

## Constitution of the Diversified and Heterogeneous Mughal Nobility All the Way through Its Trustworthy Essentials and Times of Yore Constituents

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### ABSTRACT

The diversified and heterogeneous Mughal nobility was mainly composed of Iranis, Turanis, Afghans, Hindustani Muslims and Rajputs. The constitution of diversified and heterogeneous bond of Mughal nobility was inevitable. It was multi-racial, multi-linguistic and multi-ethnic formation. It came into existence under unique way. It played an important role in the formation and stabilization of mighty Mughal Empire. The purpose of this article is to highlight trustworthy essentials and the times of yore constituents dependable for the configuration of divergent stockpile of Mughal nobility. It ranged from religious persecution of Shah of Persia, El Dorado, influence of Chishti Silsilah, political stability of Mughal Empire, Persian the court language of Delhi Darbar to patronage of Timurid kith and kin. It is argued that the heterogeneous umara played a pivotal role in the erection of Mughal rule that stretched over the course of six decades.

**KEYWORDS:** Diversified, Heterogeneous, Afghan-Faction, Mughal-nobility, Royal-Patronage, Umara, Timurid-court, Shia-Sunni

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### INTRODUCTION

The mighty Mughal Empire (1526-1857) emerged onto the world stage following the first battle of Panipat in which Lodhi dynasty (1451-1526) was rooted out, ruled by Ibrahim Lodhi. Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur (1483-1530), a Timurid prince came from Farghana, was the first who established Mughal rule in Hindustan which lasted for more than three centuries.

The Timurid rulers were alien to this land. They were the descendants of Timur (1336-1405) and Chengiz Khan (1163-1227) paternally and maternally respectively. They did never intend to make Hindustan their permanent settlement. The rivalry among Timurid princes ultimately led to the expulsion of Babur from Farghana to penetrate the territories of Hindustan with a view to establish their rule [1]. Furthermore, some of the nobles of Ibrahim Lodhi urged Babur to depose him [2]. On this, Babur came down to supplant Lodhi dynasty.

Prior to set off to invade Delhi, Babur was the ruler of Kabul. His ten thousand army was mainly composed of Afghans against one hundred thousand of Ibrahim's [3]. The first battle of Panipat took place at the famous battleground of Panipat on 21 April 1526. Having experienced generals and good deal of trained artillery and cavalry, Babur came out victorious. He rooted out Afghan Lodhi dynasty and established Mughal rule. He showed general amnesty to all even to those who sided with Ibrahim during war [4]. He entrusted them *jagirs* with a view to secure their support against Rajputs.

Babur could rule just for four years. Following his death, his eldest son Humayun (1508-1556) ascended the throne of Delhi in 1530. He followed the footsteps of his father in pursuant of his relations with Afghans. He lacked military genius, political insight and diplomatic skills of his father. His inconsistent nature to administrate his kingdom paved the way for the strengthening of Afghan power which ultimately led to his expulsion from Hindustan at the battle of Kanauj. During his rule, he entered matrimonial alliance with Rajputs [5]. Thus, he secured the support of Rajputs against his rivals.

Humayun was left with no other option but to seek asylum at the court of Shah of Persia. He was accorded by Shah Tehmasp. He wanted to recapture his lost throne of Delhi for which he begged for military help. Tehmasp acceded his request provided he would confess and propagate Shia faith in Hindustan [6]. With the contingent dispatched by Shah, Humayun overthrew Sur dynasty (1540-1555). Thus, Shia faction was inducted into the royal fold of Mughal nobility.

Humayun could rule just for six months. On his death, Jalal-ud- Din Muhammad Akbar (1542-1605) crowned himself as the emperor of Hindustan with Bairam Khan as his regent. Bairam was Shia by faith. He intended to

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promote Shia *umara*. He elevated twenty-five menial servants of his creed to the dignity of *panchhazari* [7]. Furthermore, Afghan continued to pose constant threat to the establishing authority of Akbar. He made matrimonial alliances with Rajputs with a view to counterbalance the influence of Shai and Afghan noble factions. In this way, Rajputs became part of Mughal nobility.

Moreover, Shah of Persia declared Shiaism as state religion [8]. It made mandatory on all subjects who were the inhabitants of Persia to get them converted to Shia Islam. Otherwise, they had to face harsh treatment at the hands of Shah. Sunnis were deprived of their worshipping places [9]. They were compelled to flee to the court of Mughal Emperors.

Shah went to the extent of expelling *Sufis* and *dervishes* so that they could not rise in revolt against his authority. Chishti *Sufis* had strong foothold in Hindustan from the time of Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti (1141-1236). Akbar showed deep respect and great veneration for the *Sufis* of different orders. He held them in high esteem and gave them royal patronage.

Economic factor also played a vital role in the formation of heterogeneous Mughal nobility. Several administrators, military generals and artisans moved to Hindustan with a view to try their luck. Mughal Empire was rich enough to accommodate more people. Moreover, they believed in the concept of El Dorado [10]. These factors encouraged them to leave Persia.

Turani was another noble faction. They came from north of Oxus river. They were direct descendants and kith and kin of Mughal rulers. It was natural faction. They were Sunni by faith and considered themselves equal to the dignity of emperors. They aimed at cultivating independent petty-states on the pattern of Central Asia.

Finally, was the induction of Hindustani Muslims into the bond of heterogeneous *umara*. They were mainly constituted of Sayyids. Akbar cultivated matrimonial alliances with them and offered them employment. They became so powerful enough that they acted as king-makers in the succeeding regimes.

#### AFGHAN FACTION

The mighty Mughal Empire surfaced on the map of Asia following the first battle of Panipat in which Babur overthrew Lodhi dynasty. Lodhis had Afghan origin. They were organized by Bahlol Lodhi [11]. Thus, they became inhabitants of Hindustan. Prior to this, they were the inhabitants of '*ruh*' a mountainous belt lying on the north-western side of Delhi up-to Kabul [12]. They were considered the best force in the world [13]. They were provided employment by every invader who came from Central Asia crossing Afghan belt coming down to Hindustan. So, Mughal did in the same way.

Babur cultivated friendly ties with them when he was ruler of Kabul. He battled with them and subdued them. Some of the Afghan tribes remained hostile towards Mughal crown. Pursuant to their rebellious nature, Babur made matrimonial alliance with Yousafzai. He betrothed himself to Bibi Mubarakan, a Yousafzai lady [14]. Prior to first battle of Panipat, Mughal and Afghans were very harmonious to each other.

On becoming emperor of Delhi, Babur declared general amnesty to all even to those who sided with Ibrahim. He conferred upon them *jagirs* with a view to secure their support against Rajputs. He had no other option but to hold them in high esteem. If he had confronted with them he would not have could uproot Rajputs.

Following the death of his father, Humayun ascended Mughal throne. He lacked political insights and diplomatic skills of his father. He could not make strong check on the growing power of Afghans under the leadership of Sher Shah Suri (1472-1545) in the eastern zone of his empire. His inconsistent nature to deal with state matters led the Surs to rebel against him. A series of battles took place in which he was deprived of Delhi throne and made his way to Persia to seek asylum. Interlude politics practiced until Humayun regained his lost throne.

Humayun could rule just for six months. He met with an accidental death. On his death, Akbar crowned himself at Kalanaur. He was thirteen years of age. So, Bairam Khan was appointed his regent. The Afghans remained hostile under the leadership of Surs. Akbar had to confront with them and second battle of Panipat took place in which Afghans were defeated. Bairam proved instrumental in establishing Mughal regime. Keeping in view their harsh treatment meted out to his father, Akbar never entrusted them with any key post. However, they remained a component part of Mughal nobility.

They remained as menial servants of the empire. Their behavior remained hostile towards the imperial authority throughout the Mughal regime. They continued to rebel against the crown to regain their lost throne. Due to their rebellious nature, they could not exert profound influence upon the emperor. However, Akbar continued to induct pro-Mughal Afghan officials into the royal fold of officials. He kept himself abreast of their activities. He was so hatred against them that he stated on the death of Daulat Khan Lodhi who held the *mansab* of one thousand, "Today Sher Shah Suri has left the world" [15]

He further said:

*"agar qaht-ur-raijal fatadd basa kass kum ansgeeri*

*Yakay Afghan dadam Kanmbo saiyoom baddzaat Kashmiri*"

Trans: Although a scarcity of men should happen, do not cultivate the acquaintance of these three people; the Afghans are the first, the Kanmbo are the second and the Kashmiris the third, set of scoundrel" [16]

However, pro-Mughal Afghan *umara* served the crown.

### SHIA NOBILITY

Shia faction of Mughal nobility played a pivotal role in the formation and establishment of Mughal Empire. Bairam Khan, a Shia noble, proved instrumental in uprooting Sur dynasty.

It is pertinent to mention that Timur confessed Sunni Islam [17]. Timurid rulers continued to practice Sunni Islam from 1526 to 1857 except with one decade influence of *Din-i-Ilahi*. The Mughal emperors exploited religious sentiments of their subjects with a view to secure their political vested interests. On being deprived of his kingdom, Humayun got refuge at the court of Shah Tehmasp. In these needy hours, he was deserted even by his brothers whom he entrusted governorship of Punjab and Kabul. Some of his nobles altered their loyalties to their new masters. On his way to Persia, forty nobles accompanied him along with his wife Hamida Bano [18]. Being Timurid prince, he was accorded warm welcome.

Humayun described the whole story of Afghan hostility towards his rule that had caused his expulsion. He begged for military help through which he would be able to recapture his lost throne. Tehmasp acceded to his request provided he would confess and propagate Shia faith in Hindustan [19]. He bluntly refused to confess Shia faith. Tehmasp threatened to immolate him along with his courtiers in case he did not accept Shia faith [20]. Sultan Begum, sister of Tehmasp interfered and persuaded his brother not to give harsh treatment to the refugee prince [21]. She also convinced Humayun to accept Shia religion and secure military contingent. However, a treaty was concluded through which Humayun would surrender invading territories of Kandahar and Badakhshan to Shah.

Humayun accepted Shiaism in lieu of military help. In return, he was provided with ten thousand troops. Shah also betrothed his niece to him. Bahram Mirza, brother of Tehmasp was dispatched to help him in recapturing the throne of Delhi. At first, they sieged Kandahar and Kabul. After conquering these territories, they set off their troops towards Hindustan. The then Sur rulers were not stronger enough to guard their dynasty against the combined forces of Shah and Humayun. A battle took place in which Mughals got victory. The Timurid prince was once again destined to establish his rule.

At the time of his departure from Persia, Humayun was accompanied by fifty-seven nobles. Among them twenty-one were Shia *umara* dispatched by Shah [22]. Shia nobility formed half of the Mughal nobility. Moreover, they proved instrumental in uprooting Sur dynasty. He held them in high esteem and gave them royal patronage. He entrusted them key post. He could not find enough time to consolidate his rule as he met with an accidental death and died in 1556.

On his death, Akbar ascended the throne at the time of his accession; he was thirteen years of age. Bairam Khan was appointed his regent. He was Shia by faith and had received the title of *khan-i-khanan* from Humayun. He remained de facto ruler for more than half a decade. The role of emperor in administering state matters was nominal. He set aside the wishes of emperor and ran the whole administration on Shia lines. He promoted Shia *umara* and elevated them to the dignity of Khan [23].

Being regent, Bairam exerted considerable influence upon the infant emperor. He was so powerful enough that he appointed *sadr-us-sadur* Shaikh Gadai setting aside the wishes of emperor. Similarly, during the second battle of Panipat, Tardi Beg, the then governor of Delhi fled from the battlefield. Bairam was so enraged that he ordered for his execution that he had brought dishonor to the Mughal throne. His execution carried out in the absence of emperor. Akbar used to call him Khan Baba [24]. Being regent and influential among the *umara*, he promoted and continued to induct more Shia noble that formed half of the nobility. Thus, Shia faction developed as an independent entity.

They played an important role in the formation of Mughal Empire. They had good expertise in various fields. They were cultured and civilized. They continued to dominate the court politics until Aurangzeb Alamgir made them submissive. After his death, Abdullah and Hussain, Shia nobles acted as a kingmaker. They used to depose the king whenever they wanted. In the latter Mughal regime, some Shia nobles declared themselves as an independent ruler. They cultivated their own petty states which were followed by princely states in the succeeding regimes. They caused disintegration to the Mughal throne in the same way they had consolidated it two centuries ago.

### TURANI FACTION

Turani faction was a natural faction. They were mainly composed of Timurid kith and kin. They were called Chughtai Turks and styled themselves as Mirzas [25]. Amir Timur, the great grandfather of Babur was of the view that "the whole expanse of the inhabited part of the world is not worthy of two kings; since God is one. At another place, he stated that as a woman cannot have two husbands and empire should also have only one

sovereign” [26]. Similarly, Babur also said that “Partnership in rule is a thing unheard; against it stands Sadi’s words ‘ten *dervishes* sleep under a blanket; two kings find no room in a clime.’” [27]

In the absence of the law of primogeniture among the Mughals, the Timurid rulers continued the practice of dividing their empires among their sons to avoid civil war. Timur initiated this practice. Aurangzeb Alamgir was the last emperor from the house of Timur who divided his empire among his sons [28]. With the passage of time, this practice led to the emergence of petty-states.

Prior to become ruler of Kabul, Babur was the master of Farghana. Being ousted from Farghana, he came down and penetrated the territories of Hindustan. He continued to roam from door to door in searching of cultivating his own kingdom. In these circumstances, he made the practice of *Tora-i-Chughtai*. This made some of his nobles equal to the dignity of emperor. They did not believe in centralized form of government [29]. Babur initiated conciliatory policy towards his *umara* with a view to secure their support. The tradition of dividing kingdoms among their kith and kin and conciliatory policy of Timurid rulers led the Begs and Mirzas to join Mughal throne. He conferred upon them *jagirs*.

Likewise, Humayun followed the conciliatory policy. Many of nobles joined Mughal court during the second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century. Sharf-ud-Din Hussain Mirza, Abdullah Khan Uzbek, Ali Quli Khan, Sultan Mirza, Ulugh Mirza, Abul Qasim Khan and Ibrahim Hussain Mirza were Turani nobles who held key posts. Keeping in view their dignity equal to the emperor, they all rebelled against Akbar and were defeated by the imperial authority with the help of other noble factions [30].

Akbar made them submissive and gave them royal patronage, as they were Sunni by faith. They came from ‘*Mawara-un-Nehr*’ [31]. They had distinction in fighting the art of military. Keeping in view their expertise in warfare, they were inducted into the royal fold of officials. They formed an important part of Mughal *umara*.

### RAJPUT FACTION

Babur overthrew Lodhi dynasty in 1526. He established his rule by conferring hereditary *jagirs* upon the nobles of Ibrahim [32]. His next enemies were the Rajputs. They considered themselves as sons of the soil. They did not accept political suzerainty of Babur. Two battles took place between the royal forces and the Rajputs in which the latter were defeated. However, they did not surrender but continued to pose serious threat to the imperial authority. He could not find enough time to stage more battles with them and died in 1530.

After his death, Afghan nobility divided into two faction; pro-Mughal and anti-Mughal faction. The latter faction was headed by Sher Shah Suri, rebelled against the crown. Humayun confronted with them. He lacked military geniuses of his father. He could not give battle to Afghans and Rajputs simultaneously so he showed leniency towards Rajputs unlike his father. He entered matrimonial alliances with them with a view to secure supports against his rival Afghans [33]. He gave royal patronage and inducted them into the circle of his *umara*. Following the battle of Qanauj, he was deprived of his rule and sought refuge in Persia. He recaptured his throne with the military might of Shah Tehmasp in which Shia nobility under Bairam Khan proved instrumental. Humayun met with an accidental death. Akbar became emperor under the regency of Bairam. He started to exert considerable influence upon infant emperor. He went to the extent of reducing old Turani nobility to destitute [34]. He ordered for the execution of Tardi Beg who was a Turani noble and had served Mughal throne for more than three decades. This annoyed the emperor very much.

On the other hand, Afghans remained hostile towards the imperial authority. The emperor decided to get rid of Shia influence. He was politically mature enough to run the state matters. He showed inclinations towards Rajputs who were already eying of seeking royal patronage. He made matrimonial bonds with them and employed them with a view to counterpoise the influence of old nobility. Many Rajput chiefs betrothed their daughters to the emperor except with Rana Pratap Singh who did not surrender to the imperial forces all his life [35].

This faction was used as bulwark against old rebellious and influential *umara*. Akbar made them very pleased by abolishing *jizya* in 1564. He conferred upon them *waton jagirs* which were not to be confiscated. It is pertinent to mention that they retained this honor even under *Mansabdari System*. Per law of escheatment, the property of *umara* of other factions was confiscated after their death. The mothers of Jahangir (1569-1628) and Shahjahan (1592-1666) were Rajput princesses. This faction remained subservient to the throne.

### HINDUSTANI MUSLIM NOBILITY

The fifth noble group was mainly constituted of Sayyids, Kanambo tribe and men who had expertise in their respective fields. Their forefathers had migrated to this land centuries ago. They were ethnically native nobles. Furthermore, it was a general law to include the officials of replacing dynasty. So, their induction was inevitable. After giving defeat to Ibrahim, Babur decided to retain the old nobility. Alam Khan, Araish Khan, Malik Kararani, Muhammad Zaitun and Ali Khan were among them. Similarly, Humayun followed the footsteps of his father and retained their positions. Moreover, he tied into matrimonial bonds with Sayyids Amir of Delhi and gave his sister Gul Chihra in marriage to Nur-ud-Din Chaqani.

Likewise, Akbar continued to induct into the administrative machinery of his empire. He also cultivated matrimonial bonds with Shaikh zadas of Delhi and Agra [36]. He also applied the same strategy to win over the *Sufis* and betrothed Gulberg Begum to Nurudin Naqashbandi *Sufi* [37]. The policy of matrimonial alliance served political ambitions of Mughal throne.

Moreover, Akbar offered employment to those native people who had expertise in their respective fields. They were mainly composed of liberal *Sufis* Muslims. Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl, Faizi and Sharif Amuli were among them. They served the crown as per the wishes of emperor.

These were the factors which had direct royal patronage towards the formation of heterogeneous nobility. In addition to this, there were many other factors which made the divergent stock of Mughal nobility inevitable. These are as follow:

Safavid Empire came into being in 1501. It was named after Shaikh Safiuddin [38] the ruler of the state assumed the title of Shah. It bordered with Mughal Empire on the east, Ottoman Empire on the west and Uzbek Empire on the north side. These three states confessed and practiced Sunni Islam. On the other hand, Shah of Persia declared Shia Islam as state religion [39]. It was an ideological state. It was first ever Shia state established by Shah Ismaeel-I. Prior to this, Sunni Islam was the faith of the land. Shah wanted to give his state a unique identity through conversion policy keeping in view the Sunni state religion of neighboring empires [40].

### RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION OF SHAH OF PERSIA

Shah applied and made physically possible poles apart strategies and implemented an assortment of policies to get his subjects converted to Shia faith. The policies are as follows.

- ❖ Shia Islam was declared as state religion and made mandatory on the inhabitants of land [41].
- ❖ Shah started conversion campaign which aimed at converting people forcefully [42].
- ❖ An office of *sadr* was created and entrusted the responsibility of supervising the religious institution in accordance with Shia faith [43].
- ❖ Sunnis were deprived of their worshipping places and their mosques were destroyed [44].
- ❖ Persian encouraged people to defame first three Pious Caliphs who were venerated by Sunnis [45].
- ❖ Shah Abbas ordered for the killing of Sunni Muslims fearing that they would plot conspiracy against him in connivance of Ottomans [46].
- ❖ Shah ordered the celebration of the murder of Hazrat Umar (R. A.) with a view to curse and humiliate him. A general holiday was declared on state level to mark this desecration [47].
- ❖ He built seminaries where state ideology was to be propagated [48].
- ❖ The policies of Shah caused mass migration from Persia to Hindustan. He was a fanatic Shia ruler like Aurangzeb Alamgir. His predecessors also followed his footsteps. In these circumstances, Sunni Muslims could not survive in Persian Empire and had to seek shelter in neighboring territories. The Mughal Empire confessed Sunni Islam and accommodated the religiously persecuted Sunni Muslims. They were offered employment at the Timurid court.
- ❖ They were not only Sunnis but also Shias who migrated to neighboring empire. Those Shias, who confronted state policies of Shah, had to leave for another place. Even some members of Shah's family joined Mughal court after being expelled [49]. Moreover, Sayyids were also compelled to leave who did not accept the orders of Shah. They were accorded warm welcome irrespective of Sunni and Shia. They also enjoyed privilege like exemption from taxes.
- ❖ In addition to this, Shah ordered for the expulsion of Chishti *Sufis* and *dervishes* from Safavid territory. He feared that they would rise in revolt against him. They were mainly composed of Chishti *Sufis* [50]. They were living in eastern zone of Safavid territory. Chishtis had strong foothold from the time of Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti, Khawaja Bakhtiyar Kaki, Faridudin Ganj Shakar and Nizaumuddin Auliya. Furthermore, they were inclined towards Sunni Islam. Keeping in view their centuries-long legacy to preach Islam in Hindustan, they moved to the court of Timurid rulers. Thus, they became part of heterogeneous Mughal nobility.

### ECONOMIC FACTOR

“*nistdar Iran zaminsama-i-tehsil-i-kamal*

*Ta nayamadsu-ye Hindustan henaranginna shad*” [51]

trans: the means of acquiring perfection do not exist in Iran

the henna does not acquire color till it comes to Hindustan

There is no denying the fact that Mughal Empire had vast territory and rich in resources. It was in its transitional phase. It was in dire need of who had expertise in various fields. Many a military officials, administrators and artisans made their way to Hindustan keeping in view the concept of *El Dorado* [52]. They were in search of good livelihood and wanted to try their luck [53]. At that time, it was a political culture to move from one court

to another in search of good employment. In this way, many officials were enrolled into the royal fold under Mughals.

### CULTURAL LEGACY

Safavid Empire was lying adjacent to Mughal state. There had been cultural contacts from the time of Indus Valley Civilization. Cyrus the Great conquered Indus Valley Civilization between 520 to 515 B. C. and made it part of his great empire [54]. Persian rulers also recruited Indian troops which invaded under the Persian emperor Xerxes in 480 B. C [55]. This centuries-long cultural interaction paved the way for the inhabitants of Persia to seek shelter in Hindustan in any case of aggression.

In addition to this, Persian was the court language of Persian state. It was followed by Mughal Empire. It is pertinent to mention that Turkish and Uzbek were the court languages of Ottoman and Uzbek dynasty respectively. So, it was their natural inclination to join Mughal court rather than Ottoman and Uzbek.

### RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE OF MUGHAL EMPERORS

Amir Timur confessed Sunni Islam. It was followed by his successors till 1857 except with two-decade regime of *Din-i-Ilahi*, invented by Akbar. They were not bigot rulers to propagate Sunni faith Islam like Shah of Persia and Sultan of Ottoman Empire. They never persecuted their subjects on religious grounds. They showed religious tolerance even to their non-Muslim subjects. They went to the extent of making matrimonial alliances with the Hindus. They patronized their subjects on sheer dint of merit irrespective of Hindu-Muslim and Shia-Sunni. Their tolerance encouraged people to join their *Darbar* that ultimately led to the formation of heterogeneous Mughal nobility.

### ROYAL PATRONAGE

The Timurid rulers gave deserving place in every term of respect to their servants whose services caused dignity to the crown. It is very interesting to note that they patronized their servants even irrespective of gender. Akbar conferred the title of Itimad Khan on Phool Malik, a eunuch [56]. He was also given *yak hazari mansab* [57]. Keeping in view his services to the crown, Akbar entrusted him the governorship of Bhakkar. The induction of their subjects irrespective of gender, caste, sect and creed resulted in the formation of heterogeneous *umara*.

### CONCLUSION

The above-mentioned factors led to the emergence of divergent stock of nobility. Heterogeneous nobility stemmed from religious tolerance of Mughal emperors particularly and royal patronage generally. The development was gradual and stretched over the course of six decades. The emperors were shrewd enough to accommodate them into the royal fold of officials and used them as bulwark against their rivals. They continued to use one faction against another with a view to counterbalance their influence.

Divergent stockpile of *umara* played a pivotal role in shaping the mighty Mughal Empire. If it did not take place, the mighty Mughal Empire would not have existed. They could not have rule over the inhabitants of land for more than three-centuries. Their rule would have been rooted out like the rulers of Delhi Sultanate (1290-1526). It was their tolerance and appeasement policies towards their nobles that strengthened their rule. Appeased *umara* remained subservient to the crown.

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- [49] Dadvar, *Iranian in Mughal Politics*, p.76
- [50] Chishti order derives its name from village Chisht that is in modern-day Afghanistan. At that time, it was part of Persian Empire.
- [51] Dadvar, *Iranian in Mughal Politics*, p.76
- [52] It means where fortune could be rapidly made. For details see, Dadvar, "*Iranian in Mughal Politics*", p.26
- [53] Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, p.13
- [54] S. F. Mahmud, S. F. (1989). *A Concise History of Indo-Pakistan*. Karachi: Pakistan Publishing House, p.16
- [55] *Ibid.*, p.16
- [56] Qadri, *Ma 'sirul Umara'* Vol I, p.88
- [57] *Ibid.*, p.99