UNIT 1 INDO-PERSIAN HISTORIES AND PERSIAN LITERARY TRADITIONS*

Structure

1.0 Objectives
1.1 Introduction
1.2 Persian language and literature on the eve of Mughal advent in India
1.3 History writing in Persian: Form, method, and objective
   1.3.1 Memoirs and other biographical writings as history
   1.3.2 Universal and dynastic histories: Abul Fazl
1.4 Insha-navisi or the art of drafting
1.5 Official Documents
1.6 Akhlaq literature
1.7 Persian translations of Indic works
1.8 Summary
1.9 Keywords
1.10 Check Your Progress Exercises
1.11 Suggested Readings
1.12 Instructional Video Recommendation

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The study of this Unit would enable you to:

- understand the growth and development of political culture introduced in India,
- find out the interface of the Persian scholars with Indic literary traditions,
- know how did the autobiography tradition develop in the Persian historiography,
- assess the process of the continuation of the tawarih/tarikh tradition with its salient features,
- examine the changing ethos of the poetic compositions of the period,
- appraise the growth and development of insha tradition,
- identify new literary genres like safarnama and akhlaq,
- underline the growth of maktab-khana and its interface with the Sanskrit literary tradition

* Dr. Meenakshi Khanna, Indraprastha College for Women, University of Delhi, Delhi
1.1 INTRODUCTION

The period of our study marks major historical transformations that were shaped by political, economic, social, religious, and technological factors existing between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries in north India. You will read how those changes announced the beginnings of the ‘early modern’ phase in Indian history.

Persian culture was introduced with the Ghaznavid invasions of north India. A significant cultural shift is seen in this period as Persian acquires the status of lingua franca that bridged across the multilingual and multi-religious diversities in India. It also linked the subcontinent with the eastern Islamic world as well.

The Mughals were native speakers of a Turkish dialect called Chaghatai turki, but their preferred mode of public communication for administrative, literary, and cultural expression was Persian. In this Unit you will learn why and how Persian became the dominant language of the Mughal Court and communication. These changes underscore an altered worldview. An expression of new ways of perceiving the world is illustrated in the writings of Indo-Persian historians of Mughal India who started recounting the past events in terms of human actions rather than divine intervention. This, however, does not mean that Mughal historians absolutely ignore divine involvement, but that element of fatalism is far less in comparison to the writings of earlier Turko-Afghan historians. Thus, historiography shows ‘secular’ concerns as it shifts away from the more religious and didactic outlook.

Another important feature of Indo-Persian historiography is noticed in the writing of memoir or autobiography that focused on the individual’s self-narrative. The previous patterns of recording history (tarikh/tawarikh) continued; however, events were now described with awareness of an altered worldview that reflected the new secularism of the day. Besides works on history other kinds of prose and poetic compositions incorporated the changing ethos of the sixteenth century. A special position is assigned to the Persian translations of Indic works that were mainly inspired by the new imperial ideology that moved away from the normative discourse of the shari’a in sultanate times to concerns for governance of a multicultural society in India.

The carriers of this cultural and literary transformation were the Persian knowing intellectuals and scribes, and their courtly patrons, who came from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds rooted in Iran, Central Asia, and India. These aspects explain the urbane and cosmopolitan features in the Indo-Persian literary practices of those days. In this Unit you will also learn about the culture of the scribes (khuttab) and secretaries (munshis), who were authors or compilers, some were appointed as high officials, and many were employed in the Mughal secretariat (diwân al-rasâ’il or diwân al-inshâ’). The Indo-Persian literary traditions in the sixteenth century cultivated a distinct style called the sabk-i hindi. Official orders, court histories, poetry, philosophical and mystical concepts, tales of love, wonder and travel, were diffused throughout the subcontinent. In the absence of the printing press in India, the principal means for disseminating ideas among the urban literati was through debates and circulation of handwritten manuscripts. The case of Indo-Persian manuscripts merits special attention because these were extraordinary works crafted on handmade paper, with elegant calligraphy and exquisite illustrations. You will also learn that manuscripts were not merely visual representation of written words, but also self-representations of the patron.
1.2 PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE ON THE EVE OF MUGHAL ADVENT IN INDIA

When Babur laid the foundation of the Mughal rule in India in 1526, Persian language was in use for more than five hundred years by diverse sections of the Muslim elites including administrators, literati, and piety minded in the northern, western, eastern and Deccan regions of the Indian subcontinent. It will be useful to take a brief survey of the early history of Persian literary milieux, including history writing in Persian, in India and account for the historical processes that created a large and varied body of Persian texts in the subcontinent between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries (Please see BHIC 107 Unit 1).

The Ghaznavid (997-1187) invasions of northwestern India in the early eleventh century mark the expansion of the Muslim dynasties and ‘Persianate’ culture in India. The Ghaznavids were ethnic Turks and Persianized slaves (ghulams) of the Iranian kings of the Samanid dynasty (819-999) of Bukhara (southern Uzbekistan). When the Ghaznavids established their independent dynasty, they continued to observe the administrative and cultural practices of the Samanids who, along with other dynasties) had patronized the Persian Renaissance (c. 900-1100) that represented traditions of mixed cultural heritage of the pre-Islamic Iran (before Iran was conquered by the Muslim Arabs in the seventh century) and the Arab Muslims. The linguistic dimension of this cultural movement was marked in the tenth century by the emergence of the ‘New Persian’ language - a hybrid of the indigenous Middle Persian of Iran, and Arabic vocabulary and script brought to Iran in the seventh century. The ‘New Persian’ (henceforth, Persian) was patronized by the Samanids as the medium of literary expression and official bureaucracy. The ancient Iranian traditions of absolute kingship, justice, bureaucratic norms, cultural pluralism in ethnic and religious matters, art and architecture, literary ethics, and history writing were compiled along with ideas of the Arab-Islamic world. For example, the Samanids patronized Bal`ami’s Persian rendition of Tabari’s universal history of the Muslims Taṣrīḥ al-rasul wa’l-malik (The History of Prophets and Kings) written in Arabic. The poet Firdausi had started composing the Shahnama (The Book of Kings) including the legend of Alexander the Great in this great Persian epic of pre-Islamic Iranian history and mythology, under the Samanids. According to the historian Richard M. Eaton, Bal`ami had appropriated the legacy of early Islamic history for the Persianate world, and Firdausi did the same for legacies of pre-Islamic Iran and Greek imperialism by giving Alexander the Great his Persian ancestry. Such texts included features of the ‘Perso-Islamic’ worldview, presented in prose and poetic compositions, that were circulated by itinerant bards who traveled in search of kingly patronage. With the arrival of paper technology in the eighth and the ninth centuries, the literati and scribal communities accelerated the movement of texts, often along the military, trading, and pilgrimage circuits. In the multilingual and multireligious world of Central

---

1 ‘Persianate’ is a neologism coined by the historian Marshall G. Hodgson

2 The British Orientalist Edward G. Browne had coined the term ‘Persian Renaissance’ as a cultural movement that refers to the zenith of Persian literary activity noticed first in the tenth century in Central Asia and Khurasan (north east Iran). This literary activity spread across the entire Persian speaking world and reached its’ climax in the eleventh century under the Ghaznavid sultans.
Asian, Iranian, and Afghan communities people adapted to Persian because, unlike Arabic or Turkic, Persian did not have any ethnic or religious associations. These factors explain to us how Persian emerged as a powerful medium of connecting diverse ethnic groups, courts, literati, artists, scribes, Sufis, and merchants during these centuries. Even after the Mongol ravages of Central Asia and north Iran in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries Persian continued as a powerful language of the courts and everyday use in this region.

The Persian literature produced at the court of the Ghaznavid sultans defined the themes and styles of composition that would be instructive for later generations of Persian scholars in India. This corpus included Firdausi’s (940-1020) epic poem the *Shahnama (The Book of Kings)* completed in 1010 under Mahmud Ghazni; a large body of Persian panegyric and lyrical verses written by court poets like Farrukhi, Manuchehri, Sanai, Sa’di Salman and other poets; and Abul Fazl Baihaqi’s *Tariikh-i Baihaqi (The History of Baihaqi)*. Another work of great value for Indian history was conceived in the Ghaznavid province of Punjab, but was an exception to the Persian literary corpus, is Abu Raihan Biruni’s *Kitab al Hind (The Book of India)* which is a study of the north Indian Brahmanical culture and natural history written in Arabic language. With the establishment of the Ghaznavid capital in Lahore Persian speaking emigrants from the larger reaches of the eastern Islamic world settled in north India in search of trade, adventure, and patronage. The émigré rulers, administrators, scholars, literati, clerics, merchants, and Sufis were ethnically diverse but culturally integrated into the Persian traditions epitomized by Bukhara and Ghazni. In India, Lahore became the new hub of Persian literary production as poets like Abu’l Faraj Runi and Mas’ud Sa’d-i Salman wrote lyrical verses in Lahore. According to Professor Schimmel, Sa’d-i Salman introduced the Sanskrit genre of the *barahmasa*, poems describing the seasons and the months of the year, in Persian. This is an early example of the ‘Indo-Persian’ literary culture as it expresses how Persian language was appropriating the Indic traditions within its fold. It is at Lahore that the Sufi Shaikh Ali bin Usman Hujwiri Jullabi wrote the *Kashf al Mahjub (Unveiling of the Veiled)*, an early Persian treatise on Sufism that included elements of biographical notes (*tazkirah*) and records of Sufi discourses (*malfuzat*). These works may not be directly concerned with history writing but these are extremely important sources for the study of many social, intellectual, political, religious, and cultural aspects of the early stages of sultanate formation in India.

Although, the beginnings were made by the Ghaznavids the roots of Persian culture were embedded in north India by the Ghurids (1148-1206). After acquiring Ghazni in 1173-1174 Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam of the Ghurids began raiding India through the Gomal Pass with his Turkish slaves and Khalji Afghan commanders, and captured Uchchh and Multan (1175), Lahore (1186), territories in the Gangetic Plains, Ajmer, and Bengal (1203). The Ghurids announced their capital at Delhi (1192), and this city continued to be the seat of authority and cultural patronage for the different ruling families in the period of the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1398). Various forms of prose literature, including genealogies (*shajarah*), historiographies (*tariikh*), ethical treatises (*akhlqaq*), advice literature (*nasihat*), biographies (*tazkirah*),
conversational discourses (*malfuzat*), collection of letters (*maktubat*), epistology (*insha*); and poetic compositions in diverse forms – *qasida, masnavi, ghazal*; along with a body of official documents recording administrative orders, were composed in India on literary formats defined in the Persian oeuvre. A considerable aspect of literary patronage included narratives of history.

Some important aspects of Indo-Persian history writing in Persian in India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be summarized here. Firstly, works on historiography encapsulate two distinct cultural traditions expressed in the term ‘Perso-Islamic’. This term conveys an awareness of the pre-Islamic and Islamic Persian history; and it frames events against the backdrop of the history of Islam to cultivate the normative values of Islamic religion. This aspect, for example, may be illustrated through one of the earliest prose texts on Islamic history and genealogy the *Shajarah-i ansab* (*The Tree of Genealogies*, 1206) of Fakhr-i Mudabbir, written under the patronage of the Ghurid Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam. The *Shajarah* accounted for 139 genealogies after Adam down to the Ghurids. The purpose of genealogies was to show kinship relationships and universal history of Islam in the design of a genealogical tree. Later, Minhaj-i Siraj Juzjani used the *Shajarah* in his *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (*The Nasirian Tables*, 1259) to give his Ghurid patrons an Iranian ancestry, and a connection to the Abbasid Caliphs to garner political legitimacy. Further, while ideas of absolute kingship and justice were themes drawn from legendary Persian kings like Jamshid, Nushirwan and Faridun; at the same time historians used the imagery of *ghazi* sultan to eulogize their Muslim political patron. These elements from pre-Islamic Persia and sacred history of Islam were frequently used to impress upon the reader the universal, transregional, and cross-cultural elements in the narrative strategies in history writing in Persian in India.

The element of moralizing is clearly mentioned in the writings of Ziyauddin Barani (1285-1357). He wrote that the chronicles of history, such as his own *Tarikh-i Firozshahi* (*The History of Firozshah*), were a companion to *hadis* (Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad) and had a didactic purpose. History, therefore, must be written with the view to teach moral lessons based on the precepts of Sunni Islam. While the *Tarikh* reflected the Islamic stream of the Perso-Islamic practice; Barani’s *Fatawa-i Jahanadari* (*Rulings on Temporal Government*) presents a blending of Islamic and Persian concepts. Written by inter-mixing historiographical and advice (*nasihat/andarz*) literary styles, this treatise poses Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna’s advice to his sons on the duties of Muslim rulers. The author lamented the corruption of ideals of Islamic polity since after the days of the first four Caliphs and submitted that it would be impossible to rule according to the Islamic precepts. Barani, therefore, delivered a pragmatic solution to Indo-Muslim rulers to follow the culturally inclusive practices of pre-Islamic Iranian monarchs and balance the interests of their Muslim subjects as well.

A different kind of historical writing is available in the compositions of Amir Khusrau. The Indian born Turk Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) whose self-proclaimed title *Tuti-ye Hind* or ‘Parrot of India’ embodies his extraordinary talent as innovator of Persian literary and musical traditions in India. Khusrau’s oeuvre was not
Sources and Historiography

formatted on the Ghaznavid and Ghurid courtly literature of writing panegyrics in qasida. Nor did Khusrau write in the annalistic mode of historians like Juzjani. His main contribution lies in experimenting with literary styles like iham (double entendre) and khayal (poetic imagination); narrative events styled in the masnavi format and written from a historical perspective; and a new style of epistolography. Nevertheless, narratives in poetic frames are useful for reconstructing aspects of courtly life, Sufi devotionalism, and the historical evolution of Perso-Islamic culture during this period.

Another aspect of Persian history writing in this period concerns the element of reasoning for events that shape human existence. In the perception of the medieval historians the causation of historical events was largely ascribed to the element of fate (taqdir) with minimal role for human agency.

Persian in the wake of Timur

Timur’s military ventures in northern India displaced the political authority of Delhi (1398) and this, undoubtedly, weakened patronage given to Persian literary works. What was the status of Persian in the post-Timurid period (c. 1398-1556), which is referred to as ‘twilight of the Delhi Sultanate’ and the ‘long fifteenth century’? On the one hand, it is the opinion of some historians, the period between the death of Firuz Shah Tughlaq (d. 1388) and the accession of Akbar to the throne (1556) is marked by dearth of Persian texts, signifying a ‘crises’ for Persian in the Indian milieux. On the other hand, scholars are also of the opinion that in this period Indian Persian became further rooted in the Indian socio-cultural environment. While Persian was the language of the new Muslim political elite in north India and the Deccan, the indigenous language registers, Sanskrit and the other spoken languages, remained significant mediums of expression for political and administrative, religious and devotional, literary and philosophical discourse. Further, this period is noticed for transcultural (Perso-Indic) and multilingual activities which initiated literary and historiographical trends that mature under the Mughals.

As the focus of politics shifted from Delhi to the regional sultanates and Rajput kingdoms, we do not see any large imperial histories that were written from Delhi. Instead, we have modest political histories compiled in the new sovereign states which were once subservient to Delhi. Many scholars, merchants, and artisans had migrated from Delhi and taken refuge in the smaller regional states in Malwa, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Kalpi, and the Deccan. This created the circumstance for regional rulers to patronize local histories in the style introduced by the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate. A case in point is Muhammad Bihmad Khani’s Tariikh-i Muhammadi, a history of Kalpi that drew on Juzjani’s idea of universal history of the Islamic world, using genealogy to trace the present patron back to the origin of the Islamic community. In the Deccan, the rulers of the Bahmanid Sultanate (1347-1527) were great patrons of Persian culture. It is here that Abdul Malik Isami (d. 1399) wrote a verse history the Futuh as Salatin (The Victories of Sultans), which he modelled on Firdausi’s Shahnama, and projected Mahmud of Ghazni as an ideal Persian king; and linked the founder of the Bahmanid dynasty AlauddinBahman Shah to Mahmud for marking a historiographical linkage with the founder of Muslim rule.
in India. In this way the regional sultanate of the Bahmanids assumed a legitimate place in the world of Muslim Persianized monarchies.

Another feature of this century is the growing indigenization of the Persian language in India. This aspect is evident from the production of Persian lexicographic works in India that are multilingual and contain words from Arabic, Turki, Syrian, Greek, Latin, Pashto, and Hindavi, in the lemmata or dictionary entries and the synonyms and terms used in their explanations. These lexicographic works were of two kinds – the lughat and the farhang. The lughat, is a simple dictionary in which the words and their equivalents are given in one or several languages. While the farhang is an explanatory dictionary of the Persian language that describes the knowledge, culture, and the resources of literary language. Several such dictionaries were compiled in north India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the various locales of the regional sultanates. Stephano Pello, a scholar of Persian language and history, has argued that production of such normative texts in the regions peripheral to Delhi indicates the literary status of their patrons in the Persianate world.

These dictionaries were used for language instruction, especially poetic education by explaining compositions with archaic words, references to historical and mythical personalities, geographical locations, allegories, and multilingual vocabularies. In this sense of presenting terms from various languages Persian has been addressed as a ‘hyper-language’. Some examples include: the Adat al fuzala (Instrument of the Scholars), compiled in 1419 by Qazi Badruddin Muhammad Dihlawi called ‘Dharwal’. He was a native of Delhi who travelled to Jaunpur and then settled in Dhar in Madhya Pradesh. The Farhang-i zafanguya u jahanpuya (The eloquent and world-seeking dictionary) compiled by Badruddin Ibrahim before 1433 is one of the first Persian dictionaries to cover a large number of words (5,170 words), the first to use the principle of alphabetization, and the earliest Persian dictionary with multilingual words. It provides a detailed statistics of the foreign loanwords in Persian and is the first attempt at classifying them. Another work, the Sharafnama-yi Maneri was compiled in 1473 by Ibrahim Qiwamuddin Faruqi of Bihar for Sultan Ruknuddin Barbak Shah of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty of Bengal. This dictionary describes details on grammatical outlines on Persian and Turki. In the absence of any books on Persian grammar this lexicographic work was used for teaching. The transregional movement of the lexicographers and their texts indicates the deepening of Persian learning among the military, courtly, scholarly, and religious elites in north India.

The dictionaries were organised thematically or alphabetically, with specific sections devoted to words from other languages like Arabic, Turki, Hindavi, etc. The earliest Persian dictionary that was compiled in India is the Farhang-i Qawwas and it had only eight Hindi terms. Later dictionaries contain a separate section on Hindavi words, arranged thematically concerning proper names of people, places; kinship terms, words related to time, astronomy, medicine, botany, agriculture; terms for implements, weapons, toys, clothing; and music. The presence of Hindavi terms in Persian dictionaries explains the diverse nature of contact between the two cultures summarised in the term Indo-Persian and indicates how the Persian language undergoes a process of acquiring vocabularies from diverse regions of
Sources and Historiography

India. For example, the *Farhang-i lisan-i shu’ara* (*The Dictionary of the language of poets*), composed in 1378 contains several terms related to everyday life, like *bheli* (Hindavi for ‘bran’) as equivalent of Persian *tagazhdana*; *gudgudi* (Hindavi for ‘tickle’) to explain Persian *ghilghilich*; *dhakka* (Hindavi for ‘push’) to explain Persian *asib* (blow; misfortune). These aspects explain historical processes described by the scholars like Simon Digby and Stephano Pello as ‘linguistic indigenization of Persian’ and ‘provincialization of Persian’ in India that sowed the seeds for its phenomenal growth under the Mughals.

In the pre-Mughal centuries (c. 1000 – 1500), there is great diversity of political, economic, social, and cultural factors that stimulate large and varied styles of texts in different language registers, namely, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Apabhramsha, and the vernacular called hindavi or bhakha (this was the term used for spoken languages in north India in the Persian sources). In fact, the range of Sanskrit language was extraordinary as it sprawled across the South Asian region, and beyond, to create a cultural zone of the ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’. At the same time, literary compositions, in written and oral format, were being shaped in the vernacular or the languages spoken in various regions of the subcontinent as well. The vernacular literature included works on genealogies, biographies, panegyrics for patrons, devotional literature, and governmental records in the regional courts located in northern India and the Deccan. The cultural spaces occupied by the Arbo-Persian, Sanskrit, and vernacular languages, and the social contexts of their interlocutors were not in isolation from each other. In fact, there was constant movement, dialogue, and dissemination of ideas, amongst their interlocutors. Some speakers being proficient in application of more than one, or several tongues.

The movement across linguistic cultures impacted literary output in significant ways. Firstly, in the vernacular literature new styles appear in the form of adaptations of classical genres of Sanskrit and Persian literature. Secondly, regional histories and panegyrics were also written in Sanskrit and Persian. Thirdly, literary production involved works of translation from Sanskrit into Persian and vernacular languages, generally commissioned under political patronage. An early example includes Zain al Abidin’s, (the sultan of Kashmir, r. 1423-74) Persian translation of the Sanskrit text of *Kathasaritasagara*. Fourthly, as has been discussed above, Persian became firmly rooted in the Indian environment, and may be further illustrated with the earliest Persian grammatical writing in Sanskrit, like the *Yavanamanamamala* (1364), that was written by a Jaina scholar Vidyanilaya working at the court of Firoz Shah Tughlaq.

3 ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’ is a term coined by the Sanskritist and historian Sheldon Pollock to define the idea of cultural space, during the fourth to the fourteenth centuries, that was occupied by common texts, ideas and themes derived from the Sanskrit texts, and shared by diverse ethnic and linguistic groups of people, who circulated the shared ideas about aesthetics, polity, kingly virtues, learning, and universal dominion not by force of arms but by emulation.

4 An example of Persian adaptation in vernacular form is the Hindavi Sufi romance or premakhyan (love story). The earliest text of this genre is the *Chandayan* written by Maulana Daud in 1379. The poetic format of the premakhys is derived from the Persian lyrical style of the masnawi while the characters of the story are based in the local environment and speak in the vernacular dialect of Awadhi.

5 For example, Vishnudas transcreation of Valmiki’s *Ramayana* into the vernacular, Bangali.
The post-Timurid period has been described by literary historians as a period of slowdown for Persian literary culture in India. These scholars have also suggested that the wanning fortunes of the Persian literati and literature during the fifteenth century are revived under the extraordinary patronage received from the new ruling dynasty of the Mughals who settled in northern India by the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The above survey of Persian literary culture and history writing in the regional or provincial kingdoms, however, creates an alternate scenario for Persian as it became rooted in the multilingual, multicultural environment in north India and the Deccan, and became the base for Persian to assume a dominant position under the Mughals.

**Check Your Progress-1**

1) Discuss the growth of Persian language and literature on the eve of Mughal advent in India.

2) Which normative texts were produced in the regions peripheral to Delhi and what does their production indicate?

1. Fill in the blanks:
   i) Mughals were native speakers of………..
   ii) Under the Mughals scribes were known as………..
   iii) Mughal secretariat where records were preserved and compiled was known as …………………..
   iv) ………………was a distinct Indo-Persian literary style developed during the sixteenth century.

**1.3 HISTORY WRITING IN PERSIAN: FORM, METHOD, AND OBJECTIVE**

During the Mughal period beginning from Zain Khan’s *Tuzuk-i Baburi* and Khwand Mir’s *Qanun-i Humayuni* to *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* by Munna Lal huge amount of chroniclers’ accounts were produced. However, here we would be discussing only a few major political works and chroniclers with a special focus on Abul Fazl Allami.

During Akbar’s period historical literature was produced at an amazingly large scale. Akbar commissioned *Tarikh-i Alfi* to commemorate the Islamic millennium. It covers the period from 632 down to Akbar’s reign. The book was commissioned in 1582
and completed in 1592. Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad wrote *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. Its chronogram provides the date 1592-93 but the narrative runs upto 1593-94. The author died in October 1594. Nizamuddin has divided his *Tabaqat* into nine regions, each is dealt in a separate *tabqa* (section): Delhi, Gujarat, Bengal, Malwa, Jaunpur, Sind, Kashmir and Multan. Author provides interesting information about the cities and *qasbas* of Akbar’s empire. He mentions that Akbar’s empire consisted of 3200 *qasbas* and 120 cities. He intended to write separately on each of them, a task which he could not accomplish. Badauni penned down *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* against ‘heresies’ and ‘innovations’ of Akbar’s reign. He wrote the book secretly to present the so-called ‘true’ version of the events. The book is written in three volumes. First covers from the age of Subuktigin to Humayun and the Second deals with Akbar’s reign. He laments the ‘annihilation of Islam’ in Akbar’s reign. The third volume is in the form of a *tazkira* and provides biographical accounts of *mashaikhs*, *ulama*, poets and physicians of Akbar’s period. Badauni provides firsthand information on *Ibadat Khana* proceedings. Badauni has also provided the full draft of *mahzar* of Akbar which is otherwise not found in Abul Fazl. Muhammad Arif Qndahari’s *Tarikh-i Akbar Shahi* is valuable to understand the administrative structure of the Mughals, land revenue reforms of Todar Mal and sheds light on the condition of peasantry and their issues under Akbar.

1.3.1 Memoirs and other biographical writings as history

A historical account/biography that is largely written with personal memories falls into the category of a memoir. During the medieval period there are major four accounts which fall into this category 6 Babur’s memoirs, *Baburnama*, Gulbadan Begum’s *Humayun Nama/Ahwal-i Humayun Padshah*. Babur’s memoirs (*Tuzuk-i Baburi/Baburnama*), written originally in Chaghatai Turkish, can truly be called the ‘only true autobiography in Islamic literature’. It is an extremely open and frank account of the events. He has presented an absolutely truthful and unbiased account of the events of his period. Babu admits what ‘I have said is the plain truth…I have spoken the things as they happened. In all that I have written…I have in every word most scrupulously followed the truth’. Though Babur died in 1530, his account abruptly ends on 7th September, 1529. It is written in the form of a diary of events. Babur provides a vivid account of his struggle in Farghana and Samarkand and his sojourn to Hindustan; his battles and struggles in India and his victories. He provides the political, military and socio-economic conditions of the region he governed right from his accession (1494). Babur observes the weakness of Indians in the following terms: ‘All Hindustan was not at that period subject to a single Emperor: every Raja set up for a monarch on his own account, in his own petty territories’. He also observes the fragile nature of Indian cities and hamlets. He comments: ‘In Hindustan, the destruction and building of villages and hamlets, even cities can be accomplished in an instant. Such large cities in which people have lived for years, if they are going to be abandoned can be left in a day, so that no sign or trace remains. If they have a mind to build a city, there is no necessity for digging irrigation canals or building dams…They simply make huts from the plentiful straw and innumerable trees and instantly a village or city is born’. However, he was impressed by the presence of innumerable artisans.
He wrote that ‘workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable without end’. He also comments on the hereditary nature of these professions: ‘the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages’. His memoir points out Babur as a true naturalist. His keen interest in local environment and physical geography, flora, fauna, river systems, animal kingdom is extraordinary. His observation on various kinds of devices used in various regions to lift water for irrigation is amazing, particularly the detailed description of the use of Persian wheel and charas. However, Babur could never think of India as his homeland. He always had a longing for ‘garden palace’ of Samarkand and musk melons of his homeland. He comments: ‘Many praise the mango so highly as to give it the preferences to every kind of fruit, the musk-melon excepted, but it does not appear to me to justify their praise’.

Gulbadan Begum was the daughter of Babur from Dildar Banu Begum. Gulbadan’s account is of vital importance for hers were the observations from within and it was she who witnessed the early formation of Mughal sovereignty in India. Babur died when she was just eight years old. She survived through the tumultuous phase of Humayun. She penned down her memoirs to facilitate the history of the period for Abul Fazl’s *Akbarnama*. *Humayun Nama* is full of insights on birth, marriage and other related celebrations. It speaks of activities of the ruler as a human being outside the formal court. Her account is largely based on memory, heard and remembered, nonetheless its an eyewitness account of the *harem* inmates. *Humayun Nama* throws light on Babur and Humayun and provides insights on the life in the Mughal *harem* and personal/social relationships of the royalty, internal conflicts/tensions, role of *adab* (rules/etiquettes/royal protocol/conduct). Her account suggests that royal women did enjoy distinct position in matters of marriage and social protocol. It also shows women often played the role of political intermediaries. Account also throws light on the position of *purdah* in the Mughal *harem* during the early period. It appears it was comparatively less strict. It shows that the lady of the *harem* was not the chief queen but was the queen mother who often acted as advisor to the king. Humayun’s regular visits to Dildar Banu Begum testify to it. Truly, Gulbadan Begum’s *Humayun Nama* is a portrayal of ‘lived experiences and socio-political realities’ of the period. Gulbadan’s account not just throws light on the domestic life of the Mughal household but also it suggests the boundaries of the public/private spaces and gender relations vs. political power.

### 1.3.2 Universal and Dynastic Histories: Abul Fazl

Abul Fazl, younger brother of Faizi and son of the great scholar Shaikh Mubarak Nagauri, was not just the ‘secretary’ of the empire but also was the close friend of Akbar, a rationalist and liberal thinker. He joined Akbar’s court in 1574, a year before *Ibadat Khana* was established. His chief fame rests upon his monumental work *Akbarnama* of which, initially, *Ain-i Akbari*, another seminal work on the statistical account of Akbar’s empire, was its third volume. *Akbarnama* narrative comes to a close in the 46th regnal year of Akbar; in the 47th regnal year Abul Fazl got assassinated by Bir Singh Deo Bundela. *Ain* was completed in the 42nd regnal year, a section on Berar was added in the 43rd regnal year. Later Muh Hibb Ali Khan brings the narrative upto the end of Akbar’s reign. However, the added portion
Sources and Historiography

was probably written during Shahjahan’s reign and appears to have been largely copied from Mu’tamad Khan’s account. From Akbar’s reign onwards the account becomes an annual chronicle. *Ain* is divided into five books. First deals with the Imperial establishment; second discusses the army; third elaborates on various offices/duties, details of revenue rates, and *suba*-wise statistics; fourth primarily covers Hindu philosophy religion, medicine, customs and manners; while the fifth incorporated the sayings of Akbar. While *Akbarnama* is full of battles and events; *Ain* is written in the form of a gazetteer.

Though Abul Fazl’s style of history writing lies within the framework of Persian historiography, Abul Fazl attempted to include Arabic tradition also, nonetheless, as Nizami puts it his intention of including ‘people’ was ‘partial and limited’: ‘the people were admitted into the charmed circle of a historian’s study not as a matter of right, as the Arab historians had done, but as a necessity, because without them a discussion of Akbar’s multifarious activities would have remained incomplete and insipid’ (Nizami 1982: 153). Nonetheless Abul Fazl used new methodologies to present the political and administrative realities of Akbar’s realm to the fore. His *Ain* provides exhaustive details of the genius of Akbar’s empire. His details of administrative regulations and topography of the empire and the provinces enriches and widens the scope of history writing. Abul Fazl explained monarchy as light emanating from God (*farr-i izadi*) and sovereign should be a ‘just’ ruler and work for the welfare of people. For him Akbar was the ‘ideal’ monarch leading both the spiritual and temporal realms. By the declaration of *mahzar* Akbar reached to the level of a *mujaahid* ‘a perfect man’, *imam-i Adil* ‘infalliable leader’. He presented Akbar’s reigns as that of peace, prosperity, stability, good governance and a period that of religious tolerance and freedom.

However, limitation of Abul Fazl’s writings remains, in his zeal to depict Akbar as an ‘ideal’ monarch and ‘perfect man’ and in order to glorify Akbar’s achievements he often tend to overlook his weaknesses and failed to use his ‘reason’ in presenting the facts thus making at times the account ‘partisan’. To overshadow Akbar’s failures, certain of Akbar’s experiments found no place in Abul Fazl’s meticulously crafted *Akbarnama*: there is no mention of failure of Akbar’s experiment to convert the entire lands of the empire into *khalisa*, nor does he mention that in the 24th regnal year Akbar resumes the grant of *jagirs*. Thus Abul Fazl omitted many facts that did not fit into his scheme of presenting Akbar as an ‘ideal’ monarch or something that undermined Akbar’s position. Thus *Akbarnama* is more a ‘story of Akbar’.

Check Your Progress-2

1) List a few memoirs of the Mughal period. In what ways Gulbadan Begum’s *Humayun Nama* is important to construct the social history of the period?

..................................................................................................................................................
..................................................................................................................................................
..................................................................................................................................................

2) Write three lines on *Baburnama*. 

1.4 *INSHA-NAVISI* (EPISTOLOGRAPHY) OR THE ART OF DRAFTING

*Insha* literally means ‘creation’. However, in the medieval period it denotes, specimen documents and drafts, personal letters, state correspondences. They provide firsthand information on the working of administration as well as prevailing socio-cultural condition and ideas during the medieval period. *Insha* writings were largely written in the context of *divani*. *Insha* literature was directly connected with chancellery practices of the Delhi Sultans and later the Mughals.

There were thus two types of *inshas*, one, written for epistography writings, thus they may not necessarily be real and are model documents meant to impart necessary skills in the art of drafting. *Manazir-ul Insha* of Khwaja Jahan Mahmud Gawan is the example of this type of *Insha*. In other types documents/letters/correspondences are preserved. These second types of *insha* are of great historical significance.

*Insha* collections of the Mughal period are too numerous, beginning from *Badai-ul Insha* of Hakim Yusufi (1533) to *Nigarmana-i Munshi* of Malikzada (1683). Among all *insha* collections Abul Fazl’s name stands out 6 *Mukatabat-i Allami* (collected by his nephew Abdus Samad) and *Ruqqat-i Abul Fazl* (collected by his another nephew Nuruddin Muhammad. Nuruddin Muhammad also compiled another *insha* collection of Abul Fazl’s brother Faizi, *Lataif-i Faizi/Insha-i Faizi*.

Abul Fazl’s *Mukatabat-i Allami* and *Ruqqat* are collection of Abul Fazl’s letters written to Akbar, members of the royal household (Mughal princes, queens, other notables of the *harem*) and the Mughal bureaucrats. These letters can be divided into three categories:

i) Letters and *farmans* and official dispatches sent on behalf of the king (Akbar) to the nobles and foreign dignitaries (Akbar’s *farman* addressed to Mirza Aziz Koka, Shah Abbas of Persia, Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, Akbar’s letter to respectable citizens of Mecca, Akbar’s letter to the wise men of the West, etc.);
Sources and Historiography

ii) Abul Fazl’s petitions and representations made to Akbar non issues of state policies and letters written by his colleagues to Abul Fazl;

iii) Letters of general and miscellaneous nature. Abul Fazl’s letters are of immense importance to understand the political, social and religious atmosphere of the period. It provides broader understanding of Akbar’s religious outlook as well. It helps us understand Mughal relations with the Shah of Persia, Turkey and the Uzbegs vis-à-vis the northwest frontier policy of Akbar.

Abul Fazl’s elder brother Faizi, an erudite scholar, joined Akbar’s court at the age of 21 and was adorned with the title malik al-shuara in Akbar’s court. Faizi’s Insha-i Faizi is an extremely informative insha collection, particularly his five arzdashts written to Akbar. One such arzdasht Faizi wrote to Akbar in 1591 when he was deputed to Burhanpur. It not only throws light on Akbar’s relations with the Farooqi, ruler of Khandesh, Razi Ali Khan but also elaborates in detail the continuation of the Sultnate practice of sarparda (creation of royal enclosure in the absence of the emperor where all royal orders presented and dignitaries were welcomed before the symbolic throne created in the sarparda suggestive of ensuring the prestige and honour to be accorded to the Emperor, even in his absence. Faizi provided a detailed account of the cities enroute from Lahore to Burhanpur. He also provides graphic account of the production of high quality fruits like papaya and figs in the Burhnpur region. Interestingly, Faizi addresses Akbar as zil al-Allah (Shadow of God) and not farr-i izadi (light emanating from God). Further, Faizi clearly, in tone with Akbar’s religious ideas when Farooqi ruler asked permission to perform sijda (prostrate) he was politely refused and was told that sijda could only be performed before God. He also mentions about the atrocities of the faujdar of Ludhiana; while equally praising the faujdars and karoris of Sirhind, Thanesar, and Panipat. He also speaks of Gujjars involved in robberies around Delhi. Thus, Faizi’s insha collection is a valuable source of information to understand the contemporary polity, society and culture.

Among other insha collections, Munshat-i Namkin of Mir Abul Qasim Namkin (1598), is important to understand the socio-economic and cultural milieu of the period. Abul Qasim served both Akbar and Jahangir. However his insha does not contain any correspondences related to Jahangir’s period. He joined Akbar’s service sometime around 1567 and served in the regions of Salt Range, Sind, Punjab and Gujarat and held Bhakkar in his jagir. Munshat is perhaps one of the largest of the insha collections that survive to date. The section khatimah (the concluding part) is of utmost historical importance. It deals with imperial manshurs issued to the grandees of the Mughal empire, petitions, fathnamas (letters of victory), administrative orders pertaining to various appointments like that of wakil, wazir, bakhshi, diwan, mir adl, mir bahr, mimar (incharge of building constructions) etc. Some of the documents pertain to the appointments of religious personnel like shaikhi, sajjadanashini, and tauliyat (trusteeship). Munshat contains letter of Shah Tahmasp written to Akbar and Hamida Bano Begum and Abdullah Khan Uzbeg’s letter to Akbar and Akbar’s letter to Shah Tahmasp. Munshat is also important from the point that it contains a number of information and correspondences pertaining to the early period of Akbar’s reign which is otherwise
not available in other sources in such details. Important among them are two
fathnamas issued at the time of surrender of Mankot on the occasion of Mughal
victory against Sikandar Sur in 1557. Similarly, it contains Akbar’s farman issued
in 1560 at the time of Bairam Khan’s revolt. Equally important is the full text of
the fathnama of Chittor (1568) issued by Akbar. It also provides crucial information
pertaining to administrative divisions, Akbar’s dahsala settlement, batai, ijara,
etc. A manshur appointing Shaikh Kabir as Sajjadanashin of the dargah of Shaikh
Bahauddin Zakariah Multani is important for it sheds light on the presence of
deep imperial interference in the institutions of religious importance. The
documents pertaining to nizahnama mentioned in the Munshat throws valuable
light on the social institution of marriage and particularly on the rights and position
of women. Namkin hailed from a distinguished family of Khorasan so Munshat
contains a good number of documents related to Central Asia as well. Thus, Munshat
is of immense importance to understand the development of Akbar’s administrative
divisions, working of various institutions, and prevalent marriage norms and the
position of women in the medieval society.

1.5 OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

With sixteenth century records pertaining to official documents becomes richer
and help us in our understanding of the period. However, the range of official
documents is too wide to count. It includes farmans (emperor’s orders), nishans
(orders issued by a prince), parwanas (instructions issued by a king to his
subordinates), hasb-ul hukm (order issued by a minister at the instructions of an
emperor), etc. A few among such important documents of Akbar’s period are:
Akbar’s farmans issued to Sikh Guru Ramdas; to priests of Chaitanya sect of
Vrindavan; grants given to jogis of Jakbar; a number of madad-i maash grants
(revenue free assignments to religious grantees and the destitutes); farmans and
parwanas pertaining to madad-i maash grants in the pargana of Batala; Raja Todar
Mal’s memorandum pertaining to revenue administration; Akbar’s farman on the
excavation of Hansi-Hisar Branch of canal;

Check Your Progress-3
1) What are inshas?

....................................................................................................................................
....................................................................................................................................
....................................................................................................................................

2) Write a few lines on Munshat-i Namkin as an important source of history.

....................................................................................................................................
....................................................................................................................................
....................................................................................................................................

3) Write the importance of official documents during the sixteenth century.

....................................................................................................................................
....................................................................................................................................
....................................................................................................................................
1.6 *AKHLAQ* LITERATURE

*Akhlaq/normative* literature is primarily a form of literature produced on the ethics and art of governance/political theory. *Akhlaq* literature is primarily normative, theoretical and idealistic that articulates the attributes of an ‘ideal’ ruler and his duties. The earliest of such works produced in India were Fakhr-i Mudabbir’s *Adab-ul Harb wa Shujaat* and Ziauddin Barani’s *Fatawa-i Jahandari*. Among the *akhlaq* literature Nasir al-Din Tusi’s *Akhlqa-i Nasiri*, written in 1235 CE at the instance of Ismaili prince Nasir al-Din Abd al-Rahim bin Abi Mansur, stands out. Almost all the later *akhlaq* literature produced in India borrowed heavily from Tusi in style. Tusi’s work was widely read and circulated in India. Tusi’s work was among the most favoured books read among the political elites of the Mughals. Abul Fazl mentions Tusi’s *Akhlqa* among the five most favourite books of Akbar and to be read out to him daily.

The earliest of the *akhlaq* treatises associated with the Mughals goes to Babur’s period. It was Ikhtiyar al-Din al-Husaini, the Chief Qazi of Herat and the then *wazir* of Timurid Sultan Husain Bayqara who wrote *Dastur al-Wizarat* dedicated to the Timurid Sultan. However, after the fall of the Timurids at Heart he joined Babur and with revised version of the same which he named *Akhlqa-i Humayuni* he presented that to Babur. Another major akhlaq work was produced during Jahangir’s reign by Nur al-Din Qazi al Khaqani’s *Akhlqa-i Jahangiri*. Since the work was produced during Jahangir’s reign we will not be discussing it here. Instead it will form part of discussions in our Course *BHIC 112*.

*Akhlaq-i Humayuni* articulated on the ‘high ethical ideals of the monarch’ and deliberates upon the ‘laws and forms of governance’. Al-Husaini puts ‘*adl* (justice) and ‘cooperation’ at the highest level and according to him to ensure justice principles of *sharia* and a ‘just king’ is essential and that needs to be achieved not through exercise of power but through ‘affection and favours’:

> The affairs of living must thus be administered through cooperation which depends on justice (*adl*). If *adl* disappears, each man will pursue his own desires. Therefore, there has to be an institute (*dastur*) and a balancing agency to ensure cooperation. The sharia…serves this purpose. But the sharia cannot work without being administered by a just king, whose principal duty is to keep people in control through affection and favours.

*Muzaffar Alam 2004: 54-55*

For Husaini both ‘*Muslims*’ and *Kafirs* enjoyed ‘divine compassion’ without discrimination:

> The man of ideal politics…considers the *riaya* as his sons and friends and has control over his greed and lust through his intellect.

*Muzaffar Alam 2004: 56*

Emphasis on justice, social harmony and cooperation advocated in the *akhlaq* literature did influence the Mughal ideal of governance. Subjects are addressed as
‘sons and friends’ so the relationship between the king and the subjects was that of ‘paternal love’ that goes in consonance with Akbar’s ideal of *sulh-i Kul*. In Akbar’s code of conducts (*dasturs*) issued to his subordinate officials, *akhalaq* finds its place:

> When they are [officials] free from their public work, they should read books written by the pious and saintly, such as those ones on *akhalaq* that cure moral and spiritual ailments…

**Muzaffar Alam 2004: 62**

Thus *akhalaq* literature is of immense importance to understand the art of governance under the Mughals.

**Check Your Progress-4**

1) Define *akhlaq* literature.

2) Name some of the normative writings done during Akbar’s period.

---

**1.7 PERSIAN TRANSLATIONS OF INDIC WORKS**

Coinciding with the foundation of *Ibadat Khana*, Akbar established his translation bureau (*maktab khana*) in 1574-1575 at Fathpur Sikri and attached it to the royal library. Largely Sanskrit texts were translated into Persian. However, Persian translations of some Arabic and Turkish texts were also carried out. The most notable among them was the Persian translation of *Baburnama* by his illustrious noble Abdul Rahim Khan-i Khanan. Some scholars point out that his translation project was much more than to pacify Hindus, instead, it was aimed at larger efforts to enhance the status of Persian as official language and language of the ‘common masses’.

The translation project in Akbar’s court probably began in 1575-1576 with the arrival of Shaikh Bhawan, a Brahman convert, to Akbar’s court. The earliest works translated from Sanskrit with the help of Shaikh Bhawan by Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi was *Atharva Veda* (*Bed Atharban*) sometime before 1583. In 1582 Akbar commissioned the translation of *Mahabharata* (*Razmnama*) and ordered Badauni to translate the text; later the task was completed by Mulla Shri, Naqib Khan and Sultan Haji Thanesari. Abul Fazl composed the Preface of the Persian text. The task was completed by 1584. Faizi was also asked to complete the poetic version of the *Mahabharata*, but he could not complete the task.

Badauni’s description of the translation of *Mahabharata* throws light on how the
Badauni also translated *Ramayana*, a project that completed in 1591. Nizam Panipati translated *Yogavasistha* (a treatise on *Vedantic* philosophy) as an appendix to *Ramayana* and dedicated it to Prince Salim. Mulla Shri also translated *Harivamsa* (*Haribans*: *Genealogy* of *KichGa*) into Persian.

Among the Sanskrit texts of non-religious nature, the most important one translated into Persian at Akbar’s court was Bhaskaracharya’s *Lilavati*, a work on Arithmetic (*hisab*) translated by Faizi. Kalhan’s *Rajatarangini* was translated by Shah Muhammad Shahabadi.

Some of the Sanskrit works were not actually retranslated but were actually the ‘retelling of the Sanskrit texts in Persian’. In the category falls Faizi’s *Nal Daman*.

These translations points to the fact that in Akbar’s translation project it was *Mahabharat* that was central, suggestive of the dominance of Vaishnava traditions, in contrast to Shaivite traditions at Akbar’s court. Emphasis and interests in *Upanishadic* philosophy, one finds, could be generated only under Dara Shukoh’s patronage (*Sirr-i Akbar*) during Shah Jahan’s reign. Lord Rama was idealized as ‘model of Hindu monarchs’; even Akbar was depicted as incarnation of Vishnu. It is rightly pointed out by Truschke (2016: 209) that Akbar’s translation project helped promoting ‘Akbar’s vision of royal authority as transcending multiple religious traditions’.

**Check Your Progress-5**

1) **List major Sanskrit works translated during Akbar’s period.**

........................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................

2) **Discuss the role of *maktab khana* in translating the Sanskrit works into Persian.**

........................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................

**1.8 SUMMARY**

Under the Mughals series of political chronicles were produced. However, with Abul Fazl a real break occurred. With his emphasis on reason and rational analysis a new dimension in the history writing tradition got added. Besides chroniclers’ accounts medieval period is rich in terms of official documents (*farmans, manshurs,*
parwanas, etc.) and insha literature. Akbar’s period is also marked for a number of Sanskrit works translated into Persian.

1.9 KEYWORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arzdashts</td>
<td>Petitions/situation reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmans</td>
<td>King’s orders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hash-ul hukm</td>
<td>Order issued by a minister at the instructions of an emperor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir adl</td>
<td>Judicial officer; primarily responsible for the implementation of the judgements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir bahr</td>
<td>Incharge of river transport, maintained boats, boatmen and sailors, bridges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mimar</td>
<td>Incharge of building constructions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nishan</td>
<td>Orders issued by a prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parwanas</td>
<td>Orders/Instructions issued by a king to his subordinates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress-1
1) See Section 1.2
2) See Section 1.2
3) i) Chaghatai Turki; ii) Khuttab; iii) diwan-i insha/diwan al-rasail; iv) sabak-i Hindi

Check Your Progress-2
1) See Sub-section 1.3.1
2) See Sub-section 1.3.1
3) See Sub-section 1.3.1
4) See Sub-section 1.3.2

Check Your Progress-3
1) See Section 1.4
2) See Section 1.4
2) See Section 1.5

Check Your Progress-4
1) See Section 1.6
2) See Section 1.6
Sources and Historiography

Check Your Progress-5

1) See Section 1.7
2) See Section 1.7

1.11 SUGGESTED READINGS


Hardy, Peter, (1966) *Historians of Medieval India* (London: Luzac & Co.).


1.12 INSTRUCTIONAL VIDEO RECOMMENDATION

Abul Fazl: Chronicling Akbar and His India
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJ4iRSqg48M

Mughal Historiography and Sources
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qODAcOrYsBg&t=923s

Mughal Historiography and Sources - I
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2KLMxyWh9Q&t=685s

Mughal Historiography and Sources - II
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LeU25fxsvvE

Historiography and Sources-2(Persian Sources)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=42Tc0UgX2B0