

**RESEARCH PAPER****Shi'i arrival in Subcontinent during the Mughal Rule: A Case Study of Shi'i-Sunni Relations during Mughal Supremacy****Syed Taqi Karamat**

PhD Scholar, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, University of the Punjab, Quaid-e-Azam Campus, Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan

***Corresponding Author** sdtaqi15@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This article delves into the historical dynamics of Shi'i arrival and settlement in the Indian Subcontinent during the Mughal era. The Mughal Empire, renowned for its cultural diversity and religious tolerance, witnessed significant interactions between Shi'i and Sunni communities, shaping the socio-political landscape of the region. Through a nuanced exploration of historical accounts and scholarly research, this study illuminates the complexities of Shi'i-Sunni relations under Mughal rule, highlighting pivotal events, cultural exchanges, and socio-religious dynamics that defined this period. By focusing on specific case studies and historical narratives, this article aims to provide insights into the coexistence, conflicts, and negotiations between Shi'i and Sunni groups, offering valuable perspectives on the multifaceted nature of religious pluralism in Mughal India.

Keywords: Mughal Supremacy, Mughal, Shi'i, Subcontinent, Sunni

Introduction

The Shi'i-Sunni division developed from a disagreement over Prophet Muḥammad's PBUH succession as the spiritual and political leader of the Muslim community. The Muslim community, known as the umma, was founded in 622 A.D and is regarded as a distinct entity. That year, as their animosity and persecution in Mecca grew, Prophet Muḥammad PBUH led his followers to Medina (Abdo, 2017). During this exodus, also known as the hijra or migration, the Muslim community, or umma, was initially established. It also signifies the beginning of the Muslim calendar. Prophet Muḥammad PBUH changed societal structure of Arabs these eight years after hijra in Medina. From being a messenger of God and a teacher of spiritual truths, he changed himself to a political figure who enacted laws (often in the form of divine proclamations), oversaw their application, and arbitrated disputes pertaining to the community as a whole, including how to wage war and organize it. Stated differently, Prophet Muḥammad PBUH embodied not just the highest spiritual authority but also the legislative and executive branches of government. From being an informal association of spiritual searchers, the umma developed into a political organization closely associated with Prophet Muḥammad PBUH and his teachings. (Behuria, 2004). The main focus of this article is to trace out the arrival of Shi'is to Indian Subcontinent and management of both groups with respect to ruler's perception.

During the Mughal rule in the Indian subcontinent, which lasted from the early 16th to the mid 19th century, Shi'i communities played significant roles alongside Sunni Muslims. The interaction between Shi'i and Sunni communities during this period was complex and varied across time and regions. Here, we'll explore the arrival and presence of Shi'i communities in the subcontinent during Mughal rule and their relations with Sunni Muslims, focusing on key dynamics and case studies. Shi'is were present in the Indian subcontinent before the Mughals, with historical records suggesting their existence as early as the 8th century. The Mughal Empire itself was founded by Bābur, a Sunni ruler, but the empire encompassed a diverse population that included both Sunni and Shi'i Muslims. The Mughal rulers generally adopted a policy of

religious tolerance, which allowed various religious communities, including Shi'is, to practice their faith freely (Muhammad, 2020).

While the Mughal rulers were Sunni, they often maintained diplomatic relations with Shi'i Safavid Persia, which influenced cultural and religious exchanges between Shi'i and Sunni communities within the empire. Shi'i nobles and administrators held positions of authority within the Mughal court and bureaucracy. Akbar, in particular, employed individuals from diverse religious backgrounds in his administration, including prominent Shi'i figures. Despite the general atmosphere of religious tolerance, tensions and conflicts between Shi'i and Sunni communities did occur at times. Instances of sectarian violence and discrimination have been documented in various regions of the Mughal Empire, often driven by local power struggles or political rivalries rather than solely religious differences. The region of Awadh, under Shi'i Nawabs, became a significant center for Shi'i culture and scholarship during the later period of Mughal rule. Nawabs of Awadh maintained good relations with both Shi'i and Sunni communities, fostering a relatively peaceful coexistence (Melville, 2021).

The interactions between Shi'i and Sunni communities during the Mughal period contributed to the cultural and religious diversity of the Indian subcontinent. The enduring presence of Shi'i communities in regions such as Awadh and Hyderabad, among others, reflects the historical legacy of Mughal-era interactions and patronage. In summary, the arrival of Shi'is in the Indian subcontinent during Mughal rule was a significant aspect of the region's religious and cultural landscape. Despite occasional tensions, Shi'i and Sunni Muslims coexisted within the Mughal Empire, contributing to its rich and diverse tapestry of religious and ethnic communities. (Khan, 2009). This article examines specific case studies and historical episodes that highlight the interactions between Shi'i and Sunni communities during the Mughal period. It explores the patronage extended to Shi'i scholars, the construction of Shi'i religious institutions, and the participation of Shi'i elites in Mughal courts. Additionally, it investigates instances of sectarian tensions, including conflicts over religious authority, political power struggles, and debates over theological interpretations. Shi'i Muslims were present in the Indian subcontinent even before the Mughal Empire's rise to power. The establishment of Shi'i communities in various regions can be traced back to different historical factors, including trade routes, Sufi missionary activities, and migrations. For instance, during the Safavid dynasty in Persia (16th-18th centuries), which was a Shi'i empire, there were interactions between Persian and Indian traders, leading to the spread of Shi'i beliefs and practices (Faruqui, 2005).

Literature Review

Shi'i community has remained relevant in all fields as a religious and social community in India. This is the reason that a plethora of literature is available on the subject, some of the peer reviewed articles are reviewed to understand the basic development of the community during the Mughal rule in South Asia. Muslim cultures have been greatly impacted in recent years by concurrent developments such as ethno-nationalist movements calling for participatory systems and concurrent trends toward regional integration. Ethno-nationalist groups have generally relied, to differing degrees, on historical, cultural, linguistic, religious, and geographical similarities to support their respective positions. In addition to increasing diasporic identity, the random dispersal of numerous ethnic communities across international borders has intensified intrastate and interstate antagonism in those areas (Malik, 1992). Scholarly discussion on Muslim identity politics in colonial India has been extensive. Past research has helped us develop a deeper understanding of Islam in South Asia. Nonetheless, the grand master narrative—which postulates the widespread, homogenous influence of political and religious movements—has been given precedence in this research. Scholarly attention has focused on how the creation of a homogenous Muslim religious community and the goal of a Muslim nation state subsumed the diversity of local identities and histories. As a result, terms like "Islamic Revival" (Metcalf 1982) and "Muslim Separatism" (Robinson 1974) have emerged

as key terms for mapping the range of Muslim perspectives on religion and politics in colonial India.

The continued application of Islam as a benchmark to comprehend the varied lifestyles of Muslims is ignorant, if not outright incorrect. The focus has been on defining a general category of Muslim identity that has distinct differences as well as commonalities. Critics have noted that these similarities and differences are negotiated in particular local circumstances rather than being universal. Neither in the archive nor in the field do we find Islam and Muslims as a single category. Instead, we discover Islam as a discursive tradition that is continuously contested in a variety of local and trans-local contexts. These daily discussions and actions on Islam are highly contextual and personal (Marsden, 2005).

Material and Methods

Research methodology for an article on Shi'i-Sunni relations during the Mughal rule would involve several key steps to ensure thoroughness, accuracy, and academic integrity. Researcher has conducted a comprehensive review of existing literature on Shi'i-Sunni relations during the Mughal era. This involves studying scholarly articles, books, historical accounts, and primary sources that shed light on the topic. Researcher has also analyzed the secondary sources identified during the literature review to understand different interpretations and perspectives on Shi'i-Sunni relations in Mughal India. Researcher has compared and contrasted these interpretations to form a nuanced understanding and interpreted findings in light of the research questions, theoretical framework, and historical context. Lastly it discusses the implications of the findings and any limitations of the study (Rahim,1954).

Results and Discussion

Mughal Era and Shi'i Community Development

The arrival of Shi'i Muslims in the Indian Subcontinent during the Mughal rule is an important aspect of the region's religious and cultural history. The Mughal Empire, which ruled much of the Indian Subcontinent from the early 16th to the mid 19th centuries, was a period of significant religious diversity and interaction. Shi'i Muslims began to settle in the Indian Subcontinent during the early years of the Mughal Empire. One of the primary reasons for the migration of Shi'i Muslims to the Subcontinent was the decline of the Safavid Empire in Persia, which led to political instability and persecution of Shi'is in certain periods. Many Shi'i scholars, traders, and artisans sought refuge and opportunities in the relatively stable and prosperous Mughal Empire (Akhtar, 2010).

During the Mughal period, there were both Sunni and Shi'i rulers, and the Mughal emperors generally pursued a policy of religious tolerance and accommodation. While Sunni Islam was the dominant religious tradition of the Mughal court and administration, Shi'i Muslims were able to practice their faith relatively freely, especially in regions where they settled in significant numbers. One notable example of Shi'i influence during the Mughal period was the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D), who adopted a policy of religious syncretism and patronized scholars from various religious backgrounds, including Shi'i Muslims. Akbar's court was known for its pluralistic ethos and engagement with diverse religious traditions. However, tensions between Sunni and Shi'i communities did exist during the Mughal period, as they have throughout Islamic history. These tensions were often exacerbated by political rivalries and conflicts, rather than purely theological differences. At times, Sunni rulers and theologians sought to assert Sunni orthodoxy and marginalize Shi'i practices, while Shi'i communities sought to maintain their distinct identity and religious practices (Alam, 1997).

Despite occasional conflicts and tensions, Sunni-Shi'i relations during the Mughal period were characterized by coexistence, interaction, and cultural exchange. Both Sunni and Shi'i Muslims contributed to the rich tapestry of Mughal society through their

intellectual, artistic, and economic endeavors. The arrival of Shi'i Muslims in the Indian Subcontinent during the Mughal rule was a complex phenomenon shaped by political, economic, and religious factors. While Sunni-Shi'i relations were marked by occasional tensions, they also demonstrated remarkable resilience and coexistence within the diverse fabric of Mughal society. The Mughals had ancestral ties to Central Asia and Persia, where Shi'i Islam had a significant presence. As a result, Persian culture and influences, including Shi'i Islam, permeated Mughal society. Shi'i scholars, traders, and artisans migrated to the Indian subcontinent, particularly during the early stages of the Mughal Empire. They settled in various regions, including present-day Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh (Fisher, 1983).

Cultural Exchanges and Intellectual Interactions

Central to understanding Sunni-Shi'i relations during the Mughal era is an exploration of cultural exchanges and intellectual interactions between the two communities. Despite theological differences, scholars, poets, and intellectuals from both Shi'i and Sunni backgrounds engaged in dialogues, exchanged ideas, and contributed to the rich intellectual tradition of the Mughal Empire. This cultural syncretism fostered a spirit of tolerance and mutual respect, albeit amidst occasional periods of discord (Malik, 2008). Despite the Sunni dominance in the Mughal court and administration, there was a remarkable degree of religious tolerance towards Shi'is. The Mughal emperors, such as Akbar the Great, promoted policies of religious pluralism and secularism. While there were occasional tensions between Sunni and Shi'i communities, particularly at the local level, instances of violent sectarian conflict were relatively rare compared to other regions of the Islamic world.

Awadh Case

The region of Awadh-present-day Uttar Pradesh, was known for its significant Shi'i population during the Mughal period. The rulers of Awadh, including the Nawabs of Lucknow, maintained close ties with the Mughal court while also patronizing Shi'i scholars, poets, and institutions. Shi'i nobles and officials served in various capacities within the Mughal administration. Some prominent Mughal officials, such as Mirzā Ghiyās Beg (the father of Nūr Jahan), were Shi'i Muslims who rose to prominence in the empire. Mughal emperors adopted policies of religious tolerance and inclusivity to govern their diverse empire effectively. While the Mughal rulers themselves were Sunni, they often patronized scholars, poets, and administrators from different religious backgrounds, including Shi'i Muslims. This patronage helped in integrating Shi'i communities into the socio-political fabric of the empire. Despite occasional tensions, Shi'i and Sunni Muslims coexisted within the Mughal Empire. While there were theological differences between the two sects, these did not always translate into conflicts at the societal level. Interactions between Shi'i and Sunni scholars, poets, and intellectuals were common, contributing to the rich cultural and intellectual landscape of the Mughal era (Malik, 2000).

However, there were also instances of sectarian strife and political tensions between Shi'i and Sunni groups during the Mughal period. For example, during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707A.D), who was known for his strict adherence to Sunni orthodoxy, there were policies and actions that marginalized Shi'i Muslims and other religious minorities. The siege of Golconda (1687A.D), for instance, witnessed Aurangzeb's forces besieging the Shi'i Qutb Shāhi Sultanate in Golconda, resulting in the annexation of the region.

Shi'i Influence on Mughal Rule

The influence of Shi'i Muslims on the Mughal court varied throughout the dynasty's reign, reflecting the ebb and flow of political power, the personalities of individual rulers, and the broader socio-political context of the time. While the Mughal rulers themselves were Sunni, there were instances where Shi'i influences were notable within the court for various reasons. One significant avenue through which Shi'i influence entered the Mughal court was through

marriages and alliances. Several Mughal emperors married women from Shi'i backgrounds, including Persian princesses. These marriages often brought with them cultural, artistic, and sometimes religious influences that permeated the Mughal court. Some Mughal rulers patronized Shi'i scholars, poets, and artists, appreciating their talents and contributions irrespective of their sectarian affiliations. These scholars and artists often found favor at the Mughal court, contributing to the intellectual and cultural vibrancy of the empire. Despite being a Sunni dynasty, the Mughal rulers occasionally appointed Shi'i officials to administrative positions based on their skills, expertise, and loyalty. This inclusivity in governance helped in maintaining stability and efficiency within the empire. (Lawrence, 1999).

The Mughal Empire maintained close ties with Safavid Persia, a Shi'i-majority empire. This connection facilitated the exchange of ideas, art, literature, and technology between the two regions, leading to the infusion of Shi'i influences into Mughal court culture. Sufism, with its mystical interpretations of Islam, transcended sectarian boundaries and had a significant impact on Mughal society, including the court. Many Sufi orders had adherents from both Sunni and Shi'i backgrounds, fostering a sense of spiritual unity and inclusivity within the empire. At times, Mughal rulers strategically allied with Shi'i powers, particularly during conflicts with Sunni adversaries. These alliances sometimes led to the elevation of Shi'i figures within the court, as seen during diplomatic exchanges and military campaigns. However, despite these instances of Shi'i influence, it's essential to recognize that the Mughal court remained predominantly Sunni, and sectarian tensions occasionally flared, especially during periods of political instability or religious zealotry among certain rulers. The extent and nature of Shi'i influence on the Mughal court varied over time and were subject to the complexities of imperial politics and interfaith dynamics in the Indian subcontinent (Pearson, 1976).

Early Shi'i-Sunni Relation during the Mughal Rule

During the Mughal rule in India, Shi'i-Sunni relations were complex and influenced by various factors including political dynamics, religious doctrines, and socio-cultural interactions. Here are some key aspects of Shi'i-Sunni relations during this period. The Mughal emperors generally followed a policy of religious tolerance and sought to maintain harmony among various religious communities, including Sunnis and Shi'is. While the Mughal rulers themselves were Sunnis, they often employed Shi'is in administrative positions and patronized Shi'i scholars and institutions. The Mughal Empire encompassed a diverse population with a variety of religious beliefs and practices. Sunni and Shi'i Muslims coexisted alongside Hindus, Sikhs, and other religious groups. Despite occasional tensions and conflicts, the Mughal administration generally promoted religious pluralism and encouraged peaceful coexistence among different religious communities. During certain periods of Mughal rule, particularly under Emperor Akbar and Emperor Jahāngīr, Shi'i scholars and intellectuals enjoyed patronage and influence at the Mughal court. Akbar's policy of Sulh-i-kul (universal peace) emphasized religious tolerance and inclusivity, which allowed Shi'is to practice their faith freely alongside Sunnis. In different regions of the Mughal Empire, Shi'i-Sunni relations varied based on local political and social factors (Iqbal, 2020).

In regions where Shi'i influence was strong, such as parts of present-day Iran and Central Asia, Shi'i communities enjoyed relative autonomy and religious freedom. In regions dominated by Sunni populations, interactions between Sunnis and Shi'is were shaped by local power dynamics and historical legacies. Despite theological differences, Sunni and Shi'i scholars engaged in scholarly exchange and dialogue, contributing to the development of Islamic intellectual traditions. Mughal India served as a center of learning and cultural exchange, where scholars from different religious backgrounds collaborated on various intellectual pursuits. While the Mughal Empire generally maintained religious harmony, there were occasional conflicts and tensions between Sunni and Shi'i communities. These conflicts often stemmed from local disputes, political rivalries, or doctrinal differences, rather than systemic religious persecution. Overall, Shi'i-Sunni relations during the Mughal rule in India were characterized

by a complex interplay of religious, political, and cultural factors. Despite occasional tensions, the Mughal administration's policy of religious tolerance and inclusivity facilitated peaceful coexistence among different religious communities, contributing to the rich tapestry of India's pluralistic heritage (Al Hakim, Faiz & Masruri, 2022).

Aurangzeb, who ruled the Mughal Empire from 1658 to 1707 A.D, is often remembered for his complex and controversial policies, including those regarding religious communities within his empire, including the Shi'i community. Aurangzeb's attitude toward the Shi'i community was not consistent throughout his reign, and it evolved over time. At the outset, Aurangzeb attempted to present himself as a pious Muslim ruler and sought to enforce Sunni orthodoxy. This sometimes led to tensions with the Shi'i community, as Aurangzeb implemented policies that favored Sunni Islam. During his reign, there were instances where Aurangzeb took measures against Shi'i practices, such as the destruction of Shi'i shrines in various parts of India. He also took steps to limit the influence and power of Shi'i nobles within the Mughal court, favoring Sunni officials instead. However, it's essential to note that Aurangzeb's policies were not solely directed at the Shi'i community. He implemented various measures aimed at centralizing power, expanding the empire, and enforcing Islamic law more rigorously, which affected people of various religious backgrounds. Aurangzeb's reign is marked by a complex interplay of religious, political, and economic factors, and his attitudes toward different religious communities, including the Shi'is, must be understood within this broader context. While he was taking actions that were unfavorable to the Shi'i community, his policies were not exclusively focused on them, but his overall governance was influenced by multiple factors beyond religious affiliation.

Akbar the Great, the Mughal Emperor who reigned over India from 1556 to 1605 A.D, is often remembered for his policy of religious tolerance and inclusion, which was relatively progressive for his time. His attitude towards the Shi'i community, a significant minority within the Muslim population of India, reflected his broader approach to religious diversity. Akbar's reign was characterized by a policy of religious tolerance known as *Sulh-e-kul*, which means "peace with all." He sought to create a harmonious society by promoting religious dialogue, understanding, and acceptance among different religious groups, including Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jains, and others. He appointed people from diverse religious backgrounds to key positions in his administration, regardless of their sectarian affiliations. Akbar himself had an interest in Sufism, which often emphasized unity and tolerance among different religious traditions. However, it's important to note that Akbar's attitude towards the Shi'i community wasn't entirely free from complexities. While he promoted religious tolerance and sought to foster harmony among different religious groups, his policies were sometimes pragmatic and politically motivated. At times, he made alliances with Shi'i rulers and leaders, which might have influenced his approach towards the Shi'i community. Overall, Akbar's attitude towards the Shi'i community was part of his broader policy of religious tolerance and inclusivity, which aimed to create a more cohesive and peaceful society in the diverse Mughal Empire of his time (Louër, 2020).

Conclusion

The Mughal era in the Indian Subcontinent witnessed a relatively peaceful coexistence between Sunni and Shi'i Muslims, despite occasional tensions and conflicts. The Mughal rulers' policies of religious tolerance and pluralism contributed to an environment where diverse religious communities could flourish and coexist. The presence of Shi'i Muslims during the Mughal rule enriched the cultural and religious landscape of the Indian Subcontinent, leaving a lasting impact on its history and heritage. During the Mughal supremacy in India, Shi'i-Sunni relations were characterized by a complex interplay of political, social, and religious dynamics. The Mughal Empire, which ruled over much of the Indian subcontinent from the early 16th to the mid 19th century, was predominantly Sunni in its official stance, with Sunni Islam being the dominant religious tradition of the ruling elite and the majority of the population. However, it's important to note that the Mughal Empire was marked by religious tolerance and pluralism to

a considerable extent, especially during the reigns of more liberal and enlightened emperors such as Akbar the Great (1556-1605 A.D). Akbar, known for his policy of Sulh-i-Kul or "universal peace," sought to reconcile differences among various religious communities, including Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jains, and others. He initiated a series of reforms aimed at promoting religious harmony and understanding.

Nevertheless, tensions between Shi'i and Sunni Muslims persisted at various levels within Mughal society. While the Mughal emperors themselves were Sunni, there were significant Shi'i communities, particularly in regions like Lucknow, Awadh, and parts of the Deccan. These Shi'i communities often faced discrimination or marginalization in certain periods, especially under rulers who adhered to more orthodox Sunni interpretations of Islam. At times, political conflicts exacerbated sectarian divisions. For example, during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D), the Mughal Empire witnessed increased tensions between Sunni and Shi'i Muslims. Aurangzeb's policies, which included the imposition of stricter Islamic laws and the persecution of certain religious groups, alienated many Shi'i Muslims and contributed to sectarian strife.

Despite these challenges, Shi'i and Sunni Muslims in Mughal India also found ways to coexist and interact peacefully in many instances. Economic and cultural exchanges, as well as shared spaces of worship and social interaction, helped to bridge sectarian divides to some extent. Moreover, intermarriages and alliances between Shi'i and Sunni families were not uncommon, especially among the nobility and elite classes. Overall, while Shi'i-Sunni relations in Mughal India were characterized by a mixture of cooperation, coexistence, and occasional conflict, the empire's legacy of religious pluralism and tolerance remains an important aspect of India's diverse cultural and historical heritage.

References

- Abdo, G. (2017). *The new sectarianism: The Arab uprisings and the rebirth of the Shi'a-Sunni divide*. Oxford University Press
- Akhtar, J. (2010, January). The Culture of Mercantile Communities of Gujarat in Mughal Times. In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Vol. 71, pp. 409-416). Indian History Congress.
- Al Hakim, L., Faiz, M., & Masruri, M. (2022, November). Values in the Din I-Illahi Doctrine in The Era of Sultan Akbar Mughal. In *EAIC: Esoterik Annual International Conferences* (Vol. 1, No. 01).
- Alam, M. (1997). State building under the Mughals: Religion, culture and politics. *Cahiers d'Asie centrale*, (3/4), 105-128.
- Anooshahr, A. (2012). Dialogism and territoriality in a Mughal history of the Islamic millennium. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 55(2-3), 220-254.
- Behuria, A. K. (2004). Sunni-Shia relations in Pakistan: The widening divide. *Strategic Analysis*, 28(1), 157-176.
- Fisher, M. H. (1983). Political Marriage Alliances at the Shi'i Court of Awadh. *Comparative studies in society and history*, 25(4), 593-616.
- Iqbal, M. (2020). *Sunni-Shia Division in Islam: It's Origin, Development, Political & Socio-Economic Implications & Contemporary Relations*. Development, Political & Socio-Economic Implications & Contemporary Relations
- Khan, H. A. (2009). *Shia-Ismaili motifs in the Sufi architecture of the Indus Valley, 1200-1500 AD*. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (United Kingdom).
- Lawrence, B. B. (1999). Veiled Opposition to Sufis in Muslim South Asia: Dynastic Manipulation of Mystical Brotherhoods by the Great Mughal. In *Islamic Mysticism Contested* (pp. 436-451). Brill.
- Louër, L. (2020). *Sunnis and Shi'a: A Political History*. Princeton University Press.
- Malik, I. H. (1992). Issues in contemporary south and central Asian politics: Islam, ethnicity, and the state. *Asian Survey*, 32(10), 888-901
- Malik, J. (Ed.). (2000). *Perspectives of Mutual Encounters in South Asian History: 1760-1860* (Vol. 73). Brill.
- Melville, F. (2021). Hilali and Mir 'Ali: Sunnis among the Shi 'is, or Shi 'is among the Sunnis between the Shaybanids, Safavids and the Mughals. *Iran*, 59(2), 245-262.
- Muhammad, D. H. C. (2020). Tolerance and Co-Existence in Muslim India: The Religious Policy of The Mughal Empire. *CenRaPS Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(1), 1-13.
- Pearson, M. N. (1976). Symposium: decline of the Mughal Empire. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 35(2), 221-235.
- Rahim, M. A. (1954). *History of the Afghans in India, 1545-1631 AD, with special reference to their relations with the Mughals*. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (United Kingdom).