that he should be buried in the compound of the holy shrine of Hazrat Nizam Uddin known as Aulya. He was buried by the side of the grave of Amir Khusrau. See: Tarikh-i-Farishhta, Vol.I, p.215.
4. Shah Tahir Deccani belonged to a noble family of Persia. In the beginning he was one of the counsellors of Humayun. But, on account of the sectarian difference that he had with the other nobles of the court, he went to Ahmad Nagar and joined the service of Burhan Nizam Shah and was appointed by him to the position of Jumlatul Mulk (the prime minister) He influenced the king so much that he adopted the shiite sect and worked for its propagation. Shah Tahir was the first person who introduced shiism in the Deccan and made it state religion. He was also a good poet: but being much inclined to Shiism, he usually composed verses in praise of the holy family of the prophet Muhammad. See: Muntakhab ut Tawarikh, Vol.I, pp.472-482.
Nadir Samarqandi (d.966 A.H./1558 A.D.) Jonoubi Badakhshi Maulana Muhammad Ibn-i-Ali Samarqandi, Maulana Ilyas Ardbili1 and Maulana Qasim-i-Kahi. Besides them there were many other minor poets and men of letter.

After the death of Humayun, most of the poets and scholars associated with his court, joined the court of his son, Jalal Uddin Muhammad Akbar. He too, like his father showed his favour to them and graced them with his generosity and benevolence.

Jalal Uddin Muhammad Akbar (963-1014 A.H./1556-1605 A.D.)

Akbar was born on the 5th of Rajab 949 A.H./15th Oct. 1542 A.D. at Amar kot in the province of Sindh.2 His mother Hamida Begum was the Persian wife of Humayun,3 who was one of the descendants of the great saint Sheikh Ahmad Jam, commonly known as Zhinda pil (an uncontrollable elephant).

After the death of his father, he sat on the throne on Friday, the 2nd of Rabi ul Awwal in 963 A.H./14th Feb.1556 A.D.) with the title Abul Fath Jalal

1. About him Abul Fazl writes: Maulana Ilyas of Ardbil city went to Kabul, there he got the honour of meeting His Majesty, who was highly pleased to see that dear one. They discussed the book, Durrat ut Taj (the pearl of the crown). See: Akbar Nama, Vol.I, p.221.

2. Humayun married Hamida Begum in Sindh province in those chaotic days when he was moving towards Persia, after being defeated by Sher Shah Suri. This marriage took place in the month of Rajab 947 A.H./Nov. 1540 A.D. See: Tabagat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, pp.55-126.

3. Hamida Banu, entitled Maryam Makani after her death was the daughter of Khaja Ali Akbar Bijli Hariri Ahmadi Jami. She died at Agra on 5th of the month of Rabi Us Sani 1013 A.H. 28th August 1603 A.D.) at the age of eighty. See: Tarikh-i-Muhammad, by Mirza Muhammad bin Rustam, entitled Mutamid Khan, edited by Imtiaz Ali Arshi, Rampur, 1960, A.D. p.7.
Uddin Muhammad. He ruled prosperously for fifty one lunar years and was contemporary for about twenty one years with three Persian rulers, Shah Ismail II (984-985 A.H./1576-1577 A.D.) Muhammad Khuda Banda (985-996 A.H./1577-1587 A.D.) and Shah Abbas I (996-1038 A.H./1587-1628 A.D.).

The fifty one year long reign of Akbar not only economically and politically, but from scientific, artistic, literary and cultural point of view was also the brightest period in the history of Hindustan. He laid great stress on the development of culture in general and patronized Persian culture in particular. He, on the one hand revived that culture which had deteriorated in the wake of the decline of the Timurids in Persia (to which Babur and his son Humayun also paid much attention to maintain) and on the other hand, brought back that culture which prevailed in Persia during the Sassanid period. The etiquettes of entering the Mughal court, attending its function, paying respect to the emperor, receiving rewards from him and the celebration of festivals, were the same which were observed at the royal courts of the kings of Sassanid dynasty.¹ He was so much influenced by the Sassanid culture that he replaced the Islamic lunar calender with the Solar² calender (that was commonly used in that period in Persia) ordered that Persian festivals (celebrated after every three months, at


2. The solar Persian calender, introduced by Akbar was again changed by his great grandson, Aurangzeb. He ordered that the lunar Islamic calender be continued. But the solar Persian calender was used in Hyderabad state till 1948 when this state was merged in Indian territory.

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the beginning of every season) should be celebrated throughout his empire which continued during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

**Distinctive features of Akbar period**

One of the reasons of cultural expansion and literary activities during the reign of Akbar was the political stability in his empire. As, has been mentioned earlier the political conditions in both the countries were quite contrary to each-other's. At that time Persia was passing through internal as well as external political crises and Shah Abbas I had to meet both the challenges simultaneously whereas in Hindustan things were quite favourable and the country and the people were enjoying political stability to a great extent.

In Persia, most of the poets and men of letters, being charged either as the followers of Sunni sect or Nuqtavi were kept under strict surveillance. But, in Hindustan, (as there has always been an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence and people of every caste, creed, sect, religion and race can live together) during the reign of Akbar from Kashmir down to the borders of the Deccan (South India) all the people, speaking different languages, belonging to various cultures and religions, had come under one banner. This unity in diversity was consequent upon the correct approach of Akbar to the political affairs of this country. It was for this reason that the poets and other literary figures got full opportunity to express their ideas, that resulted in the development of cultural and literary activities more than ever.

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Akbar due to the chaotic conditions during the days of his childhood could not be properly schooled and remained unlettered. But in spite of that when he came to the throne, after maintaining internal peace and security by suppressing his enemies, he paid much attention to reviving art, culture and literature. The result was that many cities in his realm became centres of learning, where several Persian poets, prose writers, historians, musicians, miniaturists and theologians engaged themselves in developing art, culture and literature. That was the time, when Agra, the capital of his empire, offered much more glamour than that of the courts of Safavids at Qazvin and later Isfahan. The facts mentioned above invite our attention to the factors that made Akbar a successful monarch.

The main reason of Akbar's success, first as a ruler and then as a patron of art, culture and literature was that he was lucky enough to be shielded by his father's loyal and faithful nobles, particularly by Bairam Khan, who played an important role in giving political stability to the country which Akbar ruled. He was also the main figure who inculcated in Akbar the instinct to appreciate art, and admire literature.

He was the son of Saif Ali Khan (and the father of Abdul Rahim, entitled Khan-i-Khanan (the chief of the nobles), and most renowned noble at the court of Akbar). He was born at Ghazna, the region which had been under the

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1. He was very conservative in his sectarian thoughts and strict follower of the shiite sect, as is proved by one of his verses, that he composed in praise of Ali (the caliph) son of Abu Talib: (May curse be upon the king, who is not the servant of Ali even if he has raised his head upto the heaven alongwith his head gear) See; Rawabit-i-Adabi-i-Iran-O-Hind (Literary relations between Iran and India by : Ali Akbar Shahabi Khunisani, Tehran Publications, 1316 A.H./1937 A.D, pp.75.
gubernatorial assignment of his father who had been appointed by Babur Shah, the king of Timurid dynasty. When his father died, he was quite young and for this reason was transferred to Balkh, where he served, on behalf of Babur, under Humayun. After Babur's death he became one of the favourite companions of Humayun.

Humayun, after being defeated by Sher Shah Suri, was wandering in Sindh province for asylum. In those days of adversity when even his kith and kin had left him in the lurch, Bairam Khan was with him. He advised Humayun to go to Persia and seek help from Shah Tehmsab Safavi. On his return, with Humayun from Isfahan to Hindustan, when he captured the region of Kabul, he received the title "Khan" from Shah Tehmasb. After the death of Humayun when Akbar sat on the throne of Hindustan, the country was passing through acute political crises. At that time when everything was going topsy-turvy, Bairam Khan stood with him like a rock. Being an experienced commander, he successfully suppressed every rebellious chief and very soon was able to maintain peace and social justice in the country, thus preparing a favorable ground for the development of cultural activities. It was by his effort that within a span of four years, when Akbar was only eighteen years old, internal peace and security was fully maintained.

Bairam Khan, besides being a good administrator and a successful commander was also gifted with poetic talents. He composed verses fluently in Persian and Turkish. Humayun was a great admirer of his diction and the style in which he expressed his novel ideas. It was on account of this that he became a very close companion of Humayun. Sometimes, they exchanged their views in poetic language and metre.
Humayun, once composed the following quatrain and sent it to Bairam Khan.

_Aye Anki Anis-i-Khatir-mahzuni_
_Chun tab-i-latife-i-khishtan mauzuni_
_Biyad-i-tu man neyam zamani ghafil_
_Aya tu beyad-i-man-i-mahzun chuni?_

(You are the (only) person who is companion of my dejected heart, you are well balanced like your delicate disposition.

Even a single moment does not pass, when I am not thinking about you.

How are you? Do you also think about me, the dejected one?) Bairam Khan gave extempore reply to these lines and sent the following quatrain to him.

_Aye anki bezat Saya-i-bichuni_
_As har chi tura wasf kunam afzuni_
_chunmidani ki bi tu chun miguzarad_
_chun mi pursi ki dar firagam chuni?1_

O: you are such a person, who is the shadow of God; whatever I say in your praise, you are more than that, You now very well how I spent my days being away from you, and then you ask me, how I am, being away from you).

1. Shahabi, Ibid, pp. 74 and 75. For further information regarding Bairam Khan and his relations with Humayun, See: Shahan-i-Shaer, pp. 278-284. Such were the intimate relations between Humayun and Bairam Khan. Being a close companion of Humayun, he felt his moral duty to look after Akbar as an orphan child of his deceased friend therefore, he took him under his guardianship. Akbar, too paid him great regard and always addressed him as "Khan Baba". (my respected father).

But, the Turani group of the courtiers, (formed by the Muslims of the Sunnite sect) did not like that a noble, belonging to the Iranian group (consisting of mostly the nobles of shiite sect) should dominate the mind of the king. Therefore, they started intrigues against him. The result was that they created bad blood between the two. Bairam Khan, finding his life in danger, thought it wise that he should withdraw himself from the court activities. This he pointed out in a letter that he wrote to Akbar.

"According to the desire of the opponents and as they expressed to that lord of beneficence, the long services rendered by me to that exalted dynasty have been ignored (By your majesty) accusing me of being ungrateful (to my master). The enemies have pronounced the judgment that shedding blood of a heretic is permissible. I am keeping myself away from this situation so that I might save my life. I have decided to pay my homage to the holy shrine of Mecca, in order that I may be personally present there and, as my opponents have designed to kill me therefore, I do not think it wise to pay visit to your Majesty.

It is known to everybody that in my Turkish clan, no one has been disloyal (to his master). In this situation I have decided to move towards Mashhad. After the circumambulation of the tomb of the holy Imam, I will pay my visit to the threshold of Najaf-i-Ashraf (the tomb of Ali, the caliph) and the exalted karbala (the burial place of Imam Husain). After making prayers for your long life and perpetuation of your empire, I shall go to Mecca.
This is my humble request that if you take me in the
category of ungrateful ones and consider that my
killing is incumbent, appoint some insignificant
person by giving him this order that he should cut the
head of Bairam and put it on the point of a long
spear, so that this may give lesson to other ill
wishers. I shall feel honoured if this request be
accepted. Otherwise, you appoint some other person
as the commander of the army, other than that
Khajrite (dissenter) who has been looked after by the
ungrateful persons and has been the cause of the
expulsion of this devoted servant.  

Akbar wrote the following letter to Bairam Khan:

"Khan Babam (my dear father)! with gracious
salutation should read and know through this message
couched in compassion that some time before (now) I
alighted with glory and grandeur at Delhi, the capital
seat of that province to look into certain matters,
when I heard that you were proceeding towards me,
to pay your gratitude. I sent Tarsoun Beg to meet
you (with this verbal message that) as there is still
resentment in my mind, regarding your case and the
feelings of my gentle heart do not suggest that you to
come to attend on me, therefore (it is advisable) at
present you stay in your own place and manage your
own affairs. If need be, you come to Agra, when I
alight there with pomp and glory. You move further
ahead to proceed towards Gwalior and in the vicinity

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1. Waqat-i-dar ul Hukumat-i-Delhi (Accounts of Delhi, the capital seat of the empire), by
of p.307.
of that region and come to me whenever I send for you. For the consolation of heart, I had written that resentment can come between father and son, but there is no possibility of hatred. You are my father, this is the relation which is in consideration. In spite of resentment, vexation, improper conduct and misbehavior, I have great regard for you and I look upon you with affection and favour. Still as usual I call you Khan Babam. I consider it wise and proper that our meeting should be postponed for the time being. As you have sent your petition note, and have stated that you are going to pay visit to the holy shrines, you should proceed in that direction with full determination. Send some person, so that the cash amount be handed over to him which you have left at Sarhind and Lahore with the vow that you would offer it at the holy shrines".1

As long as relations were cordial between Akbar and Bairam Khan, things went in favour of the monarch. Bairam Khan's guardianship played an important role in the development of Akbar's intellectual faculties which contributed a lot to the expansion of cultural activities. He appointed Mir Abdul Latif Qazvini and his son Mir Ghayas Uddin Ali, entitled Naqib Khan, as his tutor and teacher, who were highly renowned persons of their time. After his death, Akbar even continued his traditions. He arranged meetings of poets, theologians and men of letters, who assembled at Ibadat Khana (prayer hall) in

1. Tarikh-i-Akbari, known as Tarikh-i-Qandhari pp. 58-59.
the evening of every Thursday. There Akbar took part in literary discussions and religious discourses. Ultimately there came a time when he could judge the merits and demerits of literary pieces and sometimes dictated Persian translations to scribes of Sanskrit texts which were explained to him by the scholars of that language.

Bairam Khan, being the most renowned noble of Akbar, had his own court too, in which he had gathered together many learned men, mostly poets, and had appointed them to high positions. As he was himself a poet, he arranged and attended their meetings, in which poets took part in literary discussions and poetic competitions. He suggested to Naziri Nishaburi to compose an epic entitled Shah Name-i-Humayuni, parallel to the Shah Nama-i Firdusi. He versified some events, including the defeat of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Bairam Khan checked the narrations, which were versified by Naziri and passed his judgment as a literary critic. Bairam Khan admired Naziri’s epic so much that one night he was so much inspired that he composed about four hundred

1. In the Ibadat Khana seats were reserved for persons of every category. The nobles had their seats in the Eastern side, the Saiyids (descendants of prophet Muhammad) sat in the Western side, the Southern side was reserved for learned men and the saints were given the room in the Northern direction. Badauni, who also attended the meetings, writes that, the king used to come in that assembly and sat, turn by turn in the rows of the persons who attended the meeting. He discussed with them and enquired about several subjects. Perfumes were used there and money was given in abundance to the deserving persons, according to the merit of every one, through those who were close to king. His majesty, personally distributed among scholars (the epics of the book) Fath Gujrat, compiled by Itemad khan Gujrati, which were sent to be kept in the flourishing royal treasure house.

2. Abul Fazl writes, "The inspiration receiving aptitude of His Majesty is highly suitable for composing (verses) in Hindi and Farsi (Persian). He distinctly apprehends the minutest points of poetic subtlety". See: Akbar Name, Vol I, p 271.

Jhangir writes, He delved so deep into the subtleties of prose and poetry, that it was not possible to go beyond that. See: Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, edited by Mirza Muhammad Hadi, Naval Kishore, Lucknow, p.15.

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verses and recited them to him. Bairam Khan highly appreciated them and awarded him beyond his expectation.

Akbar had a refined taste in poetry and pronounced such a balanced judgment as a critic that even the experts of this art accepted him as a genius who picked up the true spirit of any poetic composition. Once some person recited the following verse of Baba Fughani, the poet:

\[
\text{Masiha Yar o Khizrash ham rekab o ham enan Isa}
\]

\[
\text{Fughani! aftab-i-man barin e'zaz mi 'ayad.}
\]

(Christ is friend and fellow rider, while Khizr is his companion. Oh! Fughani, my sun (i.e. the dear one) is coming with this retinue).

Akbar made correction in the second line and read it as:

\[
\text{Fughani! Shah Sawar-i-man barin e'zaz mi 'ayad.}
\]

(Oh! Fughani my horseman comes with this retinue).\(^1\)

The royal patronage which poetry received from and the encouragement given to poets by the nobles, associated with the royal court caused to attract several poets, living far and near, when they heard how benevolently the masters of this art were treated by the king and his courtiers. As the poetic taste of the king was so highly developed and he was so much fastidious that the poets first joined the court of some noble and when he felt that the compositions of the poet was upto the mark, he was accorded access to the imperial court. Emulating the king, every noble formed a literary circle which consisted of some poets who could nourish their inborn talents. Among those nobles were Bairam Khan,

Hakim Abul Fath Gilani, Sheikh Abul Fazl and Faizi, as they were themselves creative writers and were considered pioneers of Indo-Persian literature. Among the Timurid rulers of Hindustan, Akbar was the first king who created the office of poet-laureate at his court. Ghazali Mashhadi was the first poet to have been appointed to this position. He was followed by Faizi\(^1\) who enjoyed the same status, though Persian was not his mother tongue.

Abul Fazl, in *A’in-i-Akbari*, has mentioned the names of those fifty one Persian poets who had got access to the royal court. Besides them, there were many others, countless in number, who were keenly desirous of obtaining this opportunity. They composed poems in praise of the king with the hope that some day they would also get that honour.

The system that Akbar had adopted, was the promotion of poets from the court of a noble to royal patronage and it was quite healthy, so far as versatality in literature was concerned. The professional rivalry and the spirit of competition urged the poets to produce some thing novel, and this very much enriched the Persian literature which was produced at the Mughal court. As it was clearly distinct in its characteristic from what was produced in Persia it has

been called by modern scholars of Persian *Sabk-i-Hindi* (Indian style). This tradition was followed by his descendants, Jahangir and Shahjahan.  

The poetic genius of Jahangir also was more developed than that of Akbar. He selected Talib-i-Amuli for the position of poet laureate at his court. This decision he took after long deliberation and found him appropriate to this rank.

Shahjahan's main interest was in architecture, but in spite of that he also maintained the tradition of his ancestors. Qudsi Mash'hani and Abu Talib Kalim were more prominent than others. He also took part in literary discussions and sometimes commented upon the verses of Nizami of Ganja.

One of the examples of the wit of Jahangir is that, once a poet composed a Qaside (a laudative poem) in praise of Jahangir and recited the first line:

"Aye taj-i-dau lat bar sarat az ibtida ta intiha."

He meant that, "Oh (king) the crown of empire be upon your head from beginning to the end." Jahangir interrupted him and asked if he knew prosody. The poet accepted that he did not know. Jahangir said, that it was in his interest, otherwise he deserved to be beheaded. When the line was scanned and its feet were pointed out, it read:

\[Aye	ext{ }taj-i-daulat	ext{ }bar	ext{ }sarat	ext{ }az	ext{ }ibtida	ext{ }ta	ext{ }intiha]\]

which gives the meaning "oh (King) the crown of two kicks be upon your head, from beginning to the end."

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1. In *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, under the events of the fourth year of his accession, he writes "On this day Talib Amuli got the title of poet laureate and obtained the robe of honour. As his poetic diction excelled that of others, he therefore, has been promoted to the position of poets who are of first rank in their grade." See: PP. 75-80.
Such was the highly refined literary taste of the Timurid rulers of Hindustan. Under their patronage, not only Persian literature expanded but also became so refined that every idea was expressed in lucid, delicate and sophisticated manner.

Besides, the poets had also their own guilds, which regularly organized meetings. There the poets, associated with the court of some noble recited their poetical compositions in his presence. As there operated the spirit of competition this also helped to enrich Persian literature, particularly poetry. When a poet recited his poem, it was critically examined by the participants. Fellow poets appreciated it whereas their rivals passed sarcastic remarks. But, its ultimate benefit was that on the one hand the language was becoming rapidly fluent and on the other the versatile thoughts distilled in Indian culture were giving it a new dimension.

It would not be wide of the mark to point out here, that most of the Persian poets were immigrants; a majority of them was from the Safavid Persia, and comparatively a small number from Transoxiana, which will be discussed in detail in coming pages. As the poets from the Safavid Persia were in majority they tried to continue the same style of poetry which was in vogue in their homeland. But, as the Mughal kings were Turkish speaking they had a soft corner for the poets who belonged to Transoxiana. This amalgamation of various Persian and Turkish dialects produced a new style, which was identified as Sabk-i-Hindi by modern critics of Persian literature.¹

¹ Some of the poets who came from Persia knew Persian with some of its dialect but there were others who were bilingual and could speak Persian as well as the Turkish dialect spoken in Azarbyjan province and surrounding parts of it.
Before the time of Akbar all the revenue records were kept in Hindi. But Raja Todarmal switched over to Persian. Besides, the Mughals, like their ancestors, always maintained the records of their court proceedings. For this particular purpose they appointed chroniclers, at least two in number, at the royal court and at every provincial capital.\(^1\) Above all, the Mughals, like their predecessors were very keen to get their own achievements recorded as well as those of their ancestors. For this purpose they engaged several historians who wrote in ornate style their biographies along with their performances.\(^2\) The administrative requirements and the maintenance of court proceedings called for some men of letters and fluent prose writers, who adopted the same ornate style which was prevalent at the Safavid court. The Persian speaking people looked askance at the superiority of the Persian prose written by Turkish speaking people. Sometimes they were at daggers drawn regarding this matter. Abul Fazl (958-1013 A.H./1551-1604 A.D.) was the first man who made an adjustment between the prose of the Persian speaking Turks and that of those whose mother tongue was Persian. He had also in consideration the requirements of the soil of Hindustan. These factors produced a new style in Persian prose writing.\(^3\)

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1. The poets who came from Tranxosiana spoke Turkish, spoken in Azarbyjan.

2. About *Sabk-i-Hindi*, detailed discussion will be made under, "Persian literature under the Safavids."

3. For detailed information regarding Persian prose writing style during the reign of Akbar, see: *Sabk Shinasi Ya Tarikh-i-Tahawwul-i-Nasr-i-Farsi* (History of the evolution of Persian prose) by Muhammad Taqi Bahar, Vol.III, pp. 290-291.
He compiled a Persian dictionary, in which he tried to replace Arabic vocabulary by the words used in Dari dialect (one of the dialects of Persian, commonly spoken in present Afghanistan and some parts of Transoxiana to which the Timurids belonged). In this period Persian was used to express thoughts related to various subjects. Besides translations made from Sanskrit into Persian and commentaries of several Arabic texts written in Persian, some other original works were also done in this language. Among them history writing got top priority. The books like Akbar Nama, A'in-i-Akbari and Muntakhab ut Tawarikh, along with several others are worth mentioning here. Abul Fazl, in Akbar Nama has presented the king in the form of a hero and has given him very high regard and respect. But, Badauni has vehemently criticised him, particularly and also the religious policy that Akbar had adopted.

It is noteworthy that of all the measures taken either for the revival or expansion of cultural activities, it was Persian which played an important role.

Relations with Persia and central Asia were established through this language. This language throughout the whole reign of the Mughals in Hindustan, particularly during the time of Akbar, was the richest and most powerful medium to transfer contemporary Persian culture and revive the ancient tradition in this part of the world. Besides, it also contributed to the development of contemporary literature, philosophical thoughts and Islamic art. Akbar, at cultural and intellectual level brought about a great revolution in different fields and for this purpose he used only this language. He ordered the intellectuals of his court to translate Sanskrit, Arabic and Turkish masterpieces
into Persian. It was under his patronage that the Mahabharata,\(^1\) the Ramayana,\(^2\) the Raj Tarangni,\(^3\) the Nal Damyanti,\(^4\) the Sanghasan Batisi,\(^5\) the Panjtantra,\(^6\) the Katha Sagar,\(^7\) the Jami-ut Tawarikh\(^8\) (of Rashidi) the

\(^1\) This epic is the masterpiece of Sanskrit literature. Though it deals with the war affairs of two Aryan clans, Korovas and Pandvas, yet in fact this work is a social, cultural, historical and religious encyclopedia of Hindu religion. It was translated into Persian during 990-995 A.H./1582-1586 A.D. and was named Razm Nama (book of war). For its translation Mullah Abdul Qadir Badauni, Abul Fazl, Faizi, Naqib Khan, Mullah Shiri and Haji Sultan Thanesari were engaged.

\(^2\) This epic stands next to the Mahabharta and deals with the life of Rama. As it deals with Hindu philosophy, therefore it is considered a sacred book by Hindus. This was translated into Persian in 995 A.H./1586 A.D. by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni and Haji Sultan Thanesari.

\(^3\) This book deals with the ancient history of Kashmir. The original work, which is in Sanskrit, was translated into Persian by Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahabadi and named Tarikh-i-Kashmir (history of Kashmir).

\(^4\) A romantic story derived from the Mahabharta, dealing with the love affair of Nala (the hero) and Damyanti (the heroin). In this story, Damyanti is symbol of loyalty, faithfulness and sacrifice of a Hindu woman for her husband. This was translated into Persian by Faizi in 1003 A.H./1594 A.D., and was named Nal Daman.

\(^5\) A collection of puzzling stories, attributed to Vikramajit, a legendary Hindu ruler of Bharat Varsha. It was translated into Persian by Mullah Abdul QadIr Badauni and named it Khirad Afsa (wisdom developing).

\(^6\) A collection of fables, in which all the characters are animals, represented as the symbols of wisdom, strength, simplicity and craftiness. This book was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi, during the Sassanid period. During the Abbasid period it was rendered from Pahlavi into Arabic. During 6th the century of the Islamic era (13th century A.D.) it was re-written in ornate style by Nasr ullah Munshi. During the Timurid period it was abridged in simple Persian by Husain Waiz Kashfi and was named Anwar-i-Suhali (the light of canoups). Abul Fazl, again translated directly from Sanskrit in 996 A.D./1587 A.D. and named it Ayar-i-danish (the standard of knowledge).

\(^7\) A collection of folk tales, translated by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni in 1003 A.H./1594 A.D. and was named Bahr ul Asmar (the ocean of the tales).

\(^8\) Written by Rashid ud din Fazl Ullah in Arabic. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni made its abridged translation into Persian in 993 A.H./1584 A.D.
Tarikhul Hukama,\textsuperscript{1} the Mu'jamul Buldan,\textsuperscript{2} the Waqiat-i-Baburi\textsuperscript{3} and other works were rendered into Persian.

Tazkira Navisi (biography writing) is an art of writing that covers history and literature. Special attention was paid to this art under the cultural movement, started by Akbar. It is worth mentioning here that Lubab ul Albab, compiled by Muhammad A'ufi is the last significant work, written in Hindustan. This was followed by none other. But, during the reign of Akbar as well as in the later period, many writers showed such deep interest in this field that biography writing in Persian became a separate branch in the field of historiography. In biography writing emphasis was laid on recording the lives of poets. Abul Fazl, Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni and Nizam Uddin have written separate chapters pertaining to the biographies of poets, but Mir Ala Ud daula, son of Mir Yahya compiled a separate book, namely Nafais ul Ma'asir, which deals with the lives of poets, in which specimens of their works have also been included. This biography is considered so far the best of its time. Among other poetical biographies which are worth mentioning here, are: Tazkira-i-Haft Iqlim by Amin Ahmad Razi, Tazkira-i-Majmaul Fuzala by Mulla Baqayi, Tazkira-i-But-Kadah

\textbf{Reference:}

1. This book was written by Shahr Zuri, Maqsud Ali Tabrizi translated it from Arabic into Persian and named it \textit{Nuzhat ul Arwah} (the fragrance for the souls).

2. This Arabic work on geography was written by Yaqut Hamvi, it was translated into Persian by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, Mulla Ahmad of Thatta, Qasim Beg and Sheikh Munawwar.

3. The original work is in Chaghtai dialect of Turkish. It was translated by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan into simple Persian and was named \textit{Baber Nama.}
by Mulla Muhammad Sufi Mazandrani and *Tazkira-i-Bazm-Ara* by Mir Saiyid Ali son of Mahmud Husaini.¹

Secretaries in the correspondence department of every ruler have always played very significant role. They were specially trained for this office, and they prepared themselves for reading the letters and mandates which were exchanged between friendly or hostile rulers. Abul Fazl's correspondence and memoirs were also recorded, so that they might serve as specimen for the succeeding generations.

As mentioned above, the Mongols and their successors were very keen to keep the record of their achievements. Akbar also followed his ancestors in this regard and laid much emphasis on recording the history of his time. For this purpose, he engaged several historians, who produced valuable works like; *Akbar Nama, A'in-i-Akbari, Tarikh-i-Alfi,*² compiled by Jalal Uddin Shirazi in 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. and *Madar ul Afazil*, compiled by Allah Dad Faizi Sarhindi in 1000 A.H./1601 A.D. Besides, a bilingual dictionary entitled *Parsi Parakasha* (Sanskrit-Persian) was compiled by Krishna Das.

1. Mir Yahya, the compiler of *Lub-ut-Tawarikh* lived during the reign of Shah Tahmasb Safavi, he was imprisoned as he was the follower of Sunni sect; there he died in 963 A.H./1555 A.D. His son Mir Ala'uddaula migrated to Hindustan with his relatives and settled down here.


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The development of cultural activities synchronised with the development of rational and traditional sciences under Akbar. Scientists like Mullah Fathullah Shirazi entitled Azud ul Mulk, Maulana Ilyas of Ardbil, the astronomer, Nuruddin Tarkhan Safiduni and Mulla Mirza were engaged in scientific studies and produced marvelous works.

This is also noteworthy, that the cultural and intellectual activities started by Akbar led to the advancement of fine arts as well including miniature work, calligraphy, picture painting and music. Several artists, local as well as immigrants were busy in their works independently and also in collaboration with each other. In the coming chapter we shall discuss the impact of Persian immigrants on the art and culture of this soil.

AKBARS RELIGIOUS POLICY

When we talk about culture in a broad sense, it also covers religion and its rituals. Religion in our social, political and individual life has always played very important role, the evidence of which can be produced from books, holy scriptures, inscriptions and historical monuments.

Religion, being part and parcel of culture has always compelled reverence. It is so ingrained in every individual that he has always exploited it for ulterior motives. Even today man is not devoid of religious prejudices. Several Muslim kings ruled the people claiming to be shadow of God and the lord of the earth. Timur did not remain contented even with this; he justified his
claim to be the rightful ruler by declaring himself the restorer of the faith.\footnote{Amir Timur Kurgan wrote to Sultan Bayazid Khan in his second letter, "There is no doubt in it, that I come in the category of ululamr (those who are endowed with authority) and according to (this verse of Glorious Quran) (i.e., God, Almighty) exalted the ranks of some persons in relation to others, therefore, it is necessary for an inferior to obey his Superior." Here by calling him "ulul Amr", he has referred to this verse of the Glorious Quran" Obey God and obey the Apostle, and such as possesses authority amongst yourselves." With the support of these two verses particularly with the help of the compound word "ululamr", he has tried to prove that he was entitled to be called successor of prophet Muhammad. For further detail, See: Asnad-o-mukatibat-i-Tarikhi-i-Iran (historical documents and letter of Iran) under "Az Timur ta Shah Ismail (from Timur to Shah Ismail), compiled by Abdul Husain Nawai, published by Shirkat-i-Intisharat-i-Ilmi o Farhangi, Tehran, 1370 A.H. (1991 A.D.), p.99.} Such rulers, whether in Persia or in some other country framed such rules and dealt with the common people in such a manner that every individual had a particular view regarding his faith. These rules (called tenets) of jurisprudence were so complex that in the last analysis, they proved contradictory to each other. The Safavids in Persia and the Mughals in Hindustan, particularly Shah Abbas I and Akbar, respectively looked upon religion and its rituals from their own points of view, quite contrary to each other in several aspects. The rulers of both the dynasties also used the clergy for their purpose, with the result that they interpreted religion as the rulers desired.

But, in spite of that there was a class of theologians who were impartial in their views and they had won the sympathy of the common people and they, in some way or the other voiced the sentiments of the common man in the imperial courts. This attitude of those balanced theologians brought them into conflict with the rulers who usually tried to compromise with them at any rate.

But, as mentioned above, there were still some theologians who used religion as a means to attain their personal and political ends. Such theologians,
sometimes gave such interpretations to the verses of the holy scripture that its meanings were quite contrary to its contents.

When we make a survey of the human society during the reigns of Safavids and Timurids we come across several social, political and religious problems or matters related to those subjects. These problems had become the burning topics during the tenth century A.H. (16th-17th century A.D.) and they assumed such a dimension that many Persian scholars were compelled to migrate to Hindustan. Here, we shall compare the conditions prevailing during the Safavid period in Persia with those of the Mughal Hindustan, particularly during the reigns of Shah Abbas I and Akbar.

During the regime of the Delhi sultanate and Akbar's father and grandfather, the polity had operated by and large on the basis of Islam/kufr dichotomy, even though Islam was not always placed at the state's commanding heights and the ulama were not given the level of authority that a truly theocratic state would have given them. It was Akbar who made an experiment with a definite alternative worldview in which the Islam/kufr dichotomy got dissolved. Akbar was personally deeply interested in questions of religion and philosophy and, starting with the assumption of taking nothing for granted, nor privileging anything, he opened the gates to debates and discussions with professors of various religions. This was done in the famous Ibadat Khana at Fathpur Sikri.

Gradually, the assumption became state policy, enunciated in the formulation, sulh kul, universal peace. About this Akbar's son and successor, Jahangir was to write later.
This world view had much in common with two cultural streams, which merged in each other with ease: the Sufi and the Bhakti streams, both running at the ground level in medieval Indian society. Professor S.A.A. Rizvi has explored the relationship in a profound manner in several of his writings, but particularly in his *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*. Besides, Akbar's marriages into Hindu ruling families, his proclamation of *Din-i-Ilahi* and the signing of the *Mahzar* by the ulama of his court -- all of this formed elements in the constitution of an alternate cultural and religious milieu.

It was into this alternate milieu that several Persians, persecuted in their homeland by the Shia dogmatism of Safavid rulers, fled and found shelter.

Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini while giving the reply of the letter of Prof. E.G. Browne, while accepting his view, also further adds that:

There is no doubt, that during the Safavid period Persian literature, particularly poetry was on decline and not even a single first rate poet appeared on the scene at that time. Probably the main cause was that the Safavids, as they were politically anti-Ottoman empire, spent much of their energy on the propagation of Shiism and encouraged those religious scholars who were profound in the tenets of this sect. Though they made best efforts for the unity of country on sectarian basis (which resulted in the political unity of the country) and the foundation of present day Persia was laid by those country men who were united on linguistic, racial and sectarian ground. But, they paid no attention to the development of Persian literature and mysticism - which they called human transcendencies (opposed to
religious laws) -- They also created means to harass and discourage those who were the exponents of these transcendencies, because most of them were not fully acquainted with the principles of the Shiite sect and the rituals related to it. The mystics were particularly persecuted. They were convicted, extradited, chastised and were even given capital punishment. Some of them were either killed or burnt alive because of the personal whims of the theologians or by a religious decree.

The relation between literature and mysticism, in Persia is quite evident. Extirpation of one would automatically cause the extinction or annihilation of the other. It was for this reason that literature and mysticism bade farewell to their homeland. Monasteries and the shrines of darvishes were demolished so mercilessly that today nobody hears about these welfare centres. Here, it should also be pointed out that instead of poets, there arose great jurists, like Majlisi, Muhaqqiq-i-Sani (Muhaqqiq II), Sheikh Hurr-i-Amuli, Sheikh Bahai and others. No doubt, they were geniuses (in their subjects), but in spite of that they were extremely fanatic and quite intolerant.

The second argument which Qazvini has given for the absence of first rate poets in that period is the absence of royal patronage. Shah Tahmasb and Shah Abbas I preferred that the holy Imams should be praised rather than the kings and by that means they could obtain some reward from them. Further he argues that, as the poets could earn more money by praising
the kings than the holy Imams, so, many of them migrated to Hindustan to join the Mughal court, where they hoped to obtain better means for living. The number of poets who migrated to this sub-continent was so great that they were able to establish a new school in Persian literature.¹

Professor E.G.Brown kept himself restricted to the study of Persian poetry but in the opinion of Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini the whole Safavid period was barren in cultural sphere. He is of the opinion that not only Persian literature, but mysticism and philosophy also suffered and could not get proper opportunity for their development.

Yan Rypka also agrees with Professor E.G.Brown in this regard² and considers that Persian literature, during the Safavid period was on its decline. The reason which he has mentioned is that there was utter negligence of Persian poets and therefore, they had no other alternative other than migrating from their home land. This is not the opinion of the orientalists alone but Reza Quli Hidayat and Malikush Shoara Bahar, the modern writers and critics of Persian literature also fall in with their views. But, Ehsan Yar Shater does not agree with any one of them.³ In his view all the above mentioned writers have been extremists in their judgment.


taste and could not appreciate the masterpieces of poetry. Before discriminating
between the literary taste of the Mughals and the Safavids the following points
should be kept in mind.

The Safavids also had poetic talent and patronized first rate poets. Shah
Ismail (907 - 930 A.H./1502-1523 A.D) was an excellent poet and had adopted
"Khatai"\(^1\) as his pen name. Most of his works are in the Turkish dialect spoken
in Azarbajyan. He has left a Divan (Collection of poems) and a Mathnavi
(epic), consisting of one thousand and four hundred verses which has been
published under the title of Dehnama.\(^2\) In Persian he has left one Ghazal
(Romantic poem) and three Matlas (opening line of a poem).\(^3\)

Shah Tahmasb Safavi (930 - 984 A.H./1523 - 1576 A.D) was also a poet
and excelled in improvisation. Most of his contemporary poets have composed
poems in his praise. Among them, U’rfi Kamangar of Tabriz was more
renowned than others. He wrote one hundred thirty Qasidas (laudatory poems)
in his praise and received rewards repeatedly. He composed a Mathnavi (epic)
entitled "Gui-o-Chugan" (The polo-stick and its ball) and received forty Tumans
(Persian standard coin) only for that.\(^4\)

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1. *Silsilat un nasah-i Safavi* (the genealogy of Safavid dynasty) by Sheikh Husain Pirzada, p.68.
3. Quoted from *Rauzaat us Salatin* (the garden of the kings), edited by Saiyid Husam uddin Rashidi, see under Fakhri Harri, p.271.
Hayrati of Tun was an intimate friend and companion of Shah Tahmasb. He was so close to the king that his contemporary poet, Fuzuli Baghdadi, residing at Najaf (a place near Baghdad, where the holy Shrine of Hazrat-i-Ali is built) also once pointed out in the following verse:¹

\[
\text{man ze khan-i-Arab o Hayrati az Mulk-i-Ajam} \\
\text{Har do gashtim be izhar-i-sukhan kam talab} \\
\text{Yaftim az do karam pisha murad-i-dil-i-khish} \\
\text{u'zar az shah-i-Ajam, man nazar az shah-i-Arab.}
\]

(I belong to Arabia and Hayrati comes from the land of Persia. Both of us got successful by proclaiming our poems. Both fulfilled our heart desires from two generous persons. He got gold from the king of Persia and I received the favour of the Lord of Arabia, i.e. Hazrat Ali).

Mir Huzuri of Qum went to the imperial camp at Qazvin town, the meeting place of the poets of Khurasan and Iraq. There, after a very short time, he crept into the good graces of the king, who fixed an annual stipend for him.²

One day, somebody was praising the poetical works of Amir Khusrau of Delhi. At this the king pointed to Zamiri of Isfahan and said, "we also have this poet like Amir Khusrau, who is as excellent in subtlety as was he".³

Mayili of Tabriz went to the imperial camp and presented the qasida (Laudatory poem) that he had composed in praise of the king. While admiring equity, justice and the courage of the king he also drew his attention to the

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3. Ibid, p.300

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oppressions done by Mirza Ahmad Kufrani, the minister of crown lands of Farsi (?). An amount of thirty Tumans was granted and handed over to Mirza Ahmad Kufrani on the condition that the amount would be paid by the minister to those from whom he had taken money by force and be paid as much as would be suggested by the poet.¹

Taqiuddin Auhadi writes in his Tazkira (a compilation consisting of the biographies of poets) that Shah Tahmasb was gifted with (by God) fluent poetic talent. With deep thinking he excelled in improvisation and had the quality to apprehend the spirit of poetic genius. The compiler of this Tazkira had seen the remarks made by Shah Tahmasb on the margin of the books, inscribed by Humayun, the Mughal emperor. In his remark he had condemned Mirza Kamran (the brother of Humayun) and charged him as Khariji (dissenter) by writing this verse:

*Kamran Kharijist miguyand
Khariji Kamran na mi bashad*

(They say that Kamran is a dissenter. A dissenter is never successful).²

Shah Ismail II (984-985 A.H./1576-77 A.D.) was also an excellent poet and used "A'dili" as pen name in his poetical compositions. He was also interested in painting. Iskandar Beg Munshi, describing the account of Halaki, states that the poet mentions that he had composed a qasida in praise of the king. After some time he reached the capital seat of the empire. There he presented his poetical composition and received the reward of twelve thousand Tumans.³


² *Arafat ul Ashiqin*, fol.482.

³ *Alam ara-i-Abbassi*, p.178
Amin Ahmad Razi, giving further account of this poet writes that, in the prime of his youth he joined the service of Sultan Husain Mirza Bahram Mirza, the ruler of Qandhar. He was so richly rewarded by his patron that he spent the rest of his life in prosperity. After reaching Qandhar, he composed a Qasida in praise of Sultan Husain Mirza Bahram Mirza, the opening lines of which are:

_Az Khurasan-o-Iraq Ahl-i-Sukhan bastand bar
Jumla ra maqsud Hind-o-maqsad-i-ma Qandhar_

(the poets of Khurasan and Iraq have packed off. their destination is Hind, while my is Qandhar).²

Shah Muhammad Khuda Banda (985-996 A.H./1577-1587 A.D.) was also fond of fine arts (music, painting and poetry). He composed poems under the pen name "Fahmi".³ Huzni of Isfahan was his contemporary, who had migrated from his birth place to Qazvin. The king invited him several times and always accorded him a warm reception. He was awarded fifty Tumans by the king.⁴ Figari of Juwayn was also another poet, who was in good books of the king. He received many concessions from his patron. Finally he was posted at the holy shrine of Imam Reza (Mash'had) and there he received a regular salary.⁵

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2. _Khair ul Bayan_, by Husain bin Ghayas uddin Mahmoud, COpy of MSS British Musium, Fol. 108-224.
3. _Majma'ul Khawas_, by Sadiqi Afshar (d.1018 A.H), Danish Kada-i-Adabiyat-i-Tabriz (Faculty of the Literature of Tabriz) Publication, Muassisa-i-Tarikh O Farhang-i-Iran (The institute of History and Culture of Iran) Tabriz, 1327 A.H./1948 A.D., pp.9 and 10. _Arafat ul Ashiqin_, fol.324.
5. _Khulasat ul A sha'r_. Taghi uddin Muhammad bin Ali Husaini Kashi, Mss. of British musium, No.105.
Shah Abbas I (996-1038/1587-1628 A.D.) was himself a poet and used "Abbas" as his noma de plume in his poetical compositions. In spite of the fact that he had to meet the heavy expenses incurred on long journeys and war campaigns, he paid much attention to poets. We know that many Persian poets were weighed with gold at the court of the Mughal rulers. But he was the first among all his contemporary rulers who weighed a poet against bullion. He gave gold and silver coins to Shani Takallu equal to his weight as reward when he composed the following verse in praise of Hazrat Ali.

\textit{Aqar dushman kashad Saghar wagat dust}

\textit{be taq abru-i-mardana-i-ust}

If (Any person, whether a friend or a foe, drinks wine, he puts it in the drinking cup, shaped like his eye brow). It was after him that Jahangir, the Mughal emperor weighed a poet against silver coins.\(^1\) In Isfahan, Qahvah Khana (Coffee House) was the place where people of different classes gathered. Shah Abbas also sometimes paid a visit there and enjoyed the company of the poets. He encouraged them to recite verses extemporaneously.\(^2\) He also suggested in 971 A.H./1592 A.D. that the accounts of the poets with their literary compositions should be compiled. Consequently two Tazkirahs (biographies of poets with the specimens of their poetic compositions), \textit{Khulasat ul A'shar} and \textit{A'rafat ul A'shiqin} were produced.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{1.} \textit{Jahangir Nama}, (Tuzak-i-Jahangiri), Nawal Kishor Publication, P.215.
\end{itemize}
When Shani Takallu, lost the favour of Shah Abbas because of his avarice, Taqi Uddin Auhadi received his favour. He was always in the company of the king, both in stay and travel. The poet writes in his account that, "for a long time I was continuously in the service of His Majesty, during that period, I was so many times awarded gold, robe of honour and mules.¹

Aqdasi of Mash'had went to Qazvin, a few days after the accession of Shah Abbas I. When the king came to know that he was there, he sent for him and listened joyfully to some of his literary compositions. He admired them so much that he noted down some of them in his diary and honoured him with royal favour.²

Amina of Najaf, the poet, went to Isfahan in 1017 A.H/ 1608 A.D. The king received him warmly and awarded one hundred Tumans.³

Fazli of Golpaigan, the poet, was awarded a fief by the king.

Nizam Uddin Ahmad Sharmi of Qazvin was an excellent poet, He was running a tailoring shop. When Shah Abbas I, came to know that he was a talented poet, he suggested him to accompany him to Isfahan. There he fixed his annual stipend for his livelihood.⁴

¹ Arafat-ul-Ashiqin, fols.359-371.
³ Arafat-ul-Ashiqin, Fol.125
⁴ Ibid, fol. 378 and Khair ul Bayan fol. 290

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Etabi Takallu composed an epic and dedicated it to Shah Abbas I. He was awarded Taranad, a village situated in vermin district.¹

Hakim Rukna Masih of Kashan, was among the close companions² of Shah Abbas I. Mirza Malik Mashriqi was appointed in his place when he migrated to Hindustan.³ Shah Murad of Khansar was awarded a handsome cash amount with a robe of honour.⁴

Fasihi Ansari, the poet laureate of Khurasan province, was awarded first time in 1006 A.H./1597 A.D. and second time in 1013 A.H./1605 A.D. at the time when Shah Abbas I undertook the journey to Khurasan. He had the honour of accompanying him when he was proceeding to Isfahan. There he was highly favoured and given handsome awards.⁵

Amir Abul Baqa Tafreshi, Mir Sadruddin Muhammad bin Sharaf-i-Jahan Qazvini and Nizam of Tabriz were engaged in compiling a Tazkirah (the accounts of poets with their works as specimen) by Shah Abbas I. They were paid every year a very handsome amount.⁶

Mahmud Natanzi writes that, "Shah Abbas (I), after administering law and order in Khurasan (province) in 969 A.H.(1590 A.D.) went to Isfahan (the

1. *Tazkirah-i-Maikhana*, p.438
3. *Tazkirah-i-Maikhana* p.588
4. *Tazkirah-i-Nasrabadi* p.318
5. *Tazkirah-i-Maykhana* pp. 574-575 and *Alam Ara-i-Abbasi* p.988

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capital seat of the empire). There he invited the poets of that city. As he wanted to test their capability and examine their poetic genius, so he suggested a couplet and asked them to compose their verses parallel to that. When the poets accomplished their works, the king attentively listened to their compositions, every one was suitably awarded. Each one of them was distinguished among his contemporaries; he awarded rich robes of honour and other awards in abundance. Some of them were promised some good position, while others were given high ranks. In this way he made them distinguished in the society of poets."

Malik Shah Husain of Sistan, the compiler of that Tazkirah writes that, he had heard Shah Abbas, the highly honoured and exalted (King), saying that: "Today, there is no one of the status of Mirza Fasihi and Abu Turab Beg (Furqati Jushaqani) in the art of composing poetry". He further adds in this context that, "This can be said without exaggeration that in examining the poetic compositions His Royal Majesty showed a high standard and the verses which are selected by that exalted Majesty are so powerfully rich that no one can comprehend the meaning contained in them. In those days Maulana Ali Reza, the calligrapher was very close to that exalted king. On the direction of His Majesty, he compiled a selection of verses. For that purpose all the intelligent persons of the imperial camp and those residing in Herat, the capital city, were engaged. Late in the evenings, he brought the verses to the notice of His

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Majesty. He marked those verses which were appreciated by His Majesty and they refreshed the minds (of the listeners).¹

Apart from Shah Abbas I, the other kings of the Safavid dynasty, i.e. Shah Safi ² (1038-1052 A.H./1629-1642 A.D.) Shah Abbas II³ (1052-1078 A.H./1642-1667 A.H.), Shah Sulaiman⁴ (1078-1106 A.H./1667-1694 A.D.) and Shah Sultan Husain⁵ (106-11040 A.H./1694-1727 A.D. were also great admirers of poetry and patrons of poets. Among the descendants of this dynasty, like prince Sam Mirza,⁶ prince Alqas mirza⁷ and princess Parikhan Khanum were also engaged either in poetic compilations or enjoyed poetry by inviting the poets to their private assemblies.

From the facts mentioned above, this is clearly evident that the Safavid rulers were very fond of poetry and greatly favoured Persian poets. This small also be mentioned here that the conclusion that Professor E.G.Brown, Muhammad Qazvini and other critics have drawn (that the Safavid rulers preferred that the Holy Imams should be praised rather than the rulers of their

¹. *Khair ul Bayan*, fol. 301.
³. *Tazkirah-i-Nasrabadi*, pp. 9-10
⁴. Ibid, pp. 355 and 434
⁵. Bilgarami, *Khazana-i-Amirah*, pp. 368 and 369
(i.e., late Shah Tahmasb) this class was enjoying his favour fully. For some time, Mirza Sharaf Jahan and Maulana Hairati were his companions and were associated with his reverend assembly. But, in the last days of his life he laid much emphasis "on enjoining the good and prohibiting to do evil" and considered the class of poets who were non committed impious persons. It was for this reason that he did not pay much of his attention and permit them to present any fragment of laudatory poem in his praise Maulana Muhtasham, (in the mean time) sent from Kashan, an excellent qasida in praise of His Majesty and the other in praise of princess parikhan Khanum, the chaste lady of the time. The qasida was presented to him through Parikhan Khanum. At this the late His Majesty (residing in his heavenly abode)
the late His Majesty (residing in his heavenly abode) said, "I do not like that the poets of the age should open their mouth in my praise. They should, praise rather than me the Sultan of the state, (i.e., Ali) and the holy Imams (peace be upon all of them), so that they may get the reward from their pious souls and then should expect from me as the subtle meanings, the lofty ideas and far fetched metaphors that they use for the kings, in most cases are not applicable to them. It would be wise, on their part if they attribute them to the sacred personalities of the holy Imams, because their glory is much above their praise. In short, Maulana Muhtasham did not get reward from His Excellency and when this news reached Maulana (Muhtasham), he composed seven strophes parallel to the poetic composition of late Maulana Hasan Kashi - who had praised in his poem the Sultan, (i.e Ali) occupying the throne of the guidance (of the people). He composed it by divine inspiration and the composition was so excellent that it was beyond the reach of the poets of the time - Maulana Muhtasham sent his composition (to the king) and received a suitable award. (Since then) the poets of the capital city started to compose their poems in seven strophes. Fifty to sixty excellent poems, in the form of seven strophes, were presented turn by turn (to the king) and all the poets were honoured with award."1

1. Iskandar Beg, Alam Ara-i-Abbasi, p.178.
From the quotation of Iskander Beg Munshi given above it is clearly evident that Shah Tahmasb, in the early days of his reign, was not only fond of poetry, but also was very friendly with poets. But, in his old age he was more inclined towards religious affairs. It was for this reason that he paid only a little attention to the assemblies of joy and poets. The change of this attitude was the main cause that he preferred that the holy Imams should be praised rather than he. But, this indifference did not deprive the class of poets of obtaining royal privilege; rather they were generously awarded when they praised the holy Imams, and this gave them incentive to stay at the imperial court. Even the poets who migrated to Hindustan have praised the holy Imams and prophet Muhammad. The poetical collections of Naziri Nishaburi, U'rfi Shirazi, Kalim Kashani, Saib Tabrizi and many others clearly show that these poets were also devoted to holy Imams and the prophet of Islam. They composed their poems either out of their devotion or on the occasions when they were invited by Shia nobles, associated with the Mughal court, who also celebrated the days of the mourning of holy Imams. Nur Jahan, the favourite queen of Mughal emperor Jahangir, and her brother Asaf Khan being Shia also patronized and invited poets on the occasion when they either celebrated the days of mourning or the birth anniversary of any Imam or prophet Muhammad.

Baba Fighani was the founder of *Sabk-i-Hindi* or the Indian style. It is one of the styles of Persian prose and poetry which was very popular during the Safavid period. U'rfi, Naziri, Faizi, Talib Amuli, Kalim and Saib (the most renowned poet of *Sabk-i-Hindi*) were the prominent poets of their age. Some of them established their independent school in the art of poetry, which was so
popular that it was followed by their successors up to the Renaissance of Persian poetry. This should also be pointed out, that all the above mentioned poets, except Faizi, were born in some part of Persia and when Saib returned to his home land he was appointed the poet laureate by Shah Abbas II. These poets can fairly be identified as the seven gems of the Safavid period. It was for this reason that Shibli Nu'mani, rating them as the first grade poet, gave their account in a separate volume.

Besides, the poetic style of the Safavid period, called Sabk-i-Hindi was founded by those Persian poets who lived in Isfahan and carried it with them when they went to Sindh, Hind (i.e., Hindustan) or the Deccan. Still there is controversy whether this style should be called Sabk-i-Hindi or Sabk-i-Isfahani. In fact, from the point of view of those poets who follow Sabk-i-Iraqi (the style, prevalent before Sabk-i-Hindi the eminent poets of that style were those who produced their works after the Mughal invasion Jalaluddin Rumi, Sadi and Hafiz were more prominent than the others in that age). This style (Sabk-i-Hindi) is the corrupt form of the Standard Persian poetry (i.e., Sabk-i-Iraqi)\(^1\)

This is also worth mentioning, that the poets who spent the last days of their life in the early days of the Safavid period, considered that they were living in the period of the decline of Persian literature. But, on the contrary the, poets born during the Safavid period were of the opinion that they had brought about remarkable change in the preceding style (i.e., Sabk-i-Iraqi.) Their idea was that they had enriched Persian poetry with novel thoughts, wonderful similes,

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1. Malik us Shora Bahar was of the opinion that Sabk-i-Hinid was below the standard established by the great poets like Sadi and Hafiz. See: Sabk Shinasi, Vol. III, p.347.
rare mathaphors and other unparalleled figures of speech. They also claimed that they had introduced the novel ideas in their literature after coming across the scholars who lived in Hind, Sindh and the Deccan. The culture of these regions also made their literary work quite obscure.1

2. **State of Scholarship during Safavid period:**

Shah Ismail Safavi, after setting at rest all the family disputes with the help of the Qazilbashids, declared the Shiite sect2 (the follower of the twelve Imams) as the state religion and based his dynasty on it. Before he came to power the number of the Muslims, following the Shiite sect could be counted on fingers. But, with the support of his Qazil-bashid henchmen and with the military power, he added to their number at the point of dagger. Those who declined to adopt the tenets of this sect were slain brutally. It was for this reason that small number of Persian scholars, following the Sunnite sect in face of the wrath of Shah Ismail converted to Shiism. They, too preferred to live in seclusion in some remote part of the country. But, a large number of them, finding their life in great danger, migrated to some neighbouring country.3

1. For detailed information, See: Ehsan Yar Shater, Safavid literature: progress or decline, pp.228, 237, 240 and 241. See also: Iran under the Safavids, by Roger Savory, Cambridge University Press, 1980, Translated by Kambiz Azizi, Sahar Publication, Tehran, 1366 A.H./1987 A.D., p.188.

2. After the death of Iman Jafar-i-Sadiq, the 6th Imam of the Shiite sect, the shiias divided into two groups. Those who followed his son, Ismail, who had died in the life-time of his father, were called Ismailities. They believe that Ismail is the seventh Imam and there is no Imam to fellow. Those Muslims who followed Imam Musa Kazim, the grandson of Imam Jafar-i-Sadiq were called Musavi. They are called the followers of the twelve Imams. According to their belief the last Imam was Mahdi. Tarikh-i-Alam-Ara-i Abbas by Iskandar Beg Munshi Turkman, edited by Iraj Afshar published by Amir Kabir, Tehran 1350 A.H. (1971 A.D.), p.28.

Subsequently, the scholars of Khurasan took refuge in Transoxiana and Hindustan, while the learned men of Azarbayjan shifted to the Ottoman empire. In the same manner the sages of Fars, Kirman and Khuzistan provinces went to Arabia to settle down there. It was due to this extremely sectarian policy of Shah Ismail Safavi that many scholars, sages and men of learning left their country.

The sudden and abrupt declaration of the Shiite sect as the State religion by Shah Ismail Safavi in a country where the majority of the people followed the tenets of the Sunni sect evidently resulted in an unprecedented chaos in the country. A lack of sufficient number of Shia theologians and the dearth of books on Shiite theology, particularly those required for the administrative affairs of a country, contributed greatly to aggravate the existing chaotic conditions. In this situation, it was thought wise to invite Shia theologians from

1. One of the important persons who migrated to the Ottoman Empire, was Maulana Idris Badlisi Hakim, the writer of the epics called, Hasht Bahisht and Sharajnama. He had served as the secretary to Aqquyunlu Sultans. As he was most prominent among the Kurds, he was therefore received with great honour by Sultan Salim, the ruler of the Ottoman empire. Maulana Idris migrated to the Ottoman empire with two hundred followers and nobles of his time as a result of the Sectarian bigotry of Shah Ismail who had deep contempt for the Muslims of the Sunnite sect. See: Sharaf Nama by Amir Sharaf Badlisi, the unabridged history of Kurdistan edited by Muhammad Abbasi, published by Ilmi printing Institute, Tehran, 1343 A.H. (1964 A.H.), p.448.

2. Alam Ara-i-Safavi, p.65. Besides that, Hamd Ullah Mustanfi, who compiled his book "Nuzhat ul Qulub" in 740 A.H. (1339 A.D.) about the geography of Persia, has also mentioned the sect and religion of every city. About Ardbil he writes, "This city is the religious centre of Sheikh Safi. Most of the people of the city follow the sect of Imam Shafi, and are the disciples of Sheikh Safi. About Salmas he writes, "the inhabitants of this city are of Sunni sect." About Aroumya he writes, "Most of its inhabitants are Shafi (the follower of Imam Shafi)." About the people of Sarab he says "The people are white-skinned and belong to the sunni sect. People of Dah Khawarqan are white and followers of Imam Shafi. The Inhabitants of Tabriz are white and attractive. They are very proud and arrogant. They are Sunni and Shafi. For the Sunni population of other cities of Persia, see: Nuzhat ul Qulub, edited by Gi Lestorang, published by Dunya-i-Kitab, Tehran, 1362 A.H. (1982 A.D.) pp. 81-83 and 85-87.
other countries, like: Jabal-i-Amel, Lebanon, Bahrain and Iraq, so that they could strengthen the newly founded Shia state. Nuruddin Ali bin Husain bin Abdul Ali Karaki, commonly known as Muhaggiq-i-Sani (d. 940 A.H./1533 A.D.) was the first to come to Persia. He was so respected and had such high regard in the eyes of Shah Ismail that he received seventy thousand Dinars every year from him and which he distributed among the students who studied the Shia theology. This also shows the extent to which the services of the Shia theologisms were required and how Shah Ismail encouraged them to come to Persia.

Karaki travelled to Egypt during the reign of Shah Tahmasb 930-984 A.H./1523-1576 A.D.) From there he proceeded to Iraq and then came to Persia. He met him at Qazvin, and fixed an annual stipend of Seven thousand Tumans and allotted cultivable land in Iraq for him and his successors. Muhaqqiq-i-Karaki trained a large number of jurists and the narrators of the traditions (of prophet Muhammad). In times to come all of his students proved profound teachers and each one of them further trained a large number of students. After some time, there also came some theologians to Persia from jabal-i-A'mel and Bahrain. They also worked in their own capacity for the growth and development of the Shiite ideology. Muhaqqiq-i-Sani's son, Abdul Aali bin Sheikh Ali Karaki and his two grand sons (the sons of


Muhaqqiq-i-Sani's daughters) i.e., Saiyid Husain bin Saiyid Ziauddin Karaki Ameli¹ and Saiyid Husain bin Saiyid Haider Karaki Amuli² also proved renowned theologians and were appointed judges of Ardbil, Qazvin and the other cities of Persia by the Safavid kings.³

Shah Tahmasb, on the advice of Muhaqqiq-i-Karki invited another Syrian Scholar, A’ezddin Husain bin Abdul samad of Jabal-i-Amul (d. 984 A.H./1576 A.D.), the father of the renowned scholar Sheikh Bahuddin Amuli of Jabal-i-Amul. He came from Syria to Persia. He stayed for a short while at Isfahan. Later he was appointed Sheikh ul Islam (the leader of Islam). He served in this capacity in Qazvin, Khurasan and Herat. After serving for a short while in Persia, he sought permission of Shah Tahmasb to settle down at Bahrain. But, his son Bahauddin remained in Persia an the instruction of the king.

Muhammad bin Hasan bin Ali (d. 1014 A.H./1605 A.D.) commonly known as Sheikh-i-Horr-i-Amuli also migrated from Syria and settled down at Mash’had. There he wrote a book entitled Amal ul Amel,⁴ which deals with the Scholarly class of Jabal-i-Amel. After that many theologians, belonging to the family of Muhaqqiq-i-Sani and Sheikh Horr-i-Ameli also came to Persia along

3. One of the daughters of Muhaqqiq-i-Karaki was the mother of Mir Muhammad Baqar son of Shamsuddin-i-Damad. As Shamsuddin married the daughter of Muhaqqiq i Karaki, therefore he was entitled Damad (the son in law).
4. This book has been edited by Saiyid Ahmad Husain Ish Kavari, the appendix of which has been prepared by Mirza Abdullah Afandi, published by Kitab Khana-i-Ayatullah Najafi Marashi, Qum (Iran) in 1410 A.H. 1/2 1989 A.D.
with many other theologians, in search of livelihood and most of them settled down there.

Besides, many Shia theologians also kept migrating with their families from Bahrain and Iraq upto the downfall of the Safavid dynasty. They, after settling down there, busied themselves in religious studies and helped the great scholars in their compilation work. As we find in the case of Saiyid ni'matullah Jazayeri, who helped Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (the renowned religious Shia Scholar of Persia) in the compilation of his scholarly work, namely Bihar ul Anwar (the oceans of lights). He came to Persia with his brother. There, he stayed at Shiraz with other Scholars, like Saiyid Hashim Ihsai, Sheikh Jafar Bahrani and Sheikh Abdul Ali Al Huwaizi. He got lessons in theology from them and also acquired knowledge in Islamic philosophy from Mirza Ibrahim, son of Mulla Sadra of Shiraz. He then went to Isfahan and spent some time as student of religious studies. Finally he settled down at Shustar and became known as Shushtari. His son Saiyid Nur Uddin Ali and grand son Saiyid Abdullah also studied Shia theology, who are still considered the great narrators of the traditions (of prophet Muhammad) and shia jurists.

Apart from the above mentioned immigrant scholars, there was also a small group of theologians who were originally Persian. Most of them belonged to the Timurid period and had been taught rational sciences in a greater measure
than the traditional ones. Among them Ghays Uddin Dashtaki¹ (d.948 A.H./1541 A.D.), Shamsuddin Muhammad Khafri² (d.942 A.H./1535 A.D.), Musleh Uddin Muhammad Lari³ (d.979 A.D./1971 A.D.) and Mulla Habib Ullah Shirazi, known as Mirza Jan-i-Bagh-i-Navi Shirazi⁴ (d. 944 A.D./1537 A.D.) were more renowned than others. There was another group of those religious scholars who were originally Persian and their number was also larger than the above mentioned group. Though they got their religious training from non-Persian scholars, yet very soon they became so profound in their studies that some of them were appointed heads of religious institutions. There they trained the new generation of those Persian scholars who wanted to study Shia theology and jurisprudence. In this generation of scholars (who were Persian by race) who


3. Musleh uddin Of Lar (Shiraz) belonged to the Sunni sect and followed the school of Imam Shafaii. He lived in Hindustan during the reign of Humayun and Akbar. In the year 963 A.H. (1555 A.D.) he went to Mecca. After the performance of the holy pilgrimage he stayed at Istanb ul. After staying there for about four years he went to Amed city. As he was appointed the Mutawalli (Trustee) of the Madresa-i-Khusrau in the year 967 A.H. (1559 A.D.) he settled down there and died there in 979 A.H. (1571 A.D.).

were trained by their Persian teachers, some of them won name and fame. Among them Sheikh Muhammad Taqi Majlisi and his son Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, Aqa Jamal Uddin Khansari and his son Aqa Husain1 (d.1098 A.H./1636 A.D.) and his son Aqa Jamal2 (d. 1125 A.H./1713 A.D.) are more renowned than others. Finally this class of scholars also produced many other generations of religious scholars.

The extraordinary attention that Safavid kings paid to the development of theological studies to stabilize their newly formed government caused the rapid expansion of traditional sciences. But, unluckily the same care was not taken in respect of rational sciences, like astronomy, astrology and medicines. In the environment, where the religious scholars of the Arab origin who migrated to Persia were the focus of attention, Persian literature, particularly its poetry was badly neglected. Besides the deterioration of rational sciences as well as Persian poetry was also caused on account of the Turkish language which the Safavid kings spoke.


Philosophy, was disliked by the Safavids\(^1\) and the religious scholars\(^2\) but it also developed as a branch of traditional sciences. The renowned philosophers of that age were Mir Damad and Mulla Sadra, who produced such eminent disciples that each of them established his independent school. Among them, one was Mullah Fathullah Shirazi, who brought to Hindustan the works of his contemporary philosophers like Dawwani, Mulla Sadra, Ghayas Uddin Dashtaki and Mirza jan-i-Bagh-i-Navi. He introduced the works of these master philosophers, as the text books for those students who wanted to specialize in philosophical studies.

**PHILOSOPHY OF MULLA SADRA AND ITS INFLUENCE OVER THE SCHOOLS OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES**

The most renowned philosopher of the Safavid period was Sadruddin Muhammad son of Ibrahim Qawwami, entitled Sadrul Mutaallihin (the chief of the theologians) and commonly known as Mulla Sadra.\(^3\) In philosophical studies, he was the student of Mir Muhammad Baqir Mir Shamsuddin Husaini

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1. The daughter of Shah Safi opened a school in Isfahan. In the will, that she left it was specifically mentioned that philosophy, rational sciences, the books like Shafa, Isharat, Hikmat ul A'in, Sharh-i-Hidayah and the others similar to them are strictly prohibited to be studied there. See : the introduction of historical text entitled Jahanqusha-i Khaqan, written by Akbar Subut, published by Markaz-i-Tahqiqat-i-Farsi-i-Iran O Pakistan. 1364 A.H. (1985 A.D.) p.8.

2. About him Sheikh Mohammad Baqir Khansari writes; "In several of the books compiled by him (i.e. Mulla sadra) there are several topics which do not conform to the spirit of Islamic principles (Shariat). They contain such terms, that have been coined by him. But, they do not prove that he was inclined to blasphemy. They have however misled some great theologians, who have declared him an infidel on the base of his works". See: Rauzat ul Jannat, Vol.IV, p.121.

(d.1041 A.H./1631 A.D.) of Astarabad, known as Mir Damad. Being a poet also, he had adopted "Ishraq" as his noma de plume. In traditional sciences he was the student of Sheikh Bahauddin Amuli. He compiled several valuable works, on the two above mentioned subjects that he had studied.

Philosophy, as compared to religious studies was not considered a desirable subject in his time. In spite of opposition and objections raised against him and despite being charged even of blasphemy on the basis of his works - he made remarkable progress in his studies and produced many eminent students.

Among them the following three students proved outstanding:

1. Shamsuddin Muhammad Gilani, commonly called Shamisa,
2. Fayyaz Lahiji (d. 1070 A.H./1659 A.D.) and


2. Some of the works of Mullah Sadra are: Al hikmat ul Mutaalia known as Alasfar ul Arbaa, Ittisaf ul Mahiyyat bilwajoud; Risala-i-tasawur-o-Tasdiq; comentry on the parts of Hidayat-i-Ashrauddin Abhari; Alshawahid ul Ruboubyat; Alhikmat ul Arshia, Ittihad Ul A'qil Wailma'qul, comments on Ilahiyyat-i-Shafa and comments on Sharhi-i-Hikmat ul Ishraq by Qutbuddin Shirazi.


3. Muhammad Mohsin son of Shah Murtaza son of Shah Mahmud Kashani, known as Mullah Mohsin Faiz Kashani (d.1091 A.H./1680 A.D.). Besides these three renowned students, there were many others who adopted the principles of his philosophy.1

Hakim Mulla Fath Ullah Shirazi, a follower of the School of Mulla Sadra Shirazi, came to the Deccan in response to the invitation of Ali Adil Shah, the ruler of Bijapur princely state. But, after some time, on the advice of Khwaja Muhammad Dehdar (Fani Shirazi) he went to Hindustan and there joined at Agra the court of Akbar, the Mughal emperor.2 Akbar, was very liberal in his religious views, but Fathullah Shirazi was very conservative in his Shiite views and strictly followed all its practices. But as he was very learned and profound in his studies, he was most respected at the court of the emperor. Philosopher, physician, astronomer, and astrologer he was appointed the personal advisor to the emperor, who entitled him Amin ul Mulk (the trustworthy of the empire) Azududdaula, (the upper arm of the state) and Azud ul Mulk (the upper arm of the country). The emperor also assigned him the office of Sadr (grand Vizier)


2. About him Badauni writes that so far as rational science was concerned he was profound in philosophy, geometry, astronomy, mathematics, talisman, necromancy and the use of crane machine. In the above mentioned branches of science and technology he was so dexterous that if the emperor would have paid attention to his plans, he could establish a well-equipped observatory. In traditional sciences, he was also conversant with the sayings of the prophet Muhammad, commentary on Quran and Islamic law. He has written several books on various subjects. Muntakhab ut Tawarikh, Vol.3, p.145.
and consulted him on the matters regarding war campaigns and the state affairs. His death, which took place in 997 A.H. (1588 A.D.) was such a sad event that it also grieved the emperor. Mourning his death, he exclaimed "If Hakim Fath Ullah had fallen a captive in the hands of the enemy and he demanded the whole revenue of the country and all the imperial treasure, as the amount of ransom, I would have certainly paid it and would have felt that I had benefited from that bargain".¹

He wrote several books on Science and technology and also made a number of wonderful inventions. He prepared a water mill, which worked automatically. He made a mirror, which reflected strange figures from a distance. He also cast a cannon that threw balls, every time when fired.²

INTRODUCTION OF PERSIAN SCHOLARS' WORKS IN HINDUSTAN

Khatib Kazruni, Imad Tarumi, Saiyid Abul Fazl Astarabadi and Saiyid Rafi Uddin Safavi, who had been the students of Jalal Uddin Dawwani (d. 902

1. Hakim Aboul Fath Gilani also passed away some time after his death. Sarfi Sawji has mentioned in a chronogram, the death of these two great men:

   Im sal do allama ze alam raftand
   Raftand, mo'akhkhar-o-moqaddam raftand,
   Ta' har do mowafiqat nakardand beham
   Tarikh na shud ki, "Har do baham raftand." (997)

   (This year two learned men passed away from this world, The one passed away after the other.

   It is, therefore, the chronogram is "Har do baham raftand" (997 A.H.). For detail information See; Haft Iqlim, Vol.1, pp.234-235.

2. Abul Fazl has also mourned his death and writes: "The emperor who knows the worth of every one was also grieved at the sad demise of this philosophor. He repeatedly said that Fath ullah was physician, astronomer and my councillor, who can understand my grief. If he would have fallen in the hands of the people of Farang (the Europeans) and they demanded whole of my treasure as ransom, I got much gain in this bargain and considered that precious gem much cheaper at this price. Akbar Nama, Vol.2, pp.9-10 and Vol.3, pp.391/401/457/465/558.

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A.H./1496 A.D.), came from Persia to Gujrat alongwith Fath Ullah Shirazi. After reaching this province, first they went to Bijapur and then proceeded towards Agra. Here, they noticed that the works of their contemporary philosophers, like Dawwani Sadruddin Dashtaki, Ghayas Uddin mansur, son of Sadr uddin Dashtaki and Mulla Mirza Jan-i-Bagh-i-Navi Shirazi were taught in the centres of religious studies of Hindustan. The result was that philosophy with its allied subjects was now more popular than before in different parts of Hindustan and some persons gained great reputation as renowned Scholars of these subjects. Among them Sheikh Wajihuddin Gujrati, student of Imad Uddin excelled. He wrote commentaries on the works of those scholars of Persia which were taught since long in this country and the Indian scholars who used them as the source material for their study were indebted to him and considered themselves the indirect students of the above mentioned scholars. Sheikh Mubarak (the father of the two celebrated noble scholars i.e., Faizi and Abul Fazl at the court of Akbar) was the student of Khatib-i-Kazrani and Imad-i-Lari. Faizi was the student of Khawja Husain Marvazi, one of the descendants of Ala Uddaula Simnani. Abdul Salam Lahori was the student of Amir Fath ullah. Sheikh Muhammad Afzal son of Hamza-i-Jaunpuri (d.1062 A.H./1651 A.D.) originally belonged to Damavand. But, as his father was born at Mazandran, he was commonly called Mazandrani. He got his first lessons in philosophy from his father. After that he became one of the students of Hakim Ali Gilani and Hakim Fath Ullah Shirazi. Mahmud Jaunpuri (993-1062 A.H./1584-1651 A.D.), the greatest Scholar ever produced by Hindustan was the student of Sheikh Muhammad Afzal. Mahmud was one of the descendants of caliph Umar.
He had very close relations with Abul Hasan Asaf Khan (the son of Mirza Ghayas Uddin Tehrani) the commander-in-chief of the army of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan, his grand vizier and father-in-law. As a scholar of traditional sciences he was profound in philosophy logic, history, ornate prose writing and poetry. He (Mahmud) being always present in his company got lessons in traditional sciences. He was also a student of Mir Fandriski, the great philosopher of Persia, who had come to Hindustan and had friendly relations with Asaf Khan. He wrote commentaries on several books of the scholars of Persia. being a poet, he also composed poems in Persian. He differed in his views with many philosophers of Persia, particularly with Mir Damad Astarabadi. But, in spite of all that he had great regard and respect for them. He prepared many students, who in their turn taught traditional sciences to coming generations. Some biographers are of the opinion that he followed the Shiite sect.¹

By the end of the 12th century A.D. (18th century A.D.) Qutb Uddin Suhalavi prepared a wide range curriculum for Islamic studies. It was carried out by his son Nizam Uddin, who laid much emphasis on rational sciences.

Qutbuddin Ansari was the direct descendant of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari (396-571 A.H./1005-1175 A.D.), the sage of 5th century/11th century A.D.) of the Islamic world, who in his turn was the descendant of Abu Ayyub Ansari, one of the companions of prophet Muhammad. Qutbuddin was an outstanding

scholar of rational and traditional sciences and produced a number of such students who established many institutions of Islamic studies in different parts of the Indian sub-continent.

Under the curriculum, chalked out by Qutbuddin, commentaries were written on the books like *Sharh-i-Jalaluddin Dawwani Kazruni* on *Aqaid-i-Azduddin Eiji, Mutawwal* and *Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Taftazani*. Though the pioneer of Islamic studies was Qutbuddin, but, as it was carried out by his son, Nizamuddin, therefore, it is still called *Dars-i-Nizamia* (The curriculum of Nizami), which is the widest programme of Islamic studies in the whole Asian countries for the students who follow the Sunnite sect.¹

Qutbuddin, by his efforts produced such outstanding students that they carried out his mission so successfully that even today their pupils and disciples are teaching the same syllabus in different parts of the Indian Sub-continent. Besides, many descendants of Qutbuddin also followed in his footsteps and during the last three centuries, no family throughout the Indian sub-continent has produced so many learned men and scholars of Islamic studies as has this single family.² It is rightly said about this family that everyone here is wiser than the others. Qutbuddin was assassinated during the reign of Aurangzib Alamgir (1068-1118 A.H./1658-1707 A.D.) in the year 1113 A.H. (1701 A.D.). When the Moghal emperor came to know about this event, he gave to his survivors the palace called Farangi Mahal that belonged to the French traders. Here, Nizam

1. Pertaining to Suhali, a town in Lucknow district, U.P. (India).
uddin (son of Qutb uddin) established his school for religious studies, which later in Asia proved to be the largest religious institution of Islamic studies for the students of the sunnite sect. The curriculum prepared by Nizam uddin was officially recognized in all the Asian countries. At present, most of the scholars of Islamic studies are, directly or indirectly, indebted to this institution and pay their homage to its founder by calling him the leader of the religious scholars, the pioneer of Islamic studies, the master of knowledge and the source spring for spreading rational and traditional sciences.¹ They also remember his son, Nizam uddin with the same reverence and prefix Imam ul Hind (the leader of all the religious scholars of India) to his name.²

Nizamuddin died in 1161 A.H./1747 A.D. and was followed by his successors: Abdul Ali, his son Muhammad Hasan, the grand son of his brother Kamal uddin Suhalavi, his cousin and Hamdullah Sandelvi. These learned men also added to the name, fame and glory of the said institution. Some of them migrated to other parts of the country, where they established the branches of it for Islamic studies. During the last few years the teachers of these institutions have also modified their courses of study to adapt to the exigencies of the present age.

Here, this is also worth mentioning that Nizam uddin, the founder of Religious institute of Farangi Mahal was originally Persian. He also made critical study of the works of those theologians who belonged to Persia and

added further explanatory notes to the literary works of these scholars. He wrote commentaries on Sharhul Hedaya of Mulla Sadra, Sharh-i-Aqayid-i-Dawani, Hashia-i-Qadim-i-Dawwani on Sharh-i-Qushchi and on Tahrir-i-Khawja Tusi. He also wrote a treatise in Persian in which he mentioned the excellent qualities of his spiritual guide.1

He used Persian for his private letters, the replies of the questions asked about religious matters and issuing decrees concerning the jurisprudential problems. At present, all of his writings have the value of authentic documents giving information about historical events and religious trends of his age.2

Besides, the lineage of his discipleship, in the field of philosophy reaches the great thinkers of Persia, as he was the student of Qutbuddin Shamsabadi (d.1121 A.H./1709 A.D.) and Hafiz Aman ullah Banarsi (1122/1710 A.D.) The latter wrote marginal and explanatory notes on Tafsir-i-Baizavi, Aqaid-i-eji, Sharh-i-Muwaqif, Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Dawwani and Hashiya-i-Qadim-i-Dawwani. In addition to that he wrote a book of the universe in which he compared the views of Mir Damad Astarabadi, the great philosopher of Persia and Mahmud Jaunpuri, the Indian thinker of Islamic philosophy.3

Shamsabadi and Banarsi were the pupils of Qutb uddin Suhalvi, who in his mystic views followed the principles of Chishti order, the founder of which

2. The founder of Dars-i-Nizami, pp.95-186, Quoted from the Article : Farangi Mahal, by Akbar Subout, p.117.
was Khwaja Muin uddin Chishti of Sistan, Persia.\(^1\) Qutbuddin was a disciple of his father, Abdul Halim and Mulla Danyal Chorasi. The latter rendered great service to Islamic studies and many scholars benefited, from his discourses.\(^2\) Abdul Halim and Chorasi were the disciples of Mufti Abdul Salam Daivi (d. sometime after 1047 A.H./1637 A.D.), who wrote explanatory and marginal notes on Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Taftazani, Tafsir-i-Baizavi, H. Aashiya-i-Khiyali bar Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Taftazani and a commentary on Tahzib ul Manteq.\(^3\)

Daivi was the student of Mufti Abdul Salam Lahori (d. 1037 A.H./1627 A.H.) who also wrote marginal and explanatory notes on Tafsir-i-Baizavi, Lahori was the disciple of Hakim Saiyid Fath ullah Shirazi.\(^4\) Fathullah Shirazi was the disciple of Khwaja Jamal uddin Shirazi and Ghayas uddin Mansur Shirazi.\(^5\) The latter was the greatest thinker of Persia in Tenth century (17th century A.D.) of the Islamic era.\(^6\) Mahmud Shirazi was the pupil of Jalal uddin Dawwani, the greatest thinker of Persia during the 9th century (16th century A.D.) of the Islamic era. Ghayasuddin Mansur was the disciple of his father.\(^7\) Saiyid Sadruddin Dashtaki, one of the two great philosopher of Persia during the 9th century (16th century of Islamic era).\(^8\)

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2. Choras is a town in the vicinity of Lucknow.
5. Ibid.
Dawwani was the disciple of his father, Sad Uddin, Muhi uddin Kashkenari and Khwaja Hasan Shah known as Baqqal. All the above mentioned persons and Qavam uddin Karbali (the instructor of Dawwani and Dashtaki) were the students of Sharif Jurjani. Jurjani was the student of Mubarak Shah, who was the pupil of Qutbuddin Razi. He was the student of Allama Hulli. He was the student of Katibi, Shams uddin Kishi and Khwaja Tusi. Finally all the above mentioned scholars, generations after generations, were the disciples of Ibn-i-Sina.

Though the works of profound scholars of traditional sciences were selected to teach the students of Islamic studies, yet these works could not develop the mental capacities of most of the students and make their living conditions better. The Scholars who wrote explanatory notes and commentaries on the text books, kept them confined to the environs in which the authors lived. These commentators never thought of the age they were living in and the changes that were being made in the subject with which they were concerned. They remained ignorant of the revolution that was taking place in rational sciences and cultural activities all over the world. Their maximum approach was upto Ibn-i-Sina, Sheikh-i-Ishraq, Mir damad, Fakhr-i-Razi and Mulla Sadra. But, the researches that had been done on the works of the above mentioned scholars, generations after generations, were the disciples of Jurjani was the student of Mubarak Shah, who was the pupil of Qutbuddin Razi. He was the student of Allama Hulli. He was the student of Katibi, Shams uddin Kishi and Khwaja Tusi. Finally all the above mentioned scholars, generations after generations, were the disciples of Ibn-i-Sina.

3. *Ansari, Ulama-i-farangi Mahal*, p.44. (Apparently this Shamsuddin was the son of Mubarak Shah, known as Mirak Bugharayi, the commentator of Kalemat ul Ain.
philosophers all over the world, were still beyond the reach of the students as well as their teachers, who were regarded as the highly learned and profound in the subject that they taught.¹

**Religious atmosphere of Persian during Safavid period**

(a) **Role of Safavid rulers:**

The Safavids belonged to the saintly class which was known as mystic rather than members of the Shiite community. The common people, in view of their behavior and mode of living, looked upon them with reverence. Among them Qizilbashids were closer than the others and they were associated with each other as the spiritual guide and the disciples. In the sphere of mysticism, they had more material means and greater manpower at their disposal than the mystics of other orders. Hence their impact on the history of Persia was more indelible than that of the other orders. But, culturally the chiefs of the Safavid order were weaker than the spiritual guides of Sarbedaran, Hurufian, Nurbakhshiyen and the other orders alike. It is for this reason that in the Safavid order, we hardly find any saint who was as Self-sacrificing as were Shaykh Hasan Juri, Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh and Saiyid Fazlullah Naimi Astrabadi. Though they were not distinguished in spirituality, morality and scholarship, yet they were anxiously desirous of attaining chieftainship of their family, therefore they occupied such position for which they were not worthy with the result that social corruption set in and their devotees, were demoralised.

1. *Bani-i-Dars-i-Nizami*, p.260
The Safavids did not derive the sense of the term "Shiism" from any scholastic philosophy or any branch of Islamic jurisprudence. They gave it their own interpretation having been inspired by some sufi orders and that group of the devotees of Ali (the cousin of prophet Muhammad and the first Imam, according to the Muslims of Shiite sect) who were called Ghulat and considered him the Deity, out of their extreme devotion. These Sufis and Ghulat were not much different from those followers of Ali who lived in Syria and Asia Minor. It was for this reason that when the safavids started to propagate Shiism, particularly at the early stage, they boasted much of being Shiah without knowing its fundamental principles and the exigency of it in that period.

But, at the later stage, when the Safavid invited the Shiite clergy class as their associates in the affairs of the state while the jurists also showed their interest in it, there was no way for the safavids to get rid of the fanatic members of the Sufis of different orders and Ghulat as their irrational intervention was a great obstacle in the way of the smooth functioning of the administrative machinery. Even then, Shiism was nothing but a series of formalities which were performed by the state dignitaries.

In the account of Shah Ismail, we have already read that he claimed to be the successor of Mahdi, the twelfth Imam, who had gifted him a sword, the head-gear and the belt with the instruction to revolt against the oppressors. He also paid an amount of seventy thousand gold coins annually to Sheikh Ali Karki, to distribute it among the deserving students of religious studies. Once, in a war campaign he ordered general massacre, in which about fifteen thousand people, young and old, were killed. This holocaust forced some Saiyids (the
descendants of Ali) to take refuge in a mosque with their Kith and kin. They sent their message to the king, requesting him to feel pity on the descendants of Ali to which his minister replied: "When the war seekers of a particular region are captured there is no distinction between a young man or an old person, guilty or guiltless. There is also no discrimination between a Saiyid and a non-Saiyid, a Sunni or a Shiite".¹

Then he ordered to open the gate of the mosque and killed all the Saiyids. Their belongings were distributed among the "Ghazis". He was the same minister, who after capturing Qarshi fort, ordered that even the cats and dogs of it should not be left alive. He was highly pleased when he levelled the fort to the ground, and in the acts of cruelty he did what had already been done by Chingiz Khan and Timur.

During the reign of Shah Tahmasb, many theologians meddled with the state affairs by proclaiming themselves the deputy of Imam Mahdi, the twelfth Imam. The king also thought of himself as the "deputy" or "Vice Imam" and was brought to the throne by that Wali-i-Faqih (the protector of Islamic jurisprudence - title used for the deputy of Imam Mahdi by the Muslims of the Shiah community). Together with all these proclamations, he also became cynical. He often spent, most of his time in Hamman (hot bath) and washed himself considering that many things which were in his surrounding were unholy. He had declared that opposition to the jurist class was as condemnable as polytheism is in Islam". He was also sending big amounts in cash to the Saiyid families of the cities of Qum, Mashhad, Sabzawar, Qazwin and Astarabad

¹. Allama Majlisi has claimed in his treatise that Mohaqqiq Karki was the main figure who instigated Shah Ismail to eliminate the Sufis. For further detail, see: Resala-i-Javabia-i-Muhammad Baqir Dar Tasawwuf". Mss. copy of (pre-Islamic revolution of Iran) Senate collection, No.485. (Cat. Vol.I, p.284.)
with the instruction that the said amount should be spent on the celebration of the birth anniversaries of all the fourteen members of the holy family prophet Muhammad, his daughter Fatimah and the twelve Imams). He was so strict in the observance of the principle of righteousness, lawfulness, kindness and abstinence that if he came to know that someone was playing on any musical instrument he was punished by cutting his hands.

Shah Abbas, likewise, had instructed his secretary to write "the slave of Ali", instead of his name. Besides, he called himself "the dog at the threshold of Ali". Once he went on foot from Isfahan to Mashhad to pay his homage to Imam Musa Raza and traversed the distance of two hundred Farsakh (twelve hundred kilo meters) in twenty eight days. When he was paying his homage there, he took the pairs of scissors to trim the wick of a candle stick. Sometimes he also did such pious deeds (in the frame work of Islamic law) as

1. Ghayas uddin Khand Mir, Ilahib us Siyar p.476, Hasan Romlu, Ahsan ut Tawarikh, p.75., Iskandar Beg, Tarikh-i- Alam Aroel-Abbasi, p.30. The compiler of Jahankusha-i-Khaqan writes on page 198, "Qizilbashids, on the instructon of Shah Ismail, made such a general massacre that there was not even a single inhabitant alive in that enclosure".

2. Shah Tahmasb, while addressing Muhaqqiq-i-karki, wrote in a letter, "You are more deserving than me, to manage the affairs of the State, because you are the deputy of Imam Mahdi. This would have been a matter of pleasure for me to carry out your order and act upon the instruction you gave me". See : Rauzat ul Jannat, Vol.14, p.361, pp.

3. For detailed information about the Dastur ul A'mal (the instructions to be carried out) of Shah Tahmasb, read A'lam Ara-i-Abbasi, Vol.I, pp.122-123. Tehran edition. Jalaluddin Yazdi, the compiler of Tarikh-i-Abbasi, writes that the king built a Takya (a place specific for religious purpose, particularly for mourning the martyrdom of holy Imams) in the year 1011 A.H./1602 A.D., the chornogram of which he mentioned in the following:

Kulba-i ra ki man shudam bani
maitab am Takya-i-Sagan-i-A list
Khana-i-Dil Kusha" Shudash tarikh
chun ki az kalb-i-Aastan-i-A list.

(he cottage which I have built, is a hermitage for the devotees of Ali. I got this bounty from God, because I am devotee of Ali since the day of the creation of the universe. Its chornogram is Khana-i-Dil Kusha (a heart pleasing house), because it is for those devotees who rest on the threshold of the Shrine of Ali.)
made his contemporary philosopher and jurists, Mir Damad write that he sat with him for very long time and so long as he had been in his company, he spent most of the time in prayers. Before offering prayers and sitting with devotion, he usually took bath. During the days he was observing fast, he used to sit with him upto the midnight, after breaking the fast. He also discoursed on religious matters with other theologians and learned men. Apart from the two preceding examples, many others can also be cited. But in spite of all that, what we find lacking in this period of history is the implementation of religious laws, particularly those related to individual, social, economic and moral rights of human beings. It is clearly evident from the history of the whole Safavid period, that the rulers of this dynasty did not observe Islamic rules and regulation so far as their administration of the country and territorial expansion was concerned.

On the contrary, we are shocked to find that in torturing their opponents they were worse than beasts. Cutting any of their limb or limbs, throwing them into boiling oil, filling their garment with gun powder for blowing them up, making them blind, keeping them immersed in moist lime, pouring melting lead in their throats, transfixing their bodies, peeling off the skin of the living persons, filling their skin with husk, hanging them and throwing them before man-eating dogs were some minor punishments that they meted out to those whom they disliked. Worse than that was that the executioners of the Safavids were permitted to cut the limbs of a living enemy and eat his flesh in their presence.

All these brutal activities were going on in the name of promoting the Shiite sect and the creed followed by the holy family and to satisfy their animal instinct and attain power by using fair means or foul.¹

(b) Sectarian differences during Safavid Period:

The problems that confronted the Safavids, regarding the religion, were the sharp differences based on sectarianism, which played havoc to the Muslims all over Persia and Asia Minor. These differences caused the Muslims of the Sunnite and the Shiite sects to waste their military might and political efficiency. This state of affairs afforded on opportunity to Western explorers to penetrate in the East so that they might put their colonial designs into action. The colonialists fanned the flame of these differences in their commercial interest and created such situation that differences between the two sects (Shiites and Sunnis) were further aggravated as a resulted of which they wasted their physical as well as mental energies and capacities. The religious scholars, too at the courts of the Ottomans and the Safavids took the advantage of the historical back ground and brought into lime light, those bitter incidents that had taken place among the four Orthodox Caliphs of Islam. Though, both the dynasties have gone in oblivion, but they have left behind a legacy of such intricate problems that even today the whole Islamic world is torn asunder.

At the same time books were also written to vitiate the atmosphere. The writers of each sect tried their best to condemn the creed and conduct of the

¹. *Tarikh-i-Inqilab ul Islam*, Ms. Copy of Kitab Khana-i-Milli-i-Tehran, Fol.599. *Ahsan ut Tawarikh* by Rumlu, pp.75-80. For further information regarding such brutal activities, see: *Tarikh-i-Gilan* by Abdul Fattah Fumani, published at Rasht (Iran) in 1314-15 A.H. (1935-36 A.D.)
opposite sect. The continuous wars based on sectarian conflicts, weakened both the powers so much that Nadir Shah Afshar (1145-1160 A.H./1732-1747 A.D.) crushed the Safavids and confined the Ottomans to their territory. He tried to solve this problem by introducing the code of conduct (called Figh-i-Jafari) which was framed by Imam Jafar Sadiq, the sixth descendant of Ali, the Caliph. But, this was not acceptable to the Muslims who lived in the Ottoman empire, because this had already been adopted by the Muslims of the Shieite sect.

These differences, coupled with animosity reached such a pass that even one could not utter a single world to patch them up. Mir Imad Husaini of Qazvin, the master calligrapher of Nastaliq style, once exclaimed that it would have been better that the differences be settled down between the rulers of the two countries. But, this wish became a crime and he was killed brutally. After this tragic incident his son had no alternative except disappearing from the scene.

These differences were not only confined to the Muslims of the Shiite and the Sunnite sects, but they also transmitted their venom to the ruling class and the Sufis of the Safavid order. The situation further worsened to the extent that the clergy class too succumbed to it and was divided into two groups—one-supporting the ruling class and the other opposing it. Some incidents of this nature are given below:

**Conflicts between the ruling class and the Sufis:**

The Safavids gained political power with the help of Qazilbashids and Sufis, devotees of Sheikh Safi and his descendants. The sufis had supported them in the expectation that the Safavids would establish such a government that would function according to Islamic law. As the Safavids did not know much
about the tenets of Islam, it was thought wise in order to run the government on Islamic principles that the help of those Shiah jurists should be sought who lived outside the territory of Safavid rule. For this purpose the scholars of Islamic jurisprudence, living in Syria and Jabal-i-Amel were sought out. After that many jurists appeared on the scene. Among them Muhaqqiq Karaki was the most renowned. The clergy very soon gained politico-religious power and the office of Sheikh ul Islam (the leader of Muslims) was created for them. When the clergy was given recognition by the state, they became so powerful that the Sufis lost their significance.

This conflict did not only rage between the Sufis and jurists but it also affected the Shiah scholars of religious sciences. Some of them had great attachment to particular sufi order or orders and claimed that they did not only theoretically agree to mystic philosophy but practically followed and lived according to its doctrines, whereas others refuted them.

The scholars who were under the influence of mysticism shared common views with the mystics. There were also some who did not strictly follow its principles but only posed themselves to be so by using mystic expressions and terms. In this situation they repeatedly used mystic expressions and terms to impress the common people. They usually associated themselves with the renowned mystic philosophers, Mansur Hallaj, Abu Hamid Ghazali and Muhiuddin Arabi and the like. The scholars who were against the mystics spoke much against them and criticized them publicly. This conflict created great confusion among the common people about religious thoughts and mystic ideas sometimes quite absurd.
The author of *Al Arba‘in fi mataen el Mutasawefin* analysing the conduct of the mystics writes how the religious scholars had yielded to the influence of the mystics:

In the beginning, when the sufis came in contact with the Imamis (the Muslims of shiite sect) with their mystic idiosynracies they maintained the type of distance which is between the skin and the kernel. Some of them (i.e. Imamis) were inclined to the kernel of their discourses and extracted some good portion of it by removing the skin. The contents (i.e., the kernel (which had been chosen had the spirit of the sayings of the prophets, the preceptors, the doctors of religion and their followers. They interspersed their writings with their sayings in order to win admiration and recognition of the people as these sayings were very similar to the words uttered by Ali, the leader of the pious ones, and the other saintly persons. Then, they gradually started to interpret these sayings so as to suit their interest. There were also persons who selected some of these sayings and acted upon them to obtain enlightenment. The main purpose was to follow the path of Islamic law and lead a virtuous life. In short, everyone who noticed the life of the grand father, the second martyr paid much heed to it. Again, there was a class of religious scholars, who belonged to the Haqqa order. Whatever they narrated, was listened to carefully by their

1. The book *Al Arba‘in Fi mataen el Mutasawefin* was written in two volumes, but at present the first volume of its manuscript is available in which the conduct of Sufis has been condemned. The author of the book is anonymous but seems to be one of the students of Allama Majlisi and one of the descendants of Shahid-i-Sani (Zain ud din, bin Ali, bin Ahmad, bin Mohammad, bin Jamal Uddin, bin Taqi udding, bin Saleh (911-965 A.H./1505/1557 A.D.). he was one of the renowned jurists of the Shiah sect. (martyred in 965 A.H./1557). This quotation has been extracted from folio VIII. quoted from the book : *Din-o-Siyasat Dar Dawra-i-Safavi*, (Religione and politics in Safavi period), by Rasoul Jafarian, Ansarian Publication, Qum, 1370 A.H., pp.232-233.
followers. But, sometimes their sermons were so obscure that it was hard for the audience to make out and there came a time when people became disgusted with the Islamic code of conduct and its practices. They ultimately associated themselves with any Sufi order.¹

From this critical analysis it is clearly evident that the religious Scholars were quite against the Sufis. The sayings of Sufis, though had been listened to at the preliminary stage with the intention of following the Islamic tenets yet, ultimately the people started to note them. The main reasons of which was that the conservative group of religious doctors was against those Shiite religious scholars who were inclined, in their writings or speech to the philosophy of Ghazali and Muhiuddin Arabi, the two great sages of the Islamic world.

In this historical back ground when we survey the measures that were taken by the religious doctors against the sufis, we come across the first conflict. But, the appearance of that class of religious scholars who were inclined towards mysticism, formed the genesis of the second conflict, which was in fact a conflict between the conservative and the liberal religious scholars.

When Mullah Muhammad Tahir Qummi (d. 1098 A.H./1686 A.D.) took a stand against the sufis, he did not differentiate much between the persons who were merely called sufis and Faiz-i-Kashani, and the persons of his category. In his time, though Philosophy and mysticism were considered two branches of knowledge but from his point of view they were interdependent in the works of Faiz-i-Kashani and he had paid equal attention to both subjects.

1. The followers of the Truth.
It should also be pointed out here that there has been a regular interconnection between mysticism and shiism, which requires a thorough investigation. The scholars who have worked on this subject have formed different views, because of the difference in their approach.

Asceticism, as a principle, is widely acclaimed in Shiism, because the concept of vilayat (Ali's successorship, as a member of the family of prophet Muhammad) is of great significance among the Muslims of the Shiite sect. Furthermore, as the ideas of Ghulitis (a sect of Muslims, who were most devoted to Ali, and considered him a deity) had also penetrated in Shiism, they prepared a ground for mysticism to adjust itself to the shiite ideology. But, this concept remained only a theory among the Muslims of the Ghulat sect, Ismailis (Ismailis) and the other sub-sects, derived from them, took this concept as the part of their religious belief.

This is also a recognised fact that most of the Sufis, who also introduced some new order, have been the follower of the sunnite sect. But, in the ninth century of the Islamic era (fifteenth century of the Christian ear) we find some persons who tried to amalgamate shiism with mysticism. Among them Saiyid Haidar Amuli (d. 978 A.H./1473 A.D.) was most renowned.

The facts given above confirm the truth of the view that, though most of the Sufis belonged to the sunnite sect and their different orders also developed in the environment where there was majority of sunnites, yet, as the advocates of all their sufi orders, still associate themselves in one way or the other, with Ali (except Jalal uddin Rumi, who associated him self with Abu Bakr, the first caliph). This provided a common ground for the Muslims of the Shiite and the
Sunnite sects i.e. the devotion to Ali. This was the main reason that mysticism penetrated into Shiism during the Safavid period. But in spite of that the Shiism were not consciously ready to accept mysticism. This happened with one of the religious scholars of the Shiite sect during the reign of Shah Ismail. As, he was much inclined to mysticism, he was charged to be Sunni.¹

This is an admitted fact that the renowned Muslims sages belonging to the Sunnite sect have been the pioneers of mystic thoughts, but as they have more reverence for Ali, than any other caliph of Islam, it provided at least a meeting-ground for the Sunnis and Shias to come closer. In the light of this phenomenon, the possibility of adjustment between shiism and mysticism, was not a far cry and this was ultimately put into effect. This measures was followed by the popularity of mysticism among the Shias and, as a result, a book was written on this subject, in which it was declared that a sufi cannot be other than a shiism. Shah Ismail was also convinced and declared that sufism was acceptable to him in case the enemies of Ali were cursed and reverence shown to his descendants.²

Any how, it was first political measure that was taken by the Safavid to bring about a compromise between mysticism and Sunnism, but this did not last long. Because, when the religious scholars of the Shiite sect came in power they did not honour the compromise formula arrived at earlier between Shiism and mysticism. This adjustment, though short-lived, with all of its theoretical


possibilities, produced a new generation of religious scholars whose approach was like that of Faiz-i-Kashani (d. 1091 A.H./1680 A.D.). This generation, equipped with philosophy, shiism, and mysticism, gave form to a particular concept. This set of scholars was naturally, in confrontation with that small group which was actively against the Sufis and considered them as their part and parcel.¹

These differences that had developed, somehow the other, between the sufis and the Safavids, were forced by their own followers and the various groups of religious scholars. They compelled a large number of people, to migrate to some other part of the world, particularly towards Hindustan. Because, this land had already played host to mystics, saints and sages in the past. Among them Ali bin-i-Usman Hajveri, Khwaja Muin Udding Chishti, the founder of the Chisti order and Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani, the spiritual guide of the Saiyid of Hamadan city are worth mentioning here.² Besides, the sufis of the Suhrawardi order also took refuge here. Some of the renowned ones included Sheikh Jalal uddin Tabrizi, Qazi Hamid Nagori, Saiyid Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakarya, Maulana Majd Uddin Haji and Sheikh Zia uddin Ruhi.³

¹ Alam Ara-i-Safavi, p.560.
² For detailed information, see: Dunbala-i-tasawwuf dar Iran (search of mysticism in Iran), p.230.