# MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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#### منابع

اصغر، آقتاب (۱۳۶۴). تاریخنویسی فارسی در هند و پاکستان، لاهبور، خانهٔ فرهنگ جیبوری اسلامی ایران؛ هاشمپیور سبحانی، توفیق (۱۳۷۷). نگاهی به ترایخ ادب فارسی در هند، تهران، انتشارات دبیرخانهٔ شورای گسترش زبان و ادبیات فارسی.

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## احوال جگت سینگ

تکنگاری، دربارهٔ لشکرکسشی مظفر خان، ملقب به خانجهان علیه جگتسینگ، به فارسی، اثر شیخ سیدجلال حصاری، در قرن ۱۱ ق.

این کتاب مشتمل است بر وقایع و حوادث لشکرکشی سیدمظفر خان، ملقب به خانجهان، بر یکی از امرای عاصی هندو، جگتسینگ، در چهاردهمین سال پادشاهی شاهجهان پادشاه سلسلهٔ تیموریان هند. مؤلف این کتاب که در مقام وقایع نویس رسمی در رکاب مظفر خان شاهد همهٔ جریانات و وقایع بوده همهٔ آنچه دیده است به تفصیل و با جزئیات بیان کرده است. نسخهٔ خطی این رسالهٔ تاریخی منحصر بیان کرده است. نسخهٔ خطی این رسالهٔ تاریخی منحصر بهفرد در کتابخانهٔ موزهٔ بریتانیا محفوظ است (اصغر، بهفرد در کتاب هاشم پور سبحانی، ص ۴۸۰؛ برای آگاهی بیش تر دربارهٔ این نسخهٔ ← Rieu, vol. II, p 837b).

#### منابح

اصغر، آفتاب (۱۳۶۴). تاریخ نویسی فارسی در هند و پاکستان، لاهور، خانهٔ فرهنگ جمهوری اسلامی ایران، هاشم پور سبحانی، توفیق (۱۳۷۷). نگاهی به تاریخ ادب فارسی در هند، تیران، انتشارات دبیرخانهٔ شورای گسترش زبان و ادبیات فارسی.

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# احوال شاهزادكي شاهجهان

قدیمی ترین و مستندترین شرح حال دوران شاهزادگی شاه جهان تیمسوری (۱۰۰۱-۱۰۷۷ ق؛ حکومت: ۱۰۲۷-۱۰۶۸ ۱۰۶۸ ق)، به فارسی، اثر محمد شریف معتمد خان (معتمد خان، محمد شریف<sup>\*</sup>)، در قرن ۱۱ ق.

#### کلیات و پیکربندی

این کتاب کوچک تاریخی ارزشمند در شرح احوال ۲۷سال دوران شاهزادگی شاهجهان، از تولد در ۱۰۰۰ تا

دیگر به وقایع نویسی منصوب شد و چندی بعد از آن، به سبب خدمات شایانی که در مسئولیتهای مختلف انجام داده بود، از سوی سلطان سلیم سوم مورد تقدیر قرار گرفت و در جمادی الاول ۱۲۲۰ ق، به مقام رئیس الکتّابی تعیین شد. اما در حدود چهاردهم ماه بعد از تصدی این مقام (۱۴ جمادی الثانی ۱۲۲۰ ق)، به سبب بیماری، از این مسؤلیت کناره گیری کرد. سرانجام در ۷ شعبان ۱۲۲۱ ق در استانبول در گذشت (ششن، ص ۳۵۹–۳۶۰).

#### آثار

محاسن الآثار و حقایق الاخبار \* بسفارت نامسه سی، دربارهٔ سفارت مؤلف به اسپانیا که متن کامل آن به زبان فرانسه و روسی و لهستانی ترجمه شده است؛ ترجمهٔ الدرر المکنون فی الفُلک المَشحون، در اخلاق، از عربی به ترکی با عنوان راهبنامه؛ ترجمهٔ نوابغ الکلم اثر علامهٔ زَمَخشری (۴۶۷-۲۰۵ ق) از عربی به ترکی؛ حکیمنامه ( Oriento Moderno, ) محکیمنامه ( Babinger, p 264-367 vol. III, p 159-160

#### منابع

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Babinger, F. (1927). Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke, Leipzig. Oriento Moderno, Editor-in-chief: Claudio Lo Jacono, Istituto per l'Oriente C.A. Nallino, Rome.

# احوال بانو ممتازمحل

شرح حال بانو ممتاز محل، به فارسی، اثر مؤلفی ناشناس، در قرن ۱۱ ق

این کتاب مشتمل است بر شرح زندگی ملکهٔ ایرانی و محبوب ترین زنان شاه جهان (۱۰۰۱-۱۰۷۷ ق؛ حکومت: ۱۰۶۸-۱۰۳۷ ق)، پنجمین پادشاه سلسلهٔ تیموریان هند، به نام ممتاز محل و معروف به بانو بیگم یا تاج بی بی، و شرح آرامگاه این بانو معروف به تاج محل، که نویسندهای ناشناس در دوران شاه جهان آن را نوشته است. این کتاب دربارهٔ ملکهٔ ایرانی و زندگی خانوادگی شاه جهان اطلاعات جالبی به دست می دهد (اصغر، ۱۳۶۴، ص ۷۷۳؛ هاشم پور سبحانی، ص ۴۷۸). نسخه های این کتاب در فهرست کتاب خانهٔ دانشگاه پنجاب ( ، (No. 132

۸۶

از فارسی نویسان شبه قاره، اشکالات و ضعفهای لغوی، دستوری و ساختاری دارد. بر این ها باید به کارگیری ترکیبات خودساخته را هم افزود. از سوی دیگر، متن فارسی ظفرنامه گاه با واژگان پنجابی و اردو و هندی درمی آمیزد (همان جا).

#### ڃاپھا

این کتاب نخستین بار در ۱۸۷۶ در لاهــور و بــار دوم در ۱۹۲۷ در دانشگاه پنجاب چاپ شد (افشار، همانجا).

#### منابع

افشار، ایرج (۱۲۵۳). مجموعة کمینه: مقالههایی در نسخه شناسی و کساب شناسی، تیران، فرهنگ ایران زمین؛ ظلی، اشتیاق احصد (۱۳۸۴). «امرناتیه اکبری»، دانشنامهٔ زبان و ادب فارسی در شبهقاره، ج ۱، تیران، فرهنگستان زبان و ادب فارسی؛ عبدالله (۱۴۱۳ ق)، ادبیات فارسی مین هندوون کاحصه، لاهور؛ نوشاهی، سیدعارف (۱۳۶۵). فیرست کتابهای فارسی چاپ سنگی و کمیاب کتابخانهٔ گنج بخش، ج ۱، لاهور، مرکز تحقیقات فارسی ایران و پاکستان.

# ظفرنامة شاهجهاني

منظومهٔ حماسی تاریخی دربارهٔ دوران شاه جهان، به فارسی، اشر قدسی مشهدی (قدسی مشهدی، حاج محمدجان<sup>۳</sup>)، در قرن ۱۱ ق.

#### كليات

این منظومه را قدسی مشهدی در ۱۰۴۷ ق به دستور شاه جهان (حک: ۱۰۶۸–۱۰۶۷ ق)، پنجمین پادشاه تیموری هند، در ۸هزار بیت سروده است (Ethé, No. 1552؛ اصغر، ص ۳۵۹). این اثبر در واقع تقلیدی است از شاهنامه ی فردوسی که مشتمل است بر تاریخ شاه جهان از تولد تا پایان دهمین سال جلوس (۱۰۰۰–۱۰۴۶ ق) (همان، ص ۳۶۰).

نظم ظفرنامهٔ شاه جهانی را به کلیم کاشانی ( ۱۰۶۱ ق)، ملک الشعرای دربار شاه جهان، نیز نسبت داده اند، اما درست آن است که قدسی ظفرنامه را به پایان نرسانید و کلیم کاشانی پس از او کارش را پی گرفت و به انجام رساند (افشار، ص ۲۵۱–۲۵۲).

#### بيكربندي

آفتاب اصغر موضوعات مطرحشده در این اشعار را به این شرح فهرست کرده است: «متوجهشدن شاهجهان به جنگ رانا، پادشاه هندوی میوار؛ فرستادن شاهجهان به مهم دکن؛ رفتن شاهجهان بر سر گُجَرات؛ فتح کانگره؛ متوجهشدن

شاهجهان بهجانب دکن؛ جنگ داراب با یاقوت دکنی؛ فتح خاندیش و برار؛ وفات جهانگیر؛ کشته شدن شاه زاده ها، خسرو و شهریار؛ جلوس شاهجهان؛ آمدن پادشاه توران بر سر کابل؛ اسلچی فرستادن به جانب ایران؛ فتح قلعهٔ قندهار ک؛ فرستادن آصف خان به تسخیر دکن؛ فتح بندر هوگلی؛ رخصت صفدر خان به یاران و نقل نامه ای که به شاه صفی نوشته؛ گرفتن قلعهٔ دولت آباد؛ فرستادن سلطان شجاع به دکن؛ فتح آسام به سرداری اسلام خان؛ یاغی شدن جهجهرسینگ بندیله؛ توجه رایات نصرت آیات به دکن؛ پیشکش فرستادن بندیله؛ توجه رایات نصرت آیات به دکن؛ پیشکش فرستادن عادل شاه (شاه احمدنگر) و قطب شاه، پادشاه پادشاه به مراجعت پادشاه از دکن به سوی اکبر آباد؛ نامهٔ پادشاه به علی مردان خان» (اصغر، همان جا).

## ویژگیهای تاریخنگاری

ظفرنامهٔ قدسی از موثق ترین مدارک تاریخی ده سال نخست سلطنت شاهجهان است و مطالعهٔ دقیق آن نتایج سودمند و نکات باارزش تاریخی دربارهٔ این عهد به دست می دهد (همان، ص ۲۶۱).

#### ویژگیهای ادبی

اشعار ظفرنامهٔ شاهجهانی ساده و روان و در عین حال متین و استوار است. اگرچه در آن صنایع لفظی نیز بهچشم میخورد، این صنایع از روانی شعر نمی کاهد (همان، ص ۲۶۰). محمدصالح کنبو (کنبو، محمدصالح ش) شعر قدسی را چنین میستاید: «حاجی محمدجان قدسی صاحب طبع ستوده است و در شیوهٔ سخنوری متانت و جزالت را چنان که باید رعایت میفرماید [...]. در قطعه و غزل و رباعی و به تخصیص مثنوی داد صنایع و بدایع لفظی و معنوی داده است [...]. سخن او مانند زر پخته از آلایش خامی منزه است و به جمیع وجوه نزد عیارشناسان معنی معقول و موجه» (کنبو، ج ۳، ص ۲۹۷).

#### سخەشناسى

قدیم ترین نسخه های خطی ظفرنامهٔ شاه جهانی که در ۱۰۷۱ ق، یعنی ۲۴ سال پس از تاریخ نظم آن، استنساخ شده در کتاب خانهٔ دانشگاه کمبریج محفوظ است (Brown).

(No. 293) اصغر، ص ۳۶۱).

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#### MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOK

0 1 Haziran 2019



#### یادشاهنامه ـ ۱

عنوان کلی تاریخ نامه هایی به زبان فارسی، در شرح احوال و دوران حکومت: دوران حکومت: ۱۰۷۷–۱۰۶۸ ق؛ حکومت: ۱۰۳۷–۱۰۶۸ ق)، پنجمین پادشاه سلسلهٔ گورکانیان هند، در قرن ۱۱ ق (احمد، ص ۱۰۱۲).

معروف ترین پادشاه نامه نگاران عبارت اند از محمدامین قزوینی (قزوینی، محمدامین )؛ عبدالحمید لاهوری (لاهوری، عبدالحمید )؛ جلالای اردستانی (جلالای اردستانی، محمد بن محمود )؛ کلیم کاشانی (کلیم، ابوطالب )؛ میرمحمدیحیی کاشانی (کاشانی، محمدیحیی ).

# پادشاهنامه ۲

تاریخنامهٔ تکنگاری، دربارهٔ دهسال نخست پادشاهی شاهجهان بابری (۱۰۰۱-۱۰۷۷ ق؛ حکومت: ۱۰۳۷ می ۱۰۶۸ ق)، در قروینی، محمدامین آ)، در قرن ۱۱ ق.

#### كليات

در ۱۰۴۷ ق، محمدامین قزوینی بهدستور شاهجهان به تألیف کتابی در تاریخ پادشاهی او پرداخت و در ۱۰۵۷ ق، در بیستمین سال جلوس شاهجهان، به اتمام رساند (عبدالرحمن، ج ۲، ص ۲۴۳؛ هاشم پور سبحانی، ص ۴۷۷؛

احمد، ص ۱۰۱۲؛ گلچدین معدانی، ج ۲، ص ۴۸۹؛ حاج سیدجوادی، ص ۱۰۲۰؛ (Hadi, p 76) موضوع اصلی کتاب وقایع عهد شاه جهانی است، از سال اول تا دهمین سال جلوس شاه جهان، و نیز متضمن شرح احوال دوران شاه زادگی شاه جهان و تذکرهٔ رجال و معاریف آن زمان است (اصغر، ص ۲۲۳).

#### پیکربندی

*پادشاهنامهٔ قزوینی* مشتمل بر مقدمه و مقاله و خاتمه به این شرح است:

مقدمه در سرگذشت شاهجهان از دوران شاهزادگی تا تاجگذاری، ۱۰۰۰ تا ۱۰۳۷ ق، و ذکر اسلاف شاهجهان تا امیر تیمور گورکان؛

مقاله در سرگذشت و احوال شاهجهان در سالهای ۱۰۳۷ تا ۱۰۴۷ ق بهصورت سالشمار؛

خاتمه در تراجم مختصر عرفا، علما، اطبا، شعرای عهد شاهجهان.

#### ویژگیهای تاریخنگاری

اهمیت این اثر نه تنها به لحاظ ادبی، بلکه بهسبب مطالب تاریخی مندرج آن است. دسترسی قزوینی به اسناد و مدارک دولتی و نزدیکی او به پادشاه بر ارزش ایـن کتـاب، از منظـر

علی اکبر ولایتی معرفت تاریخی و تاریخ نگری , تهران :انتشارات خبرگزاری تسنیم ,عا۹۳۱ میم ۱۹۸۱ میم ISAM DN. 262547

## شاهجهاننامه ← یادشاهنامه ۳\_

## شاهجهاننامه →عمل صالح

# شاهجهان نامه

(يا: نسبنامة صِاحبقران ثاني). نسبتنامة شاهجهان، متضمن خلاصهای از تاریخ تیموریان ایران و هندوستان از آغاز تا عهد شاهجهان، به فارسی، اثر بَهگونت داس، نخستین تاریخنامهٔ فارسی عهد تیموریان هند که به قلم یک هندو نگاشته شده است.

در نسخهٔ کتـابخانـهٔ عمـومی لاهـور (عباسـی، ج ۲، ص ۴۹۰)، نام این کتاب *شاه جهان نامه* یا *نسبت نامهٔ صاحبقران* ثانی آمده، اما در نسخهٔ مجموعهٔ شیرانی (بشیر حسین، ج ۱، ص ۳۱) عنوان آن *تاریخ احوال صحت آمای آبادی کرام و* اجداد عظام شاه جهان (۱۰۰۱–۱۰۷۷ ق؛ حکومت: ۱۰۳۷– ۱۰۶۸ ق)، پنجمین پادشاه سلسلهٔ تیموریان هند، ثبت شده است. این کتاب مشتمل است بر نسبت نامهٔ صاحبقران ثانی، یعنی امپراتور شاهجهان، و در ضمن خلاصهای از تاریخ تیموریان ایران و هندوستان از آغاز تا عهد این پادشاه (اصغر، ص ۳۹۴؛ هاشم پور سبحانی، ص ۴۸۲).

دربارهٔ مؤلف این کتاب اطلاعی در دست نیست، جز اینکه بَهگونت داس یا بَهگوان داس نــام داشــته و در زمــرهٔ منشیان دربار شاهجهـان خــدمت مــیکــرده و کتــابش را در حدود ۱۰۳۷ ق نگاشته است. این کتاب نخستین تـــاریخنامــــهٔ فارسی عهد تیموریان هند است که به قلم یک شخص هنــدو نگاشته شده و به همین سبب در میان منابع فارسی مورخان هندو اهميت دارد (اصغر، همانجا).

#### نسخەشناسى

شاهجهان نامهی بهگونت داس بسیار کمیاب است و حتی استوری از وجود آن ناآگاه بوده است (همان، ص ۳۶۵). دو نسخه از آن، که اخیراً در پاکستان یافت شده است، عبارتاند از نسخهٔ محفوظ در كتابخانـهٔ عمـومي لاهـور (عباسی، ج ۱، ص ۴۹۰) و نسخهٔ محفوظ در مجموعهٔ شیرانی دانشگاه پنجاب (بشیر حسین، همانجا).

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN

COMPACIELEN DOKUMAN

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## شاه حسين بن غياث الدين محمد

(زابسل؛ ۹۷۸– بعد از رمسضان ۱۰۳۶ ق). تداریخنگدار ایرانسی شــیعهمـــذهب، در قــرون ۱۰ و ۱۱ ق، در دوران حکومــت

ملكشاه حسين بن غياث الدين محمد بن ملك محمود سیستانی (نفیسی، ج ۲، ص ۸۱۳، نسب شاه حسین را به اشتباه شاه حسين بن ملك غياث الدين محمود سيستاني ضبط كرده است.)، از ملوک نیمروز. خاندان او تبار خود را به عمرولیــث صـفاری ( -۲۸۷ ق) و شــاهان اســاطیری کیــٰـانی مى رساندند (شاه حسين، ص ٢٠؛ ستوده، مقدمه بر احيا الملوك، ص ٣١؛ رجبي، ذيل «احيا الملوك»؛ ماهيار، ش ۱۰، ص ۱۱۲). این ادعا را تاریخنگاران صفوی نیز در دیگر منابع آن عصر بیان کردهاند (مثلاً ← غفاری قزوینی، ص ۹۸). نفیسی (ج ۱، ص ۲۵۴) امیر محمد بن امیر مبارز را جد مادری شاه حسین دانسته اسبت. امیس محمد خود نیلز کتابی در تاریخ سیستان نگاشته است.

شاهحسین از نوجوانی به مدرسه و مکتب رفت و دانشهای گوناگون را فراگرفت. نخست *قـرآن* و صـرُف و نحو و منطق آموخت. پس از فراغت از تحصیل، به مطالعاتی در حکمت و فلسفه و نجوم پرداخت (شاهحـسین، ص ۴۵۲؛ ماهیار، همان جا) و زبان پهلوي (فارسي میانه) را فراگرفت (شاه حسین، ص ۲۶؛ ماهیار، همان جا). افزون بر آن، در فنون نظامی همچون کمانداری و اسبدوانی و تیراندازی مهـارت یافت (رجبی، همانجا).

شاه حسین، پس از آموختن علوم و فنون زمان خود، به تألیف و تصنیف و کار امارت و سیاست پرداخت. کمتـر از ۳۰ سال داشت که به اردوی شاهعباس اول (حک ۹۹۶-۱۰۳۸ ق) پیوست و مورد لطف و مرحمت او قرار گرفت و با اقطاعات بسيار و تشريفات خاص به سيستان بازگشت. 3118

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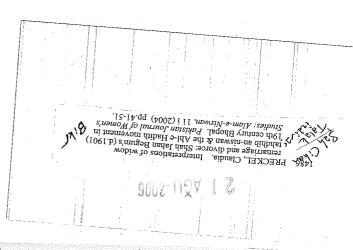
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SANCIMAN

Sous un titre qui peut paraître trompeur, l'auteur décrit les étapes de la construction de la capitale de Sâh Jahân depuis les premiers projets, datant de 1639, jusqu'à un siècle après.



# A HISTORY OF PAKISTAN

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HISTORY OF PAKISTAN

Jahangir was survived by his two sons Khurram (Shah Jahan) and Shahryar. Khurram was the son-in-law of Asaf Jah and Shehryar was married to the daughter of Nur Jahan and Sher Afgan.<sup>29</sup>

Shah Jahan: After the death of Jahangir Khurram (Shah Jahan) had proclaimed himself the emperor of India under the cover of a prior understanding between himself and Asaf Jah who had successfully outmanoevered Nur Jahan, Shahryar and Dawar Bakhsh (son of Khurram).<sup>30</sup>

Shah Jahan managed to remove all the claimants from the field and the descendents of Akbar and Jahangir were mercilessly killed on the apprehensian that any one of them might put up his claim to hingship.<sup>31</sup> It is interesting to note that Shah Jahan met a similar fate towards the close of his career, when his two sons were killed in a similar combat and he was himself deposed to suffer a life confinement in the Fort of Agra. Shah Jahan ruled over the Mughal empire for 22 years and made a name in history, for his contribution to art and architecture and economic prosperity. He was a valiant general and a capable statesman. His reign was considered to be the golden period of the Mughal rule in India when the glory of the empire reached its zenith.<sup>32</sup>

He had in him the attributes of a noble Turk and a valiant Rajput. Compared with his father and grandfather he was more concerned with the laws of Shariah. He abrogated "Sajda" (سجده) and many other un-Islamic practices. Although Shah Jahan was not a scholar like his father, he acquired a sufficient knowledge that an intelligent practical man would need. Attached to his court were many prominent scholars and poets who were respected and honoured.<sup>33</sup>

The policy of regaining the ancestral territory in Transoxiana (Central Asia) and establishing his authority in Deccan had kept him on alert; but his fond hope to annex Samarqand did not materialize, whereas in Daccan he met with considerable success.<sup>34</sup>

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34. Ibid.

THE GREAT MUGHALS

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Yet another aspect of his rule that made him more famous was his aesthetic taste for beautiful gardens and buildings. He inherited an empire that was firmly established and was prosperous. It was an appropriate time for activities other than the consolidation of empire. He made a generous use of his aesthetic taste and the resources of his empire in raising beautiful gardens and imposing buildings of unique architectural splendour. In history he is known as a great builder who had to his credit many beautiful buildings like the Taj Mahal, Moti Masjid Agra, Jamia Masjid Dehli, Lal Qala Dehli, Shalamar Bagh Lahore, Jahangir's Tomb Lahore, Jamia Masjid Thatta and many other buildings. Here Shah Jahan exhibited his talent in a variety of designs whose parallel history has yet to find.35

Aurangzeb: In 1658 A.D. Shah Jahan was deposed by his third son Aurangzeb who emerged victorious in the battle of succession fought at Samugarh. Dara was defeated and put to death. The other brothers Murad and Shuja met a similar fate. Fearing any possible conspiracy against himself he put Shah Jahan in confinement in the fort of Agra, where he passed the remaining years of his life in utter despair. The only person who stood by him in his fallen days was his daughter, Jahan Ara who comforted him and nursed him in old age.<sup>36</sup>

Aurangzeb was made of a different element. He had in him the quickness of Timur, fearlessness of Babur, military shrewdness of Akbar, scholarly accomplishment of Jahangir and aesthetic taste of Shah Jahan. He possessed the qualities he required to run the empire. He remained on horseback in the Deccan to command his forces, but at the same time was not unmindful of the north. He kept the reins of the empire in his strong hands and enjoyed the absolute authority until his death in 1707.<sup>37</sup>

Many of the European and Hindu writers have tried to paint him as a religious zealot, which he was not. He succeeded the throne of Dehli in the true spirit of his ancestors and followed most of the policies which were really originated during the reign of Akbar and

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid., 470-71.

<sup>30.</sup> Ibid. 32. Ibid.

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# SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN MEDIEVAL INDIA [ 1206-1707 ]

Saheihan



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# SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

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gallery consisting of many valuable paintings in one of his gardens.<sup>22</sup> No doubt Mughal painting did much progress in the reign of Jahangir.

Farruk Beg, Mohammad Nadir, Mohammad Murad, Aga Riza and Ustad Mansur were the prominent painters of Jahangir's time. Though he did not favour Hindu painters, yet Bishan Das, Keshava Manohar, Madhav and Tulsi also flourished during his time.

Under Jahangir, portrait painting acquired unusual fineness, and scenes of hunting became very popular<sup>23</sup> "Since the Mughal artist was one of the retinue of the Court, keen to please his patron, who was either the Emperor or a nobleman, he was more familiar with the important dignitaries of the court, the picturesquness and pomp of camp life, with armies on the march, hunting, battle and Darbar scenes. A keen appreciation of nature led him to draw curious birds, animals and unusual trees and flowers. Jahangir commissioned artists to depicit for him any rare bird or beast, and in this way an interesting album was made."<sup>24</sup> The Mughals loved blossoms and plants in bloom, and the artists brush was requisitioned to portray the likeness of anything beautiful and novel. Thus, under Jahangir, Indian painting reached its high watermark.

Shahjahan. The painting continued to flourish in his time. But he was more fond of archite cture than of painting. Though Shahjahan was more interested in architecture but even then he continued the tradition of his father in the sphere of painting. Percy Brown has remarked. "With his (Jahangir's passing away) the soul of Mughal painting also departed."

The paintings of the time of Shahjahan are characterised by graphic colouring and ornamental borders. Proper attention was not paid to perspective, light and shade. Dr. Tara Chand says that the reign of Shahjahan saw the culmination of the art, the rules of

**PAINTING** 

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perspective and forshortening, of modelling and shading were introduced, the finest brushes and the most costly colours were used. "By constant practice the draughts-manship in Shahjahan's school of painting becomes very sensitive. The lines are not allowed to flow freely, but are studied and above all priority is given to the expression of grace and delicacy. The lines at times are so fine that it would require sometimes a magnifying glass to distingush the delicate strokes."26 Among the artists mention should be made of Hindus who were more numerous. Among Hindus, Kalyan Das alias Chatarman, Anupchatar, Ra'i Anup and Manohar, and among the Musalmans, Muhammad Nadir Samarqandi, Mir Hashim and Muhammad Faqir Ullah Khan have been mentioned by Smith.27 The school of painting was now supervised by Muhammad Faqirullah Khan. Mir Hashim was an excellent portrait painter. Asaf Khan and Dara Shikoh were also patrons of the art of painting.

Aurangzeb. He was an orthodox Muslim. Unlike his predecessors, he was neither a lover of art nor extended his support to it. He got white washed the paintings on the tomb of Akbar and destroyed the paintings of the palace of Bijapur. The painters of Delhi and Agra fled away to different parts of the country. The reign of Auragnzeb marks the decline of the art of painting. The nobles who patronised artists, now paid them wages. In consequence the character and quality of work deteriorated. In the reign of Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719), however, painting received a fresh impetus, but the artists produced work, large in volume but much inferior to that done in the time of Akbar, Jahangir & Shahjahan. The colours lacked refinement, "and to hide defects increased use of stippling was made." Muhammad Shah also patronised the art of painting, but no artist of his time could capture its previous brilliance.28

The Portrait Painting and Technique of Mughal Painting. The Mughal artist achieved great fame in the realm of portrait painting. In the reign of Akbar, the art of portrait paint-

<sup>(22)</sup> Tuzuk-i. Jahangiri, A Roggers Trans. Vol. II p. 161-62

<sup>(23)</sup> Dr. Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture; p. 271

 <sup>(24)</sup> Dr. Shanti Swarup, The art and crafts of India and Pakistan, p. 22
 (25) Dr. B. P. Saxena, History of Shahjahan of Dihli, p. 22

<sup>(26)</sup> Dr. Motichand; The Technique of Mughal Painting, p. 95

<sup>(27)</sup> A History of Fine Arts of India and Ceylon, p. 482

<sup>(28)</sup> Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Medieval Indian Culture, p. 241

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الإسلام ، والغفلة عنه ، بل من معارضته ومشادّته ، إلى تعظيم الشعائر الإسلامية وإعلاء كلمة الله ، واحترام الدين ، وشغف السلطان المسلم بالإسلام بدأ هذا التحول الكبير من أواخر عهد السلطان جهانكير ، وامتدت ظلاله الوارفة إلى عهد السلطان شاهجهان .

# عهد السلطان شاهجهان:

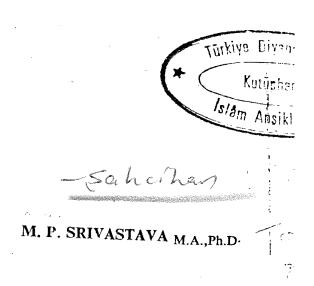
لقد كان عهد السلطان الغازي شاهجهان ( ١٠٠٠ - ١٠٧٥ هـ) الملقب وبصاحب القران الثاني »(۱) عهد الخير والإصلاح التدريجي ، وقد بدأ من عام ١٠٣٦ هـ واستمر بأبهته وعظمته ٣١ سنة ، وكان قد تولى زمام البلاد بعد وفاة الإمام السرهندي بعامين ، وليست لدينا وثيقة تاريخية موثوق بها ، تفيد اتصال السلطان شاهجهان بالإمام السرهندي أو بابنه الجليل الشيخ محمد معصوم اتصال بيعة واسترشاد خاص ، ولكن الذي لا يشك فيه أنه كان دائم الإجلال والتعظيم للإمام السرهندي ، ولأجل ذلك لما قصد الإمام السرهندي زيارة السلطان على طلب منه ، وكان يعرف أن الإمام لا يباشر الأداب الرسمية ، ويرفض سجدة التحية ، بعث بالشيخ أفضل خان والمفتي عبد الرحن - اللذين كانا من المصاحبين لولي العهد والمقربين لديه - ببعض الكتب الفقهية وأمرهما أن يقولا له : أن سجدة التحية تجوز بالسلاطين ، وقد أجازها بعض الفقهاء في ظروف خاصة (۱) و فلو باشرت هذه الأداب الرسمية عند مقابلة السلطان ، فأنا ضامن لك بأنه لا يصلك أي ضرر » ، فأبي الإمام السرهندي و رفض هذا العرض ، وقال : إنها رخصة ، والعزيمة أن لا يسجد لغير الله ، مها كانت الأوضاع والظروف (۱) »

<sup>(</sup>١) سمى بذلك لأن الألف الثاني يلتني بالألف الأول في عهده .

<sup>(</sup>٢) لم نطلع على هذه النصوص الفقهية ، وفتاوي الفقهاء التي تبيح السجدة لغير الله ، والذي نعرف أنها محرمة اطلاقاً ، الا ان يكون ذلك كأكل الميتة وتناول المحرمات ، وقاية للحياة وعصمة من القتل ، مع فضل من عمل بالعزيمة ،وتجنب الرخصة .

<sup>(</sup>٣) راجع للتفصيل الباب الثالث من هذا الكتاب.

# **POLICIES** OF THE GREAT MUGHALS



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Policies of the Great Mughals

Khan as diwan of Bengal and charged him to settle the revenue affairs of that region. But nothing further is recorded about the mission. In the fiscal system, a distinction was drawn between central and local heads. The former comprised tributes, monopolies, land revenue, customs, mint escheats and presents on the side of income.<sup>24</sup> Large concession were sanctioned on barren and on less fertile land in order to encourage agriculture and particularly by reclamation of waste land. During scarcity and famine remissions of revenue were also made with a liberal hand. Thanks to the difficulties of Transport, medieval famines were restricted in area but with intense suffering. Indian Historians and foreign travellers alike paint a ghastly picture of the hunger and mortality that raged wild over the stricken region. The state did something to relieve the misery. Besides remissions of revenue, it distributed large sums of money, opened relief works, encouraged recruitment to the army, and established free soup kitchens and alm-houses.25

# Shahjahan

16

In Shahjahan's period also the most important source of the income was the land revenue. From the account of the contemporary chronicles, it is apparent that Shahjahan was solicitous for the welfare of agriculturist.26 To relieve the peasants from the exactions of revenue collectors, he abolished some illegal taxes in Kashmir and his reign is marked by the construction of several canals for irrigation. Shahjahan enjoined on his officers the duty of looking after the interests of the ryot, but his instructions were not faithfully observed. Once while examining the records of the revenue department, the Emperor found that in a certain village the revenue had increased by a few thousands. And after enquiry made by Diwan Sadullah Khan it was found that revenue was increased on

<sup>24.</sup> Moreland; From Akbar to Aurangzeb; p. 269

<sup>25.</sup> A. H. Lahori; Padshahnama, Elliot & Dowson, VII pp. 24-25

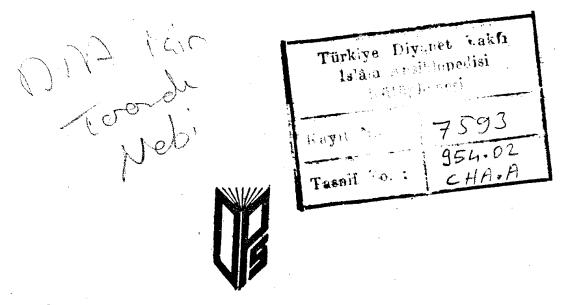
<sup>26.</sup> Lahori; Vol I, pp. 4-5

# ANGLO-MUGHAL COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

1583-1717

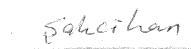


Dr. Phanindranath Chakrabarty



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CHAPTER VIII

# THE CHANGING FACADE OF ANGLO-MUGHAL COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

(1628-1657)

# I. Commercial position in the beginning of Shahjahan's reign:

During the viceroyalty of Prince Khurram at Gujarat, he left no stone unturned to check the growing commercial activities of the English in Mughal India. But a drastic change took place in his attitude towards the English during his candidacy for the throne and even after his accession to the throne.

Upto 1623 the Indian merchants also resisted the commercial activities of the English East India Company, but with Jahangir's firman in 1624, a period of peaceful Anglo-Mughal commercial relations ensued. It placed the English in an advantageous position. The Indian merchants found the English enjoying extra-ordinary commercial privileges, and had no other alternative than to accept the present 'development' a and live in peaceful co-existence with the English. President Kerridge at Surat informed the Directors of the Company in London (January 4, 1628) that their relation 'with the country people' i.e. Indians was fair stating that the English lived in 'greater peace and amity'2 with them than before. This relation was further strengthened by the convoying of Mughal junks to the Red Sea ports by the English navy.3

While India's Red Sea trade was guarded by the English navy, her

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الدكنور عَبْد المنعم النمر

🖴 المؤسسة الحاممية الدراسات والنشر والتوزيح

وهكذا بدأ الأخطبوط الأوروبي يمد خيوطه في عهد جهانكُير . ولذلك يأخذ المؤرخون عليه أنه رفع الضرائب عن تجارة الأوروبيين ، مما سهل لهم التغلغل في البلاد ، ولم يكن أحد يظن في ذلك الوقت أن الهند ستقع في قبضة الانجليز في النهاية .

# « شاهجهان »

توفي جهانكير دون أن يستقر الأمر على خليفته من بعده ، وقد ترك ولدين يتنازعان الملك : «شهر يار» الذي تؤيده « نور جهان » لأنه زوج بنتها ، « وخرم » الذي كان الجيش وأكثر الأمراء يؤيدونه ، وعلى رأسهم « آصف خان »(د) أخونور جهان ووالد زوجة خرم ، وكان هناك عدا هذين بعض الأمراء كابن خسرو وابن دانيال .

وكان « خرم » في الدكن شبه منفي ؛ فقد كانت هناك جفوة بينـه وبين أبيه ، وحينها وصله خبر وفاة أبيه بالبريد السريع عجل بالعودة إلى

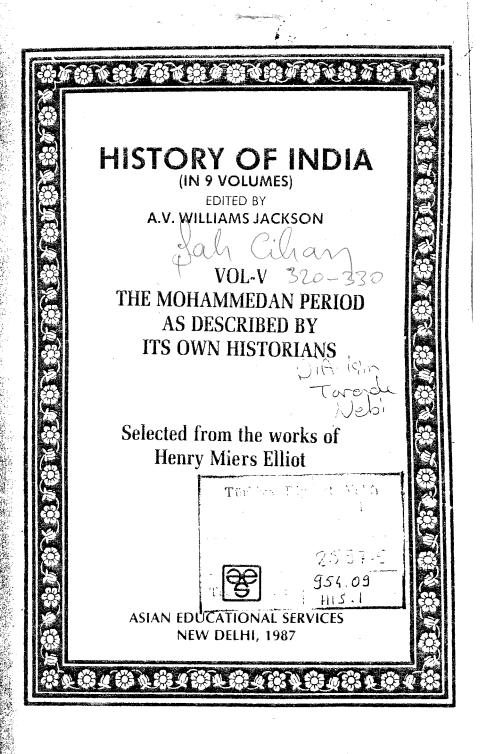
(۱) هو الذي عرفناه سابقاً باسم « خرم » بضم الحاء وتشديد الراء ، ومعناه مسرور وقد ورد ذكره باسم « كرام » في مذكرة الأستاذ حبيب ، وهو خطأ أوقعته فيه الترجمة عن الإنجليزية . ومعنى شاهجهان أي ملك الدنيا ، وهو لقب أعطاه له أبوه بعد انتصاراته في الحروب .

« أكرا »، في الوقت الذي قام فيه آصف خان بالقبض على أخته «نور جهان » في لاهور بعد احتكاك بينهما ؛ بسبب سعيها لتولية شهريار ، كما قبض على شهـر يار وأبناء خسرو ودانيال حتى خلا الجـو لختنه « خرم » .

وكان خرم أو شاهجهان كما لقبه أبوه قائداً ممتازاً. قال عنه السير «توماس رو» السفير الانجليزي في بلاط المغول « إنه لم ير شخصية أثبت ولا أشد رزانة من شخصيته ، وكان دائماً عبس الوجه ، ول يشاهد مرة مبتسماً ، ولم يكن من المستطاع قراءة وجهه» وكان له أنصار كثيرون في حاشية أبيه وفي الجيش كذلك ، وهذا كله مهد له السبيل للوصول إلى العرش برغم مكايد « نور جهان » وطمع ختنها « شهيار » ولما وصل الى « اكرا » نودي به ملكاً على الهند وسمي باسم « محمد شهاب الدين شاهجهان » وذلك في جمادى الآخرة سنة 1037 هـ-1628

ولم تخل أيامه من المتاعب والحروب برغم ما كان يعم الدولة من الرخاء والرفاهية ، فقد خرج عليه « خان جهان » (۱) في أول أيام بالحكم ، وقام بثورة عليه في مالوا وشهال الدكن ، فحاربه حتى اضط للتسليم وطلب العفو ، فعفا عنه وولاه أمور الدكن ، وبعد مدة ألحت بمجلسه وقربه إليه ، ولكنه برغم ذلك لم تطمئن نفسه إلى الملك

<sup>(</sup>۱) هو « خان جهان » بن دولت خان اللودي تقرب إلى دانيال ثم إلى جهانكير ، وتدرج المناصب ، وكان جهانكير يعتمد عليه ، ويجبه حبا مفرطاً لا يتصور فوقه وبعد وفاته ونو شاهجهان توجس منه خيفة فخرج عليه ا هـ من نزهة الخواطر جـ 5 ص 139 ، 140 .



#### CHAPTER XIV

SOME INCIDENTS OF SHAH JAHAN'S REIGN

1628 - 1659 A.D.

THERE is extant a voluminous native history of Shah Jahan's reign, entitled Pādshāh-nāmah, "Book of the King." It was written by Abd-al-Hamid of Lahore, who died in 1654 A.D., five years before the emperor's decease, leaving behind him a most detailed account of his royal patron. These annals cover twenty-one years of 'he emperor's reign, and, taken together, they make up two large volumes of nearly seventeen hundred pages, which rehearse the more important transactions of the kingdom during that period.

The excerpts which are included in the present volume are chosen because of their general interest, and they are representative of dozens of others in the Eastern chronicler's account. The passages selected refer to a visitation of the plague in Shah Jahan's reign, to the construction of the famous Peacock Throne, and to an attempted conquest of Tibet.

'For an entire year during the rule of the Emperor

## A YEAR OF FAMINE

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Shah Jahan no rain had fallen in the territories of the Balaghat, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatabad. Even in the following year there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries and a total absence of rain in the Deccan and Gujarat. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direct extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the once bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food, and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold, but when this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The multitude of those who died blocked the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness.

The emperor, in his gracious kindness and bounty, directed the officials of Burhanpur, Ahmadabad, and the country of Surat to establish soup kitchens or almshouses for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread were prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that

Memoirs, where he refers to the equipage from Europe.

'On the afternoon of the first of Zu-l-ka'da, corresponding with twenty-first of Aban [1025 a. H., November 10, 1616 a. d.], I departed in sound health from Ajmir in a European carriage drawn by four horses, and I ordered several nobles to make up carriages similar to it and to attend upon me with them. About sunset I reached my camp in the village Deo Rana, a distance of nearly two leagues.' 2

# EUROPEANS AT HUGLI IN SHAH JAHAN'S TIME, 1628-1659 A.D.

The contemporary account given by Khafi Khan of the European settlement at the Port of Hugli, near Calcutta, is interesting as illustrating in certain respects the native attitude toward the foreign settlers.

[Elliot, vol. vii, p. 211.] 'The Firingis had formed a

<sup>1</sup> A little above he tells us that on the departure of Baba Khurram, he had given him "a carriage of the Firingi English fashion, that he might sit and ride in it." These are the only remote allusions made throughout the work to the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, whose residence in Jahangir's camp lasted from January 10, 1616, to January 21, 1618.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Roe describes Jahangir's departure from Ajmir as follows: "Thus richly accounted, the King went into the coach, which waited for him under the care of his new English servant, who was dressed as gaudily as any player, and more so, and had trained four borses for the draught, which were trapped and harnessed all in gold. This was the first coach he had ever been in, made in imitation of that sent from England, and so like it that I knew the difference only by the cover, which was of gold velvet of Persia. Next followed the English coach, newly covered and richly trimmed, which he had given to his favourite queen, Nur Mahal, who sat in the inside. After this came a coach made after the fashion of the country, which I thought seemed out of countenance, in which were his younger sons. This was followed by about twenty spare royal elephants, all for the king's own use."

HISTORY OF INDIA (IN 9 VOLUMES) EDITED BY A.V. WILLIAMS JACKSON han 274-286 VOL-VI FROM THE FIRST EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS TO THE FOUNDING OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY Dira icin William Wilson Hunter 3597-6 954.09 ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES NEW DELHI, 1987

commercial settlement at Hugli, about twenty leagues from Rajmahal in Bengal. In former times they had obtained the grant of a parcel of land for the stowing of

their merchandise and for their abode. There they built a strong fort, with towers and walls, and furnished it with artillery. They also built a place of worship which they call "church" (kalīsā). In course of time

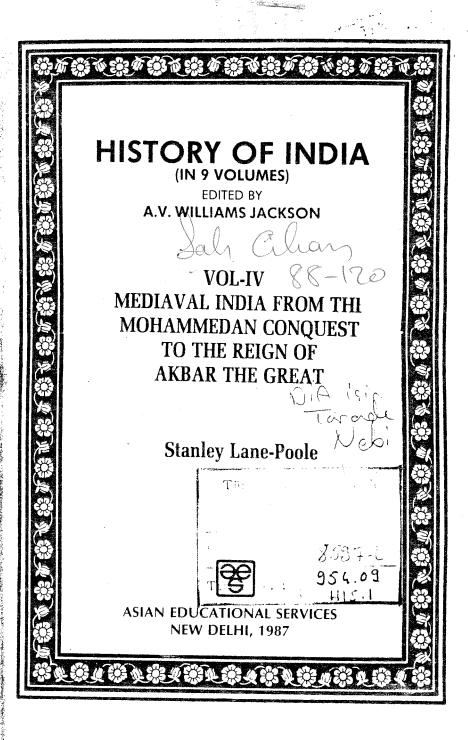
they overstepped the sufferance that they had obtained. They vexed the Mussulmans of the neighbourhood and harassed travellers, and were continually exerting themselves to strengthen their settlement.

Of all their odious practices the following was the worst: In the ports which they occupied on the



A GROUP OF HINDU CHILD WIDOWS.

seacoast, they offered no injury either to the property or person of any of the Mohammedans or Hindus who dwelt under their rule; but if one of these inhabitants died, leaving children of tender age, they took both the children and the property under their charge, and, whether these young children were by birth Mohammedans, or whether they were of the religion of the Brah-



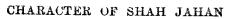


### CHAPTER IV

SHAH JAHAN
THE MAGNIFICENT

1628-1658 A. D.

IKE his father, Prince Khurram, who ascended L the throne as Shah Jahan in January, 1628, was the son of a Rajput princess, a daughter of the rana of Marwar, and had more Indian than Moghul blood in his veins. From what has been recorded of his previous history, as one "flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none," in Sir Thomas Roe's words, one is prepared to find a haughty, reserved man, wrapped in political intrigues, personally indifferent to creeds and scruples, and disposed to favour his mother's race. In every one of these respects Shah Jahan refutes prophecy. All his former cold severity seems to have melted when once he had made a clean sweep of his rivals, and after his accession the new emperor was the most accessible though the most stately of monarchs. He discontinued the obnoxious ceremonial of



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prostration before the throne, upon which Jahangir had laid great stress; and his unfailing kindness and benevolence, joined to a gracious publicity and display, endeared him to the people. He was the most popular of all the great Moghuls, though not specially the idol of the Hindus. There was a tinge of intolerance in his perfectly orthodox, if not very ardent, profession of Sunni Mohammedanism, and this slightly bigoted twist was encouraged by his ever-beloved wife, Arjumand Banu, known as Mumtaz-i-Mahal, "the elect of the palace," the mother of his fourteen children, whose exquisite monument, the Taj at Agra, still witnesses to her husband's devotion. Good Moslem as he was, Shah Jahan "as a man of sound judgment and knowledge of the world, and he was the last king to dream of letting religion override statesmanship. Many of his generals were Hindus, and his great minister, Sa'd-Allah, though converted, was a Hindu by birth. Jesuit missionaries still laboured at Agra, where their tombstones may still be seen in the "Padre Santo," and where, as Bernier records, they had a large and very fair church, with a great steeple and bell, which might be heard all over the town in spite of the Moslem's prejudice against the devil's musical instrument. Nevertheless, this toleration did not extend to the Portuguese of Hugli, whose piracy led to their destruction in 1631, save such as were sent as prisoners to Agra, where the church was then partly destroyed in the temporary excitement of fanaticism.

The result of all the popularity and good statesman-

LAHORE

ITS HISTORY. AND ANTIQUITIES

BY

SYAD MUHAMMAD LATIF,

KHAN BAHADUR.

EXTRA JUDICIAL ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, GURDASPUR, FELLOW, PANJAB UNIVERSITY, & MEMBER OF THE BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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LAHORE: HISTORICAL.

and was on his way to Lahore when he died at Rajouri, in 1628 A.D., in the twenty-second year of his reign. His body was sent to Lahore, under charge of Maqsud Khán, and, according to the will of the deceased was interred in the garden of Núr Jahán, on the banks of the Ravi, on the morning of Friday.

The birth of Sháh Ja-

blinded.

Sháh Jahán.—Sultán Khurram (Sháh Jahán) was born at hán, 1592 A. Lahore on 30th Rabi-ul-Awal 1000 A. H. (1592 A. D.), his mother being the daughter of Ude Singh, Rána of Márwár. He received the title of Sháh Jahán from his father in 1616, when he was nominated successor of the Emperor, as well as Commander-in-chief of the army of the Deccan. When Jahángir died, Sháh Jahán was in the Deccan. Núr Jahán wished to raise to the throne Shahr Yar, to whom she had married her daughter Mehr-ul-nissa by Sher Afgan. Shahr Yar, who from his want of abilities, got the nickname Náshudni نشدني (good for nothing), was in Lahore when he heard of the Emperor's death, and, instigated by his in-Shahr Yar triguing wife, proclaimed himself emperor. He seized upon the Emperor at royal treasure and all the establishments of government at Lahore. To win the favor of the soldiery and the nobles, he wasted seventy lakhs of rupees in gifts and presents, and collected around him an army of fifteen thousand men. In the meanwhile, Yamin-ud-daula Asif Khán, acting in conjunction with Khán-i-Azim (Irádat Khán), raised the royal canopy over the head of Dáwar Bakhsh, surnamed Boláki, son of Khusrow, near Bhimber, the object being to avoid the chances of rebellion and gain time for the arrival of Prince He is de-feated and Khurram at the capital to assume the royal titles. Boláki, being saluted as king, proceeded to Lahore; and the royal troops under him encountered the mercenaries raised by Shahr Yar at a distance of three kos from the city. The latter, unable to face the imperial-

ists, broke and fled. Shahr Yár concealed himself in the ladies' apartments in the citadel, but was, the following day, brought out tion of Sháh by a eunuch, placed in confinement, and, three days afterwards, Jahan as Emblinded. Sháh Jahan was proclaimed at Lahore, and the Khutba peror. Dinneu. Shah bana in all the mosques. Shahr Yar, Dawar Bakhsh, of the royal with his brother, Gar Shasp, and Tahmures and Hoshing, sons of death at La the drunken Dánial, who had espoused the cause of Shahr Yár, were all put to death at Lahore.

Khizmat Parast Khán was appointed viceroy of Lahore, and a Parast Khan was appointed viceroy of Lahore, and a appointed dress of honour, consisting of a jewelled sword, dagger and rich c e roy o f stuffs, was received for Yamin-ud-daula Asif Khán. Lahore

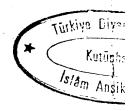
Shah Jahan particularly Sháh Jahán was particularly attached to Lahore, as his birthattached to place. According to the Badshahnama, the royal Harem of Jahangir

SHAH JAHAN.

remained in the palace of Lahore until the fourth year of the reign, when they were conducted to Agra by Motamid Khán. The royal Princes, for the most part, lived here with the Harem. It was the resort of the nobles and learned men, who were honored with rich presents on the occasion of their visit to the capital. The carpet manufactory of Lahore, established by Shah Jahan, is the subject of Manufactory praise in the account of the sixth year of the Emperor's reign. "So soft and delicate are these carpets," says Abdul Hamíd "that, compared with them, the carpets made in the manufactory of the King of Persia look like coarse canvas." These were made of pashm and shawl. A similar manufactory existed in Kashmir. All the rooms in the royal palace were furnished with these beautiful

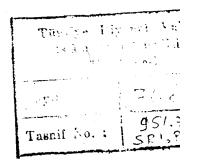
After his accession to the throne, Shah Jahan held his court Wazir Khan at Lahore in 1038 A. H. (1628 A. D.). Hakim Ilm-ud-din, sur-Lahore, 1628 named Wazir Khán, was then viceroy of the Panjáb. An interesting A. D. account of the Emperor's visit to Lahore is given in the Badsháhnáma of Abdul Hamíd:—"The royal camp, having moved from the tank of fa royal si Khawaja Hoshiár, in the environs of Lahore, reached the capital on sit to L the 7th of Ramzan. At some distance from the town, His Majesty was received with great pomp by Wazir Khán (who presented him with one thousand Ashrafis, by way of Nissar), the grandees and nobles of Lahore and the Subedárs of Provinces. He entered the palace in state after the first watch of the day. On the 9th, Wazir Khán presented His Majesty with jewels, gold and silver utensils, rich stuffs, carpets, horses and camels, valued at four lakhs of rupees. which he had collected during the period of his viceroyalty in the Panjáb. The same day, Saíd Khán, Subedár of Cábul, having had the honour of an audience, presented His Majesty with one thousand Ashrafis, one hundred horses, and one hundred camels. Kalich Khán, governor of Multán, made a present of eighteen horses of Irák, together with curiosities of Persia. The rank of Nijabat Khán, Faujdar of Kángra, was raised, and other Subedárs were similarly honored. The whole of the presents amounted to ten lakhs of rupees." On the 15th, His Majesty visited the mausoleum of Jannat Makani (Jahángir), and distributed rupees ten thousand to the poor, while rupees five thousand were distributed by the royal Princes who accompanied him. His Majesty who entertained much respect for the fakirs, paid a visit to the Saint Mian Mir. "He was ty pays a visays Mulla Abdul Hamíd, "a holy man, indifferent to the world, sit to the and spoke but little. His Majesty, knowing that he cared not for Mir. worldly wealth, presented him with a rosary and a turban of white cloth and received his benedictions."

# POLICIES OF THE GREAT MUGHALS



-Sahethai

M. P. SRIVASTAVA M.A., Ph.D.



CHUGH PUBLICATIONS

Policies of the Great Mughals

Guru was executed by drowning<sup>56</sup> and his statement seems to be incorrect. Chandu Lal of Lahore who had stood surety for payment was also put to death. Thereafter, the emperor refrained from interfering with the Sikhs. His action against Guru Arjun was prompted both by religious feelings and by political consider ations. Jahangir wrote in his diary that Arjun was converting Muslims to his religion and therefore, he was anxious to 'close the shop' of the Sikh Guru.

The emperor's relations with the Jains proved to be far from satisfactory. The Jains offended him because Man Singh Suri leader of a sect among them, had advised Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner to support Khusru against Jahangir. When he visited Gujrat in the twelfth year of his reign he accused the Jains having built temples and made them centres of disturbance. So he expelled all the Jains from the imperial territories in 1617. Dr. Beni Prasad holds that the order was later on withdrawn. The Jain tradition also records that order of Jain's expulsion was withdrawn some time during his reign. But there is, however, no contemporary evidence to support such a statement. Dr. A. L. Srivastava observes that the persecution of the Jains was partly due to political and partly to religious considerations.<sup>57</sup>

Jahangir followed the policy of his father and admitted Hindus to the higher public services. As such, he made no discrimination against any class of his subjects on the ground of religion or race as far as State services were concerned. There were three Hindu governors in his reign, namely Man Singh, Kalyan Singh, son of Todar Mal and Vikramadit. There were 66 Hindu nobles with the title of Raja or Rai during the reign of Jahangir commanding a rank of 500 to 7000.<sup>58</sup> From the account of De Laet it is evident that in his reign there were 46 Hindu Mansabdars who

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Religious Policy of the Mughals

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were commanding a rank of 1000 to 7000.59 Thus there were many Hindus on other high posts.

Jahangir suppressed public sale of wine and other intoxicants—with what success we do not know—He prohibited gambling. He also prohibited sale of meat on certain days held sacred by him. Jahangir kept up the traditions of his father to a certain extent and stopped the slaughter of animals on Sundays<sup>80</sup> and Thursdays.<sup>61</sup> Jahangir gave up fish-eating altogether. We also find him postponing the sacrificial slaughter of animals to the day following the *Id* when the *Id* fell on one of the days when animals could not be openly killed.

Jahangir, like Akbar, has been accused of being a non-Muslim. Some contemporary Christian writers hail him as a Christian, other call him a Hindu, while one makes him the founder of a new faith of his own. Rafi-ud-Din writing in the far-off Deccan declared him to be a follower of the Din-i-Ilahi. But it is only fair to add on the basis of impartial study and available evidence that Jahangir was a Muslim, very often acting as 'protector of the true faith,. There is no trustworthy evidence to bear out the fantastic suggestion that Jahangir either left Islam or intended ever to leave it. Dr. Beni Prasad also blunders into stating that Jahangir did not believe in the prophet. He maintained intact the Muslim organisation of the State in its essential aspects. He was to a majority of subjects a good Muslim and ordinarily continued Akbar's toleration and religious policy.

Shahjahan: Jahangir's successor Shahjahan was an orthodox Muslim. Although born of a Rajput mother Shahjahan abolished the sijida as it involved prostration which according to Islamic tradition is due to God alone. He restored the Hijra Era to the national calendar and revived some of the Muslim festivals like

<sup>56.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57.</sup> The Mughal Empire, p. 290.

<sup>58.</sup> Faruki. Z., Aurangzeb and his Times, p. 194.

<sup>59.</sup> Empire of the Great Mogal, p. 117.

<sup>60.</sup> Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Lowe, Trans., p. 188.

<sup>61.</sup> Ibid, Roggers, Beveridge, Trans., Vol. 1, p. 185.

<sup>62.</sup> Ibid., p. 431.

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Aurangzeb

to six anagas and twelve maidservants in attendance on Her Royal Highness. This insignificant person was among those who had the good fortune of receiving gifts at the blessed hands of the Malika of the realm.

On leaving, the Emperor planted a holy kiss on the fair forehead of the freshly Christened Prince Aurangzeb. To the amazement of all, the infant Prince gave a big, broad smile. Before leaving Jahangir invoked Allah's blessings upon him. The six days old Prince seemed to know what was happening around him. Truly, his reactions were a phenomenon hard to explain. Such good looks and such innate wisdom were seldom seen in a new-born prince before.

The march to Ujjain, capital of Malwa, was resumed on the eleventh day after Aurangzeb's birth. No public festivities were held in Dohad to mark the occasion. The Emperor preferred to keep the customary fireworks, wine parties, dance and music performances pending till the victorious army reached Ujjain. Once there, following leisurely progress through some arid and some lush green regions, Jahangir went on a merry-making spree that lasted till the middle of December. He was ever in search of occasions to indulge his lust for drinking inebriating wines.

Aurangzeb was a born puritan. To welcome the arrival on world stage of such a man with unceasing bouts of Bacchanalia was a hidden impropriety which could not but have within it the seeds of a deadly conflict. Adults are adults. Infants never forget.

Chapter Two

# SEARCH FOR RIGHT PATH

Aurangzeb was born in the heyday of his father's ascendancy at the court. Already he had been given the high title Shah Jahan and an unprecedented Mansab of forty thousand zat and sawar. As Viceroy of the Deccan he had the pick of the Imperial Army under his command. His eldest brother Sultan Khusrau had practically run himself out of the race for throne\*. Sultan Parvez, the next claimant to succession, was known to be on the edge of extinction because of riotous living. The Hukma had forewarned the Emperor of the likely consequences if the Prince did not cut down on heavy drinking of spirits and wines. In the circumstances it was but only human that Shah Jahan should see visions of wearing the crown after his father's death. Ambition feeds on hope, and hope in a way draws sustenance from ambition. They are in fact the two sides of the same coin, namely, a compulsive desire in man to be better than what he is.

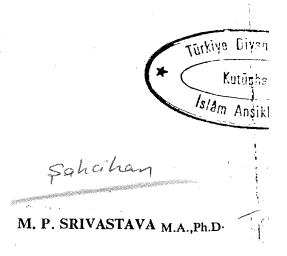
Aurangzeb was thus a child born amidst an unsettling uncertainty about the future. The intrigues launched by Begum Nur Jahan with the aim of persuading the Emperor to fix succession on Shahryar\*\* increased tensions that could not but generate in Shah Jahan's heart the thoughts of a rebellion.

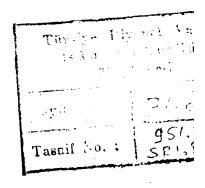
<sup>\*</sup>Sulan Khusrau was the eldest son of Jahangir. His mother was Man Bai (title Shah Begum) sister of Raja Man Singh. He revolted against his father in 1607. The rebellion was quickly put down. Khusrau was partially blinded and imprisoned.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Shahryar was the youngest son of Jahangir by a concubine. He was married to Ladli Begum, daughter of Nur Jahan by her first husband, Sher Afghan.

# POLICIES OF THE GREAT MUGHALS

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next two emperors, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, ultimately contributed largely to the destruction of the empire. This, indeed, is the most noteworthy aspect of the Deccan transactions during the period.

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Shahjahan: The existence of the Shia Sultanates of the Deccan was an eye-sore to the Mughal Emperors.<sup>38</sup> Between the year 1600 A.D and 1605 A.D. Akbar was occupied in his Deccan campaign. He was able to annex to his empire the whole of the kingdom of Khandesh and a large part of Ahmadnagar, including Berar. His ambition was to extend his sway over the whole of India, but his death prevented his plans to mature and materialise. Jahangir resumed his father's policy with added enthusiasm, but he found a tough foe in Malik Ambar. Hence nothing substantial was accomplished and all efforts to annex the Deccan to the Mughal Empire ended in smoke.

It is evident that the policy of reducing the Shia Sultanates as a family legacy was left to Shahjahan. And it is worthwhile to mention that whereas Akbar and Jahangir were actuated by purely political motives in their aggressive policy against the Shia Sultanates Shahjahan's wars against the Shia Sultans were the outcome of his religious zeal mixed with political prejudice. In his object he was more successful than his predecessors, because in the first place, he himself was acquainted with the ins and outs of the Deccan; secondly, a devastating famine had wrought havoc in that quarter and thus facilitated the conquest; and lastly, Malik Ambar, the very soul of vigorous defence was no more alive.

War Against Ahmadnagar: The kingdom of Ahmadnagar was founded in 1490 by Malik Ahmad Nizamulmulk.<sup>39</sup> When Shahjahan ascended the throne he confirmed the Khan Jahan Lodi in the governorship of the Deccan<sup>40</sup> and asked him to recover the

<sup>38.</sup> Zaffar. S. M., The Mughal Empire; 1936 Ed, p. 233.

<sup>39.</sup> Ferishta. Vol. II, p. 96; Burhan-i-Maasir, p. 19.

<sup>40.</sup> Lahauri. A. H., Padshahnama, Vol. I, p. 257.

#### THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

January 19, 1628, Asaf Khan imprisoned Dawar Bakhsh. He then proclaimed Khurram emperor under the title of Shah Jahan by having his name read in the Friday prayers. Two days later, when Shah Jahan's letter arrived, the wazir ordered the execution of Shahryar, Dawar Bakhsh and his brother, and two sons of Prince Daniyal, Jahangir's brother. On January 24, 1628, Shah Jahan entered Agra and was hailed as emperor.



John F. RICHARDS

ITHE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA: I.5

The Mughal Empire. Cambridge-Reprint. 1995, 5.119-150.0N!42377.

#### CHAPTER 6

#### SHAH JAHAN 1628-1658

At his accession, Shah Jahan, the dominant ruler on the subcontinent, controlled vast territories, unmatched military power, and massive wealth. He was heir to an ancient and impeccable royal lineage. The new emperor's pride in these circumstances and in his own strengths was manifest - verging on arrogance by contemporary view. Shah Jahan's confidence was not unfounded. His abilities had been tested over long years of military campaigning, diplomatic negotiation, and political maneuvering. In 1628, at his official coronation, this aggressive, able man assumed the identity for which he had been training all his life. Empire and emperor were well fitted to each other.

Shah Jahan established his capital at Agra in the great fortress built by Akbar. Agra remained the capital until 1648 when the court, army and household moved to the newly completed imperial capital, Shahjahanabad, at Delhi. The spirit and form found in the new capital differed noticeably from that of Fatehpur Sikri. Like the man, Shah Jahan's new city was appropriate to a more formal, more forbidding, and grand monarchy and empire.

#### KHAN JAHAN LODI

In 1629, Khan Jahan Lodi, an Afghan noble ranked among the highest in the empire at 6000 zat and 6000 suwar, fled Agra and sought refuge with the Nizam Shah ruler of Ahmadnagar in the Deccan. This act of defiance, unprecedented since Akbar's days, was the more sensational because of Khan Jahan Lodi's privileged relationship with Jahangir. It was ominous in that the possibility of a widespread Afghan uprising could not be excluded and could have been the signal for a crisis in the loyalties of the nobility. Khan Jahan, however, rebelled reluctantly, for survival and with little hope of overthrowing his royal master. In many ways his response was a response to a new, less-congenial style of royal authority.

The youthful Khan Jahan Lodi, originally named Pir Khan, had joined Akbar's forces under Raja Man Singh in the last stages of the

-Sah Cihan

C.C. Brown (ed. and tr.), The Malay annals, Kuala Lumpur 1976; Y.F. Liaw, Undang-Undang Melaka, The Hague 1976; B.W. Andaya, The Indian Saudagar Raja, in Jnal. Malay Br. RAS, li (1978), 13-36. (M.B. HOOKER)

SHĀH DJAHĀN (1000-76/1592-1666, r. 1037-68/1628-57), Mugh al emperor, son of the Emperor Djahāngir [q.v.] and his Rādjput wife Manmati; his personal name was Khurram, the title of Shāh Djahān being granted to him by his father in 1025/1616.

His first responsible assignment came with his appointment to the Mēwāŕ campaign in 1022/1614. He was subsequently appointed sūbadār of the Deccan in 1025/1616 and again in 1030/1621. In 1031/1622 he procured the murder of his elder brother Khusraw and afterwards rebelled in 1032/1623; driven out of the Deccan, he made his way to Bengal, but was defeated there, too, hence returned to the Deccan, where he submitted to his father (1035/1626). On Djahāngir's death in 1036/1627, through the machinations of Asaf Khan, he ascended the throne in 1037/1628 and ordered the execution of his nearest kinsmen as potential rivals—the first instance of such massacres in the Indian Mughal dynasty, and an unhappy precedent for the future. Shah Djahan's approach to nobles who had supported his rivals was, on the other hand, moderate, and he loved to contrast his moderation with the bloodthirstiness of rulers in other Islamic countries.

To support his ambitions, <u>Sh</u>āh <u>Djahān increased</u> the income of his treasury by enlarging the <u>khālişa</u> (imperial reserved lands). The <u>Djāmadāmī</u> (net revenue annual income) of the empire during his reign was about 9,03,74,20,000 dāms (22,59,35,000 rupees); <u>Sh</u>āh <u>Dj</u>ahān was probably the richest monarch in the world.

Shāh Djahān annexed Aḥmednagar in 1045/1636, allowing to Bidjāpur [q.v.] a portion of it, and standing forth as a protector of Golkondā, which now paid him annual tribute. In 1047/1638 the Ṣafawid governor of Ḥandahar handed it over to the Mughals, but the Persians re-captured it in 1058/1649. In 1055/1646 Shāh Djahān attacked the Uzbek khānate, and temporarily occupied Balkh and Badakhshān, but finally had to withdraw in 1056/1647.

Shāh Djahān was a vigorous administrator, and introduced certain important changes (new payschedules, month-ratio system for classification of \$\dial\_{a}\overline{v}\_{a}\text{ir}s\$, etc.); and re-inforced the central authority. He also enjoys a deserved reputation as a builder. The classical product of his interest is the Tādj Maḥall [q.v.]. On 7 Dhu 'l-Kacda 1040/6 June 1631 Shāh Djahān ordered the construction of a mausoleum for his wife Mumtāz Maḥall. It was completed in 1053/1643 at the cost of 50 lakhs of rupees. In 1048/1638 he founded the imperial city of Shāhdjahānābād at Dihlī at the cost of 60 lakhs of rupees. Lāhōrī, the official historian, records that the total expenditure on buildings under Shāh Djahān up to the year 1057/1647-8 was rupees 2 crores, 50 lakhs of rupees.

Though Shāh Djahān began to introduce Islamic observances into Mughal court etiquette, he largely continued the tolerant policy of his two predecessors. He promoted Rādjputs to high ranks and patronised Hindī poetry. His eldest son Dārā Shukōh [q.v.] translated the Upaniśads and wrote a tract (the Madjma al-bahrayn) comparing Sūfism with Vedanta. Under the patronage of Shāh Djahān, an intellectual movement to bridge the gap between Hinduism and Islam was started and an attempt was made to evolve a common language for both religions.

He fell ill in <u>Dhu</u> 'l-Ḥididja 1067/September 1657, and his four sons Dārā <u>Sh</u>ukōh, <u>Sh</u>āh <u>Sh</u>udjā', Awrangzīb and Murād Bakhsh started making preparations to contest the throne. Awrangzīb emerged victorious, and dethroned and imprisoned his father in 1068/1658. In his imprisonment in the Āgra fört, he was looked after by his loyal and talented eldest daughter <u>Djahān Ārā</u>. He died in 1076/1666, and lies buried by the side of his wife Mumtāz Maḥall in the Tādj Maḥall.

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

SHĀH MALIK B. ALĪ YABGHU, the Oghuz Turkish [see GHUZZ] ruler in the town of Djand [q.v. in Suppl.] on the lower Syr Darya in Transoxania during the second quarter of the 11th century A.D.

Shāh Malik, who is given by Ibn Funduk the kunya of Abu 'l-Fawāris and the lakabs of Husām al-Dawla and Nizām al-Milla, was the son and successor of the Oghuz Yabghu, head of a section of that Turkish tribe in rivalry with that one led by the Saldjūk family of chiefs [see SALDIŪĶIDS. ii]. It was this hostility that made Shāh Malik ally with the Ghaznawid Mascūd b. Maḥmūd [q.v.] against his kinsmen the Saldjūks, and in 429/1038 the sultan appointed him as his governor over Kh "ārazm [q.v.]. Shāh Malik successfully overran Kh"ārazm, but with the triumph at Dandānķān [q.v. in Suppl.] in <u>Kh</u>urāsān of <u>Togh</u>ril and Čaghri Begs, was driven out of Khwārazm by 435/1043-4. He fled southwards through Persia to Makran and was eventually killed there, his short line being thus extinguished; by the time of his flight from Khwārazm, Djand had probably already fallen into the hands of the Kîpčak [q.v.] Turks.

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(C.E. Bosworth) <u>SHĀH MANŞŪR SHĪRĀZĪ</u>, finance minister of the Mughal emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605).

Of Indian origin, he held an appointment as mushrif (accountant) of the Royal khūshbū-khāna (perfume department), but incurred the hostility of powerful

# THE TUZUK-I-JAHĀNGĪRĪ

Kutünhanesi / Kutünhanesi / Kutünhanesi / Kutünhanesi / Katün Ansiklopedisi

OR MEMOIRS OF JAHĀNGĪR

Translated by
ALEXANDER ROGERS
I.C.S. (Retired)

Edited by
HENRY BEVERIDGE
1.C.S. (Retired)

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# ABSTRACTA IRANICA, XXVI, 2003 TEHERAN, pp. 105-106

230. LAMBOURN, Elizabeth. «Of Jewels and Horses: the Career and Patronage of an Iranian Merchant under Shah Jahan ». *Iranian Studies* 36, 2 (2003), pp. 213-240.

Here, Elizabeth Lambourn contributes to a special issue of Iranian Studies on Indo-Persian contacts with an article examining the patronage and construction of a hitherto unexamined mosque by a prominent and successful Iranian émigré named 'Alī Akbar Işfahānī in the Gujarati city of Cambay. Little remains of this Masjid-i Fath, built in 1656, except the four surrounding walls, on which we find marble mihrabs with inscriptions in both Persian and Arabic attesting to the building and patronage of this mosque by Isfahānī. Lambourn contextualizes the construction of this edifice by comparing the design of the building with other Gujarati mosques built in the medieval and early modern periods. When combined with her conclusion that the stone intarsia found in the mihrabs was inspired by the pietra dure work found in nearby Mughal religious and imperial monuments, we find that this mosque was reflective of a syncretist trend whereby Gujarati artistry was combined with Mughal architecture under the auspices of Iranian patronage. Lambourn also sheds light on the career of 'Alī Akbar Isfahānī, and we find that his transition from successful merchant - primarily dealing with horse trade - to Mughal-appointed city administrator was consistent with longstanding societal trends whereby Iranian merchants emigrated to the western coast of India and manipulated the flow of commercial traffic from C.M. the Persian Gulf through the Indian Ocean.

Sah Chan

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN PARODI, Laura E. Two pages from the Late Shahjahan Album. Ars Orientalis, 40 (2011) pp.267-294. (Allegorical portraits of ... Babur and Humayun.)

MADDE YAVIMILANDIKTAN SUNRA GELEN DUKÜMAN

Jahangir holds a portrait of his father, Akbar, and in the other, a portrait of his "mother," the Virgin Mary. For Jahangir, such images were not only expressive but also operative—not only allegorical but also talismanic. In other words, this type of innovative art was both a record of and a medium for the emperor's miraculous self. As such, it was meant for those in the know, the inner circle of disciples. By contrast, the emperor's memoir was a "public" document-somewhat formulaic in its self-effacing and "pious" tone—copied at various stages of writing and sent across the realm. The paintings portrayed what could not be stated in the memoir. This scheme followed an established Sufi hagiographical practice. The saint's miracles were only disclosed to his closest disciples and sons. Although they may become part of the oral lore surrounding the saint in his lifetime, they were committed to paper and made public in a hagiography (tazkira) only after his death. A saint who strayed from this custom caused controversy and invited accusations of heresy. This held true as much for the famous Nagshbandi leader Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, who made a millennial claim in Jahangir's reign, as it did for the emperor Akbar. Both men had become the focus of religious controversy because they claimed their sacredness explicitly and publicly in writing. Jahangir, it seems, was much more cautious in following the norms of saintliness. Or, one could say, he was much more inventive. Instead of writing down his miracles, he had them painted.

It should come as no surprise, then, that the painted image played a central role in the Mughal institution of imperial discipleship. Akbar had revived Humayun's cult of disciples but not his cosmologically inflected headgear, the Taj-i 'Izzat (Crown of Glory). Instead, each supplicant was given upon initiation a small painted likeness (shabih) of the emperor, which could be pinned on or wrapped within one's turban. Although no such portrait has been found from Akbar's reign, we possess several copies of tiny portraits of Jahangir that were rendered for this purpose. 110 In these paintings, Jahangir is shown haloed and framed by a window. The window indicated that he was performing the famed jharoka-i darshan (window of veneration) ceremony, in which the sovereign showed a glimpse of himself from a distant palace balcony to his subjects. These tiny portraits were, in other words, painted rituals. They encapsulated in visual form the sacred manifestation of the saintemperor to his disciples.

[7] CONCLUSION

THE GRAFFITI UNDER THE THRONE

Sah Cihan 181547

It is also a sign of auspiciousness and divine guidance that at the beginning of every millennium a world ruler should come into existence to eradicate rebellion and ignorance from the world, just as the rising of this star was predicted 565 years ago by Afzal al-Din Hakim Khagani:

"They say that every thousand years there comes into this world one who is privy to the people of perfection. One came before this, but we had not yet been born; one will come after this, but we will have sunk into grief."

On the third day after his birth, His Majesty the Emperor Akbar went to the palace to feast his eyes on the baby's [the future Shah Jahan's] world-adorning beauty and such a celebration was held that the eyes of the world were dazzled.

-Muhammad Hadi (c. 1720), Preface to the Jahangirnama

S THE chroniclers and astrologers of Shah Jahan (r. 1627-1658) were keen to point out, their sovereign too had been born on the eve of the first Islamic millennium.¹ Upon his enthronement, the emperor styled himself as the Second Lord of Conjunction, openly embracing his millennial legacy and asserting his oneness with Timur. Shah Jahan's predecessors had also pursued the memories of their Timurid past. Jahangir, for instance, had lavishly rewarded the sweet-tongued visitor from Samarqand, Abdul Razzaq Mutribi, for his eyewitness account of the physical condition and miraculous nature of Timur's black-stoned sepulcher, on which was inscribed the legend of the luminous conception of the Lord of Conjunction's ancestor.2 Shah Jahan, however, went even further. He became the Second Lord of Conjunction and acted forcefully to reclaim his Timurid patrimony. At the height of his reign, he launched an ambitious military effort to reconquer his ancestral homeland. The

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# Mugarnas, vol. 31, 2014 Leiden, p. 123-150.



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Brkiye Diyaner Va

HEIKE FRANKE

# EMPERORS OF SŪRAT AND MA'NĪ: JAHANGIR AND SHAH JÄFIAN AS TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL RULERS

missives in his *China Monumentis*.<sup>2</sup> Here we learn that the Jesuits' letters were sometimes accompanied by pictures. Kircher added one of them, a portrait of Jahangir, to the aforementioned book and remarked that the Mughal emperor used to show himself in this habit in public

councils (fig. 1).3

Information about the Mughal Empire first reached Europe around 1580. After Vasco da Gama opened the sea route from Europe to India, a number of Portuguese settlements arose along the Indian shore. Goa, in Portuguese hands from 1510 to 1961, was the largest of these small colonies, while Diu and Cochin were also of importance. Assorted Christian missionaries operated out of these Portuguese port settlements. At first the Franciscans were in the majority but from the 1540s on the newly founded order of the Jesuits (est. 1540) took on a more prominent role. In 1579, Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605) wrote to the Collegium St. Paul in Goa, at that time the largest Jesuit school in Asia, asking the order to send him two learned priests and the main books of their faith. With hopes of converting the Mughal emperor to Christianity, a Jesuit delegation was dispatched, arriving at the Mughal court in Fatehpur Sikri in February 1580. Although Akbar's interest in Christianity ultimately turned out to be fairly modest, except for some minor interruptions the Jesuits stayed in contact with the Mughal court during his entire reign. After Akbar's death they kept in touch with his son Jahangir (r. 1605–27); nevertheless, their contact declined greatly after the Portuguese, firangis like the fathers, attacked a ship of the queen mother in 1613.

The missionaries at the Mughal court were obliged to inform the Pater Provincial in Goa and the Pater Superior in Rome at regular intervals about the actual state of affairs there. And since their letters were, much like those from the Jesuits in China or Japan, of great interest in Europe, many of them were published and disseminated soon after they arrived in Rome. Athanasius Kircher (d. 1680), the famous German Jesuit scholar, incorporated some of the information contained in these

The picture Athanasius Kircher took from the letter of the Jesuit envoys is obviously based not on sketches they made during their audiences with Jahangir but on a painting that has fortunately survived. It was purchased by an anonymous bidder at an auction at Sotheby's in 1995 and again at Bonhams in April 2011 (fig. 2). <sup>4</sup> This remarkable painting on canvas is exceptionally large at 210 centimeters by 141 centimeters. The name of the painter is missing, but Abu 'l-Hasan and Dawlat seem to be possible candidates. <sup>5</sup>

Athanasius Kircher does not mention the name of the Mughal emperor depicted, but the painting undoubtedly bears traits evoking Jahangir. He is seated on a golden chair of European style, a radiant nimbus surrounding his head. As a sign of his world domination, he holds a globe in his right hand that is illuminated by his halo, just as the earth is illuminated by the sun. Kircher explains that the emperor showed himself "like a numen by his radiant diadem" and that he "holds in his hand an orb by which he manifests himself as the lord and the highest power in the world."

While some individuals and a dog not found in the original painting were added to Kircher's "copy," there is an especially important element of Jahangir's picture that is missing and not even mentioned in the priest's text, namely, the twenty-six cartouches surrounding the portrait. These contain verses made extemporaneously by Jahangir himself, as one cartouche informs, while an-

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