

A
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MUGHAL INDIA
(1526-1707 A. D.)

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WITH A FOREWORD BY
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FOREWORD

Professor Sri Ram Sharma has laboured long and earnestly in the field of mediaeval Indian history, and has particularly investigated the original sources bearing on the reigns of the Mughal Emperors and their administrative organisation and policy. In the course of his search he has travelled far and wide and visited libraries in places as remote as Calcutta and Darjeeling. It is a distinct benefit to students working on Mughal history that some fruits of his study have been gathered together in a permanent and handy form in this volume.

This little book, crammed with useful information, will be of very great practical help to those of us who want to carry on researches in the history of mediaeval India. It confines itself to the six Great Mughals, from Babur to Aurangzeb (1526-1707) and gives information about the original sources for this period available *in India*. In addition, Prof. Sharma has given detailed analyses and full descriptions of some of the rarest Mss. and of the "Administrative Manual and Gazetteer" class of Persian works. His exposure of the whole sale plagiarism by Khafi Kh&n opens a new line of study in Mughal historical bibliography and de-

serves the fullest investigation. It is a discovery

“Xre te t,te Persia “ WO ? “ Jat “ K “
• 1,-efr.rv was written by Khan Bahadur
S. f™ Xain for the Archaeological Survey of
India- but that work, while also noting many
manucripts available in Europe only, ignored many
S-known private and public collections of Mss.
in India and its author's search was not so ex
haustive and long-sustained as Professor Shanna's.
Hence the field was still vacant for such a book
as the present one.

For some time to come this will continue as an
indispensable work of reference and guide to our
workers on Mughal history. Fresh editions will,
I hope be called for ; and if so, opportunity should
be taken to make the necessary expansion in cer
tain sections of it. Professor. Shanna's main sub
ject of inquiry is the Mughal Empire, and hence
his list of Mss. on the Deccan Sultanates makes no
attempt at being exhaustive like the sections of his
handbook which relate to the Delhi Government.

Jadunath Sarkar,

Hony. M. R. A. S.,

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PREFACE

Among the serious difficulties a student of Indian history has to encounter, when he starts research work, is the absence of a reliable guide to the material which he has to explore. In the following pages an attempt has been made to provide a handbook to the literary sources of the Mughal Period of Indian history. The work is not confined to avowedly historical literature alone. I have included several classes of authorities which do not usually figure in the history section of the catalogues of various libraries, but which are likely to be of considerable use to the students of the Mughal period. Thus I have tried to indicate new sources which, when utilized, would throw light not only on the political history of the period but on the various aspects of its social and cultural activities as well.

This work is entirely confined to a description of the printed works and Mss. to be found in the various public libraries in India. I have described the Mss. in the Punjab University Library, Lahore, the Punjab Public Library, Lahore, the State Library, Kapurthala, the Hardinge Library, Delhi, the Imperial Record Office, Delhi, the Muslim

University Library, Aligarh, the State Library, Rampur, the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Bankipur (near Patna), the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, the Sajjan Vanibilas Library, Udaipur, the State Library, Bikaner and the University Library, Allahabad.

My thanks are due to the authorities and the Librarians of these institutions for their kindness in giving me access to their valuable Mss. and giving ample facilities for examining them. The late Munshi Devi Prashad of Jodhpur allowed me to examine some of the rarest works on the history of Rajputana in his collection. To Pt. Ram Kam of Jodhpur, I am indebted for his kindness in allowing me to examine three Mss. in his possession. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar very kindly allowed me to wratnine his valuable collection of Mss. on the reign of Aurangzeb and otherwise greatly helped me in estimating the value of some of these works. I am grateful to him for his kindly going through the typescript of the work and making many useful suggestions. I am still more grateful to him for his contributing the Foreword.

Some of the works described in this Bibliography are firing described for the first time in these pages. Several others were described for the first time by me in my papers read before the All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda (1933), the Modern Indian History Congress, Poona (1935), and the Indian Historical Records Commission, (Lahore, 1937

ad Poona 1938). *Tankh-i-Muhammad* 'Arif >andahari was described by nae for the first time n J.R.A.S. (London).

In the case of the printed works, I have not felt it necessary to give details of publication. Where Mbs. are described, I have indicated the location of the Ms. that I examined.

I am very much thankful to the University of the Punjab for making grants from time to time in order to enable me t, cany through the project and publish the results in a book form.

I am indebted to Professor J. F. Bruce, M.A. (Oxon.), Professor of History, University of the Punjab, for his reading the typescript. My former pupil and friend, Mr. Yash Pal, M.A., helped me greatly in preparing the Index. To Professor N. P. Newton, Rhodes Professor of Colonial History, London, I owe the inception of the idea which resulted in the preparation of this work.

If this book succeeds in making the work of the future students of the Mughal period a little lighter, I shall consider my labours more than amply repaid.

Sri Ram Sharma.

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I

ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES ON MUGHAL
INDIA

The Mughal period forms one of the most splendid chapters in the history of India. It is one of the best studied periods of Indian history as well. It is rather surprising, therefore, that no systematic attempt has yet been made at surveying its original sources as a whole. The Bibliographies appended to various monographs on the period have been compiled mostly with a view to enumerate—sometimes to describe and discuss—the sources used by their writers. The present study is the first attempt, however humble, at surveying our original authorities for the Mughal period from 1526 to 1707 a.d. as a whole. It describes published works and mss.

It deals with English, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Assamese (translations), Gurumukhi and Dutch (translations). It deals mostly with authorities which have been examined, however incompletely, by the writer and is confined to works to be found in various public libraries of India. Usually only those works have been included which were written before 1750.

Original authorities for the Mughal period can be divided into 11 classes. The first place is occupied by the *official records* of the period. Some of them

are preserved in the original ; but the greater part of the original official records of the period has been lost. To some extent this loss is made good by the *official histories*. Akbar appointed Abu'l Fazl the Royal Historiographer. His successors continued the office till Aurangzeb abolished it in his twenty-first year. The works of these historiographers were usually based on the original records of the period of which they made a good use. Whatever other defects they might possess, they form a sure guide to the chronology of the period and help us greatly in our historical studies. Neither the original official records of the period, nor the works of royal historiographers, the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* and the *Tiuv i-Jahm* *rl*, the *autobiographies* of the founder of the Mughal Empire and his great grand son, form a class by themselves. The Mughal period is further rich in the production of histories of India mostly written by Mughal public servants who wrote neither to imperial dictation nor for the imperial eye. Their works may be styled *non-official histories* of the period in the limited sense that their authors were not writing for their imperial patrons. But being the works of Mughal public servants they do not generally exhibit either an independent judgment or a different outlook on Indian affairs. The *provincial histories* and the accounts of the independent states—most of which were absorbed into the Mughal empire—often supply supplementary information and sometimes give the local version of

the Mughal policy towards these states. On administrative matters, there are several *Dastur- l- Amgls* besides a number of works written under other names but inspired by the common desire to throw light on matters of Mughal administrative practices. The *Am-i-Akbari* set the fashion for an other group of works, *gazetteers of Mughal India* providing statistical, geographical and sometimes biographical material of utmost value. The Manuals of administration may well be supplemented by the *Letter Books* of the period which in the richness of their material offer an almost virgin field for the study of these and other problems. The memoirs of certain public servants, mostly revolving round their own participation in affairs, imperial and provincial, are as gossipy, detailed and useful as one would wish them to be. Some *Biographies* and Biographical Dictionaries were also compiled during the period or a little after and contain much useful material.

Besides these works written in various languages, we have the entire *literary output* of the period as well at our disposal. In Persian, Sanskrit and various local languages, a vast literature was produced under the Mughals which can be usefully studied, for drawing a fuller picture of these two centuries of Indian History.

We have, further, the works of several types of *foreign writers* available to us. There are some histories of Persia and the neighbouring countries.

which relate the story of the Mughal contact with these states from their angle of vision. Then there is a huge mass of material written by Europeans. A large number of European travellers visited the country. Their accounts also contribute to our knowledge of this period. The accounts of the various European companies trading in India form a very useful mass of materials. Some histories of the period were also compiled about this time. Then there were the Jesuit missionaries from Portuguese India who came to Mughal India at Akbar's invitation and elected to stay in Mughal India for some time. They have supplied us with a good deal of useful material which demands a careful study.

Of the archaeological sources, the *inscriptions* are the most important. In Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Hindi and other languages of the period they form a vast field which can be usefully worked for a reconstruction of the history of the period. Many buildings of the period are dated. Some contain inscriptions of historical interest. Temples as well as mosques, usually bear dedicatory epistles, telling us not only of their pious builders but also adding something about their ancestors as well as contemporary rulers. Various forts have similar commemorative inscriptions speaking of the builders thereof and telling us something not only about their exploits but also of their ancestors. The *R & Singh inscription* in the fort of Bikaner is a very interesting example of this class and also illustrates

the dangers of believing a word recorded on stone' to be truer than a statement of an ordinary historian. The *Raj garh inscription* (in Udaipur state, Rajputana) forms a class by itself. Written by a contemporary poet whose other works also have come down to us, running to some eleven hundred verses, it gives an account of Maharana Raj Singh and his ancestors besides throwing light on the medieval, ways of performing several religious ceremonies. It is being edited by the present writer for the Punjab University in the *Punjab University Oriental Publications*. The copper plate grants also are very common in Rajputana, and, when genuine, they can be used fruitfully in checking the account of many a battle. Mughal buildings, gardens, and coins have their own tale to tell.

The present volume concerns itself with a detailed study of the literary sources of history alone.

II

OFFICIAL RECORDS

(a) *The Akhabarat.*

Climatic conditions, the anarchy that followed the disintegration of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century and the wars of different states with one another did not very much favour the preservation of official records of the Mughal period in India. Delhi, the principal Mughal capital, was several times captured and recaptured by various parties trying to use the prestige of the nominal Emperor of India in their own service. Lahore and Agra shared the same fate. Various provincial capitals, when they became the seats of independent local dynasties, went through the same process. In Rajputana, the Maratha attempt to include these states within their own orbit and the civil wars that usually characterized the history of these states when left to themselves, produced similar effects. The results can be seen in the general destruction of the official records of the period.

Fortunately for the students of Mughal history, one state in Rajputana was spared these changes of fortune. Amber (modern Jaipur), the first to submit to Akbar's authority in the sixteenth century, managed to escape the usual fate of the various

states in Rajputana and outside. Into the causes of this singular good fortune, we need not very much enter here. It is for us to note the fact and the happy results that have followed from it. A large bulk of the official records of the state has been preserved. Of course white ants and other climatic conditions have been at work. The Records were stored here, there, and everywhere without any attempt at evaluating them. A singular good fortune enabled Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar not only to obtain access to this priceless collection of official records but also to procure copies of several of them as well. Meanwhile a sorting and cataloguing of these papers in Jaipur was also begun with the result that by 1929 some of these records had been catalogued, by the state authorities. But the Fates exhausted their favours at last. The supply of the copies of these records to Sir Jadu Nath was stopped and access to these records was permanently denied to all scholars. Several attempts have, since then, been made to persuade the state to open its Record Office to genuine research scholars under conditions that usually prevail in such offices, but nothing has come of these attempts so far.

Meanwhile the thirty-five volumes or so of the transcripts made for Sir Jadu Nath have opened up new sources of information to us about the Mughal period. The most important of the documents thus made available have been described by Sir Jadu Nath, after the contemporary fashion, as

the *Ag̃* translated. as *News Letters* pr Court
Byljgtjns.

The original term, as also its two translations, describe very inadequately the nature and the value of these unique documents. They can be mpiq justly described as the. ⁴Minutes, of, proceedings .of, the Mughal Emperor.in Court/ The Mughal Emperors ✓ maintained a set of Clerks of the Court occupying a position very similar to that of the Clerks of the Privy Council in the Tudor times. Two of them were on duty every day by turn. They took down the proceedings of the 'Court. Every request public ly made, every paper openly presented in the court, every order issued by the emperor, and all enquiries made by him were taken down by the clerk on duty at the time. It was usual to read the minutes of the proceedings thus recorded next day in the open court. The place that these records occupied in the administrative machinery of the state can be well understood by the fact that no *Farmān* (royal order) could be issued unless the Clerk of the Court on duty certified—of course by a reference to his record of these proceedings—that it has been actu ally passed by the Emperor in the terms set forth therein. This was not a formal affair. The certi ficate had to be recorded in the *Forman* itself and the body of the *Faman* bore witness that the order it embodied had been passed by the Emperor when such a Clerk of Court was on duty. Not only that, the engrossing of the *Farmans* on the paper used for

them and their sealing in the proper manner usually took several days if not months. Very often their recipients, if at Court, would wait for all this time and take home the *Faman* with them. But some times it happened that they were in a hurry and would not wait for the formal *Farman* to be prepared and handed over to them. This happened very often in connection with the officials newly entering upon their duties and unable to wait for the receipt of the formal Royal orders for their Jagirs. It was customary for them to obtain a certified copy of the royal order as recorded by the Clerk on duty with the supplementary orders passed in the same connection by the Ministry of Finance specifying the Jagir that they were to receive. They would then present this certified copy to the local revenue officials, present an affidavit that the royal order was being prepared and would soon follow and execute a security bond that if the order did not come, they would be responsible for damages and dislocation of administration. Thereupon, the local officials would allow them to enter upon the possession of their Jagirs.

These Minutes of the proceedings of the Court formed a very important part of the Mughal system of maintaining official records. Fortunately for us, there does not seem to have been any secrecy observed with regard to these proceedings till very late in the reign of Aurangzeb. As they were being read the next day for confirmation by the Emperor in

the open court, the agents of the various high public officials stationed in the *moffusil* would cause them to be taken down by their scribes and transmit them, in batches or sometimes singly, to their principals outside the capital. As they were being copied down, they became the Akliabharat, the News, of the Imperial Court. As they were transmitted through messengers they next became News Letters. It is in this form that we meet them in the Record Office, Jaipur; copies of the minutes of the Emperor in Court made for the Rajas of Jaipur and sent to them through messengers by their agents at the Imperial Court.

A word about the shape in which they were transmitted. The occurrences of a single day would naturally be taken down separately on a single sheet of paper; or when sometimes the minutes of a particular day would not be finished on one sheet, another sheet would be used for the purpose of concluding the narration. Now every sheet used bore at the head the words *Akhab&rat4~DaTbar-i~Malala*, then would come down below the day of the week, the date and the month of the regnal year of the sovereign. Naturally, when a second sheet was used the formal heading reappeared again on it as well.

- All these copies lay originally in the Jaipur Record Office. Tod, however, removed a part of them to England where they now repose in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society; London. Taking .the

mss. at Jaipur and London together we have all that is left to us of these records of the Mughal Court. They include copies of the proceedings of the Imperial Court usually, but we have a series of sheets dealing with the Viceregal Court at Gujarat and another with the Viceregal Court at Agra.

At present we possess the Akhabarat for the regnal years, 20, 24, 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40 and 43 y to 51 of Aurangzeb's reign, some 5772 pages in Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's transcripts. Unfortunately they are not complete. The year 47 has the place of honour ; there are 410 sheets including several duplicates and there is a bulletin for almost every day of the year. The year 46 has 284 sheets, the year 44 has 319 and the years 45 and 43 have 274 each. Some of the years are very ill-represented ; there are only 85 sheets for the year 28, 88 for 31 and 32, and 89 for 33 whereas the year 20, the earliest to be represented, has only 77 sheets. That Aurangzeb did not look with favour on the practice of the agents of the Rajas and provincial Governors supplying their principals with the news of the Court through these Akhabarat is proved by his order dated September 25, 1699, forbidding such practices and ordering that the agents should furnish securities in order to assure the court that they would not indulge in such malpractices.

Besides furnishing us with the materials which might have been used by contemporary historians for their works, these documents reveal the inner

working of the Mughal Court as nothing else does. Here we find abnormal births of more than two children reported, presents made to the Emperor recorded, gifts distributed by him described appointments made, increments sanctioned, reductions ordered, despatches from various officials read and replies dictated, revenue accounts tendered, leave to officers sanctioned, administrative changes initiated and proclaimed, movements of the treasury reported and protection thereof provided for, demolition of temples ordered, special appointments made for regular receipt of news from certain places, titles conferred and withdrawn, deserters reported and proclaimed, watches regulated, order of precedence in the court settled, and grants to scholars, theologians and students sanctioned. There are several human touches in these austere state documents. We find Aurangzeb changing and re changing dates in the open court, making public enquiries about the health of some of his officers, sending physicians to cure them, preparing magical spells to the same effect, and giving public leave to his officials to call at the bedside of the sufferers. Here in the open court marriages were promoted and marriage portions fixed and granted ; tips received by the royal messengers reported and disposed off by the Emperor ; receipts of fruits and scents from distant places recorded and their disposal ordered ; deaths of prominent officials reported, arrangements for the bereaved family san-

ctioned, and officers appointed for calling at the house of the bereaved and terminate mourning. Purgatives taken, bleedings undergone, and dreams dreamt were all openly discussed and their effects canvassed. If the Emperor read the prayers for the dead over a corpse, the fact was recorded ; if he indulged in the pastime of changing the names of towns and forts, it found a place in the records of the Clerk of the Court. We find the important officials, high and low, discharging their duties and the routine of the court regulated. It is here that we can find the Mughal officialdom both at work as well as at play. Thus these records form a very important 'source of information about the Mughal period of Indian History.

The internal evidence of the official histories of the reign of the various Mughal Emperors proves that the Royal Historiographers were usually supplied with these minutes of the Mughal Emperor in Court in the original or in copies. But unfortunately, for most of those concerned, Aurangzeb brought under reduction the office of the Imperial Historiographer and, as we have already seen, he further tried to see that the practice so long tolerated, of allowing the agents of the various Rajas and provincial Governors to take down the proceedings as they were being read, was discontinued. The survival of these records at Jaipur proves that the latter order was not entirely obeyed. But curiously enough it affected the quality of the non-official

histories of Aurangzeb's reign compiled after his death. The *Maasir-i-'Alamgiri* is the standard history of Aurangzeb's reign. Yet a comparison of this work with the *Akhabarat* will convince any one that it is not as reliable as one would like to suppose it. To take one example. According to the *Maasir*, Raja Bhim Singh, the founder of the Banera Raj (in Rajputana) died on January 7, 1694, yet the *Akhabarat* goes on speaking of him till a later period. His death is at last reported to the Emperor on August 26, 1694, several months after the date given in the *Maasir*. To take another case. The Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, possesses a ms. of a *Dastu-ul- Amal* (Manual of Administration), professedly written some time after Aurangzeb's death. It gives the number of the Manasabdars, public servants of various ranks, who served under Aurangzeb. The total number of all these servants holding the rank above Yak Kazan (1000) is given as 277 while the Hindus numbered 54 among them. Yet an examination of these documents has brought to light 112 Hindu Mansabdars of the same rank alone.

These examples prove that in these minutes of the Mughal Emperor in Court we have a source of information which was not available to the contemporary historians of the reign of Aurangzeb. With the help of these documents we can form a far better idea of India of Aurangzeb than given to us by any historian.

(b) *Official Correspondence*

Then comes the official correspondence of the period. We have several such collections—mostly in MSS—preserved in various places in India. They form a very useful source of information.

2. The *Jaridā-i-Frāmīn-i-Salātin-i-Delhi* (MS., in the library of the Muslim University, Aligarh). It contains letters written by Akbar to Khan-i-Kharian, Shahbaz Khan, Raza 'All Khan and Hakim Humayun Gilani, besides orders containing detailed instructions to Akbar's officers for the government of the cities and countryside, addressed not to the Governors as the text of the *Mirdat-Ahmadl* (i, 163) has it, but to all ranks, of officers and commanders of expeditions.

3. *Letters of Abul Fazl* (printed). Despite the late Dr. V. A. Smith's belief that these documents do not contain much matter of historical importance inaccessible elsewhere—an opinion formed without reading the letters either in the original or in translation—the examination of the first part of the volume which alone contains Akbar's letters has convinced me of their great historical importance. To mention one instance only; these letters contain Akbar's official declaration of faith as a Muslim after he had been accused of unbelief by his more orthodox brethren in faith with an account of the work he had performed in the service of Islam. These letters were collected by 'Abdus Samad some time after Abu'l Fad's death in 1602.

11
 12
 The *Guldasta amn-i-I an&ri* (MS. in
 the library** Sir "Salar Jang, at Hyderabad and
 Carkar) Besides ether interesting pieces, it contains
 J. L. v. e letters to Shah Jahan... he rebelled
 against his father. This is in verse and is probably
 a compilation.

5 The *Tachā-i-Har Karan* by M. T. M. shi Ha *
 Xn son Math Das Multam and secretary
 Khan, (printed). It was compiled between
 1624 and 1630 A.H. (1624. to 1630) Its chief
 interest lies in its preserving racial forms of
 "X of Appointment thereby throwing light on
 the conditions of different officials and Mughal ad-
 ministrative practices. It contains a letter of auth-
 rity exempting a particular trader from the pay-
 ment of *Bai* and *Zakat*. Another mentions appoint-
 ment of arbitrators for civil suit. There are many
 " to local officials in cases heard in appeal by
 the Ftno eror. Detailed instructions about the assess-
 ment and collection of land revenue are to be found
 . No student of Mughal administrative

mortices can afford to neglect this important source.
 P 6 *India Office, Persian, MS.*, 370, besides notes
 on Shah Jahan's administrative system contains
 some notes for letters of Aurangzeb. The author,
 Mir Abu'l Hasan alias Mir Kalan, compiled it in
 1105 A.H (1771-1772). There is a transcript in
 the library of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

7 The *Ahklīm-i-Shah Jakani* is a unique MS. in
 the Aligarh University Library copied earlier than

1163 a.h. (1750 a.d.). It contains letters of Shahi Jahan to Asaf Khian, Aman Quli Khan of Turan, Badar Muhammad of Turan, 'AH 'Adal Shah of Bija-Pur, Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golkonda, Shaista Khan, and Shah 'Abas of Persia, besides a letter of Jahan Ara to Aurangzeb and a letter of Aurangzeb to Shiah Jahan just before the battle of Samugarh.

8. The Munshiyat (MS. in the library of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar) contains, among other things, a very interesting letter of Aurangzeb to 'Amdit-ul-Mulk giving him detailed instructions about the reception to be accorded to Prince Akbar who was reported to be ready to return to obedience. It describes the delicate ceremonials observed between a Mughal nobleman and a Mughal prince when they met.

9. The Kalimdt-i-AuTangzeb (MS., in the State Library, Rampur) compiled by 'Iniayat Ullah contains notes of Aurangzeb, addressed to 31 persons mostly about public affairs. It contains, besides other less interesting pieces, a letter of Aurangzeb to Akbar blaming him for his trusting the Rajputs. Another gives instructions to his officers about Akbar's raids on the frontier. A very important find is an order for the general arrest and executions of the Sikhs, wherever found, on account of the disturbances created by them near Lahore. Another letter contains references to Sahu's objections against the scheme of studies Aurangzeb had laid down for him probably with a view to convert him

to Islam. A series of letters elucidates the much-vexed questions of Aurangzeb's relations with European merchants in his empire. Thus this Letter Book is a mine of historical information.

J
10. The Kalima-i-Tayyibat is found in two recensions. The Rampur MS. contains about 500 orders and notes of Aurangzeb which were later on reduced to the form of Royal Orders by 'Inayat Ullah Khan, the compiler of this collection. The A.S.B. MS. contains 750 notes and letters of Aurangzeb. (The printed *Ruqqa'at-i-'Alamgiri* also bears this title in one or two places.) It contains another of the rare references to the Sikhs to be found in the Persian writings of the seventeenth century. This mentions the fact that several thousand Sikhs advancing towards the North West-Iem Frontier were destroyed by the Afghans. Besides it throws very useful light on many dark comers of Mughal administration.

11. Aurangzeb's *Despatches to Jai Singh* (MS., in the National Library, Paris, and a transcript in the library of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar) refer to the War of Succession and Jai Singh's campaigns in the Deccan. They reveal Aurangzeb's methods of conducting warfare. There is a letter conferring on Jai Singh the power of making assignment of Jagirs to officers serving under him in the Deccan, thus explaining the relations between Provincial Governments and the Imperial Commanders sent on expeditions. A reference to Jaswant Singh's desertion

from, and attack on, Aurangzeb's army draws from Aurangzeb an angry comment.

The diplomacy of the War of Succession is revealed here in many of the letters,

12. The Rugd-i-Karaim, compiled by Sayyid Ashraf Khan, contains 166 letters of Aurangzeb to Shah 'Alam, Shaista Khan, Asad Ullah Khln, Mir 'Abdul Karim and Muhammad A'zam. In two places the names of addressees are missing. On the margins of the MS are letters mostly from tire printed text, of Aurangzeb's letters. The compilation, besides, throwing light on many points of historical interest, explains the actual relations between the emperor and his commanders and governors. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has a transcript of this MS.

13. The Rugq'dt-i-'Alemgin (printed) contains. •</p>

181 letters~ol Aurangzeb. It describes Shah Jahan's daily programme of work which differs in certain respects from the one given in the *Badshah Nama* of *Lahauri* and adopted by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in his *Studies in Mughal India*. Aurangzeb is found I
 advising his grandson, Muhammad A'zim, to get \ t
himself,wSghed. against, different metals anff cdrtr \ K
twee a year in order to safeguard himself against
 bodily and spiritual ills. In it we find the daily
 cares of an Emperor's life exhibited, as also, Mughal
 administrative practices in their actual working
 revealed. The powers of commanders and governors,
 the relation between officials and newswriters ..regy.-
lations abduCthe assessment and coffect jaCland S

revenue, the position, of Hindus at the Court, Mughid ceremonials, provision of pension for the relatives of dead officers are all found reflected here. The Jat expeditions of Aurangzeb's reign, the Balkh campaign of Shah Jahan's reign, and the causes of Dara's failure are also referred to. Aurangzeb is found insisting that his sons should not return the presents of Amirs and thus cause a loss to the public treasury.

14. The Dasiur-ul-Amal-Aeahi compiled by Aya Mai Jaipur! contains 281 letters of Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan, Shah Alam, A'zam Shih, Akbar, Karm Baksh, Mu'az-ud-Din, 'Azim-ud-Din, BedSr Bakht, Abu'l Hasan TanS. Shah, Shaista Khan, Asad Ullah Khan, 'Inayat Ullah Khan, Feroz Jang, Amir Khan are some of the persons to whom those letters have been addressed. It contains Aurangzeb's will, and a sort of Appendix wherein are brought together some wise saws, things to forget, factors making for a long life, and 14 causes of poverty.

↓ 15. The Akkam-i-Alam n of Inayat Ullah covers 610 MS pages. They contain probably the only reference in contemporary Persian works to Guru Gobind Singh's struggle against Aurangzeb's officers and measurers taken in the siege of Chamkaur. The levy of the Jizya, Aurangzeb's relations with the Europeans, his Rathor troubles, his order forbidding the appointment of Hindus as Subahdars and Fojdars all find a place here. A rather interesting letter details the judicial procedure

in a Mughal Court, the employment of Vakils, striking of issues and the division of the burden of proof, service of summons and the agency employed for that purpose. Aurangzeb's relations with Raja Blum Singh and Ajit Singh are also related here. There is a MS in the Rampur State Library.

16. The *Add-i-Alamgm*, edited by Qabil Khan (MS., Lahore) besides letters of prince Akbar, contains 628 letters of Aurangzeb, about half the number written in Shah Jahan's reign. They throw a flood of light on the period and reveal Aurangzeb in training. They form a valuable means of estimating Aurangzeb's character and throw light on many vexed questions. We find Shiah Jahan reprimanding Aurangzeb for his exhibition of an antidffindu policy. We can form an estimate here of Aurangzeb's relations with Shah Jahan's officers. Aurangzeb's letters written during his own reign provide an important source of information, particularly for the Rajput War. We are thus not left dependent on the accounts of the chroniclers alone and are in a position to check their accounts.

17. The *Fai -ul-Qawmn* (MS. Sarkar) compiled by Nawiab Muhammed All Hasan Khan, contains in its 688 pages letters of Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb besides those of Dara and Murad. Murad's letters to Aurangzeb are particularly important as throwing some light on the question of their relations during the War of Succession. The first chapter (covering pp.

10 to 366) contains letters received by the Mughal emperors from foreign potentates. Pages 367 to 697 contain letters of officials and private citizens and the book is rounded off by a description of India.

18. The *Ruqq'at-i-Inayat Khan Rasikh* (MS. Sarkar) compiled by 'Inayat Khan contains letters of Babur, Hurriayun, Akbar and Shah Jahan, besides some of the letters written to them as well.

19. The *Bahar-i-Sakkun*. (MS. Patna) by Muhammad Silih Kambhu, author of '*Anud-i-S&ih*', contains letters of Shah Jahan as also of Aurangzeb to the rulers of Basra, Balkh, Turan, Persia, Herat and Governors of Kandahar besides some letters of Khan-i-Doiiian. It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal foreign policy. It covers 320 pages.

20. The *Nau Badah-i-Munir* (MS. Bankipur) by Abu-al-Barkat Munir contain Aurangzeb's letters to Golkonda, 'Abbas of Persia, a letter of Prince Aurangzeb to Mahammad 'Adil Shah and an account of his conquest of Bedar in Shah Jahan's reign. It was compiled in 1051 A.H. (1641).

■nI. The *Jaipur Records* (MS. Sarkar) form a very valuable mine of information. Ever since the submission of Raja BhagwSn Das in the reign of Akbar, the Rajas of Jaipur played a very important part in the making of Mughal history. From Bengal to Kabul and from Assam to Gujarat, they served the Mughal Emperors in various capacities. Governors of provinces, Garrison Commanders of

many places of strategic importance, leaders of military expeditions, and Fojdars, they served wherever their services were in demand. Fortunately for historical studies, this resulted in the accumulation in the Jaipur archives of a mass of original official records, which in its abundance of material, its variety of interest, and the length of time, is unsurpassed throughout India. Up till 1929 a large mass of material had been indexed and catalogued by the Jaipur Record Office—307 letters from the emperors and princes, 9298 letters to the Maharajas, more than 10,000 miscellaneous letters, and memoranda and 340 drafts of letters. As was customary in those days, the Rajas of Jaipur maintained a Vakil at the Court of the Emperor. The most important of the Jaipur finds are the letters written by these Vakils to their masters. They embrace a variety of subjects and besides transmitting the News Letters of the imperial court—already described—they contain a running commentary on Mughal politics of the day. The miscellaneous papers comprise official records of various types.

The date of these letters range between 1606 and 1717. There are letters of 1606, 1622 to 1627, 1646 x to 1661, 1664 to 1665, 1669 to 1681 1.688 to 1717. This correspondence embrace all varieties of official papers.

دستک - پروانہ - مچلکہ - فرمان - حسب الحکم

*** A aa a. l. J an

- مظہر - فرد فارغ خطی - روز نامچہ غلہ - طومار
 - سند - یادداشت جاگیرداران - یاد درشت پیش کش
 - بٹہ قبولیت - فرد عرض داشت

• Thus we have personal despatches of the Emperors, letters written by Emperor's orders, notes on letters received, letters of princes, exemptions granted, ordinary official orders, memorandum, security bonds, statement of disputed facts, papers terminating civil or revenue demands, daily accounts of com, accounts, notes of hand for money received, papers laying down the assessment of land revenue of villages, the acceptance deeds of cultivators and officials, submissions of officials, sanads (grants), list of Jagirdars, and lists of Peshkash (presents) to governors and Emperors. Here are letters from Jahangir, Nur Jahan, Dawar Bakhsh, Shah Jahan. Dara, Begum Sahiba, Aurangzeb, Durga Dass Rathor, Mahiarajia Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, besides the reports of the Raja's representatives at the Imperial Court or the provincial capital. These last form a very important source of historical information. Besides a representative at the court of the provincial Governor, Maharajas of Jaipur maintained their agents at the Imperial Court who acted as a connecting link between the Emperors and the Maharajas. Their correspondence, besides throwing light on the position of the Rajput Rajas under the Mughal Emperors, touches on many affairs of importance. The Jat rebellion

in~ Muthura and the surrounding district under Aurangzeb, the Mughal government of Kabul, the War of Succession, Dawar Bakhsh's brief reign, Assamese campaign of 1669 and 1671, imperial expedition against Mahaiana Raj Singh, the religious policy of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the rebellion of Gujars in Deoli, Maratha campaigns of Aurangzeb, prince Akbar's rebellion, Aurangzeb's campaign against Bijapur, the only detailed notices of Guru Gobind Singh and his relations with Aurangzeb, siege of Udgir under ShSh Jahan (1636), Mughal expedition to Nuipur (1641), Shah Jahan's rebellion of 1627, capture of Nagpur (1636) are, among others, some of the episodes in the Mughal history, light on which is thrown by these papers. Besides this they explain, as nothing else does, Mughal administrative practices, the actual methods of revenue settlement and collection, the quarrels between Jagirdars and civil government, the decision of cases in appeal by the Emperor, financial methods of the Mughal government, land transactions of this period, realisation of debts, fanning of land revenue, the relations between the Mughal Emperors and the Rajputs, the rate of interest, discounting of *Hundis*, enforcement of prohibition under Aurangzeb, the Mughal monopoly of salt manufacture, the buildings of Shah Jahan, relations between different Mughal commanders serving in the same expedition, and the duties, temptations and difficulties of the news

writers. The detailed working of Mughal administration in its various phases in Rajput states and imperial territories all stands revealed here. Thus these papers are extremely useful for the reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

III

OFFICIAL HISTORIES

The Mughal emperors were very keen on getting as their Royal Historiographers men of letters who would so write about them as to perpetuate their memory. Shah Jahan made several experiments before he was finally satisfied with the work of ⁴Abdul Hanfid Lfihaun. These writers had access to the official records of the period. In several cases they were busy compiling their works as the events they were describing were taking place. Their works had to be read out to the emperors and approved by them. Naturally it is as foolish to expect in these works any criticism of imperial policy as to search for any adverse comment on governmental action in the Blue Books issued by various modern governments to-day. We need not, however, call the writers either hypocrites or unblushing flatterers in either case. Drawing upon the accumulated mass of material to be found in the government archives and writing contemporaneously with the events, their works unfold a view of the history of the period which is very full, usually very accurate and always very vivid.

22. The Akbar Nama, by Abu'l Fazl was the first official history of the Mughals. Akbar desired

Abul Fazl to write a 'history of the Mughal dynasty since its foundation. In order to provide materials for the reigns of Babur, Humiayun and Sher Shah, he requested his aunt, Gulbadan Begum, to write her memoirs of the reign of Babur and Humayun. Humayun's ewer-bearer, Jauhar, was also asked to write what he knew about his royal, master. In order to get a history of Sher Shah, Akbar asked 'Abbas, a pathan of high standing under Sher Shah, to compile an account of Sher Shah. Their works—The *Hutnayuti Nama*, *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'yffl*, and *Tdnkh-i-Sher Shahl* became the basis of Abul Fazl's chapters on Akbar's predecessors. That Abul Fazl did not entirely depend on them, is clear from the fact that he several times differs from these writers. For the reign of Akbar, Abul Fazl seems to have been provided with official records of various events. It is likely that, for a part of his work at least, the Akhabarat may have been placed at his disposal.

The method adopted in describing various events is chronological. The book is split up into sections formed by the regnal years. Within each section, again, events are described chronologically. Abul Fazl seems to be acting as a diarist. This, some times, has the unfortunate tendency of leaving the reader in the air for a time. As the account marches by dates, between the appointment of a particular commander to an expedition on a particular date and the account of the expedition—which may have

started operations much later—may be found sandwiched many other accounts. He uses the Ilahi as well as the Hijri calendar.

Abu'l Fazl intended writing a work which should have a permanent place in the literature of the world and thus perpetuate his own, as well as his patron's memory. He adopted a style, then so much commended, which sometimes sacrifices the spirit for the letter. It is verbose and rhetorical. As was customary at that time all over the world, an excessive adoration is shown towards the emperor's person who comes very near to becoming deified at places. Howsoever jarring it might be to our modern ears, we have to remember that Abu'l Fazl herein is the rule rather than the exception among his contemporaries.

At one time, it became fashionable, after Dr. V.) A. Smith, to accuse Abu'l Fazl of deliberate lying! More patient research, however, has proved Abu'l Fazl 'not guilty' of this baseness.

Abu'lFazl was murdered in 1602 and the account of die years thereafter is continued by Shaikh Fai-j zi Sirhindi.

Shah Jahan appointed 'Abdul Hamid Lahauri to write the history of the first twenty years of his reign in his twelfth year. An earlier official version of the history of the first ten years, (22-a) the *Bidshah Nama* had already been compiled by Mirza Aminimal Qazvini and commenced in the year 1635-36. But Shah Jahfin wanted his historiographer to

come up to the level of Abul Fazl in his literary style. Not only was AnfinSi removed from office, Shah Jahan asked 'Abdul Hamid to write the account of the first ten years afresh. Thus (23) the *Badshah Nama* of 'Abdul Hanfid comes to us as the final official history of the period. *Abdul Hamid was followed by Muhammad Waris as the royal historiographer. He wrote the account of the years 21 to 30 of Shah Jahan's reign and styled it (24) *Badshah Numa* (MS., Sarkar). We have no official account of the rest of the reign.

When Aurangzeb came to the throne, he continued the practice of his predecessors and appointed Muhammad Kazim to be his historiographer. (25) The *'Alamgtr Numa*, an account of the first ten years of the reign was the result. It begins with Aurangzeb's departure from the South in 1658 for a contest for the throne. Moral scruples, it is said, led Aurangzeb to abolish this office.

The important place these official annals occupy in our study of the Mughal period cannot be better assessed than by trying to compare our knowledge of the period for which we have these works to depend on with what we know of such periods as have no such records. We will then discover how much indebted we are to these writers for their detailed accounts of the history of the period they cover. As official histories they, naturally, not only reflect imperial opinions about men and things but sometimes distort facts so as to suit their author's ideas about

imperial grandeur. They can be fitly compared with the series now known to us as *India in 1919, 1920* and so on, and published by the Government of India as its chronicle of the year under review. We should remember, however, that, unlike the modern official publications, these chronicles usually concerned themselves with the court circle alone. It is very seldom that we get an insight into the lives of the people in their pages. There is one exception however.

(26) The *Āin-i-Akbarī* compiled as an appendix to the *Akbar Nama* sets out with the avowed intention of describing not only the country but the customs and the manners of the people also and thus it gives us not only an account of the political institutions but popular beliefs as well

IV

ROYAL AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

(27) The *Tuzuk-i-Babufi* and (28) the *Tuzuk-i-Jakangm* form a class by themselves. Originally written by Babur in Turkish, the *Tuzuk-i-Sabtm* was translated by 'Abdur Rahim into Persian under instructions from Akbar. Babur here seems to be thinking aloud and putting down, not only events of the moment as they happened, but such of his passing thoughts as well, as he thought worthy of record. Babur had 'a great love for nature, a trained eye for beauty in all its forms, and a scientist's keen observation'. The result has been the production of an autobiography which is not only a political record but a naturalist's journal as well. Babur seems to have been writing for his own amusement. We do not find much economy of truth—even unpleasant truth—in his pages. Not that he is always accurate. In his account of the battle of Panipat, for example, he appears to be implying that he had 12,000 soldiers as against Ibrahim's 100,000 whereas his army was much more than double this in strength. Some of his judgments are the results of a passing fancy; witness his sweeping condemnation of India and Indians when he first happens to chance on the subject. Yet when

all is said and done, his autobiography forms one of the most charming and valuable records. Ilminsky published the Turkish text in 1857. His Persian translation by 'Abdur Rahim was, however, better known and more frequently used till Mrs. Beveridge published the Turkish text from a Hyderabad MS. and followed it by an English translation. Unfortunately for us, there are several gaps in his narrative even in the portion which deals with India.

Jahangir's Memoirs were the result of a desire to improve upon his father's practice and make use of his own scholarship for the purpose of making posterity acquainted with his own work. Jahangir pays as much respect to truth as Babur did. If Babur, lets us into the privacy of his debauches, Jahangir calmly tells us how he got Abu'l Fazl murdered. Of course he does not mention his marrying Nur Jahan for reasons which will go on proving a subject of hot discussion. His is a shorter record, yet when he describes the natural beauty of Kashmir or descends into portraying nature elsewhere, he comes very much near to Babur in his skill in such descriptions. Now and then, when Jahangir tries to explain his conduct, we may be led to suspect that he is playing to the gallery rather than revealing his innermost soul. With all its faults, it is a human document. Jahangir himself wrote the account till the end of the seventeenth year when he asked Mu'tamid Khlan to continue it on his behalf.

Even this continuation does not bring us to the end of Jahangir's reign and stops short at the beginning of the nineteenth year.

V

NON-OFFICIAL HISTORIES

It is well to remember that considering authorship, there are hardly any non-official histories of the period. Persons who were scholars enough for composing chronicles of their times were always sure to get a job either in the imperial service or on the personal staff of an officer. We have several works on the period written by Mughal Officials no doubt but not to imperial command. Naturally their works reflect all the prejudices and predilections of their class.

For the reign of Babur, we have (29) the *Wagi-al-i-Baburi* by Zain-ud-Din which, though generally based on Babur's Autobiography, contains additions by the author, who was Babur's Sadr and thus had many personal opportunities of acquiring accurate knowledge of events. There is a MS. copy of this history in the State Library, Rampur. It begins with the last invasion of India by Babur in 1525, and ends with the death of Mehdi Khwaja at Biana. It seems to be a fragment, because though it begins abruptly with the account of Babur's fifth invasion in 932 A.H., in the body of the work, there is a reference to an account of 931 a.h.

Covering the reigns of Babur and Humayun, we

have (30) the *Humayun Nama* of Gulbadan Begum, (31) the *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'di*, by Jauhar, the *Tankh-i-Humayiin* by Bayaad, (32) the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* by 'Abbas, (33) the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* by 'Abdullah, (34) the *Makhzan-i-Afghani* by Ni'mat Ullah and *Waqi'dt-i-Mushtaql* by Rizqullah, besides some minor works less easily available. Except the *Humayiin Nama* of Gulbadan Begum all other works are available in MS. alone. Akbar's aunt, Gulbadan Begum, and Humayun's ewer-bearer Jauhar wrote in order to supply Abu'l Fazl materials for the first part of Akbar Nama dealing with Babur and Humayun. Their works are admittedly based on their personal knowledge of men and things. Though 'Abbas as well wrote similarly to imperial command, his account of Sher Shiah is based less on his own personal knowledge and more on what he could gather from various sources. The Muslim University, Aligarh, possesses a very good copy of Jauhar in MS., a transcript of which was secured for the Lal Chand Library, D. A. V. College, Lahore. Copies of 'Abbas's work are very common in India. The State Library, Kapurthala, possesses a copy of *Makhzan-i-Afgham* written by Ni'mat Ullah in 1613 which is probably the author's own copy. It is a history of the Afghans and is very useful for a study of the Mughal-Afghan relations in various parts of the country. *Tankh-i-Daiidi* of 'Abdullah (MS.), was also written in the reign of Jahangir and is another Afghan version of

the History of India under the Lodhis and Suris. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a very good MS. copy of this work. Copies of the *Tankh-i-Humdyun* by Bayazid are not known to exist in any public library in India nor is the *Waqi'dt-i-Mushtaql* available. There is a condensed translation of Bayazid, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898.

(35) The *Humāvīn Nāmāh* by Khwand Mir was written in 1535, and supplies us with some information about the reign of Humayun, particularly the political institutions of the period. No MS. of the work is available in India. Elliot, however, translated the portion on Humayun's institutes in the *History of India as told by its own historians*.

Humayun's reign is described in many other general histories of the period some of which were written in the 16th century. Some of the works listed above as well do not concern themselves with the reign of Humayun alone and carry the narrative further.

Akbar's patronage of literature saw an unprecedented outburst of literary activities and we have a large number of historical works written during his reign. (36) The *Tabagat-i-Akban* by Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din is a general history of Muslim India which becomes fuller as it approaches the Mughal period. It was completed in 1594. Though its chronology of Akbar's reign is a bit erratic, it is a very reliable work. The father of the author

played a decisive part in terminating the intrigue to oust Humayun from the throne after Babur's death. (37) The *Muntkhib-ut-Tawārikh* of 'Abdul Qadir Badayuni again is a general history of India which records the reign of Akbar as it struck a contemporary orthodox muslim whose hopes of advancement in the imperial service had been belied. It has become fashionable to overrate this work probably because of the author's prejudice against Akbar. It can, of course, be fruitfully used as providing an index to the mind of the orthodox section of Akbar's Muslim subjects, but beyond that it is not very valuable except for its accounts of events in which the author himself took part. His last volume dealing with the saints, scholars, and men of letters, is, however, very useful and, strangely enough, provides a corrective to the author's fulmination against Akbar in his narrative. We find as many, if not more, Muslim divines and theologians flourishing in the reign of Akbar when, if Badayuni is to be believed, Islam had become a thing of the past, as in the reign of his predecessors. It is unfortunate that more attention has not yet been paid to this part of his work.

(38) The *Tmlkh-i-Finshhta* by Muhammad Qasim Firishta is avowedly a compilation but the author was Akbar's contemporary and his account of the various Indian provincial dynasties illuminates many an otherwise dark comer of their history. His is a general history of Muslim India and his

account of the reign of BSbur and Humayun should also be consulted. His narrative is based on earlier histories some of which have now been lost to us.

(39) The *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad*⁴ Arif Qandahm is often cited as an authority in many extant works on Mughal history. Sir Henry Elliot, however, failed to secure even a fragment of the work and had to content himself with a note based on the citations in other histories, nor did his editor, Professor Dowson, succeed any better. Thus the *History of India as told by its own historians* (Vol. vi) contains a very brief note on the very sketchy information available at the time.

Fortunately a fragment of the work was discovered some years ago in the State Library of H. H. the Nawab of Rampur. That the MS. in question is obviously a fragment is clear from the fact that there are cross references to a history of the reign of Humayun, (p. 34) which, however, is missing. From the references in other works, it is clear that 'Arif wrote an account of India under her Muslim rulers. It is not possible to be confident as to the end. The MS. in question is the portion of the work dealing with Akbar's reign. It begins with Akbar's birth and closes with the account of a great fire at Fathpur Sikri in A.H. 987 (1579-1580). That, this closes a section of the work, is obvious by its ending with a prayer as is usual elsewhere in this work. It is possible that the author did not live to complete any later portions

of his work, but that he intended to do so is clear from certain references in the MS.

An examination of this MS., reveals the fact that Muhammad 'Arif had attached himself to Bairam. When, in 1560, Bairam fell out with the emperor, 'Arif accompanied him in his final march to Gujarat and was present at his death-bed. After Bairam's death, he carried out his intention of going to Mecca on a pilgrimage (pp. 97-9). This done, he returned to India and lived in Bihar and was presented to Akbar (p. 379). Presumably then he became an imperial servant and passed his days as a contented servant of the empire. Though the Jizya was remitted' during the period 'Arif deals with, the remission finds no place in the book which represents Akbar as a devout Muslim. That the work was written while Akbar was alive, is evident from the so frequently recurring prayers and their form. It is clear that the author did not outlive the emperor.

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(40) The *Tarikh-i-Alfi* of Mullia Ahmad possesses no independent value being mostly abridged from the *Akbar Nama*, as far as the history of the Mughal period is concerned. Written in 1585-89, it is a general history of the eastern world since the death of the prophet. There is a good MS., in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. (41) The *Tarikh-i-Haqql* (MS. the Punjab Public Library, Lahore) of 'Abdul Haq, a general history of Muslim India, is useful as presenting the story of Akbar's reign by a contemporary writer who came to be regarded as a saint after his death and does thus provide a corrective to Badayuni's picture of Akbar.

(42) *Tafikk-i-Khandan-i-Tetnurya* seems to have been written early in Akbar's reign. The only

manuscript known is preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur. It is profusely illustrated and comes down to the twenty-second year of Akbar's reign. So far its illustrations have received more attention than the text. It is the earliest written account of Akbar's reign and as such a very valuable commentary thereon. The name of the author is nowhere mentioned. (43) The *Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh* (MS., Oriental Public Library, Bankipur) by Yahya-Bin-' Abdul Latif gives an account of the reigns of Babur, Humayun and Akbar and was written towards the end of Akbar's reign. (44) The *Rauzai-ut-Tahrln* (MS., Punjab Public Library, Lahore) by Tahir Muhammad was completed in 1605 and is a general history of Asia. It brings the history of India to the end of the reign of Akbar. The *Anfa-ul-Akhabar* (MS.) of Muhammad Amin was completed in 1026 a.h. Its tenth book deals with the history of India bringing it up to the reign of Jahangir. No MS. is known to exist in India. (45) The *Zabd-ut-Taivurikh* (MS.) (Punjab Public Library, Lahore) of Nurul-Haq was written in the reign of Jahangir and contains a general history of India as well as an account of various provincial dynasties.

(46) The *Muntkhib-ut-Tawmkh* (MS., Punjab Public Library) by Hasan, who rose to be a provincial Diwan of Patna, was completed in 1611 and is a general history of Asia. Its last part deals with India. The first half of the (47) *Iqb l-N ma*

i-Jahangiri by Mu'tamid Khan, deals with the reigns of Babur, Humayun and Akbar. Though avowedly a summary of the contemporary accounts, it supplies some additional information as well based probably on contemporary knowledge. Its second part on Jahangir's reign supplements the *Memoirs of Jahangir*. (48) The *Maasir-i-Jahangir* (MS., Patna) of Kamgar Khan gives another version of the events in Jahangir's reign and supplies us with a detailed biography of him as a prince. As such it is useful for the reign of Akbar as well. (49) A *Jahangir-Naina* in verse by a contemporary poet supplies some useful information. The only MS., of the work that I have noticed so far is in the State Library, Rampur. (50) *Tarikh-i-Tahri* by Tahir Muhammad written in 1018 a.h. (1619-20) is another rare MS., in the same library.

The reign of Shah Jahan found many historians busy in reducing to writing the accounts of his reign as well as that of the earlier Mughal emperors. (51) The *Maimul-Mufassil* (MS., Patna) of M. Muhammad written in 1065 (1655) gives details of the Mughal relations with the various provincial dynasties and includes an account of the scholars and saints of various places. (52) *i awankh-i-Shah Jahani* by Muhammad Sadiq is a complete history of Shah Jahan's reign. The writer was a Waqai'-Nawis under Shah Jahan and claims to have written from personal knowledge. The only MS known in India is in the State Library, Rampur. Sadiq

Khan's account of Shah Jahan's reign was purloined verbatim by that prince of plagiarists, Khafi Khan, and passed off as his own without the least acknowledgment to his source. This naturally makes what we have known as Khafi Khan's History more valuable for the reign of Shiah Jahan as it becomes the work of a contemporary who was WaqiaT-Nawis at Agra, and himself took part in the battle of Samugarh. (53) The *Subh-i-Sadiq* (Patna) of Muhammad Sadiq, a history of the worlds/ written in 1048 a.h., devotes pp. 1704 to 1981 to an account of the Mughal dynasty till his own times. Muhammad Sadiq was in the fort of Allahabad with his father when it was besieged on behalf of the rebel prince Shah Jahan. (*M artkh-i-Bd-bur-o-Akbar-o-Shah Jahan* (MS., Patna) by an anonymous writer is usually a summary. Muhammad Aman Qazavini's *Badashdh Ndma* (MS., Patna) was written to Shiah Jahan's order in the twentieth year of his reign and supplies a good deal of information not available elsewhere. The first 163 pages give an account of Shah Jahan before his accession whereas the rest of the work ending at page 593 brings the account to the end of the tenth year. It contains an account of the provincial dynasties which brings their history up-to-date from where Firishta left it. (55) *Asar-i-Shah JahM* (MS., Patna) of Muhammad Sadiq of Delhi is admitted by a compilation from the standard Persian and Arabic works. It traces the history of the Mughals

from the foundation of their dynasty in India. The author is responsible for the statement that Babur very nearly lost the Battle of Panipat. He gives us an account of Humayun's relations with the saints and scholars of his age. The author was a contemporary of Shah Jahan.

(56) *Badshah Nama* (MS., Patna) of Muhammad Tahir who in the year 31 of Shah Jahan's reign was the imperial librarian is another very useful work, particularly its supplement which gives an account of the revenues of India and a list of the Mansabdars of Shah Jahan in the 20th year of his reign. It makes references to Shah Jahan's linguistic equipments and tells us that he knew Hindi well. (57) Kalim's *Badshah Nama* (MS., Patna) in verse was written while Shah Jahan was still reigning. Mu'tamid Khan's (58) *Badshah Nama* (MS., Patna) supplies us with another summary account of Shah Jahan's reign written by a contemporary. (59) The *Kulydt-i-Qudsl* (MS., Patna) includes a biography of Shah Jahan in verse. Bhagwan Dass's (60) *Shah Jahan Nama* (MS. in the Punjab Public Library) is a meagre abridgement of the history of India compiled in the reign of Shhh Jahan. (61) The *Intdkhdb-i-Waqdat-i-Shah Johani* (MS., Lahore) by Muhammad Zahid is an abridgement of standard histories of the reign compiled in 1080 a.h. (1669-70) at tide request of Shah 'Alam.

The War of Succession attracted many historians.

(62) The *Halat-i-Aurangzeb* by 'Aqil Khan Razi (MS., D. A. V. College, Library) is a contemporary account of Aurangzeb which terminates in the fifth year of his reign. It is the standard history of the War of Succession and seems to have been used by Aurangzeb's official historian Kazim in his *'Alam-gir Nama*. (63) The *Among Nama* (MS., Patna) in verse written in 1072 a.h. (1661-62) is a similar account and gives us the suggestive information that Jaswant Singh deserted Aurangzeb's army in Bengal and fell upon it because a rumour spread in the army that the emperor contemplated measures against the Hindus. (64) The *Khulasat-ut-Tawankh of Sujan Rai of Batala* is a general history of India coming down to the death of Shah Jahan and is especially valuable for its description of India of Aurangzeb. It gives an economic description of the country besides making mention of contemporary saints, scholars and teachers. The author was a contemporary writer and his description of the Punjab and his references to the Sikhs form a very valuable part of the work.

Aurangzeb's reign itself is rich in its historians though Aurangzeb forbade the writing of history in his twenty-first year. We have (65) The *Lub-ut-Tawmkh* (MS., Lahore) ¹ of Rai Bindriaban, a contemporary official, which stops short at the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda. (66) The *T&nh-i-Muhammad, Shahi Nadur-ul-Zamam* written by Khushhal Chand in 1741-42 contains a useful ac-

count of Aurangzeb's progeny and high officers of state besides an account of scholars from the reign of Akbar to Aurangzeb. There is a MS. in the Punjab Public Library, (67) The *Tarikh-i-Ibrat Maqal* (MS., Lahore) by Qasim written in 1130 A.H. (1718) contains an account of the Sikhs. It is a history of Bahadur Shah's reign (68). *Tabasar-ul-Nazarin* (MS., Patna) of Sayyid Muhammad Bilgrami is another Mughal history of the times. It is based on the personal knowledge of the author or on information supplied to him by trustworthy persons who had personal knowledge of various events described. It brings the story down to the death of 'Alamgir. (69) The *Tarikh-i-'Alamgm*, of Ahmad Quli Safavi, newswriter of Bengal, preserved in a MS. in the Library of the Muslim University Aligarh, is a rare contemporary account of Aurangzeb's reign. (70) The *Mirat-ul-Alam* (MS., R. A. S. B.) by Bakhtiar Khan seems to have been completed in about 1683 a.d. It has a section on India. (71) The *Mirat-i-Jahm Nama* (MS., R. A. S. B.) seems to be another recension of the *Mirat-ul-Alam* though in some MSS. it claims an author of its own. (72) The *Tazkirat-ul-Salatin-i-Chughta* (MS., R. A. S. B.) by Muhammad Hadi was probably written in Muhammad Shah's reign and comes up to his seventeenth year. It gives a brief account of the Mughal emperors. (73) The *Intkhab-i-Mumukhib Kaiam* (MS., Aligarh) by 'Abdus Sha kur contains an account of Muslim kings of India

uptil Shiah Jahan's reign}"" There is a separate chapter on Sind. The Aligarh MS. that I examined seemed to be incomplete. The work was written in 1107 A.H. (1695-96).

There is another work (74) The *Mujld-ul-Mawfrakhm* by 'Abdus Shakur written in 1071 a.h. (1660-61) containing an account of some events in Aurangzeb's reign. There is a copy, bound up with certain other works, in the State Library, Kapurthala.

Among the contemporary writers on Aurangzeb's reign, Muhammad Kazim of *'Alawgir Nama*, Rai Bindraban of *Lubb-ut-TaWarikh*. Mustald Khan of *M adsir4~Alamgm*, Ishar Dass of *F(duhat4-Alamgm*, Bhim Sen of *Nushka-i-Dilkusha* and Khafi Khan of (75) the *Mutakhib'ul-Lubdb* occupy a very important place. @ut the place of honour among chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign has so far been occupied by Khafi Khan's *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*. He has been wearing a triple crown as an historian. His love of history and sacrifices he was prepared to make in its cause are, it is said, proved by his facing the wrath of Aurangzeb rather than abandon his work. His impartiality is borne out by his occasional flings at Aurangzeb and his policy. His unique place among historians of Mughal India is assured by his compiling an account of the entire reign of Aurangzeb, besides the history of the earlier Muslim rulers in India.

But a critical examination of his history of 'Alam-

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gifs reign proves him to be one of the biggest impostors among historians. He nowhere mentions himself that he went on compiling an account of Aurangzeb's reign during the life-time of the emperor. He refers to the *Maasir-i Alamgin* of Mustard Khan which was compiled after the death of Aurangzeb. He claims to have examined Rai Bindraban's *Lubb-ut-Tawmkh* which was not written > earlier than 1694. He speaks of the '*Alamgir JNama* of Muhammad Kazim which closes with the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign.¹ To have used *Ma.asir4-Alam n* and found out its defects, Khafi Khan could not have written his history during Aurangzeb's times. In another place he gives an indication of the date of composition. While describing the carrying off of Ajit Singh, son of Maharaja Jaswant Singh from Delhi, Khafi Khan adds that Aurangzeb went on describing him as an impostor till he was married to a daughter of the Mahatana of Udaipur? Obviously this could not have been written before this marriage which could not have taken place earlier than the nineties of the seventeenth century. While narrating the account of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, Khafi Khan claims to describe the events as detailed to him by his father, who was a trusted servant of Murad

1. Khafi Khan, II, 212.

2. Khafi Khan, II, 260.

This addition is not to be found in Abu'l Fazl.

Bakhsh, implying thereby that he himself had no personal knowledge of the events. In fact Khafi Khan began the writing of his book in the year 1030 a.h. (1717) as he himself seems to indicate in the introduction to the first volume¹ and completed it in a.h. 1045 (1732), to which date he brings down his narrative in the second volume. Thus even according to our author the book was begun ten years after the death of Aurangzeb,² all the pains the author had to take concerned collecting materials from such sources as he could then command. He had, as we have already seen, certain general contemporary histories of Aurangzeb's reign to help him.

Though he has named some of these works, he has scrupulously avoided mentioning an author whose writings he used most. This is another historian of Aurangzeb, Abul Fazl. Khafi Khan has purloined his history of Aurangzeb almost verbatim. Unfortunately, the only two extant copies of this work are found bound up with a history of the reign of Shah Jahan, *Shah Jahan Nama* of Sadiq Khan. One of these copies belonged to Sir H. M. Elliot.³ Professor Dowson, who examined it, rightly

....1. Vol. i/ p. 2.

2. Even Professor Dowson's addition to Sir H. M. Elliot's note on Khafi Khan (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. vii, p. 209) wrongly asserts that Khafi Khan compiled an account of the reign of Aurangzeb during the emperor's life-time, and kept it suppressed.

3. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. vii, p. 132.

came to the conclusion that the account of the reign of Aurangzeb that it contained, could not have been written by Sadiq Khan. He dismissed the matter there without probably examining the account itself in detail, as it seemed to him a copy of Khafi Khan with only slight variations.¹ The other copy of this work is bound up with a modern MS., of Shah Jahan Nama of Sadiq Khan in the State Library, Rampur (India). An analysis of the work revealed the fact that though it seems to be a copy of Khafi Khan, it claims an author of its own, Abul Fazl. The author's name is mentioned in several places. We also get information about the important places he filled in the reign of Aurangzeb. He is further mentioned in the '*Alamgir Nama* and the first volume of Khafi Khan. From all these sources we learn that he accompanied Aurangzeb from Burhanpur when he started for the purpose of disputing succession to Shah Jahan's empire.³ He was present at the battle of Dharmat, when he was promoted to the command of 1500.⁴ Early in Aurangzeb's reign he seems to have been appointed Darogha-i-Bayutat which office he occupied for thirty years till the thirty-sixth year of Aurangzeb's reign?

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1. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. vii, p. 133.
 2. Rampur MS., p. 577.
 3. Khafi Khan, Vol. i, p. 747.
 4. *Alamgir Nama*, pp. 53, 77.
 5. Abu'l Fazl's *History of the reign of Aurangzeb*, Rampur, MS., p. 653.

Towards the end of the year; 25, he was appointed Waqai'-Nawis of Burhanpur to hold it along with his old appointment as a Mir-i-Saman.¹ In the year 1686, he was sent to the army commanded by Prince A'zam with some important instructions.² In the year 36 of Aurangzeb's reign, he was appointed Mir-i-Bahr.³ He seems to have either continued in the Department of Buyutat or was again reverted thereto, as we find him visiting the army besieging Panhala with certain important papers in the year 44.⁴ In the year 46 he was employed as a negotiator on behalf of the besieging Mughal commanders to settle the terms of surrender with Parmanand, the Commander of the fort of Khelna, which they were besieging. He seems to have survived Aurangzeb.

The author mentions certain events which he himself witnessed. He was present in Delhi when the Hindus from the city and the neighbouring places gathered together for the purpose of holding a demonstration of protest against the imposition of the Jizya. Earlier still he saw the musicians of Delhi carry the bier of music to the burial ground

1. Abu'l Fazl's *History of the Reign of Aurangzeb*, Rampur, MS. p. 548.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 577.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 653.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 699.

5. *Abul Fazl*, p. 707.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 529.

when Aurangzeb banished them from the Court.¹

An examination of this MS., proves that Khafi Khan incorporated, it almost word for word in his own history ; where he differs from its text, it is usually in suppressing the personal part played by Abu'l Fazl in various affairs. Not only is the prose narrative a copy of the account written by Abu'l Fazl, but the verses used by both to embellish their works are almost the same. There seems no reason to doubt that the original account of Aurangzeb's reign which Khafi Khan subsequently made his own, was written by Abu'l Fazl. It covers, pp. 378 and 733 of the Rampur MS. It closes with the death of Aurangzeb, short of the account of the burial which Kha.fi Khfin gives. The work comes to an end with the verses found on p. 549 of Khafi Khfin, volume II.

It may be suggested that our author may have copied Khjafi Khian's account of the reign. This is impossible. To have been able to use Khafi Khan's history which was completed in 1732, our author must have lived at least more than 105 years. During the time of the War of Succession he was raised to the command of 1500. To have attained that rank, he must have been about 30 at least. Copies of Khafi Khan's history could not have become common till some time after its completion in 1732. To have copied it then, and that

1. Abu'l Fazl, p. 491.

too up to the account of Aurangzeb's death, sup-
pressing the account' of Aurangzeb's burial, would
seem unreasonable. To suppose that just a Khafi
Khan used Sadiq' Khan ..5i«A 'Jahm Nama' for
the reign of Shiah Jahan, he may have used Abul
Fazl's Annals of Aurangzeb's reign is more reason-
able. A writer of a history of Mughal India up to
his own times is more likely to use a work on a parti-
cular reign, than a writer on the reign of one emperor
to lift it from a universal history. The internal evi-
dence of MS. makes it possible for Khafi Khan
to have used a work which might have been com-
piled by a contemporary of Aurangzeb. To pur-
loin Khafi Khan's work and add to its account his
own participation in certain events seems impossible
and unlikely for Abul Fazl. The balance of pla-
giarism is turned against Khafi Khan when we re-
member that his account of Shah Jahan's reign is
also indebted to another contemporary work. This
seems to have been Khafi Khan's usual method of
writing history I

The fact that what we have long known as Khafi
Khan's account of Aurangzeb's reign turns out to
be written by an important public servant of
Aurangzeb increases its value. It ceases to be the
compilation of an historian who, with difficulty, as-
certained the truth some years after the passage of
those events. It becomes the work of a man who
long participated in many important public events,
and who as a news writer and Darogha-i-Buyuffit,

had abundant opportunities of learning the true account of many important public events. It becomes an important document of Aurangzeb's reign precisely because it ceases to be *Khafi Khan's* work.

✓ (76) *The Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* (MS., Sarkar), of Ishar D&ss gives us a contemporary account of Aurangzeb's reign till his 34th year. (77) *The Aina-i-Bakht* of Bakhtawar Khan, includes an account of scholars, poets, poetesses, and physicians of the times. Pages 75 to 101 cover the Mughal period. It devotes several sections to the history of the Deccan, Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpore, Bengal, Sind and Kashmir. There is a MS. in the Rampur State Library.

✱ (78) The *Sarvdesavritmt samgrah* has come down to us in a unique Sanskrit MS. preserved in the India Office, London. It is a history of the Mughals up till Akbar's reign. In its present condition the MS. is very defective and incomplete. The arrangement of the leaves seems to have been done by some modern hand but the original scribe too seems to have copied from a MS. which was not in proper order. The result is the greatest am-fusion imaginable. The work opens with an account of Akbar's birth at Amar Kot abruptly ; but leaf 1b starts with a verse which is numbered 4 and has no connection with what has gone on the other side of the leaf. The name of the work or of the author is not mentioned in the body of the work ; but at the end there is a colophon in a hand

different from that of the scribe where the work is named as above and its authorship is ascribed to Mahes Thakur. The work has not so far been analysed or described. The following table of contents tries to reconstruct the original arrangement of the work based on an examination of a photographed copy of the work in the Punjab University Library, Lahore.

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II. The method of compiling this account	14
III. History of the world in brief with a genealogy of Akbar tracing his descent to Adam in 52 generations	13, 227, 224, 20 to 22, 28, 29, 221, 220, 69 and 70, 35 to 46, 48 to 55.
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2. His birth, character and derivation of his name ..	55 to 57
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5. Arrival at Panipat, battle with Ibrahim, his victory, his task and achievements compared with other invaders of India .. 67 to 69, 70 to 73
6. March on Agra .. 73
7. The movement to leave India, Babur's success in dealing with it .. 76 and 77
8. Babur's gifts and Jagirs at Agra 78-b, 78-a to 80
9. Conflict with Rana Sanga. 80
10. Happenings of the year 933. 81
11. Arrival of Humayun from the East 82
12. Battle with Sanga .. 85
13. Rana Sanga's allies .. 87
14. Babur's arrangement of his army 88
15. The battle and Babur's success 89 to 93
16. Rana Sanga's preparations for a second attack .. 218
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18. 'Askari in India in 935 a.h. 219
19. Humayun's return from Badakhshan .. 93 to 99-a

20. Abrupt beginning of the story of Humayun's illness from the point it was suggested that Babur should sacrifice something that he held valuable .. 99-b
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26.	Akbar's birth	179, 15, 19, 20, 1, 12, 13, 197, 34, 35
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35.	Humayun advances from Persia	14
36.	Akbar in Kamran's hands.	13
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VII.	The end	227

PROVINCIAL HISTORIES

The history of the various provincial dynasties attracted a large number of men. Some of them, like their imperial prototypes, wrote for their princely patrons, others busied themselves in chronicling the events of their own or earlier times for the fun of the thing. We have several works of this type.

(79) The *Tdrikh Muhammad Qutb Shah* (MS., Sarkar) was written in 1027 a.h. (1618) by Habib Ullah. It is a history of Golkonda. (80) The *Tmkh-i-AR Adil Shah Sam of* (MS. Sarkar) Nur Ullah is a history of Bijapur. The last date mentioned is November 12, 1667. The *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, in its Bibliography to Chapter IX wrongly makes it a modern compilation. It seems to have been written by the orders of the Sultan himself. (81) The *Qutb Nama* of Abdullah, (MS., Sarkar), (82), the *Tawdrikh-i-Haft Kursi* (MS., Sarkar) of Bijapur, a late compilation written for an English officer, (83) the *Muhammad Nama* of Zahur bin Zahuri begun in the year 1641 by Muhammad 'Adil Shiah's orders —, the only MS. of which is in State Library, Kapurthala —, (84) the *Tazkirat-ul-Maluk* (MS., Sarkar) by Mirza Rafi-

the reign of Jahangir, are some of the provincial histories of the Deccan. The *Qutb Ndma* brings the story to the conquest of Golkonda by Aurangzeb. It refers to a famine in the Mughal camp when Bijapur was invaded by the Mughals in the reign of Shah Jahan. The *Tazakirat-ul-Mduk* gives us some information about Akbar's and Jahangir's religious beliefs as well. The *Muham mad Nama* throws some light on the Shiviaji-Afzal Khan episode by stating that several years earlier Afzal Khan had tempted another rebel against Bijapur by the offer to save his life if he surrendered and then had him murdered. (82) The *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha* by Bhim Sen is a contemporary account of Deccanese affairs during Aurangzeb's reign. There is only one MS. extant in the British Museum. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has, however, a transcript of this MS. in his Library. The following analysis provides a detailed table of contents of this unique MS.

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Author's account of the various appointments held by him	(6-b)
Illness of Shah Jahian, first defeat of Shujia ⁴	(7-b)
Defeats of Jaswant and Dam, imprisonment of Shah Jahian	(16-a)
Captivity of Murad and fall of Dara and Shujia ⁴	(29-a)

- Forman to Mir Jumla, his appointment
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- Shivajis early career (50-b)
- Temple demolition by Aurangzeb, Jat
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with the Siddis of Janjira ; Jai Singh
forces Shivaji to submit; Shivaji's
audience with the Emperor and flight. (52-b)
- Diler Khan's quarrel with prince Shah
'Alam, Viceroy of -the Deccan . . (58-b)
- Battle with Shivaji near Salher . . (60-b)
- Rising of the Satnamis (61-b)
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- Death of Jaswant Singh, escape of his
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War, Akbar's rebellion (73-b)
- The war with the Rathors (85-a)
- Prince A'zam's expeditions into Bijapur
and Shah 'Alam's into the Konkan . . (86-b)
- Conquest of Golkonda (89-a)
- Rising of Pahar Singh Gaur in Sironj. (94-a)
- Conquest of Bijapur (97-a)
- Sambhaji and Prince Akbar (108-b)
- Shah 'Alam's imprisonment (113-b)
- Capture of Salher (116-b)
- Risings in Bundelkhand (119-b)
- Desultory fighting in the Deccan . . (120-a)
- Akbar's flight to Persia (121-b)

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Capture of Adoni	(124-a).
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Rising of Raja Ram Jat near Agra ..	(131-b)
Rising of Gopal Singh Gaur near Gwalior	(135-a)
Rising of Chumman Jiat at Sansani ..	(135-b)
Capture of Rustam Khan by Santa Ghorpare	(140-b)
Rupa Bhonsla loots Siddi *Abdul Qadir	(142-b),
The blinding of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Floz Jang	(145-a)
Campaign against Sambhaji	(146-b)
Capture and execution of Sambhaji ..	(149-b)
Capture of many Maratha forts ..	(156-b)
Flight of Raja Ram	(159-b)
Agha Khan slain near Agra	(164-b)
Submission of Durga Das	(165-a)
End	(169-a)

(88) The *Basatm-us-Salatin* by Mirza Ibrahim is a modern compilation made in the nineteenth century (1824) preserving, however, many original documents not easily available elsewhere.

Sind and Western India also attracted many writers. The independent dynasties of Gujarat, Sind and the neighbouring provinces had their historians and when these territories were conquered by the Mughals, it was thought necessary to detail their histories. (89) The *Tmkh4-Sindh* (MS. Udai-

pur) by Muhammad Ma'sum is a well-known work. Ma'sum was in Mughal service under Akbar and Jahangir. He died in 1610. It contains the only reference to the famine which visited Sind in 1540-41.

(90) The *Belgar Nama* written by the orders of a local Chief, Shiah Qasim Khan, is a rare chronicle in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur. The last date mentioned in the MS. is 1033 a.h. (1623-24).

(91) The *Tdnkh Tahn* of Tahir Muhammad, son of Sayyid Hasham of Thatta, is another history of Sind.

Gujarat claims many historians of its own, for the period.

(92) The *Mirat-i-Sikandn* of Sikandar-bin-Muhammad was completed in 1613. Folios 275-a to 363-b of the Patna MS. cover the history of the relations of the Mughal emperors with Gujarat. It has been printed.

(93) The *Mlrat-i-Ahmadi*, though compiled later in the eighteenth century, (1748 a.d.) by 'All Muhammad Khan, is admittedly based on contemporary information. Its main value lies in the reproduction of many orders and instructions issued by the Mughal emperors. It also gives a very full descriptive account of Gujarat.

(94) The *Tankh Gujarat* by Tarab 'All, written in Akbar's reign, though based mostly on the Akbar Nama and other contemporary documents,

sometimes supplies additional useful information as well.

(95) An Arabic History of Gujarat by 'Abdulla Muhammad, written soon after 1611, is again based on many original authorities. Though in Arabic, its copious index compiled by the editor, Sir Denisson Ross, provides a very useful abstract of its contents.

Rather strangely Bengal does not claim many historians of its own. (96) The *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* (MS. Sarkar) was written in Shah Jahan's reign by Shitab Khan who filled various appointments in Bengal under Jahangir. A useful English abstract with notes of the larger part of it has been published by the present writer in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, as Bengal under Jahangir, and in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, as Prince Shah Jahan in Bengal. An English translation with notes has now been issued by the Government of Assam. It would have been better if the notes had been omitted altogether or expanded so as to make it possible to use the work profitably. The work requires to be used cautiously. Shitab Khan went to Bengal with his father, Ihtamam Khan, who was appointed the Superintendent of Artillery when Islam Khan was appointed the Governor of Bengal in 1608 by Jahangir. He describes himself as a Khana Zad which probably implies that he was brought up in the royal household. For some time he served with his father in the artillery in Bengal.

On his father's death he seems to have entered the imperial service in some minor capacity. He is one of the most vainglorious writers of history, whose one aim seems to have been to exalt his own services which seem to have been not at all recognised either by his colleagues or contemporaries. Many a time he exaggerates beyond all measures — witness the account of his travelling at night in a boat rowed by 130 boatmen from Patladah to Tuk in Book first, chapter 11. Whenever the Mughals win a victory, he is the mainspring thereof ; when ever a disaster befalls them, it is due to the jealousy of his superiors. The author goes to the length of claiming that he could perform miracles and solemnly records instances of his powers. His account of various appointments made in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa even is misleading ; he juggles with dates, distorts facts, and does not stop at mud throwing, all in order to prove his own version of events.

The work, however, would amply repay a careful perusal. Besides providing a detailed account of the Mughal conquest and occupation of Bengal and Assam under Jahangir, it throws welcome light on many administrative practices and enables us to judge how far imperial orders were carried out in the far off provinces. It supplies us with a detailed account of Shiah Jahan's rebellion in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It gives a very valuable account of social customs and religious beliefs.

✓ (97) The *Rayaz-us-Salath* by Ghulam Husain

is another history of Bengal mostly based on contemporary accounts. It was completed in 1787-88.

(98) Salim Ullah's History of Bengal (*Tmkh-i-Bengal*) is a useful compilation of later times. (99) The *Tankh-i-Shah Shuj I* (MS. Patna) by Muhammad Ma'sum is an account of Shah Shujia⁴ as Governor of Bengal by a writer who was present there himself during this period.

The Mughal campaign in Assam under Aurangzeb attracted the attention of Shihab-ud-Din Talish whose (100) the *Tmkh-i-Asham* (MS. R. A. S. B.) is a very useful account of the Mughal expedition thereto. There are two types of MSS. available. One stops short at Mir Jumla's disasters and the other includes Shaista Khan's campaigns as well. It was written in 1663 and seems to have been utilised in the compilation of ⁴Alamgir Niarna, the official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. Besides giving an account of these expeditions, it gives a very vivid account of the country and its people.

(101) The *Tmkh4-A'zanu* is a very brief account of Kashmir rich in its stories of saints, scholars and theologians. It was written early in 1748 by Mulla Muhammad A⁴zam. The third part describes the Mughal conquest of, and rule in, Kashmir upto the date of its compilation. Several of the works, its writer used, are no longer available.

(102) The *Lataif-ul-Akhbar* of BadF-uz-ZamSn (MS. Sarkar) is an account of the Mughal expedi-

tion to Qandahar under Dara Shikoh by an eye witness. It furnishes the grounds for that quarrel between Jai Singh and Dara which led to the latter's undoing in the so-called War of Succession.

(103) The *Jindt-ul'Fardus* (MS. Patna) by Mirza Muhammad was written in 1714 a.d. and is a history of the different provincial dynasties of India. It contains here and there references to the absorption of most of these kingdoms in the Mughal empire. It gives the date of Sher Shiah's royal coronation as well.

The appointment of Abu'l Fazl as the Historiographer Royal and the publication of the *Akbar Nama* stimulated the writing of history in other parts of India as well. In Rajputana it was followed by the compilation of chronicles. (104) The *Khydt* of Mehta Nensi is a general history of Rajputana. The author was for several years the Prime Minister of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur.

(105) The Kaviraj's *Khydt* (MS. Jodhpur) and (106) the Mundhyar *Khydt* (MS. Jodhpur) contain histories of Jodhpur till about the reign of Aurangzeb when they seem to have been composed. They were described by the present writer in the *Modern Review* for April, 1923, as the Three Chronicles of Mewar (see appendix 2).

(107) The *Amar Kavya VansavaH* (MS. Sajjan Vanivilas Library, Udaipur) is an account in verse of the deeds of the Ranas of Mewar bringing the story to the accession of Maharaja Raj

Singh. It was written by Ranchhora Bhatta in the reign of Maharaj Singh. It contains 1408 verses, covering 103 leaves. Leaf 82 is missing. It begins the story of the Rarias of Mewar from their very origin. The MS. is very defective on account of the carelessness of the scribe. The account though written within a century of Pratap's death, errs in some places even in its account of that great hero of Rajputana. It was from this work that Tod wrongly derived the information that Salim led the Mughal forces in the Battle of Haldi Ghat. This is due to the confusion between Shaikhaji, a son of Pratap, and Akbar's pet name for Salim, Shaikhu. The confusion of Ambara and Amara is responsible for some more mistakes.

(108) *Udaipur Ki Khyat*, (MS. in the R. A. S. B., Dr. Tessitori collection) is a curious MS. with out a beginning and without a proper end. Thus neither the name of the scribe nor that of the author is given. Dr. Tessitori in his *Catalogue of Rajput Chronicles* described the MS. in the Fort at Bikaner as 100 years old. It contains many blank pages, it is arguable that it is a copy of some older MS. It gives in a bald outline, the history of the reigns of the rulers of Chitor until the reign of Rana Raj Singh II who came to the throne in 1753. There is a MS. in the Sajjan Vanivilas Library, Udaipur.

(109) The *Khyat of Bikaner*, (MS. the Fort Bikaner) was written by an anonymous writer in the reign of Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner.

There is a good deal of misunderstanding about the extent, nature and reliability of the Rajput Chronicles. Of course they are not always as full in their accounts as Mughal official histories. It is true some of them that are in verse are, as much if not more, lacking in a sense of historical proportion as some of the Persian works in verse. But besides the learned accounts of bards, there are family histories of various Rajput tribes—in most cases contemporary or semi-contemporary compilations—which form a very useful source of information. Dr. Tessitori examined a part of this material while engaged on his *Historic and Bardic Survey of Rajputana* and his *Catalogue of Historical and cognate works in Jodhpur and Bikaner* published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal would silence much misinformed criticism of Rajputs and their lack of historical materials. His Annual Reports of the *Historic and Bardic Surveys* published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* form a mine of information. "Whafembarrasses a student of history in dealing with the history of Rajputana is not the lack of material but its abundance."

In Assam we have several chronicles of the local dynasties as also a (110) *Chronicle of the Kingdom*. D. hi. This is now available in an English version of Prof. ..Bfeuyan.jtfjch appearedjn the isZmwjCwJfe£re,JEiyderabad.

(1117 The *Buranji from Khulnum and Khulnai* was translated into English for the Government of

Assam. There is a copy in the Assam Secretariat I have examined the copy of this MS. in the Library of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

Some later chronicles have now been published in the original by the Government of Assam.

The Marathas came into conflict with the Mughals in the later half of the seventeenth century. So far as their activities affected Mughal India we find them reflected in several works. Some of the Dutch, Portuguese and French notices of Shivaji have been brought together in translation by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen in his *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji* which also includes a chapter on the extracts from the English Records. (112) The Portuguese *Life of Celebratue Sevagy* by Cosme da Guarda was written in 1695 and, undoubtedly, reflects the opinion his Portuguese neighbours had formed about Shivaji Barihelemy Carrie's chapters on (113) the *History of Shivaji* and (114) *Sequel to the History of Shivaji* form a part of his French *Voyages to East Indes*, published in 1669 and make a mixed bag of bazar gossip and ascertained fact carefully written. Martin's French Memoirs contain 'the best contemporary account' of (115) The *Karnatak Expedition of Shivaji* in 1678-79. The work consists of a Journal faithfully kept as the various events were taking place. Francois Valentine's (116) *Description of the City of Surat and the Lives of the great Mughals* give us a Dutch account of Shivaji which supplies useful information.

Among the Maratha sources (117) The *Life of Siva Chhatrapati* by Krishnaji Anant Sabhiasad. was written at Jinji in 1694. The author was a faithful servant of Shivaji and though he wrote while he was very old, his is the earliest and the most valuable account of Shivaji. Fortunately for the students not knowing Marathi, it has been translated into English twice. Dr. S. N. Sen's translation published as 'Siva Chhatrapati' in 1920 by the University of Calcutta combines a critical examination of the text with a desire to be helpful. (118) The *Jedhe Shakavafo* resembles the Rajput Vanshavalis in containing a bare chronology of events from 1618 to 1697 preserved in the Jedhe family of Bhoge. This seems to have been written probably in the seventeenth century not much after the events it describes took place. (119) The *Shivapur Deshpande Shakavafo* (120) and the *Shivapur Deshpande Yadi* give us another account of the Marathas as preserved in the family of the Deshpandes of Shivapur. (121) The *91 Qahm Bhakkar* purports to be the work of a contemporary and has been translated by Frissell and included by Forrest in his *Selection from the Letters in the Bombay Secretariat* (Marahata Series, Vol. I), as the *Raigarh Life of Shivaji*. (122) The *T drikh-i-Shivaji* (Persian MS. Sarkar) is a very useful work which may have been based on a contemporary original in Marathi.

The mass of printed material on Shivaji has been

accumulating for several decades. I have not tried to indicate above either its extent or variety but have confined myself to indicating broad sources of history usually where the waters of Maratha history co-mingle with these of Mughal history.

VII

BIOGRAPHIES AND MEMOIRS

The biographies and memoirs of the period form another valuable source of information. (123)

5/ The Wāqī āt-i-Asad Beg occupies a very important position here. The author had spent seventeen years in Abul Fazl's service when his master was murdered by Bir Singh Bundeha. He reported Abul Fazl's death to Akbar and was thereupon appointed a Mansabdar of 125. He was commissioned to inquire into and report on the failure of the expedition sent to Bijapur and Golkonda. He describes his experiences in Bijapur and Golkonda as a Mughal representative. Jahangir retained him in his service and his Memoirs extend to 1041 a.h. (1631-1632), the year of his death. There is a MS.

✓ iU.the Libxary_QfJhe Muslim Umversit Aligarh.

5/ (124) The Safar Nāma of J bdul Latif who followed his master, Mir Abul Hasan, fromT'Guja* rat to Bengal, on the latter's appointment as the Diw f-Bengal, in, 160g, gives an interesting account of the territories through which he passed. The only MS. l@om>MAfi.HardiwXiteaiy,.

Delhi. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar procured a transcript" of this MS. The following table of its contents would indicate the nature of the work.

BIOGRAPHIES AND MEMOIRS

1.	Departure of Khwaja Abu'l Hasan, the author's patron, from Gujarat ..	S
2.	Left Ahmedabad on December 10, 1607	W
3.	Jalore	00
4.	Merta	S
5.	Ajmer	S
6.	In praise of Akbar	S
7.	Sambhar	K
8.	Namol	K
9.	Hissar	K
10.	Sirhind	P
11.	Jahangir's chain of justice	19
✓12.	Remissions granted by Jahangir ..	20
✓13.	Zabti	21
✓14.	Remission of the New Year Day's presents	£
15.	The road from Agra to Lahore, Jahangir's improvements	£
16.	Khusru's rebellion and his capture ..	52
17.	Some rebels executed	K
18.	Khusru's fate, going out forbidden ..	25
19.	Trouble in Kabul, Khusru blinded ..	27
20.	Jahangir's Royal Court	27
21.	Sirhind	£
22.	Thanesar	£
23.	Panipat	S
24.	Delhi and its environments	S
25.	Bindraban and its temples	8
26.	Mathura	8
27.	Sikandra	\$

28.	Agra	36
29.	Formal appointment of Abu'l Hasan to Bengal as its Bakhshi and Diwan ..	38
30.	Chandwara	40
31.	Etawah	40
32.	Kalpi	41
33.	Kalinjar and its market for brides ..	43
34.	Allahabad	43
35.	Benares and its temples	49
36.	Jessore	51
37.	Ghazipur	52
38.	Chaunsa	53
39.	Sher Shah's tomb	53
40.	Rohtas	54
41.	Hajipur, Patna	54
42.	Mungir	58
43.	Arrival, at Raj Mahal on June 5, 1608.	60
✓44.	Revenues of Bengal	64
45.	Buildings at Raj Mahal and its environments	65
46.	Islam Khan, the new Governor of Bengal	68
47.	Shaikh Salim Chisti and Akbar ..	68
48.	Isliam Khan's appointment	70
49.	'Usman's wakil at the court of Islam Khan	70
50.	Raja Satarjit of Bhusna	71
51.	Raja Pratapaditya's representations ..	71
52.	Raja Mukat Narayan's presents ..	72
53.	Alaipur	73

54. Various types of war boats	73
55. Bengali Chiefs meet Aslam Khan	75
56. The bird Mina, (starling) described	77
57. Hunts near Ghora Ghat	78
58. Fruits and Flowers of Ghora Ghat	79
The end	80

(125) The *Chahar Chaman*⁴->*Bhahman* (MS. Sarkar) by Chandar Bhan is divided into four parts. The first gives the writer's recollections of certain public events of Shah Jahan's reign and also includes an account of the expeditions to Daulatabad, Assam, Balkh, Badakhashan and Chitor. There is an account of the various Vizirs of the Mughal emperors. The second includes a description of contemporary India. The third records many personal anecdotes of the writer's life and some moral dissertations. The last part includes some wise saws, his autobiography, and some letters of his. The last date mentioned is December 20, 1658.

(126) The *Waqai*⁴-*Ni'm.ai Khm 'Alt*, is an account of the siege of Hyderabad in 1686 by an eye-witness.

(127) The *Maasir*⁴-*Rahmi* by Muhammad ⁴Abdul Baqi was written in 1616, and is a biography of 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanian with a background of a short history of the Muslim rule in India. It includes suggestive accounts of various men of letters with whom 'Abdur Rahim used to surround himself.

✓ (128) The *Roznamcha of Mirza Muhammad*. Though it begins from 1707, it contains a very brief account of Aurangzeb's reign. It is very useful in giving us an insight into the character of some of the nobles who survived Aurangzeb. There is a MS in the possession of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

There are two biographical dictionaries of the mansabdars of the period.

(129) The *Madsir-ul-Umra* is a well known biographical dictionary of the Mughal public servants written in 1742/47 by Shah Nawaz Khan Aurangabadl. It is based on contemporary accounts and is a very useful work of reference. The original was added to and rearranged by Shah Nawaz Khan's son, 'Abdul Khan who has contributed the greater part of the work as we find it to day.

Jj ✓ (130) The *Tazkirat-ul-Umra* (MS. R. A. S. B.) of Kewal Ram, son of Raghu Nath is a brief account written in 1194 a.h. Besides a general index of mansabdars, it contains an account of some notable events of Jahangir's reign and a list of governors of various provinces from Akbar's time to the time of the writing of the work. It has an account of the revenues of the empire as well.

Besides these works in Persian, we have (131) a *Biography of Karam Chand* in Sanskrit written by a contemporary poet Jayasoma. Its hero was a minister (Secretary) at the Court of Akbar and was instrumental in introducing Jain monks to Akbar's court. Besides referring to various public events

of Akbar's reign, it outlines in brief the history of Bikaner up till the date of its composition. The hero was for some time prime minister at Bikaner.. His family had held similar office in the State for some generations. M. M. Pandit Gauri Shanker Ojha is publishing the Sanskrit Text with a Hindi Translation.

In (132) the *Raja Prashasti*, Ranchhor Bhatta, a contemporary poet of Mahararia Raj Singh, tells us the story of the Ranas of Udaipur. This work forms a very interesting source of historical information and has come down to us in a unique form. In 1663 Maharana Raj Singh of Udaipur decided to dam the waters of the streams that flowed near what is now Raj Nagar in Udaipur and create a huge artificial lake there. The work was duly executed ; it was solemnly begun and dedicated with splendid religious ceremonies. The Maharana desired to perpetuate his memory and asked Ranchhor Bhatta who had already written the *Amra Kavya* to compose in verse an account not only of the ceremonies connected with the construction of the lake which now came to be named Raj Samund (the royal lake) ; but to tell the story of his own exploits as well. The work was duly completed. It had been decided to inscribe it on marble and fix the slabs in the outer wall of the lake near Raj Nagar. But Maharana Raj Singh died before this long inscription could be placed in position. His son, Jai Singh, however, completed the task.

This work is divided into 24 chapters with an additional introductory chapter. It runs to 1082 verses. It has not yet been published. Thanks to a grant made by the Punjab University for the purpose, I am editing it in the Punjab University Oriental Publications and soon hope to place it before the public. It gives a credible account of the relations of Maharania Raj Singh with the Mughal Emperors besides throwing a good deal of light on the social and religious customs of the period.

Though not strictly a history yet of much historical interest is (133) the *Hlra Saubaghyam* by Devavimala which describes the visit of Jain monks to the court of Akbar. This, again, was written in Akbar's reign and besides describing the journey of the Jain monks to Delhi, it gives us a curious insight into the Jain customs and usages of those days. It has not yet received the attention it deserves from the students of Indian history. It is true here facts lie buried in a mountain of poetic imagination ; witness the opening lines of a description of Delhi. *The pinnacle of the entire country and the sporting ground of the goddess of wealth, the country of Delhi adorns the world. It seems as if the Creator has turned it into a mine of happiness by making it the essence of the lands of the gods and the land of the Nagas \

J The *Chaitanyachantamita*, a biography of Chaitanya, the founder of the Vaishnava cult in Bengal, is an anonymous work of which there is a

MS. in the India office Library, London. Like the (134) work with the same title in Bengali written by Kaviraj Krishnadlas in 1581, it is divided into 3 parts describing the early life, the ministry and the last days of Chaitanya. It was coroposed in 1615. a.d. Our interest in the Bengali work rests not only on its supplying us with the facts of Chaitanya's life, round whose name miracles had been collecting for some time past, but its letting us into the Vaishnava life of those days as well. More than that, it describes the people of those days in their simple pleasures at home and in the village common. A careful study of this work would convince students of social history of its value.

Jagan Nath's Sanskrit verses in praise of Asaf Khan, Shah Jahan and Chhatar Sial are so indiscriminately used for all the three that it is impossible to glean much of historical value from them. We have in Hindi (135) the *Raj Vilas* by Man Kavi, a contemporary of its hero Mahanana Raj Singh of Udaipur. It was published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabah of Benares. It is the work of a contemporary. (136) The *Jed Singk Charitra* by Mian Kavi tells us not only of Jai Singh's exploits but those of his ancestors as well. The only MS. known to exist is in the possession of the Udaipur State. (137) *An Account of Sivaji* in Hindi by Bhushan and (138) *JahiingiT Chandrika* —an Account of Jahangir by Kesho in Hindi are more poetic than true or just. (139) The *Chhatrasal*

Charita by Lal is a contemporary account in verse of the Bundela Chief, Chhatar Sal. (140) The *Battle of Ujjain* between Aurangzeb and Murad on one side and the imperial Mughal forces led by Maharaja Jaswant Singh on the other, has been described in Hindi verse by Churaji, a contemporary poet.

(141) *Chhand Rao Jayatsi* (Hindi) is a contemporary account—and the only account we possess—of Kiamran's capture of Bhatner and attack on Bikaner in 1534. It has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

(142) The Chinese Biography of Buddha Gupta, an Indian monk, supplies a good deal of information about India in the 16th century, and was written by the famous Buddhist writer Taranath who was a pupil of Buddha Gupta. Professor Tucci drew upon it in his *Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the 16th Century* published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* in December 1931.

(143) *Sair-ul-Arafin* (MS, Punjab University) by Shaikh Jamal is a collection of the biographies of saints and scholars written during the reign of Humayun. (144) *Akhabar-zd-Akhaydr* (MS, Punjab University) by Shaikh 'Abdul Haq of Delhi was completed in 1590 and is a collection of the biographies of saints, scholars, and holy men of India (145) *Sair-ul-Iqtab* by Allah Diya was completed between 1623 and 1629. It gives the life histories of the various saints of the Chistya

order till 1623. (146) *RubSlyat-i-Mulla Shah* was written by this famous disciple of Mian Mir, Mulla Shiah Badakshi. Though a collection of quatrains mostly on sufistic subjects, it refers to various incidents in the lives of Mullah Shah and Milan Mir. There is a Ms. in the Punjab University Library. (147) *Masnamiyai-i-Mulla Shah* (MS Punjab University) is another collection of the poetical work of Mullia Shah wherein he supplies more details about his own life and that of his teacher, Milan Mir.

(148) *Mirat-ul-Khayal* by Shaikh Ibn *Ali Ahmad Khan Sirhindi forms an account of the life and works of Persian poets and poetesses of India composed about 1690-91. Some of the poets mentioned in this collection were men of affairs as well. Others attracted attention otherwise. The book thus throws light not only on the history of Persian poetry but sometimes gives information about political matters as well.

(149) *Safinat-ul-Auliya* (MS., Punjab University) by prince Daria Shikoh is another collective biography of saints including those of the Mughal period. Dara recounts his own experiences when on pilgrimage to the tombs of these saints as well.

(150) *Sakinat-ul-Auliya* by Dara is the standard biography of Mian Mir.

(151) *Munaqib4-Ghausiya* (MS, Punjab University) is a biography of Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliaii (1482-1562) written by his disciple Shah

Fazl ShattSri (152) *HaldtB-Hazrat 'Balawal* is a biography of this saint of Mughal India written by one of his disciples.

(153) *Jmam Sakhi (Gurumukhi)* of Guru Nianak by Bhai Sewa Das is most easily accessible in Trump's English translation of the *Adi Granth* and is probably our earliest authority for the life of the founder of Sikhism.

(154) *Bachitra Natak (Gurumukhi)* by Guru Gobind Singh, the last Guru of the Sikhs, forms a collective biography of his predecessors and his own autobiography. (155) *Wrs* and (156) *Kabits* of Bhai Gurdis (Gurumukhi) again form a useful mine of information about the early history of Sikhism. These must have been composed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

VIII

GAZETTEERS

(157) The *Haft AqarM* (MS, Lahore) of Anun Ahmad Razi written in 1593-94 is a gazetteer of the world including India. Besides geographical descriptions, it includes biographical notes on rulers, princes, saints and scholars of various localities mentioned. There is a very brief historical account of India as well.

The *Atn-i-Akbn* of Abu'l Fazl is an official Gazetteer of India besides being a useful administrative manual.

(158) The *Hadiqat-ul-AqarM* (MS, the writer) of Murtza Husain Bilgrjami written in 1782 is another useful compilation.

(159) The *Chahar Gulshan* (MS., Sarkar) by Chatarman is a description of India containing notes on Hindu and Muslim saints of various localities written in 1759.

(160) The *Tuhfat-ul-Karaim* (MS, Patna) by Mir 'All Sher was compiled between 1760 and 1769' and contains notices of various cities. Besides the history of various provincial dynasties, scholars of various localities, past and present, are also mentioned.

(161) Mehta NensI wrote an *Account of Jodhpur* (Hindi MS, Jodhpur) in the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, modelled after the *Ain-i-Akbn*.

IX

PRIVATE LETTER BOOKS

We have got several collections of the letter-books of the period. It became fashionable in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century for various great writers and successful private secretaries to bring together their letters as models for others to follow. We have noticed so far 54 such collections in various libraries of India.

(162) The *Insha-i-Yiisafi* (MS., Kapurthala), covering 119 pages, was compiled by Muhammad Yusuf for the use of his son Rafi-ud-Din in 1533. Its importance lies in its collections of warrants of appointment and patents of office obviously in use in Humayun's reign.

J (163) The *Insha-i-Naml* (MS. Punjab University) compiled by Khwand Amir, the famous historian. This, again, like No. 162 contains official forms and requires to be studied in detail for a history of political institutions.

(164) The *Ruqq'at Hakim Abu'l Fath Gilam* (MS, Aligarh) covering 100 pages, consists of the private letters of this famous physician of Akbar's court. Some of them refer to important public events.

:j(165) The *Ruqa'M-i-Abu't Fazl* (MS., Patna)

contains Abul Fazl's letters to his friends and contemporaries compiled by Nur Muhammad. Among others it contains letters to Hakim Humam, Hakim Abul Fath, and Shaikh Muhammad ⁴All. It shows a side of Abul Fazl's character which is obviously hidden from us as we try to study him from his other writings. This work is different from the printed collection of Abul Fazl's letters. (166) The *Insha-i-Faizi* (MS. Patna) contains Faizi's letters to his royal master and friends. (167) The *Insha-i-'Abdul Latif* (MS. R.A.S.B.) compiled by 'Abdul Latif contains letters of Lashkar Khan, Qasim Khan, Hiashim Khan, 'Abdullah Khan, Muhammed Shafi ⁴, Bakhshi of Agra, Diw-Sn of Kabul, Shafi ⁴ Khan, Diwan of Gujarat, Mirza Husain Beg, Bakhshi of Gujarat, Khan-i-Khanan ⁴Abdur Rahim and various other dignitaries at the Mughal court. (168) The *Munshiyat Tabrezi* (MS., Sarkar) by ⁴Abdul Ali Tabrezi contains Shah Jahan's correspondence with the king of Golkonda.

(169) The *Ruqqdatj-Shah* ⁴Abbas Sm (also known as *Insha-i-Tahir Wahid*) contains letters of the Persian king to Dara, Murad, Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan, the ruler of Bijapur, Governors of Multan and Qandahar and Mir Jumla, besides instructions to his ambassadors in India. (170) The *Inshai-i-Brahmm* by Munshi Chandar Bhian of Lahore, represents a very popular collection of letters useful for the reign of Shah Jahan.

(171) The *Chahar Chaman* by Chandar Bhan Brahman (MS, Sarkar) is divided into 4 parts. Parts 3 and 4 contain among other things letters written by the writer to Shah Jahan, some of the high officials at Court and his own relatives. Part I records his own recollections of certain events of public importance in the reign of Shah Jahan and gives an account of the Vizirs of the Mughal emperors from Bairam Khan to Raghunath. The conquests of Daulatabad, Hugh, Assam, Balkh, Badakhshan, and Chitor under Shah Jahan are here described. Part 2 gives a description of India. In parts 3 and 4, besides the letters already mentioned, Chandar Bhan gives his own autobiography and records some wise proverbs and includes moral dissertations on certain subjects. The last date mentioned is December 20, 1658.

(172) The *Ruqqdat-i-Bedil*. This collection of the letters of a famous man of letters contains his personal adventures, illustrates difficulties of travel, sheds light on the literary history of the times and illuminates some aspects of the social history of Shah Jahan's reign.

(173) The *Inshdi-i-Ibrahimi* (MS, Kapurthala) compiled by Mirza Ibrahim Turkman in 1654, contains letters written to the Emperor, his Prime Minister, the Bakhshi and many other high officials concerning Shuja's assumption of the Government of Kabul and the affairs thereof. It records the proselytizing activity of Shih Jahan's

commanders who converted 5,000 persons to Islam during the expedition to the country of Shankar Dev.

(174) The *Insha-i-Roshan Kaldm Bhupat* (MS. Sarkar) by Bhupat Rai, Munshi to Nawab Ra*d Andaz Khan, Fojdar of Banswara under Aurangzeb, contains his master's correspondence which deals with the cares and anxieties of a Mughal Fojdiar's life.

(175) The *Khaiut-i-Shivaji* (MS., Sarkar) contains letters of Aurangzeb to Akbar, Shiva III, Trumbak, commander of Naranula, and Ram Chand, Akbar's letters to Sambhaji and some of his courtiers. It details his movements in Rajputana and relates the story of his stay in the Deccan. There are some letters of Shivaji including the famous letter to Aurangzeb protesting against the levy of the Jizya, alleged to have been written by Nil Prabhu to Shivaji's instructions. The Maratha raids in the Mughal territories, are recalled by Shivaji's proclamation, letters of his officers and of some Mughal officers of the districts concerned. Letters exchanged between Akbar and Aurangzeb also find a place here and there is a letter from Daler Khan to Shivaji.

(176) The *Letters ta some Mughal Emperors* is a unique MS in the India Office, London. It is mainly important as containing letters concerning the Rajput War and Akbar's rebellion. Sir Jadu

Nath Sarkar has a transcript of this MS. in his Library.

(177) The *Nigar Ndma-i-Munshi Malik Zada* compiled in 1095 A.H. jointly with his son, Meghrnj, contains private letters, official correspondence, and warrants of appointment, and patents of office. It is very useful for a study of the revenue practices of Aurangzeb's reign. It includes the 'manual of Land Revenue Administration', which forms the main part of the *Forman* to Rasikh Das translated by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration*. Besides this piece,, there are several other patents of office which throw a good deal of light on the detailed working of the Mughal Land Revenue administration.

(178) The *Riyaz-uFWadad*, (MS. Bankipur) begun or completed by Aizad Bakhsh Rasa on July 12, 1681, contains letters to Aurangzeb, and some minor Mughal officials besides the story of the conquest of the fort of Bijapur.

(179) The *Kdrndma-i-Jethmal* (MS. Sarkar). contains letters written by Jethmal on behalf of his master Mu'tabar Khan. The last date mentioned is November 30, 1705. It covers Mu'tabar Khan's service in the Deccan and contains references to the European traders in India particularly the Portuguese and the English, the mutiny of the Mughal soldiers for arrears of pay in the Deccan, capture of Sambhaji and Dhannajfs raids.

✓(180) The *Raqqa'dt-i-Naujdzish Khan* (MS,

Lahore) in its 90 pp. contains letters of Mukhtar Beg Nawlazish Khan, Governor of Kashmir and Gujarat. His letters deal with diverse subjects which interested Mughal mansabdars of rank. The complaint of soldiers clamouring for their arrears, difficulties in collection of the arrears of land revenue and the instalments of Taqiavl, the attack of 'Abbas Pathan on Ujjain at the head of 5,000 men and difficulties experienced by Mughal mansabdars in managing their distant jagirs are all reflected here. .

181 The *Ruqqa'dtj-Khwaja Hasan*, (MS. Sarkar) the poet laureate, was compiled in the reign of Aurangzeb in 1686 and throws a flood of light on literary friendships, social life, the position of the literatures at the Mughal court and other connected problems.

(182) The *Insha-i-Farsl* (MS, R.A.S.B.) contains, among other things, the reply of the Mughal officers at Surat to Shivaji's demands on the city.

(183) The *Carnatic Records* (Persian MS.) preserved in the Record Office, Madras, besides other interesting facts, record the remission of the salt tax in 1668.

(184) The *Mujmu'a -Mmshiyat* (MS. the State Library, Rampur) contains a collection of letters written by several Munshis on their own be half or on behalf of their masters. Mukhlis Khan, Rai Kunjmal, Munshl Balkrishna Mehta, Udairaj, 'Ata Ullah, Rai Sobha Chand are some of the

writers. Among the correspondents addressed are several princes, Governor of Ahmedabad', Diwan of Agra, Diwan of Ajmer, Deputy Governor of Kabul and Governor of Berar. There is a letter of Aurangzeb reprimanding Bediar Bakht for receiving a bribe from an applicant for the office of Deputy Governor of Berar and another to the Deputy Governor of Kabul.

(185) The *Surat Factory letters* (MS, India Office, and Sarkar) for the years 1695 and 1696 are mostly concerned with the affairs of the European traders in Surat.

- ✓ (186) The *Insha-i-Zarbaksh*, (MS, Sarkar) compiled by Sayyid Muhammad Zayia Chughtai, a Mughal officer, who served in Bengal and Behar under Nawab Sarvar Khan, son of Nawiab Amii Khan. It is divided into two parts, the first contains the non-official correspondence and the second contains imperial orders, letters from princes, warrants of appointments, and security bonds for service. An official letter of the Imperial Bayutat to his provincial subordinate in Assam throws in teresting light on the disposal of the prizes of War. 'Some of the letters use the *Ilahi* Calendar introduced by Akbar. There are many models written as standards for different occasions. A model supplies the form in which returns for daily receipts are to be submitted. Two letters speak of the conquest of Junagarh in the 33rd year of Aurangzeb's reign and

of Rijwjara which had not hitherto been conquered by the Muslim armies.

(187) The *Nuskha-i-Aish Afaza* (MS., Sarkar) compiled by Saif Khan is dedicated to Aurangzeb and tells us of his religious views and opinions.

(188) The *Insha-i-Jan Muhammad* (MS., Sarkar) . The author was a munshi of Raja Daulat* mand Khan, a noble under 'Alamgir. It throws a good deal of light on social history, religious policy and administrative practices of the period.

(189) . The *Majmu'a-az-Bidz*, (MS., R.A.S.B.) contains many letters about Aurangzeb's coronation, the Khutba that was adopted, and the legend on the coins that was ultimately settled upon.

(190) The *Faramind-Muhammad Shahl-o-Ba'Z'-az-Shahm-i-Salf*, (MS., Sarkar) contains some letters of Aurangzeb mostly granting stipends to theologians, needy scholars, imiams of mosques, and mu'azzans, besides endowments for lighting tapers on certain tombs. Certain grants are very interesting. The caller to prayers of Imtyaz Garh is granted 14 Tankas 'Alamgiri and half a seer of oil daily in the 45th year of Aurangzeb's reign. Another grant is made for keeping a mosque lighted, for providing drinking water to the thirsty, and mats to sit upon for the travellers. A rather interesting find is a grant of annas four daily to a Hindu astronomer, Malhar Bhatt from the revenues of Bar Nagar.

(191) The *Jami'-ul'Qmmn*, compiled by

Khalifa Shah Muhammad of Kanoj in 1674 has been printed.

(192) A collection of letters (MS., Sarkar) covering 265 pp. in the India Office Library, (Ethe, 2118) contains Abul Fazl's letters to Akbar, Salim, and Daniyal and a group of letters of Aurangzeb's reign. One of the letters mentions that a Hindu temple of Multan, the writer was told, attracted pilgrims of all religions.

(193) The *Mi'ydr-ul-Adrdk* (MS., R. A. S. B.) by Tughra, a poet of Jahangir's time, contains a letter of Qazi Nur Ullah to Abul Fazl.

(194) A collection of letters mostly of Aurangzeb's reign at Bankipur contains a letter in verse of Shah Jahan to Jahangir and Jahangir's reply thereto when Shah Jahan had rebelled against his father.

(195) The *Insha-i-Inayat Ullah* compiled in 1609 is a very useful MS., in the Kapurthala State Library.

(196) The *Ruqqdat-Hasan* (MS., Rampur) by Abul Hasan, Secretary to the Governors of Orissa (1655 to 1670) was compiled in 1669-70. It contains a detailed history of Orissa not to be found elsewhere. The duties of provincial officers, Mughal revenue practices, destruction of temples by Aurangzeb's orders and relations between Mughal officers serving in different departments are all reflected here. There are letters written by the author on his own behalf, letters written by the orders

of Shaikh Abu'l Khair, Tarbi'at Khan, Governor of Orissa under Shah Jahan, and Shiaista Kim, his successor under Aurangzeb. Among the correspondents are Shaikh 'Abdur Rashid, Fojdar Chakla Maidni Pur, Mirza Muhammad Beg, Diwan Mir Jumla, Sayyid Agha, Havaldiar Sakakul, Hr Khan, Fojdar Talmal, Raja Mukund Dev, Mian Muhamad Jan, Wazir-o-Diwan-i-Orissa, Aurangzeb, Abad Khan, Sadr-ul-Sadur, Mir Isma'il Diwan, Mirza, Abu'l Hasan, Diwan Tan of Orissa and Bengal, Muhammad Moman, Fojdar of Malwa, Raja Raghu Nath Diwan, Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golkonda, Azad Khan Bakhshi, Lashkar Khan, Governor of Behar, Saif Khan, Governor of Kashmir, and Ahmad Khan, Deputy Qazi. Thus the letters found in its 236 pages deal with all sorts of topics. We find in its pages the Governor of Orissa taking a loan of Rs. 10,000 from the State against the mortgage of his house at Delhi, the payment of a relief of Rs. 1,00,000 by the Zamindar of Orissa at succession, the Mughals demanding one half of the produce in land revenue in Orissa and consequent desertion of villages, and castration of children in the Deccan. The Mughal Governor of Orissa, at any rate, exercised control over his Bakhshi to the extent of demanding his presence at a particular place with all relevant papers. In view of the fact that the cultivators in Mughal India are supposed to have enjoyed the right of challenging the State demand of land revenue, it is interesting to find here the

Zamindars of Orissa so challenging the demand of land revenue and insisting on a survey of the land and the preparation of an estimate of the produce. The case seems to have gone against them ; they were fined Rs. 5,000. Besides, there are various letters of authority issued by the emperor or by the provincial officers.

(197) The *Inshd4-Hamid-ud-Din* (MS., Sarkar) in its 313 pp., covers the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The last date mentioned is 1677. Its author was Fojdar at Jullundur. He was present at the siege of Golkonda in 1655-56, and served as tire Deputy Governor of Malwa. This collection includes letters to the emperor, his own friends and relatives, and some brother Mughal officials. There are letters referring to disturbances in Malwa, the Doab and Bihar. It depicts the plight of the inhabitants of the Jullundur Doab under Aurangzeb. A Hindu from Hoshiarpur (in the Punjab) was converted to Islam. After living as a Muslim for some time, he was converted to Hinduism. On this being reported to the Mughal authorities, he was arrested and subsequently imprisoned. The Hindus of Hoshiarpur closed their shops as a mark of protest and a good deal of diplomacy had to be used before business was resumed. Shafi', a heretic, who refused to acknowledge the Prophet, was stoned to death by the Muslims ; someone complained to the emperor against this lynching process and we find vigorous inquiries made in order

to ascertain what had happened. No one seems to have been punished for thus taking the law into his own hands. There are Warrants of Appointments for various offices as well.

(198) A *British Museum MS.* (Sloan MSS., 3582), partly copied for Sir Jadu. Nath Sarkar, contains many letters about Aurangzeb's operations in the Deccan. An interesting item is the record of a judicial trial before a Mughal officer. A *Farman of Shah Jahan* dated March 25, 1650 remits all duties on elephants brought for the court.

(199) The *Parasms MS.* (copy with Sarkar). contains among various other items, letters of Murad to Shivaji and Shiahji written in 1649; letters of Aurangzeb to Shivaji and Shahji written in 1657, during the War of Succession and in 1655, 1666 and 1668. Aurangzeb's diplomacy during the War of Succession can be studied from some of these letters. A letter dated September 5, 1665, congratulates Shivaji for the part he played in the operations against Bijapur and sends him some gifts. By a letter dated April 5, 1666, he is called to the court and the letter of March 9, 1668 confers the title of Raja on him. Besides these, there are some *Paxmans* of Aurangzeb as well in this collection.

(200) *Haft Anjaman* (MS., Sarkar) consists of the letters written by Tali* Yar, a Hindu convert who served as a secretary to Rustam Khan and Raja Jai Singh. He died on June 16, 1675. The

present collection was made by his son Hamayat Yar in 1698-1699. Three fragments have been discovered in Benares, Delhi and Paris. It consists of an introduction and seven books. The first book contains Rustam Khan's letters to Shah Jahan, while he was serving at Kabul. It mentions local disturbances at Aligarh, reports conquests of the fort Jaroli, complains about a drought and consequent shortage of com, recommends an officer for appointment as his deputy, reports sending of 5 falcons, notes repeated thefts in the countryside and measures taken to combat them, and submits explanation for audit objections blaming his Diwan. The letters from Kabul form a very interesting collection. The first speaks of his assumption of office as Governor. We have then letters detailing his early measures there, the arrangements in the independent tribal country, transfers and re-transfers of officers, building of a brick pavement in the streets of Kabul and sending spies to Balkh and Bokhara including a Hindu, son of one Raj Rup. The arrangements made for keeping the country safe read, to our surprise, like the communique issued by the Government of India from time to time about its North-Western Frontier policy. These letters supply about the Mughal Government in Kabul some information which is scarcely to be found elsewhere. Book II contains letters of Raja Jai Singh from Thatta and gives detailed information about Jai Singh's movements there. His pur-

suit of Dana Shikoh, the diplomacy of Aurangzeb towards the Rajput rulers, the attitude of local officers are all 'found' reflected here. Book III contains RijiaJai Singh's letters from the Deccan and is valuable for Aurangzeb's relations with Shivaji as also with the kingdoms in the Deccan. Book IV contains Rustam Khan's letters to the princes and princesses. Dara's position at the court is clearly reflected here ; Rustam Khan not only requests him to intercede with the emperor on his behalf, but directly asks for orders in connection with many important matters. Book V is divided into* five' sections. The first gives Rustam Khan's correspondence with the Mughal officials, dealing with various problems of administrative interest. There are letters to Asad Ullah Khan, Taqrib Khan, Qasim Khan, Sadr-us-Sadur, the Bakhshi and Mu'azam Khan, the Prime Minister. The second section contains Jai Singh's letters to the imperial officials and supplements his letters to the emperor given in Book III. Ja⁴far Khan, Shaista Khan, Bakshi Muhammad Amin-ul-Mulk, Fidiai Khan, Amir Khan, and 'Aqil Khan are some of the officials addressed. The third section consists of his letters to Mughal officials serving in the Deccan. Daler Khan, Saf Shikan Khan, Mukhtar Khan, Iraj Khan, Mirza Rustam, Daud Khan, Bhojiiaj, Haji Shafi* Khan are among his colleagues and subordinates in the Deccan who are thus addressed. Thus Book III with these parts of Book V forms our

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primary source of information about Aurangzeb's Maratha campaigns. The fourth section includes letters to the rulers of the Deccan, 'Adil Khan and Abu'l Hasan, a treaty between Jai Singh and 'Adil Khan, letters to Deccanese officials, Nek Nam Khan, Mullla Ahmad, Vyiankoji Bhonsla, Bahlol Kbian, Abu'l Khair and Jadu Rai. In the last section are included letters of Jai Singh to Mughal ambassadors accredited to the courts of Bijapur and Golkonda. These again are very useful in our interpretation of this period of Indian History. Book VI deals with the personal correspondence of the author and contains some notes on Rustam Khan. There are letters to certain minor Mughal officials as well. Its last part consists of eleven letters of Jai Singh to his son, Kanwar Ram Singh, letters to his agent at the imperial court and letters to one Dala, Mir Shikar, Jamal Khan and Malik Rang! Dass. Book VII is divided into three sections, which are again sub-divided. Letters of Udairaj written in the reign of Aurangzeb and Shah Jahan are collected here. His private letters written to fellow officials serving under Rlajia Jai Singh, letters to Daler Khan, Kanwar Ram Singh, Saf Shikan Khan, Nawiab 'Aqil Khan, Tahir Khan, Mughal Khan, Nawiab Khan Jahan Bahadur, Munshi Chandar Bhlan, Mehta Trimbak Das, Malik Rangl Das and others are here brought together. There is a letter from Todar Mai Bayutat-i-Deccan to ShSh Jahan and two

letters of ShiVaji to Aurangzeb. Next to the *Add-i-Alam&Ti*, *Haft Anjaman* forms the most valuable collection of the letters of the Mughal period.

(201) The *Biaz-i-Farsi* (A. S. B., 390), (202), the *Khatut-i-Mutjaraq Insha* (A. S. B., 391), (203) the *Majmu'a*, (A. S. B., 225), three collections of miscellaneous letters, contain many letters of the Mughal period. (204) The *Mansum*, (2351 Bankipur), (205) the *Gulshan-i-Balaghay* by 'Abu'I Wahab, (A. S. B. 1310) and (206) the *Maktubat-i-Muhammad Ma'sum* by Ma'sum author of *Tankh-i-Hind-o-Sind*, contain many interesting letters.

(207) The *Biaz*, (Bankipur), contains many letters of the Mughal period.

(208) The *Ruqq'al-i-Tughra* by Mulla Tughra Mashhad! covers the reign of JahBngir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

(209) The *Muktubat-i-Ahmadi*, is a collection of letters written by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhind! to his disciples in various parts of India. There are three volumes of these letters compiled by his various disciples between 1616 and 1621. The first volume contains in an appendix a biography of the saint by one of his disciples. Shaikh Ahmad was imprisoned for some time by Jahangir for his unorthodox views. But when he was released soon after, Jahangir became so fond of him that he would not leave him alone. Khurram was also one of his disciples.

(210) The *Insha-i-Mulla Shikok* (MS., Aligarh), is a collection of letters compiled in 1074 a.h. (1663-64). The author furnished the memorial verse on Aurangzebs coins.

(211) The *Insha-i-Nawab Saif Khan*, (MS., Aligarh) is a collection of letters written by the author to various high officials. The MS. contains only 300 pages and is incomplete.

(212) The *Ruqqdat Aman Ullah Husdnl* (MS., Aligarh). This collection of letters was brought together in 1083 A.H. (1672.)

(213) The *Inshd-i-Jaldl-ud-Din Tabatabai*, (MS., Rampur), is a collection of the letters of this famous historian of Shah Jahan, brought together in Shiah Jahan's tenth year. This is a rare MS. in the State Library, Rampur.

(214) The *Ruqqa'at-i-Qdmi or Nama-i-Nanu* (MS., Aligarh) is a collection of forty-four letters written to Akbar, Humayun, Data, Abu'l Fazl and others.

(215) The *Mafmvta Mufdvazzat*, (MS., Punjab University) is a collection of the letters of Huxnayun, Akbar, Aurangzeb, Abu'l Fazl, Khan-i-Khanan 'Abdur Rahim and Saif Khan.

ADMINISTRATIVE MANUALS

The Administrative Manuals of the period stand in a class by themselves. They not only tell us of the method of administration but supply us with reliable figures of the land revenue and throw a good deal of light on many political problems as well. As they have not been described in detail so far, the following description of some of them to be found in India will be read with interest.

(216) India Office MS., copy in possession of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

1. Distribution of work among the Imperial Bakhshis .. f. 82-a
2. Khan-i-Saman .. f. 83-a
3. Bayutiat .. f. 84-a
4. Mir-i-Atish .. f. 84-b
5. Accountant of Musketeers .. f. 85-a
6. Accountant of other special troops. f. 85-b
7. Matters to be reported upon by the Imperial Bakhshi .. f. 86-a
8. Duties of Bakhshi-i-Tan (Salaries). f. 86-b
9. The working of the office of the Imperial Diwan .. f. 87-b
10. Duties of the Diwan-i-Tan (Salaries) .. f. 89-b
11. Rules about Salaries .. f. 90-b

12. Weights .. f. 91-b
 13. Coins .. f. 91-b
 14. Measurement of land .. f. 93-a
 15. Treasuries .. f. 93-b
 16. Presents of the King of Persia
sent by Dagh Beg .. f. 96-a
 17. Gifts to Dagh Beg .. f. 97-b
 18. Revenues of the crown lands
under Shiah Jahan .. f. 98-a
 19. Revenue of the crown lands under
Aurangzeb .. f. 98-a
 20. Revenue assessment .. f. 98-b
 21. Taxes remitted .. f. 99-a
 22. The Imperial Diwans of Jahangir,
Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb .. f. 99-a
 23. Diwan-i-Khalsa under Shah Ja-
han and Aurangzeb .. f. 180-a
 24. Diwan-i-Tan under Shah Jahan
and Aurangzeb .. f. 100-b
 25. Sa'd-Ullah and Raghu Nath's way
of work .. f. 101-a
 26. Taxes prohibited .. f. 102-a
 27. Taxes remitted .. f. 103-b
- (217) The *Zawabit-i- Alamgm.*

Professor Sarkar's transcript of a British Museum
MS.

1. Revenues of the country .. f. 5-b
2. Papers sent for from Ta'ulaqa
Damn, Amin, Karon, Chau-
dhari, Qanungo, and Fojdar .. f. 6-a

3. Distances . . . f. 7-a
4. Papers, records, and receipts sent to the office of the Diwan . . . f. 13-a
5. Statement of expenditure . . . f. 14-b
6. High officers, Musketeers, Ahdis, mansabdars in receipt of salaries in cash or Jagir . . . f. 15-a
7. Titles . . . f. 15-a
8. Division of work among the Bakhshis . . . f. 16-a
9. Duties of the Khan-i-Saman . . . f. 20-a
10. Duties of the Bayutat . . . f. 21-b
11. Duties of the Mir-i-Atish . . . f. 22-b
12. Accountant of Musketeers . . . f. 24-b
13. Miscellaneous troops . . . f. 25-b
14. Matters reported upon to the emperor by the Bakhshi of Ahdis. . . f. 26-a
15. Matters reported upon by the Bakhshi-i-Tan . . . f. 27-b
16. Work of the court of the imperial Diwfin . . . f. 30-b
17. Papers to be requisitioned for from the Provincial Diwans . . . f. 33-b
18. Papers to be sent for from the Karoris . . . f. 34-a
19. Papers to be sent for from the office of DiWan-i-Tan . . . f. 34-b
20. Rules about Salaries including nailing of horse shoes, absence on illness, marriage, death, ar-

- rears, entering a contingent of troops, cash payments in the Deccan .. f. 36-a
21. Jagir equivalents of cash salaries. f. 42-b
22. Tabinan (assigned soldiers) .. f. 45- b
23. Fodder for horses (reduction on account of), .. f. 46- b
24. Weights .. f. 48- b
25. Coins struck in India .. f. 49- a
26. Measurement .. f. 50- a
27. Length and Breadth of the territories governed .. f. 51- a
28. Forts .. f. 51- b
29. Salaries of musketeers assigned to mansabdars .. f. 52- a
30. Tabinan .. f. 53- b
31. Ahdis .. f. 53-b
32. Differences in the equipments of the mansabdars from 400 to 12000 .. f. 54-b
33. Deaths .. f. 56- a
34. Increments .. f. 57- a
35. Illness .. f. 57- a
36. Swar .. f. 58- a
37. Dismissal of Musketeers .. f. 61-a
38. Shortage in the gunpowder of Musketeers .. f. 63-a
39. Flights and desertions .. f. 63- b
40. Arms .. f. 64- a
41. Turkish names of various offices. f. 65- a

42. Another accounts of salaries . f. 65-a
43. Salary of Dara Shikoh .. f. 65-b
44. Jizya .. f. 65-b
45. Sea journeys .. f. 67-a
46. Revenues of Persian Kings .. f. 68-a
47. Escheats .. f. 69-a
48. Presents of the King of Persia in
the year 22 .. f. 72-a
49. Presents of the ambassadors of
Persia in the year 22 .. f. 72-a
50. Treasuries .. f. 132,-b
51. Workshops .. f. 133-b
52. The mode of addressing emperors. f. 133-b
53. The mode of addressing princes. f. 134-a
54. Mansabs of the princes of Jahan -
gir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. f. 134-a
55. Taxes prohibited .. f. 135-a
56. Taxes remitted .. f. 137-a
57. Increments in the siege of Gol-
konda .. f. 137-a
- Ω Increments in the siege of Bijapur. f. 138-a
- Ω Forts .. f. 139-a
- Ω Kishan Garh .. f. 141-a
- Ω The fort and canal at Sirhind .. f. 141-a
- Ω Sarmast Garh .. f. 141-b
- Ω Nagar Kot .. f. 143-a
- Ω Shikar Pur .. f. 144-a
- Ω Bala Hissar .. f. 145-a
- Ω Kopal .. f. 146-b'
67. Balal Garh .. f. 147-a

68. Kot Kahlur . . . f. 147-a
 69. Revenues of Nizam-ul-Mulk . . . f. 147-b
 70. Jagirs of Daria. Shikoh . . . f. 148-a
 71. Jagirs of Siphir Shikoh . . . f. 158-a
 72. Revenues of Talku under 'Adal
 Khan of Bijapur . . . f. 159-a
 73. Increments after the conquests of
 Bijapur . . . f. 159-b
 74. Bijapur Officers who joined
 Aurangzeb's service after the
 conquest . . . f. 160-a
 75. Increments after the conquest of
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(218) Appointment Orders.

(Prof. Abdur Rahman's MS., Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's copy.)

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2. Amin.
3. Karori.
4. Fotadar.
5. Superintendent of the Public Treasury.
6. Treasurer.
7. Superintendent of *Sair*.
8. Mushraf.
9. Bakhsbi.
10. Wiaqi'a-Navis.
11. KotwSl.
12. Diwan-i-Lashkar.
13. Mushraf of Mints.

14. Waq'i'a Navis of the KotwiTs court.
15. Amin of Rates of the salt market.

(219) The *Khallaq-us-Sayyaq*.

MS., Imperial Record Office, Delhi.

1. Various useful rules of arithmetic.
2. Papers submitted to the office of the Provincial Diwan.
3. Duties of the Amin.
4. Collection of revenue.
5. Deeds of acceptance.
6. Rules for finding out the area.
7. Ram Das Karori of Rampur (the appointment order of).
8. Duties of the Qanungo.
9. The Amin.
10. Orders of Shiah Jahan's ministers and revenue officers,
11. Peshkash of the Qanungo.
12. Fotadar of a Parganah.
13. The Jisiya.
14. Taxes collected in the salt market and grain markets.
15. Trampling of crops (remissions allowed and compensation granted).
16. Workshops.
17. Duties of imperial Bakhshis.
18. Miscellaneous Taxes.
19. Salaries of mansabdiars.

20. Deductions.
21. Branding of horses.
22. Securities for Mansabdars.
23. Provincial revenues.
24. Revenues of Persia.
25. A Summary History of the Mughals.
26. Jahangir and Nur Jahan.
27. Provinces and their history.
 - (a) Delhi.
 - (&) Bengal.
 - (c) Jaunpore.
 - (d) Malwa.
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(220) The *Dustur-ul-Amal*

MS., Bankipur 1178 a.h.

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[1090 A.H., Muslim University, Aligarh]

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 - (ii) *Agm*—
Boundaries and area, distance from
32 cities, revenue.
 - (Hi) *Lahore*.—
Boundaries, Jagirs, revenue.
 - (w) *Kabul*—
Area, boundaries, races, distances
from 24 cities, and revenue.
 - (v) *Kashmir*. —
Boundaries, area, distance from 23
cities, revenue.

(vi) 'Multan.—

Special considerations about land revenue arrangements from 3 Mahals, boundaries, distances from 19 cities, revenue.

(vii) "Gujarat.—

Revenue, distances from 20 cities.

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Distance, boundaries, length, breadth, revenue.

*(2*x)'Ajmer.—*

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(xii) Aurangabad. —

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(xiv) Bijapur.—

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(xvii) *Bengal*.— .. ' . ■■; / ■.' j <

' ' . Revenue, length and breadth,
boundaries, distances of 11 cities
from Dacca.

(xviii) *BAirr*.—

Distances from Patna revenue from
each Sarkar.

(rid (XJ/I —

Revenues, length and breadth, dis-
tances.

(xa) *Alkdtcbad*.—

Revenues, boundaries, length and
breadth, distance, of 11 cities.

3. Revenues of all the imperial territories.
4. Methods of assessment.
5. Boundaries, breadth from Ghazni to Orissa and length from Lahri to Sylhet.
6. Revenues of Persia.
7. Expenses of Shah Jahan—grants and gifts.
8. Buildings at Agra and Delhi—forts and canals—Mosques, the Taj Mahal, buildings at Kabul, Daulat Khana, Shalamar gardens.
9. Gifts to 'Ali Mardian Khan—Qandahar, Ahmedabad.

10. The titles of Shah Jahan's sons.
11. The mansab of Aurangzeb in 1046.
12. The titles of the high officials.
13. Titles of the Imperial Diwans.
14. Titles granted in the reign of Shah 'Alm.
15. Dates of births and deaths of kings.
16. Dates of the deaths of certain saints.
17. Fourteen sciences.
18. Sixty-four arts.
19. Schedule of salaries of mansabdars.

(224) *Hadayat-ul-Qawam*, by Hadayat Ullah Bihari (Muslim University, Aligarh).

Book First

- | | | |
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| 1. Perfect man | | 3-b |
| 2. Darweshes | | 4-b |
| 3. Ways of kings | | 4-b |
| 4. The Wakil and the Wazir | | 6-a |
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| 7. The Darogha of the Private Chamber and Diwan Khana | | 12-b |
| 8. Governors | | 13-b |
| 9. Fojdars | | 15-a |
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| 1. The Sadr | | 19-a |
| 2. The Qazi | ... • .. . | 20-a |

3.	The Mufti	20-b
4.	The Muhatasib	21-b
5.	The Waqai'-Nagar, SivSnih-Nagar Harkara and Darogha of posts ..	22-b
6.	Personal Assistants	25-a
7.	Appointments	26-a
8.	The Amin and the Karon ..	27-a
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11.	The Mushraf	32-b

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1.	Superintendents of office ..	33-a
2.	Superintendents of the court of Justice	35-a
3.	Superintendents of Diagh ..	36-a
4.	Superintendents of the Mints ..	37-a
5.	Superintendents of the Treasury ..	39-a
6.	Superintendents of Granaries ..	40-a
7.	The Qus Khana, elephants, camels and coins	42-a
8.	The Faiash Khana	44-a
9.	The Amin-i-Siair	46-b
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2.	Teachers, spiritual and secular ..	49-b
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5. The Middle path	54-b
6. Behaviour at the houses of the rich.	56-a
7. Expenses and the standard of living	56-a
s. On dress	56-b

Book Fifth.

1. On Travel	57-b
2. Collecting riches	59-b
3. Trade	60-a
4. The ways of the Mustaufi	61-b
5. The clerks and their ways	62
6. The Qanungo	64-b
7. Agriculture	65-b
8. Sightseers	67-b
9. Miscellaneous	68-a

Chairman of an assembly, arbitrator, unworthy people, things suitable and unsuitable—houses, food—auspicious days for measuring for dress, for travel, for shaving ; stars, the gates of the house, scents ; omens when setting out on a journey 74-b

This is a complete copy of the work, a fragment of which was obtained by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, and described as the *Manual of the Duties of Officiers*. It has turned out to be of a very late date but I have included it as it stands in a class by itself.

(225) *IDastur-i-Jahan Kusha* by Khair Ullah son of Karm Ullah, though avowedly not a Manual of Administration, is much more so than any thing else. The writer was for fifteen years in the service of Shah Jahan. The work concerns itself with all that relates to war. It is divided into 12 'keys' each treating of a separate aspect of the art of war. It discusses organisation, marching, encamping, tactics, manoeuvring, supplies, equipment, relations between the leader and the soldiers and the last, but not the least important, the celebration of victory. The Muslim University, Aligarh, possesses a unique MS. of this work covering 84 pages.

(226) The *Guldasta-i-Saltanat* by Chandar Bhan describes the daily life of Shah Jahan and the court ceremonies. The following is a detailed table of its contents :—

1. Jharoka-i-Darshan - i - Mubiarak - complaints	..	7
2. Jharoka-i-Khas	..	7
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8. Praises of the Emperor ■	..	28
9. Festive Courts	..	43
10. Riches	..	48

11.	The 'Id	..	52
12.	On the move	..	59
13.	The Army	..	62
14.	The Royal Hunt	..	67
15.	The Feast of lamps	..	70
16.	Recent Victories	..	71
17.	Foundation of Delhi	..	80
18.	End	..	89

XI

LITERARY WORKS.

Avowedly historical literature aside, the literary works of the period in various languages demand a perusal, more or less detailed. This would not only help us in setting up the frame work of literary history of the period, but illuminate many a dark comer in its history as well. The system of education then prevailing can be very well studied in selections from Classical Persian Writers made in the years 1089, 1090, 1091, 1095 a.h. and preserved in manuscript now in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, and the Victoria Memorial Collections, Calcutta. Several Persian dictionaries were compiled, one of them, the *Farhang-i-Rashldi*, compiled and edited in Shiah Jahan's reign, forms the basis of the famous Persian-English dictionary by Steingass. Two glossaries of equivalents in Persian and Sanskrit, one of astrological data and another of terms in the Vedanta and Sufism were also prepared. Several religious works of the Hindus were translated from Sanskrit under Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Translation of secular works continued to be made throughout the period. Medicine received some attention and the *Dastur-ul-Ittiba* of Firishta is even to-day used as a manual among

our physicians. Precious stones had their votaries. Several books of fiction and stories were written, some of them translations from Sanskrit and Hindi, others forming selections from earlier well-known work. A book on Ethics (227) the *Akhalaq-i-Jahangm*, (MS., Aligarh) by 'Abdul Wahab dedicated to Jahangir, deserves special study. The Chief Huntsman of Aurangzeb, Muhammad Raza, compiled (228) the *Saiyd Nama*, a Manual of Hunt, in 1083 a.h. Of poets and their works, there is no end. Several accounts of the poets of the period are very revealing in their accounts of their lives. Two classes of works, however, deserve special study. The religious and legal literature of the period provide varied fare in various languages and must be studied in order to understand this epoch in the history of India. In Persian and Arabic, we have various lives of the saints, tracts of varying standard on matters religious, and accounts of places of religious pilgrimage. The most important work in this class is probably the (229) *Fatdwa-i-'Alamgm* in Arabic, compiled by orders of Aurangzeb and intended to produce an authoritative work on Muslim Polity, Law and Religious usage. Unfortunately, it has not been yet translated into English and its four bulky volumes would deter even an enthusiastic writer from undertaking a translation. Morley's Digest thereof is very serviceable. It has, however, been translated into Urdu and can thus be utilized by those who do not know

Arabic. It does not only bring together the personal law of the Muslims, it gives us an insight into their daily lives as well. Further it throws some light on the principles of Muslim Polity as understood in India at that time by the orthodox.

(230) The *Majmu'a-ul-Alamgm*, (MS., Aligarh) compiled by *Abdul Khialiq in Aurangzeb's reign is a very useful guide to the daily duties of the faithful. A still more interesting work is (231) *Tuhjat-ul-HM* (MS., Aligarh) by Mirza Khan in 1068 a.h. It is a Manual of Indian studies, compiled for prince Muhammad A'zam. It includes discussions on prosody, similes, music, astrology and technical terms.

■ The *Faqq4-Babm*, was compiled by Babur and is said to be a useful digest of the Muslim law.

(232) *Dabist i-Mazahib* by Fan! was completed in Shah Jahan's reign and gives us an insight into the religious practices of the period as seen by a student of comparative religion.

A still more neglected source lies in the Sanskrit works on law, social customs, religious ceremonies and daily practices. Akbar seems to have given the Hindu Panchayats a formal place in his judicial system. Appeals from these were sometimes liable to be brought to the imperial courts. The necessity of preparing digests of Hindu law according to various authorities then current was felt and the result can be seen even to-day in the well

known works of Raghu Nandana, Kamlakar Bhatta, Nilkaartha Bhatta, Bhattoji Dik ita, Mitramisra, Ananta Deva, Prataparudra Deva and Vaidnatha Dik ita. Most of these writers are recognised as authorities on the Hindu law and custom even to day by the various High Courts. Their works form a mine of information which has not yet been systematically worked by the students of the Mughal period.

Sanskrit works on religious ceremonies, daily practices and social usages as well are numerous. I have been able to trace four hundred and eighty-nine writers whose works—some 2500 in number—have been preserved in manuscript in the various libraries of the world. Most of these works have so far been usually neglected by the writers on Mughal history. The historians of Sanskrit literature as well have not usually noted them mostly because they have found no Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Harṣa, or Bharavi among them. Yet to a student of the Mughal period who wants to acquaint himself with the lives of the people, these works form a surer guide than the traveller's tales of the Europeans who came to India in those days or the dry chronicles of the Muslims writers who were never able to penetrate deeply into Hindu customs and ceremonies.

To give an example, if we confine our attention to the reign of Shah Jahan alone, we have the works of various writers who let us into the secrets of

the age. Kr̥ṣṇadatta Misra wrote in 1650 a Guide to the Sacred Places of Kuruketra whereas Vijayananda performed a similar service for Benares. Gangjadhara compiled Manuals for the celebration of various festivals, Govinda dealt with astrology, Jivagoswamin expounded the rising cult of devotion in many of his famous works, and Nibkapha Dikita followed him in his exposition of the Bhakti cult. Purugottama showed the pilgrims to puri how they were to discharge their religious obligations there. Mahadeva explained the technique of the construction of the Pandalas. Kima Chandra and Vidyadhara discussed the religious duties of the Hindus. Rania&ama commented on their daily prayers. Various other writers commented on various philosophical speculations or wrote on several other questions concerning their rites and ceremonies. Those historians of Mughal India who want to reconstruct a picture of these times will do well to turn their attention to this unexplored source. Then alone will we have a picture of Mughul India which will explain not only her kings and queens but her saints and scholars as well.

The Vernacular literature as well will amply pay perusal. Here again we have to admit, that not much has yet been done to explore, for example, the works of the Hindi poets. Tulsi Das and Bihari, Keshav and Bhushan, Matiram and Surdias represent usually a sealed book to the student of Indian history. Some have gone to them in search

of political history and of literary portraits, found them wanting in the art of true portraiture, and left them in disgust. But political history apart, their works can be very usefully read in order to furnish us with a picture of the times ; the foibles of its men of letters, the weakness of its literary patrons and their attitude towards various problems, social, religious or economic. Here alone shall we find a key to help us in understanding the emergence of a Ram Das, Tukaram, Nanak, Chaitanya or Guru Govind. Our study of the religious and the social movements of the period is as yet incomplete. The only way to fill in the meagre outline lies in these neglected by-paths of literature. Some 567 writers have been catalogued by the Mishra Brothers in the *Mishra Bandhu Vinod* to which the reader is referred in order to gain a better insight into the period. Two very important works deserve a special mention. (233) The *Adi Granth* (Gurumukhi) compiled by Guru Arjun is a useful work which can be profitably used' for drawing up a picture of the contemporary world besides letting us into the religious beliefs of the Sikhs. (234) The *Dasam Granth* can be usefully studied for understanding the transformation of Sikhism.

XII

FOREIGN WRITERS

The works of the foreign writers have already been classified. The Jesuit writings on Mughal history have found a special field for Father Hosten's studies and Sir Edward Maclagan's researches. A detailed biography is to be found in the latter's work—*the Jesuits and the Great Mughals*. Generally speaking their works can be divided into three categories. The letters written by members of various Jesuit Missions credited to the Mughal emperors to their principals in Goa contain their reaction to their Mughal surrounding and the reports of their work. There are then the Annual Letters sent by the Archbishop from Goa to the Pope in Rome or the Portuguese Government in Lisbon. Then there are the individual observations of the various Jesuit missionaries. The last group of works deserves a more careful study on account of its greater intrinsic value. The first two are mainly reports of their works submitted to a superior authority by the writers. It has become customary to attach rather undue importance to these works since Vincent Smith overemphasized their value and used them to tone down the prosperous colours in which Persian historians had painted

the Mughal period. The later and more careful work of subsequent writers has not fulfilled the high hopes held forth by Vincent Smith. Particularly are their observations to be discounted when these reports touch the subject nearest to their hearts—the conversion of the Mughal emperors to Christianity. Akbar's liberal views and his religious curiosity could not be understood, much less appreciated, by those clericals who were accustomed to the horrors of the Inquisition on the Continent. Naturally they very often promised their readers the glad tidings of the impending conversion of the Mughal Emperor only to confound him later by exhibiting him defending Islam in open debate with them. The same is true of their official accounts of Jahangir's religious views. They further failed to understand that an Indian parent would have recourse to all sorts of charms in order to save the life of his ailing child without any intention of leaving his ancestral religion. It is in the accounts of the Jesuits compiled for their own amusements or profit that we find them at their best. Here they relate whatever they saw. We have to remember that foreigners as they were, not all of them understood well the language of the people. Not all of them had equal opportunities or the same aptitude for acquiring information about matters Indian. The strange rather than the normal, scandal rather than sober truth, and the spectacular rather than the ordinary, usually attracted them.

We have two contemporary compilations as well detailing the relations of Akbar and Jahangir with the Jesuits. Du Jarric and Guerreiro used the contemporary Jesuit materials for compiling their accounts which fortunately for the English readers, have now been translated into English as (235) *Akbar and the Jesuits* and (236) *Jahangir and the Jesuits*.

De Laet's (237) *Account of India* is a contemporary version of Indian events which is very useful for the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.

Monserrate's (238) *Commentary* is partly a journal of his journey when he accompanied Akbar on his expedition to Kabul. Pelsaert's (239) *Account of India* has also been translated into English as *Jahangir's India* and is of considerable help to us.

Pelsaert wrote (240) a *History of Mughal India* which was translated by De Laet into Latin. He wrote in Dutch originally, probably basing his account on a Persian chronicle. An English translation of the Dutch original with notes will shortly be published by Professor Brij Narain and the present writer.

Of the European travellers to India during the period, about three scores have left their accounts of the country. These differ in the quality as well as the fullness of their versions. Some have left us short journals which saw the light of the day—usually in '*Purchas, His pilgrimage* and ¹*Pur-*

chas, His Pilgrim' or in the '*Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*' of Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616). These have been reissued by the Hakluyt Society and can be conveniently studied in these excellent editions. Others have left us more ambitious works, full and regular accounts of the places they visited, observations on men and things they met and saw, supplemented with accounts of contemporary events or sometimes diversions into the earlier history of the country as well. Here again we have to remember that we have in the travellers a curious group of men of all types differing not only in their capacity for observing, analysing, and recounting events and situations, but their credulity, curiosity, and scepticism as well. They compiled their accounts for the instruction or the amusement of their contemporaries in Europe who had no better means of appraising their works. Further, being foreigners they had their inborn and in some cases acquired prejudices and prepossessions as well. Even to-day in spite of the frequent mixing up of the various national types, in spite of the shrinkage of the globe by miraculous—or what must seem miraculous to the people of the sixteenth or the seventeenth century if they were to revisit the world to-day—means of communication, national prejudices are still persisting. To expect an average European Christian of the sixteenth or seventeenth century to give us a balanced account of men and things in

'heathen or moorish India even when he had an usual means of learning about them, would be to expect almost the impossible. Thus while studying these travellers' tales it is necessary for us to be on our guard. We must learn to distinguish between facts and fancies, observations and opinions and character sketches and characterizations. In every case we must first learn what chances of learning the truth of various matters a particular writer had. Here again we may discover that whereas a particular individual had unrivalled opportunities of learning about military organization, his chances of knowing anything of the land revenue administration might have been almost nil. We shall then have to accept his account of the military organization whereas we may have to reject all that he may say about the revenue administration. It is difficult to pronounce every traveller trustworthy or otherwise as a whole and then accept or reject his statements on any particular issue on the strength of that evaluation.

For Humayun's reign we have Sidi 'All Rais's (241) *Travels*, translated into English by Vembrey. For Akbar the (242) the *Account of Ralph Fitch* can now be conveniently read in Foster's *Early English Travels in India*,

John Huyghen van Linschoten, a Dutch Traveller spent five years in Goa (1583-88). His account of the country has been translated into English and can be read in the edition published by the Haklu-

yt Society as (243) *A Voyzzge in the East Indies* and forms a very important source of information. Hawkin's (244) *Account of India* can now be conveniently read in Foster's *Early English Travels in India*. This also includes accounts of (245) Mildenhall, (246) Finch, (247) Withington, (248) Coryat and (249) Terry, all of whom visited India under Jahangir. Among other better known accounts of India and narrations of its history by European Travellers in the reign of Jahangir we have (249) *Travels* of Peter Della Valle (1623-1624), (250) the *Account of the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* and Jourdan's (251) *Journal of a Voyage in the East Indies* and can all be studied in the editions edited for and published by the Hakluyt Society. Shah Jahan's reign attracted a large number of travellers many of whom have left us their accounts. Peter Mundy's (252) *Travels* (1628-1634), Manrique's (253) *Account of his Mission and Travels*, Sir Thomas Herbert's (254) *Travels* (1634), and Middleton's (255) *Voyage*, Van Twist's (256) *General Description of India* (1638) in Dutch, (257) *Account of the Travels of George Ardries* (1644-50) in German are some of the valuable accounts of the period. The reign of Aurangzeb saw Manucci at work on his (258) *Story of Mughal India*, besides witnessing Ovington (260, *A Voyage to Surat*.) Bernier, (261, *Travels*.) Tavernier, (262, *Travels*) Marshal, (263, *John Marshalm India*, edited by Dr. S. A. Khan) and Thavenot,

(264, *Account of Mogor India*), busy in gathering information which they put to such good use in their works. Mandelslo [(265) *Voyages and travels into the East Indies*, 1669, English translation] and Fryer, [(266) *Account of East India and Persia*, 1695,] wrote during the same reign. Fari-ya-Sousa's (267) *Description of Portuegese Asia* was published in 1695.

The Factory Records of the various companies trading in the "East" form a very useful source of information. Those of the East India Company have received most attention but even they have been exploited mainly as a mine of information about trade operations of the East India Company, rather than as a source of Indian History. The published records of the company include the (268) *First Letter Book of the East-India Company*; (269) *Letters Received from the servants of the East-India Company in the East*; (270) *Minutes of the East-India Company*; (271) *The English Factory Records* and the (272) *Calendars of the State. Papers, East Indies*. They have been very well edited and the notes supplement the information contained in the original records. It would be worthwhile to publish a volume of selections from these records illustrating the political history of contemporary India. Another volume on the economic and social life of the people as depicted in these records should also be a welcome addition to historical literature. These records

preserve not only the political gossip of the times but authentic stories of unpleasant happenings as well which were not likely to find favour with Persian chroniclers. They tell us a good deal about economic conditions, commercial codes and the operations of the Indian markets as well. No student of Indian history can afford to neglect these interesting documents.

Among the Dutch records, the *Collection de Jongh* (MS.) in the Public Record Office, Hague, the *Dagh Register*, the Journal of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia (1624-81), Schorer's (273) *A Short Account of the Coromandal Coast*, 1616, English Translation by Brij Narain and MS. English Translation of *the Dutch Records* in Hague in the Public Record Office, London and commonly described as *Hague Transcripts* form an interesting series of illuminating documents. Jan Prebrere Coen's *Report concerning his work in India* has been edited by Professor Colenbrander. *A Description of the Travels in the East* by Andriesz was published in 1670. Baldaeus wrote *A Description of the East India Country, Malabar, and Coromandal Coast* which was published in 1672. Heeres compiled his *Contributions to the language, country, and population* (1595-1650) in the seventeenth century. Van Twist wrote a general Description of India about the year 1638. This has now been translated into English by Mr. Moreland and published in the journal of Indian History,

Madras, August, 1937. Terpstra's *The Settling of the Dutch on the Coast of the Coromanddl* and the *Account of the East India Company in the Western Quarters* as well as Jonge's *The Foundation of the Dutch Government in The East Indies* (1595-1610) are three modern works which produce much valuable information from contemporary Records.

APPENDIX I.

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS TO INDIA AND THEIR ACCOUNTS

1. Frauds Bernier : *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, 1656-1668, edited by Archibald Constable.
2. Jean Baptiste Travenner : *Travels in India*, edited by V. Ball, translated from the original French edition of 1676.
3. *John Marshall in India* (1668-1672) : Notes and observations in Bengal, edited and arranged under subjects by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.
4. Manucci : *The Story of Mughal India*, English translation by William Irvine.
5. Sebastian Mahriq : *Travels in India* (1629-43), English translation, Hakluyt Society.
6. Thomas Roe : *Embassy to India* (1615-19) edited by Sir William Foster, Hakluyt Society.
7. Pietro della Valle : *The Travels* (1623-24), Hakluyt Society.
8. John Jourdain : *The Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies*, edited by William Foster. Issued by the Hakluyt Society.
9. Francisco Pelsaert : *Jahangir's India*, Translated from the Dutch by Moreland.
10. Peter Mundi : *Travels of Peter Mundy* issued by the Hakluyt Society.
11. Thevenot : *Travels into the Levant*.
12. John Albert de Mandelslo in *The Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* by John Harris.
13. Ralph Fitch (1583-91) and
14. John Mildenhall (1603-05). in *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619) edited by William Foster.

15. William Hawkins, (1608-13). in *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619) edited by William Foster.
16. William Finch, (1608-11) in *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619) edited by William Foster.
17. Nicholas Withington (1612-1616) in *Early Travels in India*, edited by William Foster.
18. Thomas Coryat (1614-17) in *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619) edited by William Foster.
19. John Huyghen Van Linschoten : *The Voyages of John H. V. Linschoten in Western India* (1583-1588), Hakluyt Society.
20. De Laet : *Description of India...* Translation from Latin into English by Hoyland, annotated by Bannerjee.
21. Thomas Bowrey : *A Geographical Account of the countries round the Bay of Bengal*, (1669-1679), Hakluyt Society.
22. Pyrard De Laval : *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard*, (1608-1609), of Laval, Hakluyt Society.
23. John Fryer : *A New Account of East India*, (1672-168J) Hakluyt Society.
24. Sir Thomas Herbert : *Travels into Africa and Asia*.
25. Ovington .* *A Voyage to Surat* (1689).
26. Sir James Lancaster : *Voyages to the East Indies* with abstracts of voyages, preserved in the India Office of the following :—
 - (a) Captain Keelinge and Hawkins.
 - (b) Sherpeigh.
 - (c) Second Voyage of Henry Middleton.
 - (d) Sixth Voyage by Thomas Love.
 - (e) Nicholas D.
 - (f) Ralph Crosse.....The Hakluyt Society.

- ㄣ Alexander Sharpey, (1608) }
 ㄣ William Nicholas, (1610) > in *Purchas*,
 ㄣ Joseph Salbanke, (1609) J
 ㄣ Nicholas Downton, (1610-1613) : *Second
 voyage* (1614), *Purchas*.
 1 Peter Floris : *The Journal of Peter Floris*.
 (1611-1615), in *Purchas*.
 32. John Saris: (.1605-1613).
 33. Sir Henry Middleton : (1610-1611).
 34. Voyage of Thomas Best : (1612-1614).
 35. Patrick Copeland : (1611-1614).
 36. Robert Boners : (.1611-1614).
 37. Water Pay ton : (1612), *Second voyage* (16.14).
 38. Elington and Dodsworth : (1614).
 39. Richard Steel and John Crowther : (1615-1616).
 40. Alexander Childe : (1616).
 41. Roger Hawes : (1615).
 42. Edward Heynes : (1618).
 43. Mortin Bring : (1618).
 44. Richard Swan : (1620).
 45. Ceaser Frederick : (15534581).
 46. Hedges, *Diary of Sir William Hedges*, Hakluyt.
 Society.
 47. Streyنشam, *The Diary of Master Streyنشam*.
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APPENDIX IL

THREE CHRONICLES OF MARWAR.

(*Modern Review*, Calcutta, April, 1923.)

The; history of Medieval India has as yet been simply the history of the Delhi Court illumined here and there by the story of the outlying principalities that managed to get free of the Imperial control. The main authorities for this period have been the writings of the Muslim chroniclers. Many of them enjoyed Court patronage and were not otherwise free from certain prejudices. The history of the Hindu States of those times has thus suffered from being told mainly by hostile writers. A feeling has long prevailed that these States had hardly a history of their own told by their own historians. Tod was the first historian to tap Hindu sources but being engaged in the huge work of writing a history of the whole of Rajputana and being a pioneer in the field, he did not, and possibly could not, take due care to test the truth of some of the materials he based his conclusions upon. His mistakes have made others less ready to follow him and the Rajput chronicles have lain mostly unused. Many States of Rajputana are no doubt maintaining historical Departments but the outside public knows next to nothing about the labour of the workers there. The Asiatic Society of Bengal also planned an historical and bardic survey of Rajputana, but Dr. Tesritori who was conducting it died before he could bring his work to a conclusion. The six volumes published in the series are now going on to be followed by a text of the *Surya Prakasha* of Kumi Dhan, the work of editing being done

by Pt. Ram Kam of Jodhpur. The University of Calcutta is maintaining a lecturership in the history of Rajputana in the post-graduate department, but we do not know if any work has yet been published by it. It is unfortunate that the greatest and best work on the history of Rajputana, the *Vir Vinod*, in Hindi of Kaviraj Shyamal Das, is being withheld from the public by the obstinacy of the Mewar Durbar. The author laid most of the original authorities under contribution and profusely quoted from them. Thirty original papers are reproduced to explain, for example, the mortal quarrel between the Mewar State and Aurangzeb. We are aware of the existence of four copies only that are in private hands. The studies of Munshi Devi Prashad of Jodhpur, and Pt. Gori Shankar of the Ajmer Museum illuminate certain periods of Rajputana history. That is about all that has been done towards the elucidation of the history of Rajputana during the middle ages.

But with all that, it would not be untrue to say that the writers on Medieval India very seldom use Rajput sources. Tod's use of them seems to discredit them. They are moreover mostly in manuscript and the only catalogue known being Dr. Tessitori's *Catalogue of the Prose chronicles of Jodhpur and Bikaner*. The library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has no doubt been enriched by Dr. Tessitori's collections, but that is almost the only place where access to the chronicles is comparatively easy. The result is that whenever Rajputs are mentioned by the writers on Medieval India, it is only on the authority of the Muslim writers. But the fact is, as Dr. Vincent Smith admitted in his *India* that almost every state maintained chroniclers who took down events as they occurred. The following description of three Rajput chronicles of Jodhpur has been mainly written with a view to em-

phasize the existence of Rajput sources as well as to remove, in however slight a degree, the erroneous impression that prevails about them.

Nensa's Khyat or the chronicle by Mehta Nensi, Minister to Maharajah Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, is one of the best books known to the writers on Rajputana history. The book is in two volumes, one containing the history of Jodhpur, the other of the rest of the Rajputana States. They have been described as manuscript 12 and manuscript 6 in Dr. Tessitori's catalogue. We are here concerned with the volume on the history of Jodhpur alone. Dr. Tessitori treated it as a Gazetteer of Jodhpur and thus did not bring out its full value. Our copy contains 840+27 quarto pages written in running Marwari script. The book opens with a description of the Jagirs held by Maharaja Jaswant Singh in 1664 a.d. Then follows a history of Marwar beginning with the Parihar rule there and then coming to SiojI and the foundation of the Rathor kingdom. No dates are given for the early period and the information is not so full as in the case of the later rajah. The earliest date mentioned is the year 1427 of the Vikram era. The real dated history begins, however, with the accession of Rao Jodha (1453 A.D.). This is continued up to the year 1688 A.D. The first 20 reigns covering a period of 260 years are very briefly dealt with, only 50 pages of our manuscript being devoted to them. The five reigns from Rao Maldeo (1532 A.D.) to Raja Sur Singh (died 1619) occupy as many as 150 pages while the last two reigns—a period of 45 years—take as many as 150 pages. This relative allotment of pages seems to be an index to the extent of the information of our author. He was a Prime Minister to Mahamja Jaswant Singh and naturally his knowledge of that reign and the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh's.

father was almost contemporary. After this history follows a description of the different villages of the State arranged into Parganas. There is a historical introduction giving the history of each Pargana. Then the average income of every village thereof and the actual income for the years 1716, 1717, 1718, of the Vikram era is detailed. This solicitude to give actual income comes along with the average income typifies his love of accuracy. Our manuscript differs from the Bengal Asiatic Society's manuscript in omitting the account of Pohkaran and a few miscellaneous anecdotes towards the end.

As to the quality of the work, the fact that it was the work of a Prime Minister who had all the resources of the State at his command is suggestive. Mehta Nensi is in reality the Abu'l Fazl of Jodhpur. His description of the villages suggests comparison with the *Ain-t-Akban* while the history itself is an *Akbar-Noma*. The information that has been tabulated in this description could not but have been the result of a careful study of the official records. There may be some truth in the remark made in the first administration report of Marwar (1883-1884) that Nensi's work was a sort of official report. The fact that it is used as a sort of authority in Marwar Courts to-day is also suggestive. Almost every event from the accession of Rao Jodha has been dated. No defeats have been concealed, at least none that we know of. In the description of battles, a list of the killed and the wounded is invariably given, while the names of others that took part in the battles are now and then appended. It sometimes does happen that events overlap one another in the description but the history is regular enough ordinarily. A modern historian may lament the want of any criticism of men and events in the book but medieval historians were chroniclers of events

and indulged in philosophic speculation only rarely. Of course, the book contains hardly anything about the annals of the poor but to the medieval historian they only seemed to exist. The book is a medieval chronicle brightened by the official information of a State Official.

Our second chronicle is what has been called, for lack of a better name, the Mundhyar chronicle. Mundhyar is a village, 10 miles to the south of Nagore and is held as a *sasin* (a jagir in charity) by a family of bards. The chronicle was brought to the historical department, Jodhpur and there copied. Our manuscript is a copy of that departmental Manuscript, Dr. Tessitori, for reasons into which we need not enter, could not get access to this chronicle. Our manuscript contains 234 pages of foolscap size. It begins with a quotation from the *Brahmanda Purana* and therefrom it traces the genealogy of the Rathors to the creation. At page 6 the story of Sioja and the establishment of the Rathor Kingdom in Marwar is commenced. The history attains to fullness from Rao Chunda's time. From thence the story of every raja contains the date of his birth, coronation and death, a list of his wives and mistresses, along with a short account of his children, legitimate and illegitimate. An account of the land given in charity to the bards and Brahmans by different rajas is given with the estimates of revenues in most cases. The account of battles resembles that in our first chronicle. As in NensTs chronicle no de-feats are concealed nor is any attempt made to make secret of any national humiliations. The marriage alliances with the Mughal Emperors and other Muslim rulers are also duly recorded. Indeed we owe our knowledge of the fact that the marriage alliances began earlier than the reign of Akbar to this and our third chronicle. We also learn from these two sources that

the so called Jodhpur Princess married to Akbar was the daughter of a slave girl of MSIdeo.

It is written in simple prose which is embellished here and there by the insertions of pieces of poetry. These, however, do not seem to be the work of the author, he seems to be quoting them as popular songs about different men and events. The original manuscript appears to have ended with Maharaja Jaswant Singh's reign (died 1678 A.D.). It was then continued by somebody else who wrote an account of his son and successor. Between the two seems to be a late interpolation of one page on Abhay Singh, the grandson of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. The book was probably written by a bard in the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh.

Our third manuscript is Kaviraj's Chronicle. The original was found some 50 years back deposited in a cavity in the wall of an old house at Jodhpur. Our copy is a transcript of the original. It consists of 68 closely written pages, of these 55 contain the regular history of the Rathors, the rest relating the anecdote of Bhati Gobind Das, a Prime Minister of Raja Sur Singh (1594 a.d. to 1619), Rao Rai Mai (1437 a.d. to 1453) and Rao Jodha (1453 A.D. to 1485). Its arrangement of the matter and the relation of events resemble that of our second chronicle and sometimes one begins to suspect that either the one is a copy of the other or both derived their information from the same source. Yet there are certain differences which would go against such an hypothesis. Its genealogy begins from Brahma connecting the Rathors with him.

It follows the *Prithvl Raj Rasa* in antedating Jai Chand and Prithvl Raj by about a hundred years and consequently its earlier dates are wrong. But the mistake vanishes when we approach the times of Rao Chunda and further on that of Rao Jodha. It tells

the story of the migration from Kanoj shortly and then begins the history of the Rathors in Marwar. This is continued to the times of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. Like our first two chronicles it also seems to have been written in the time of Maharaja Jaswant Singh.

These three chronicles represent but a very small part of the historical material that Rajputana can supply. Its study is necessary not only for a history of Rajputana, but it may, and does, throw light on the general course of Indian history during the period. Many topics on which the Muslim historians are silent or throw insufficient light can be elucidated by a study of this vast material.*

*We may mention here the fact that the Rajput sources furnish a detailed account of Sher Shih's route when he attacked Jodhpur in 1644 and from them alone we learn the occasion, if not the cause, of this expedition.

APPENDIX III

SANSKRIT WRITERS OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD

(d) *Smshit Waiters of Afebaris Reign.*

- 1* | Anantadeva, patronized by Baz Bahadur of I Malava, is the author of the famous work / *Battakadidkiti* recognized as the standard * work on adoption by our High Courts even to day. He wrote, besides, *Sa skarakmstubha* of which the above is one of the twelve parts. He is the author of works on expiations of different offences, a description of Mathura, and an essay on devotion.
2. Ananta, author of various works on astrology.
3. Anantadeva, son of Appadeva wrote on devotion, law and penances.
4. Anonymous.
 - (i) A work on the consecration of Pandalas (1574).
 - («) An Anukramam of NighanM (1562).
 - (iii) Cayanaprayoga on the construction of five 'altars (1590).
5. Kavikarpapura wrote on poetics, and metaphors, besides being the author of a drama with Caitanya as its hero and an account of Kyṣpa in Vṛndavana.
6. Kavicandra, author of works on medicine, poetics, and grammar.
7. Kesava Misra, patronised by Raja Manak Chandra of Kangra in the Punjab, wrote on poetics, similes and metaphors.
8. Kesava, on astrology.

9. Narayaga.
10. Gangadhara author of *Manorama*,
11. Guoavyaya Gam wrote a commentary on *Raghu-vafflsa*, and another on the story of Damayanti.
12. Gopalacarya commented on *Rasam njan*.
13. Gopala Bhatta wrote several works on devotion.
14. Gopaladasa wrote on devotion,
15. Cintamarii Misra wrote on poetics.
16. Ramakrsna wrote on law, astrology and various other subjects.
17. Ramakrsna commented on *Parasara Smṛti*.
18. Ramadasa.
19. Rupa Gosvamin, author of more than thirty works on devotion, poetics, dramaturgy.
20. Laksmiṇatha Bhatta on poetics.
21. Vijnanabhikṣu, author of some eighteen known works on different subjects.
22. Visvanatha commented on several rituals.
23. Virabhadradeva on erotics.
24. Vedanta Diksita wrote on law.
25. Vedyaraja on medicine.
26. Sankara Misra commented on *Vaisesikasutras*.
27. Sankara Bhatta, author of some eight works.
28. Siva, son of Rama.
29. Sivarama, a voluminous author.
30. Srivallabha.
31. Sadhusundaragni.
32. Samaya Sundaragni.
33. Haradatta Misra.
34. *VmbhadTadeva Campu*, anonymous in 1587.
35. Jivagosvamin wrote various works mainly on devotion.
36. To<jar Mall wrote on medicine.
37. Nilakantha wrote under the patronage of Todar Mall, **Todarananda* \ a voluminous work on judicial procedure, auspicious times for mar-

wages, religious ceremonies and law and medicine.

38. Phwdiraja wrote some thirteen works on astronomy and astrology.
39. Damodara Pa\$\$ta wrote for his patron Chuhar Mall
 - s Dhanvin wrote on ritualism.
 - † Nanda Pa dita was a great jurist.
 - ∩ Narayapa Bhatta wrote on philosophy.
 - ∞ Narayapa SaraswatL
 - Narayapa wrote on the determination of auspicious hours.
 - ∞ Naraya a Bhatta is the author of some thirty-three works on various subjects.
46. Narayana wrote on eclipses.
47. Nilakantha, a great astrologer and astronomer wrote some twenty works,
48. Narasiipha Sarasvati wrote on Vedanta.
49. Purnananda wrote more than a dozen volumes of Tantric subjects.
50. Prabhakara, commentator and author.
51. Mahidhara of Benares is the author of some sixteen works.
52. Raghunandana Suri.
53. Raghunandana Bhatta wrote on devotion, law and ceremonial.
54. Raghunandana Misra author of *Todara Prakasa?* work on law written under the patronage of Raja Todar Mall.
55. Raghunatha Siromapi is the author of some 31 known works on various subjects.
56. Ratnesvara Milra.
57. Ratnanatharya.
58. Rama wrote on astronomy.

lb) Sanskrit Writers of Jahangir's Reign.

1. Ananta Bhafta wrote nine works on various subjects, one of them *Vidhana Parijata* was definitely composed in 1625 A.D.
2. *Caitanya Caritamritam* was composed in 1625 A-D. probably by Krisija Dasa Kaviraja.
3. *Karkabhasyam* was composed in 1615 a.d. by an unknown writer.
4. *Astodayddhikara*, on astronomy, was written about 1624 a;d. by a writer whose name is not traceable.
5. Kamalakara Bhafta. Between 1610 and 1640 a.d. he wrote about ninety works in Sanskrit on Law, daily duties, consecration of wells, etc., coronation of kings, astronomy, astrology, Samskaras, philosophy, judicial procedure, and poetry. His famous work, *Nirriaya Sindhu* (printed), written in 1612, has been accepted as a work of authority on Hindu Law by the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta.
6. Krsna Ganaka served under Jahangir and wrote several works on astronomy and astrology.
7. Gaiiesa Daivajna, son of Gopala, wrote *Jatakalarriakara* on horoscopy in 1613 A.D.
3. Gahgadhara, son of Rama Candra, wrote *Pravasakritya* at Cambay in 1606-1607 a.d. This describes the duties of a Nagrik Brahman driven to a foreign country for the sake of livelihood or otherwise.
9. Gourisa Bhatta wrote *Anumara apradipa* in 1609.
10. Camupda Kayastha wrote *Jvartimirdbhaskara* in 1623.
11. Cintamapi composed *Muhurtacintamani* in 1607.
12. Jayaratna, a physician, wrote *Jvaraparajayafy*, on the treatment of fevers in 1605.

13. Jagannatha, another Hindu physician, wrote *Yogasangraha* on medicine, in 1616 a.d.
14. Jinmia (1591 to 1643) wrote *Natiadhyatika*.
15. Damodara.
16. Dada wrote *Battarka Dharmasastra* in 1621.
17. Divakara, born in 1606, and a voluminous writer, author of some seventeen works wrote some of them during Jahangir's reign.
18. Nanda Pa dita, a great writer on law, wrote mostly between 1595 to 1630 a.d.
19. Narasiipha wrote a commentary on *Apastamb# Gfkyasutra*,
20. Naraya\$na wrote a work on devotion at the instance of Raja. Hari Das of Benares.
21. Narayana Barma wrote a commentary on the *Tawus*3Icti5nary* of Arnara Sinha in 1619.
22. Nagesa wrote a tract on astronomy in 1620.
23. The literary activities of Nilakapfha Bhafta ranged between the year 1610 and 1645. His famous work on Hindu law, dedicated to his patron, Bhagvanta Deva, a Bundela chief and known after him as *Bhagavanta Bhaskara*. is recognized as an authority by the High. Court of Bombay.
24. Narasirpha wrote a commentary on the astronomical work *Suryasiddhanta* in 1611.
25. Balakj a Bhatta. He was alive in about 1610 a.d. and wrote verses in praise of Hari.
26. The famous grammarian and author of the *Siddhantakamnudi* and several other works lived about the years 1575-1650 ajx and was alive during Jahangiris r5gn7** me of his woife must have been written during this period.
27. Balabhandra Sukla wrote his *Kimda-tattvapradipa* in 1623.

महाराष्ट्र

28. Mahadeva Vidyavagisa wrote a commentary on *Ananda Lahari* in 1606.
29. The literary activities of Mitra Kr̥ṣṇa the famous jurist, whose work *Vramitrodaya* is recognized as an authority by the Privy Council on the Hindu Law of the Benares school, were spread over a period of 30 years between 1610 to 1640.
30. Mohana Misra Tarkatilaka wrote a commentary on *Kalanirnaya* discussing auspicious times for various sacrifices.
31. Raghunatha Bhatta who flourished between the years 1545 to 1625 wrote his *Kalatattavivecana* in 1620 and may have written some of his other undated works in the reign of Jahangir.
32. Ratna Siṃha wrote his *Pradyumna-canta*, a biography in verse of Pradyumna in 1615.
33. Rama composed his *Ramavinoda* for Riamadasaa a former Minister of Akbar, in 1613-14.
34. Ramarsi commented on Ravidasa's *Nalodaya* in 1608.
35. Rupa Gosvamin whom Jahangir respected so much died in 1618 A.D. Though he was very old on Jahangir's accession (being 78), he seems from Jahangir's account to have still led an active life in his reign. Some of his 39 works may have been written in Jahangir's time.
36. Laksmāna Bhatta is the author of two works on Dharmasastra, one of them has already been printed.
37. Laksmāna wrote a treatise on Yoga in 1613 a.d.
38. Laksmī Dasa wrote on the determination of auspicious hours in 1618.
39. Vithala Diksita wrote his *Kundama dapasiddhi* and its commentary in 1620. Some of his other works may also have been written during Jahangir's reign.

40. Viṣṇu Daivajna wrote a commentary on *Surya-prakasasarariain* 1613.
41. Visvanatha Daivajna wrote several works between the years 1612-1630,
42. Vaidya Natha Bhatta, a Vedic scholar, wrote *Laksattaratna* as an aid to the study of the Black Yajurveda.
43. Sankara wrote several works on devotion, astronomy and 'ritual' /^e
44. grivimalaprabodha Parivrajaka wrote in 1610 his *Kalikdlakrama Vacanam*.
45. Sadhu Sundaragni wrote several lexicons. *Ukti-ratnakara* 'explains Sanskrit words in Prakrit.
46. Samaya Sundaragni, a voluminous writer, wrote works on various subjects.
47. Sundara Misra wrote on dramaturgy.
48. Sumati Harṣa wrote several commentaries.
49. *Vo#thalakSa&a*>an index of words in the Rg Veda arranged according to their peculiarities was written at Benares in 1622 by an unknown author.

(c) *Sanskrit Writers of Shah Jahan's Reign.*

1. Ananta Bhatta.
He wrote *Tirtharatnakara* for his patron Anupa Sirpha, '
12. Ananta Pa dita.
I He commented on *Govardhana Sapta&ati*, and
1 *Rasa Manjart* of Bhanu Data. (1636 A.D.),
I and wrote a prose version of *Mudra Rak asa*.
3. Ananta Deva.
He wrote a commentary on Katyayana's *Srauta-sūtra*.
4. Kamalakara Bhatta, the famous jurist
5. **Kavindrācārya.**
He was a Vedic scholar, arid wrote a commentary

on the Ijg-Veda, of which only a fragment is now available.

6. Kamalateja.

He was an astronomer, and wrote various works on the subject.

7. Kavindra.

He was a grammarian, and wrote several commentaries on grammatical texts.

a Krwa.

He wrote an elementary text book of grammar in 1645.

9. Kršijadatta Misra.

In about 1650, he compiled a guide to the sacred places of Kurukṣetra.

10. Kalidasa.

One of his works was written in 1632.

11. Garigadhara.

His two works on astronomy bear the date 1633.

12. Gangadhara.

He compiled some manuals on festivals.

13. Govinda.

He wrote a work on astrology in 1638 mainly concerning the determination of auspicious times for various works.

14. Gokulajit

He was an astronomer, and wrote thereon in 1632-1633.

15. Gauripati.

He commented on Acaradarsa of Sridatta in 1640.

16. Cintamani.

He was interested in poetry, and wrote a mahual on metre in 1630.

17. Jagannatha.

He was the court papdita of Shah Jahan, and wrote various works in that capacity. He wrote his Jagadabharapa in Dara's praise,

- | and Asaf Vilasa in praise of Asaf Khan. His I Bhamim Vilasa treats of erotics. He wrote, | besides, several works on grammar, poetics, . ■. \ ■ and in "praise of the various gods. ' . ■' -p;
18. Jagadananda Samian,
 19. Jinarjuna,
 20. Jivagosvamin,
He was a nephew of Rupagosvamin. the famous, leader of the Bhakti school during this period. Some of his famous works on devotion must have been written during this period.
 21. Daya Dviveda.
A collection of several moral stories written in 1628 is attributed to him.
 22. Durga Das.
He wrote a text bode on grammar in 1639.
 23. Devasagara.
A grammarian, he was interested in etymology and wrote a treatise thereon in 1630.
 24. Dhanaraja.
 25. Nanda Pa dita.
Another great jurist.
 26. Nityana'nda.
Bike Jagannatha he was also a portege of Asaf Khan, and wrote two works on astronomy dated 1629 and 1640.
 27. NUakantha Sarman.
He was a grammarian and One text bode written in 1639 bears his name.
 28. NUakantha Bhatta.
He was attached to Bhagavant Deva, a Bundela chief. After the name of his patron, he wrote Bhagavant Bhaskara on law which is recognised as an authority on Hindu law by the High Court at Bombay.

29. Nilakaptha Dikṣita.
He was a voluminous writer, and is the author of some sixty-three works on grammar and devotion, several of which have been printed.
30. Puruṣottama.
In 1628, he wrote a manual on the religious duties of the pilgrims to Jagannatha.
31. Balabhadra.
He was a mathematician, and wrote several works on astronomy and mathematics.
32. Bhavadeva Misra.
He belonged to Patna, and wrote several works on Yoga, Vedanta, and devotion.
33. Bhavadeva.
In 1649 he wrote a commentary on the Vedanta-sutra.
34. Bhaftoji Dikṣita.
This famous grammarian and jurist was still alive.
35. Mapirama.
He was a physician, and wrote a text book on medicine in 1642.
36. Mapirama Dikṣita.
He was another protege of Anupa Simha.
37. Madhava Sukla.
His work *Kundakalpadruma* written in 1656 has been printed.
38. Madhava Jyotirvid.
39. Mahadeva.
He was a Paijḍita interested in the technique of rites, and wrote a work explaining the construction of sacrificial Pandalas.
40. Mitramisra.
The famous jurist whose works are still recognized

as an authority by the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta.

41. Raghunatha.
Another jurist who wrote a work on Dharma-sastra in 1656.
42. Rahganatha.
He commented on the Virowroasi in 1656.
43. Ramacandra.
He discussed the religious duties of the Hindus.
44. Rajarşi.
He was an astrologer and wrote a work on astrology in 1633.
45. Ramanatha VidyavScaspati.
He was a great scholar and wrote various works on law, poetics, astronomy, ritual and lexicography. He commented on the *Sakuntala*.
46. Ramasrama.
He wrote a commentary on the daily prayers of the Hindus,
- 47. Datta.
48. Vijayananda.
He described the beauties and religious attractions of Benares in 1641.
49. Vidyananda,
He was a grammarian, and wrote a work on etymology.
50. Vidyadhara.
His patron was Raja Virabhadra of Rajkot. He wrote several works on the religious duties of the Hindus in 1639 and 1644.
51. Viwu Puri.
He selected verses on the devotion from the various Puranas and wrote two independent works on devotion.
52. W
53. Vi varama.

54. Visvarupa.
55. Viivanatha Daivajna.
56. Visvanatha Pancanana Bhattacharya.
He was a great philosopher, and wrote on various schools of Hindu philosophy.
57. Vedahgamja.
He was a protege of Shah Jahan. He wrote Farsi Prakasaka, a vocabulary of Persian and Arabic terms used in Indian astronomy and astrology in 1643.
58. Ve idatta.
He wrote a dictionary in 1644 and a biography of Vamadeva.
59. Siva Raima.
He was a Vedic scholar, and wrote on chanting of Vedic mantras, on poetics, and Dharmasastra.
60. Sri Dharmapati Sarman.
He compiled a commentary on *Prabhakara-candrodaya*.
61. Sahajakirta.
He was a Jain and wrote two works on Jainism.
62. Haridatta Bhatta.
After the name of his patron, Raja Jagat Sinjar he wrote Jagadbhuṣa in 1630.
63. In 1632 an unknown writer wrote a commentary on *Atharvana Pratisakhya*.
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APPENDIX IV

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF MUGHAL INDIA.

In the list of original authorities that follows, our sources of information have been classified according to the reigns of the various emperors. Within the game reign, these works have again been divided into eleven classes in which they were divided in the body of the work. Thus,

- I. Denotes official documents,
 - II. Represents official histories.
 - III. Stands for royal autobiographies.
 - IV. Groups non-official histories together.
 - V. Describes provincial histories.
 - VI. Gives details of the biographies and memoirs.
 - VII. Denotes gazetteers.
 - VIII. Stands for private letter-books.
 - IX. Describes manuals of administration.
 - X. Gives the names of literary works.
 - XI. Represents European writers.
-

BABUR

I

1. Ruqqa*atd-*Inayat Khan Rasikh*

n

2. Akbar Nama by Abul Fazl.

III

3. Tuzak-i-Baburi.

IV

4. Waqi'at-i-Baburi by Zain-ud-Din.
5. Humayun Nama by Gulbadan Begum.
6. Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'at by Jauhar.
7. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi by 'Abbas.
8. Tarikh-i-Daudi by 'Abdullah.
9. Makhzan-i-Afghani by Ni'mat Ullah.
10. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana by Ahmad Yadgar.
11. Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din.
12. Mxmtkhib'Ut-Tawrikh by ⁴Abdul Qadir Bada yūmī.
13. Tarikh-i'Firishta by Muhammad Qasim Firishta.
14. Tarikh-i-Alfi by Mulla Ahmad.
15. Tarikh-d-Khandan-i-Temuria.
16. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh by Yahya-bin-'Abdul Latif.
17. Rauzat-ut-Tahrin by Tahar Muhammad.
18. Zabd-ut-Twarikh by Nur-ul-Haq.
19. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh by Hasan.

20. Iqbal Nama-LJahangjri by Mu'tamid Khan,
21. Khulasat-ut-Tawxikh by Sujjan Rai.
22. Mujmal-i-Mufassil by Muhammad.
23. Taril±4-Babur-oAkbar»o-Shah Jahan.
24. Asar-i-Shah Jahani by Muhammad Sadiq of Delhi.
- 24«. Sarvadesavrtantasahgrali by Mahesa Path

V

25. Tarikh-i-Sindh by Muhammad Ma'sum.

VI

- 4 Akhbar-ul-Akhayar by 'Abdul Haq.
- 8 Janam SakhI by Sew Das.
- 8 Adi Granth compiled by Guru Arjan Dev.
- 8 Tarikh-i-Rashidx by Muhammad Haidar.

IX

- 8 Dastur-ul-'Amal (Bankipur).

X

- 8 Faqqa-i-Baburl by Babur.
- 8 Diwan4-Baburi by Babur.

HUMAYON

I

1. Fayyaz-ul-Qawanin by Muhammad 'AK Hasan Khan.
2. Ruqqa'at-i-'Inayat Khan Rasikh.

n

- 2a, Akbar Nama by Abul Fazl.

IV

3. Humiyayun Nama by Gulbadan Begum.
4. Tazkirat'Ul-Waqi'at by Jauhar.
5. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi by 'Abbas.
6. Tarikh-i-Daudi by 'Abdullah.
7. Makhzan-i-Afghanl by Ni'matuliah.
8. Humayun Nama by Khwand Mir.
9. Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din.
10. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh by 'Abdul Qadir Bada-yunl
11. Tarikh-i-Firishta by Muhammad @sim Firishta.
12. Tarikh-i-Alafi by Mulla Ahmad.
13. Tarikh-'i-Khandan-i-Temuria.
14. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh by Yahya-bin-'Abdul Latif.
15. Rauzat-ut-Tahrin by Tahar Muhammad.
16. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh by Hasan.
17. Zabd-ut-Tawarikh by Nur-ul-Haq.
18. IqbabNama-i-Jahangiri by Mu'tmid Khan.
19. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh by Sujan Rai.
20. Tankh-i-Muhammad 'Arif Qandahari.
21. Mujmal-i-Maffasil by Muhammad Bahari.

22. Asar-i-Shah Jahani by Muhammad Sadiq of Delhi.
 22a. Sarvadesavrtantasangrah by Mahesa Pat! (Sanskrit).

V

23. Tarikh-i-Sindh by Muhammad Ma'sum.
 24. Miiat-i-Sikandan by Sikandar.
 25. Mrat-i-Ahmadi by 'AH Muhammad Khan.
 26. Jinat-ul-Fardus by Mirza Muhammad.

VI

27. Ma'asir ul-Umra, by Shah Nawaz Khan, edited by Abdul Hay.
 ७ Chhand Rao Jayatsi. (Hindi).
 ४ Sair-uPARfin by Shaikh Jamal.
 ४ Akhater-ul-Akhayar by 'Abdul Haq.
 ४ Sair-ul-Iqtab by Allah Daya.
 ४ Munaqib-i-Ghausiya by Shah Fazl.
 ४ Janam Sakhi by Sewa Das (Gurumukhi).
 ४ Adi Granth compiled by Guru Arjan Dev. (Gurumukhi).

VIII

35. Account of Jodhpur by Mehta Nainsi (Hindi).

IX

36. Insha-i-Yusafi by Muhammad Yusaf.
 37. Insha-i-Nami by Khawand Mir.
 38. Ruqqa'at-i-Qalami or Nama-i-Naim.

' X ,

39. Dastur-uPAmal (Bankipur).

XI "

40. Travels of Sidi 'Ali Rais (English translation by Vembrey).

AKBAR

I

- J. Jarida Framin-i-Salatim-i-Delhi.
2. Insha-i-Abu'l Fazl
3. Fayyaz-ul-Qawanin by Nawab Muhammad ⁴AH
Hasan Khan,
4. Ruqqa t-i-'Inayat Khan Rasikh.

II

5. Akbar Nama by Abul Fazal.

IV

6. Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din.
7. Mmtakhib-ut-Tawaxikh by 'Abdul Qadir Bada-
yunl
8. Tarikh-i-Firishta by Muhammad Qasim Firishta.
9. Tarikh-i-Alfi by Mulla -Ahmad.
10. I rikh⁴-Khandan-i-Temuria.
11. Mutakhib-ut-Tawarikh by Yahya-bin-⁴Abdul
Latif.
12. Rauzat-ut-Tahrin by Tahar Muhammad.
13. Zabd-ut-Tawarikh by Nur-ul-Haq.
14. Muntakhib-ut-Tairarikh by Hasan.
15. Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri by Mu'tmid Khan. ' >
16. KhuBsai-ut-Tawaiikh by Sujan Rai.
17. MaasMJahangiri by Kamgar Ghairat Khan.
18. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri by Jahangir.
19. TMkh-LMuhammad *Arif Qandahari.
20. Mujmal-i-Muffasil by Muhammad.
21. I rikh-i-BabuFO AkbaFo-Shan Jahan.

22. Asar-i-Shah Jahani by Muhammad Sadiq of Delhi.
23. Tazkirat-uLMaluk by Mirza RaffT-ud-Din.

V

24. Tarikh-i-Sindh by Muhammad Ma'sum.
25. Belgar Nama.
26. Tarikh-i-Tahari by Tahar Muhammad.
27. Mirat-i-Sikandari by Sikandar.
28. Mirat-i-Ahmadi by *Ali Muhammad Khan.
29. Tarikh-d-Gujarat by Tarab *AIL
30. RayaZ'US-Salatin by Ghulam Husain.
31. IBrikh-i-Bengal by Salim Utah.
32. T§rikh-i-A*zami by Muhammad A*zam.
33. Jint-ul-Fardus by Mirza Muhammad.
34. Khyat by Mehta Nainsi (Hindi).
35. Shvat (Kaviraj's) (Hindi).
36. Khyat (Mundhyar) (Hindi).

VI

37. Waqitat-i-Asad Beg by Asad Beg.
38. Safar Nama by Abdul Latif.
39. Mansir-i-Rahiml by Muhammad 'Abdul Baqi
40. Maa r-ul-Umra by Shah Nawaz Khan, edited by ⁴Abdul Hay.'
41. Tazkirat-ul-Umra by Kewal Ram.
42. Biography of Karam Chand in Sanskrit by Jai Soma.
43. Raja Prashasti by Randihor Bhatta (Sanskrit),
44. Jai Singh Charita by Man Kavi (Hindi).
45. Amara Kavya by Ranchhor Bhatta (Sanskrit).
46. Sea and land travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the 16th century by Tara Nath (original in Chinese, English translation by Professor Tucci in I. H. Q. December, 1931). ¹

47. Akhabar-ul-Akhayar by *Abdul Haq.
48. Sair-ul-Iqtab by Allah Days.
49. Mirat-ul-Khayal by Shaikh Ibn 'Ali Ahmad Khan.
50. Safinat-ulAuliya by Dam Shikoh.
51. Munaqib-i-Ghausiya by Shah Fazl.
52. Janam Sakhi by Sewa Das. (Gurumukhi).
53. Adi Granth Compiled by Guru Arjun Dev. (Gurumukhi).
- 53a. Hhasaubhagam by Vimalainuni (Sanskrit).

VIL

54. Haft Aqlim by Amin Ahmad Rari.
55. Account of Jodhapur by Mehta Nensi (Hindi).

VIII

56. Raqqa'at-i-Haklm Abul Fath Gilani.
57. Ruqqa'at-i-Abu'l Fazl.
58. Insha-i-Fairi.
59. India Office Persian MS, Ethe 2118.
60. Mfyar-ul-Adrak by Tughra.
61. Insha-i-Inayat Ullah.
62. Maktubatd-Muhainmad Ma'sum.
63. Ruqqa'at-i-Qalami or Nama-i-Nami.

IX.

64. Khallaq-us-Sayyaq.
65. Zawabatd-'Alamgiri.
66. Dastur-uKAnial (Bankipur)
67. Dastur-ul-⁴Amal(Aligarh).
68. Etastur-ul-'Amal-i-Todar Mai.
69. Farh.ang-i-Kardani by Jagat Rai.
70. Ha.dayatul(->wanin (Manual of Officials* Duties) by Hidayat Ullah.
71. Dastur-i-Jahand-Ku ia by Khair Ullah.

X.

72* Dabistan-i-Mazahib by Fam.</p>

gee the list of the Sanskrit writers of Akbar's reign in Appendix III.

XI.

S Akbar and the Jesuits by Du Jarric.
S Account of India by De Laet.
B Commentry by Monserrate.
 History of Mughal India by Palsaert.
 Early English Travels in India, edited by Foster.
S A Voyage in the East Indies by Linschoten.
S The First Letter Book of the E. I. Co.
G The Court Minutes of the E. I. Co.

JAHANGIR.

I.

- H Guldasta-i-Framin-i-Jahangiri.
P Insha-i-Har Karan by Har Karan.
W Fayyaz-ul-Qawanin by Nawab Muhammad f'Als
Hasan Khan.
Ruqq f'aat-i-*Inayat Khan Rasikh.
P Jaipur Records.

in.

- P Tuzak-i-Jahangm.

IV.

- S Zabd-ut-Tawarikh by Nur-ul-Haq.
OO Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh by Hasan.
Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiii by Mu'tamid Khan.
P Khulas-ut'Tawarikh by Sujan Rai.
H Maasir-i-Jahangiri by Kamgar Khan.
Jahangir Nama (in verse).
W Tarikh-i-Tahari by Tahar Muhammad.
K Mujmul-i-Muffasil by Mulla Muhamad.
S Asar-i-Shah Jahani by Muhammad Sadiq of
Delhi.
S Khulasat»ut«Tawarikh by Mulla Muhammad
Nazim.
O Muntakhib-ul-Lubab by Khafi Khan.

V.

8. I rikhd-Miharnmad Qutb Shah by Habib Ullah.

- 9 Tazkiratul-Maluk by Mirza Rafi'-ud-Din.
 88 Belgar Nama.
 88 Mrat-i-Ahmadi by 'AH Muhammad.
 B Baharistan-i-Ghaibi by Shitab Khan Nithan.
 88 Rayaz-us«Salatin by Ghulam Husain.
 88 Tarikh-i-Bengal by Salim Ullah.
 K Tarikh-i-A'zami by Muhammad A'zam.
 K Jinat-ubFardus by Mirza Muhammad.
 K Khyat by Mehta Nensi (Hindi).
 £ Khyat (Kaviraj's) (Hindi).
 £ £ Khyat (Mundhyar) (Hindi)
 £ £ M dizan-i-Afghini by Ni'mat Ullah.
 £ Shash Fath Kangra by Jalal-ud-Dm.

VL

- 8 Waqi'at-i-Asad Beg by Asad Beg.
 88 Safar Nama by 'Abdul Latif.
 £ £ Maaar-i-Rahimi by Muhammad 'Abdul Baql
 88 Maasir-ul Umra by Shah Nawaz Khan edited
 by -Abdul Hay.
 \$ Tazkirat-ul-Umra by Kewel Ram.
 Raja Prashasti by Ranchhor Bhatta (Sanskrit).
 Jai Singh Charita by Man Kavi (Hindi).
 O Jahangir Chandiika by Keshav (Hindi).
 £ Amara Kavya by Ranchhor Bhatta (Sanskrit).
 Siyar-ul-Iqtab by Allah Daya.
 \$ Mrat-ul-IGiyal by Shaikh Ibn 'AH Ahmad
 Khan.
 £ Safinat-ul-Auliya by Dara Shikbh.
 £ Sakinabul-Auliya by Dara Shikoh.

■ VIL ' /

45. Vidhitra Natak by Guru Gobind Singh.
 46. Account of Jodhpur by Mehta Nena (Hindi).

VIII.

47. Insha-i-' Abdul Latif.
48. India Office MS, Ethe 2118.
49. MFyar-ui-Adrak by Tughra.

XL

- 50. Jahangir and the Jesuits, by Guerrerio, Translated by Payne.
51. Jahangir's India by Peissen translated by Moreland.
52. Early English Travels in India edited by Foster.
53. The First Letter Book of the East India Company.
54. The Court Minutes of the East India Company.
55. Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East.
56. English Factories in India, edited by Foster.
57. Voyage of Peter Floris to the East Indies.
58. Voyage of Thomas Best.
59. Account of India by De Laet, (English translation).
60. Travels of Peter Della Valle.
61. Account of the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India.
62. Journal of a Voyage in the East India by Jourdan.
63. The Voyage of Francas Pyrod.
For minor writers consult the list of European travellers to India and their accounts in Appendix I

SHAH JAHAN.

I.

1. Ahkam-i-Shah Jahan!
2. India Office Persian MS. 370, by Mir Abul Hasan.
- W Aurangzeb's Despatches to Jai Singh.
- * Ruqqa at-i-'Alamgm.
- Wstur-id-'Amal Agihii. by. Aya Mai. ■ ■
- ppi Adab-i- Alamgirl
- M Wyy&Hd-Qawanin by Nawab iMuhammad 'AU Hasan Khan.
- po Ruqqa'at-Plnayat Khan Rasikh.
- Bahar-i-Sakhun by Muhammad Salih Kambhu.
- pa Nau Badah-i-Munir by Abul Barkat Munir.
11. Jaipur Records.

II

12. Badshah Nama by Mirza Aminai Qazwin!
13. Badshah Nama by iAbdul Hamid.
14. Badshah Nama by Muhammad Waris.

IV.

15. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh by Sujan Rai.
16. Mujmal-i-Muffaml by Mahamud.
17. Tawrikh-bShah Jahani by Muhammad Sadiq.
18. Subh Sadiq by Muhammad Sadiq.
19. Tarikh-i-Babur-o-Akbar-o-Shah Jahan.
20. Asari-Shah Jahaffi of Muhammad Sadiq of Delhi.
21. Badshah Nama by Muhammad Tihar.
22. Badshah Nama by Kalim.

23. Badshah Naina by Mu'tamid Khan.
24. Kulyat-i-Qudsi.
25. Shah Jahan Nama by Bhagwan Das.
26. Intakhab-i-Waqa td-Shah Jahani, by Muhammad Zahid.
27. Halat-i-Aurangzeb by 'Aqil Khan.
28. Aurang Nama.
29. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh by Mullah Muhammad Nazim.

V.

30. TankhU-WAdal Shah Sani by Nur Ullah.
31. Muhammad Nama by Zahur.
32. Qutb Nama by 'Abdullah.
33. Tawarikh-i-Haft Kura.
34. Mirat-i-Ahmadi by 'All Muhammad.
35. Rayaaz-us-Salatin by Ghulam Husain.
36. Tankh-i-Bengal by Salim Ullah.
37. Tarikh-i-Shah Shujal by Muhammad Ma'sum.
38. Tarikh-i-A'zami by Muhammad A'zam.
39. Lataif-ul-Akhabar by BadPuz-Zaman.
40. Jinat-ul-Fardus by Mirza Muhammad.
41. Khyat by Mehta Nainsi (Hindi).
42. Khyat (Kaviiafs) (Hindi).
43. Khyat (Mundhyar) (Hindi).

VI.

44. Chahar Chaman by Chandar Bhan.
45. Maasir-ul-Umra by Shah Nawaz Khan, edited by 'Abdul Hay.
46. Tazkirat-ul-Umra by Kewal Ram.
47. Raja Prashasti by Ranchhor Bhatta (Sanskrit).
48. Jai Singh Charita by Man Kavi (Hindi).
49. Shiva Bavani by Bhushan (Hindi).
50. Battle of Ujjain. (Hindi) s

51. 'Anna Kavya by Ranchhor JBhatta (Sanskrit).
 52. RuM'iyat-i-Alulia Shah by Mulla Shah
 'BadakhshL ■ ' ' ■. •■'
 53. Musanawat-i-Mulla Shall by Mulla Shah
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 54. Mirat-ul-Auliya. by Shikoh Tbn *Ali Ahmad
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 -55. Safinat-ul-Auliya by Dara Shikoh.
 56." Sakinat-ul-Auliya by Dara Shikoh.'

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57. Account of Jodhpur by Mehta Nensa (Hindi).

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58. Insha-i^J Abdul Latif.
 59. Munishiyat-i*Tabrezi by 'Abdul *AS Tabrezi.
 60. Ruqqa*at-i*Shah *Abbas Sani.
 61. InshM-i-Brahman by Chandar Bhan.
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 63. Ruqqa'at-i-Bedil.
 64. Insha-i-Ibrahimi by Ibrahim Turkman.
 65. Ruqqa'atri-Hasani by Abul Hasan.
 66. Insha-i-Hamid-ud-Dm.
 67. British Museum MS. (Sloan MSS 3582).
 68. The Parsiriis MS.
 69. Haft Anjaman by Tali' Yar.
 70. Ruqqa'at-i-Tughra by Tughra MashahacB.
 71. Insha-i-Mulla Shikoh.
 72. Inshari-Jalal-ud-Din Taba TabaL
 73. Ruqqa'at-i-Qalanu or Nama-i-Nami.

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74. Dastur-ul-'Amal (India Office MS).
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76. Zawabat-PALamgirL
77. Dastur-i-Jahan Kusha by Khair Ullafa.
78. Dastur-ul 'Amal (Bankipur).
79. Guldasta-i-Saltanat by Chandar Bhan.
80. Dastur-uPAmal-i-Todar Mai (Rampur MS).
81. Farghang-i-Kardani by Jagat Rai.
82. Hidayat d-Qawanin (Manuals of officials'' duties by Hidayat Ullah).
- 82-a. Dastur-uPAmal, (Aligarh).

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- 87 Account of his Mission and Travels by Manrique.
- 88 Harris's travels (Sir Thomas Herbert),.
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- 90 General description of India by van Twist (In Dutch).
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- 92 English Factories in India.
- 93 The Court minutes of the E. I. C.

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4. Aurangzeb Despatches to Jal Singh.
5. Kalamat-i-Tayyibat edited by *Inayat Ullah.
6. Rugalm-i-Karaim by Ashraf Khan.
7. Ruqqa'at-i'Alanigin.
8. Dastur-uPamal Agahi by Aya Mai.
9. Ahkam-i-Alamgin edited by Inayat Ullah.
10. Adab-i-Alamgin edited by <2abil Khan.
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30. Fatuhat-i-'Alamgiri by Ishar Das.
31. Aina-i-Bakht by Bakhtawar Khan.
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33. Mufid-ul-Mawarakhin by *Abdul Shakur.

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34. Tshikh-i-'AIFAdil Shah Sani by Nur Ullah.
35. Tawankh-i-Haft Kura.
36. Muhammad Nama by Zahuri.
37. Qutb Nama by 'Abdullah.
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42. Tirikh-i-Bengal by Salim Ullah.
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44. Tarikh-i-Shah Shuja'i by Muhammad Ma'sum.
45. Tarikh-i-A'zann by Muhammad A'zami.
46. Jinat-ul-Firdus by Mirza Muhammad.
47. Khyat by Mehta Nensi (Hindi).
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50. Waqi'at by Ni'mat Khan 'AE.
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59. RuWiyat-i-Mulla Shah by Mulla Shah BadakhshL
60. Mirat-ul-Khayal by Shaikh 'Ibn 'Ali Ahmad Khan.
61. Masanaxdyat-i-Mullali Shah by Mullah Sh h Badakhshī.
62. Hālāt-i-Hazrat-i-Balāwāl.
63. Dasam Granth compiled 'by Guru Gobind Singh.

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64. Hadiqat-ul-AqaBm by Murtza Husain.
65. Chahar Gulshan by Chatarman.
67. Account of Jodhpur by Mehta Nensi (Hindi).

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68. Ruqqa'at-i-Shah 'Abbas Sam, compiled by Tahar Wahid
69. Inshari-Raushan Kalam Bhupat by Bhupat RaL
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71. Rayaz-ul-Wadad by Aizad Baksha Raza.
72. Ktetut-i-Shivaji.
73. Letters to Some Mughal Emperors.
74. Karnama-i-Jeth Mai by Jethmal
- 7& Ruqqa'at4-Nawazish Khan, Letters of Mukhtar Beg Nawazish Khan.
76. Ruqqa'at-i-Khwaja Husain.
- 77* Inshai-i-Farri.
78. Carnatic Records.

79. Majmu 'a-i-Munshiyat.
80. Surat Factory Letters of years 1695-96.
81. Insha-i-Zarbaksh by Sayyad Muhammad Zaya Chughtai.
82. Nuskha-i- Aish Afza by Saif Khan.
83. Insha-i-Jan Muhammad.
84. Majmua-az-Biaz.
85. Faramin-i-Muhammad Shahi-o-Ba'z-i-Shahani-i Saif.
86. JamT-ul-Qawanm by Shah Muhammad.
87. India Office MS, Ethe 2118.
88. Insha (Bankipur).
89. Ruqqa'iat-i-Hasani by Abdul Hasan.
90. Insha-i-Hamid-ud-Kn.
91. British Museum Persian MS. Sloan MSS. 3582.
- '92. The PSrsans MS.
93. Haft Anjaman by TalTYar.
94. Ruqqa 'at-i-Tughra by Tughra Mashahadi.
95. Tnsha-i-Nawab Saif Khan.
96. Insha-i-Mulla Shikoh.
97. Ruqqa'at-i-Amin Ullah Husaini.
98. Dastur-uPAmal (India Office MS).
99. Appointment Orders, (Delhi MS).
100. Dastur-uPAmal (Bankipur).
101. Khallaq-us-Sayyaq.
102. Zawabat-i-'Alamgiri.
103. Dastur-uFamal (Aligarh).
104. Farhang-i-Kardani by Jagat Rai.
- J05. Dastur ul-'Amal-i-Todar Mai (Rampur MS).
106. Hidayat-ul-Qa 'vmnm (Manual of Officers' Duties) by Hidayat Ullah.
107. Dastur-i-Jahan Kusha by Khair Ullah.

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108. Saiyd Nama by Muhammad Raza.
109. Fatara-i Alamgri.

110. Majmu'at-ul/Alamgiri by Abdul Khaliq.
 111. Tuhfat-ubHind by Mirza Khan.

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112. Mughal India by Manned,
 113. A Voyage to Surat by Ovington.
 114. Trawls in Mughal Empire by Bernier.
 115. Travels in India by J. B. Tavernnier.
 06/ Jcta Marshal in India (edited by S. 'A. 'Khan).
 117. Account of Mughal India by Thavenot
 118. Voyage and travels into the East Indies by
 : < ' : ■"Mandelsl& . . . '■' . . . / \ '■" ■-J
 119. A New Account of East India and Persia by
 Fryer.
 120. Description of Portugese Asia by Fari-ya-
 Sonso.
 121. English Factories in India by Foster.
 122. Court Minutes of the E. I. C.
 123. The Journal of the Dutch E. I Co. in Batavia
 (The Dagh Register) (In Dutch).
 124. A Historical fragment of Mughal India by
 Orme.
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SUPPLEMENT

(274) *Zabdut-ut-Tawarikk* by Ullahdad Faizi

Sirhindi (MS., in the University Library, Allahabad).

This work was composed at the request of Shaikh Farid Bukhari. It was completed in 1010 a.h. (1601). The Allahabad MS., runs to 502 pp. Akter is spoken of here as a deputy (khalifa) of God. It is a useful summary of the reign of Akter, usually favourable to him and, as is the case with so many other histories of the reign, hardly ever critical either of the Emperor or his Court.

(275) *Tmkk-i-Hum&yim* by Biayazid, Humayun's Mir-i-Saman, was written for the purpose of supplying Abu'l Fazl materials for the earlier part of Akbar Nama. It has been divided into four parts. The first part covers the period between 949 to 953 a.h. The second part comes to Humayun's adventures in Kabul, Balkh and Badakhshen after 953 A.H. The third part deals with Humayun's final struggle against his brothers and comes to an end with his conquest of Qandahar. Part fourth deals with Humayun's reconquest of India, his death and Akbar's reign upto the year 999 a.h. The transcript in the Allahabad University Library of the only known MS., at the India Office, London, covers 319 pp. As no other MS. of the work is known to exist in India, the following table of its contents should prove useful.

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(276) *Dutch Reports from Gujarat*, Written by the Dutch Factors in India to their correspondents in Holland, form a valuable collection of authentic information about the effects of the famine of 1631 in Gujarat. Mr. Moreland described them in the *Journal of Indian History*, for April, 1925, pp. 68, ff. The MS has been translated from the Dutch by Prof. Brij Narain and would shortly be published with notes by the present writer. It describes administrative methods in Gujarat in the reign of Shah Jahian. Its description of Ahmedabad, Baroda, Broach, Cambay, is very valuable. Contemporary economic organization in Gujarat is described in detail here. There are two separate sections at the end, one describing manners and customs and another the Parsees.

(137) Bhushan wrote two works concerning Shivaji, *Shivabavml* and *Shivarajbhushan*. Both of them try to illustrate various forms of metaphors

and similes in Hindi by verses which refer to Shivaji's exploits and character.

Zahir-ul-Insha (misprinted *Zahir-ul-Insha*) has been included in the Bibliography to chapter VIII and X of the Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, among the *Primary Sources* of Aurangzeb's reign. This work was written by Zahir Balgrami in 1282 a.h. It reproduces some letters alleged to have passed between Aurangzeb and his son, prince Akbar. All these letters can be traced in other collections of the period. I have not therefore included this modern work on letter writing, using these pieces as illustrations of certain types of letters, in the Bibliography.

Since I began to write this book, a Persian library of first-rate importance has been built up and is rapidly growing at the residence of Dr. Raghuvir Singh, D. Litt., LL.B., the heir to the Maharajah of Sitamau in Central India. The owner has collected a large number of rotographs and micro-films of Persian historical manuscripts existing only in Europe and he is also assembling in one place transcripts of every sheet of news-letter (*akhabarat'*) on Indian history, —after as well as before 1707—to be found anywhere in the world. He has, besides, taken copies of all the Jaipur State *akhabarat* and records running to more than 35 volumes. This rich and unique mass of historical raw materials, the enlightened prince has made available to scholars in India.

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

- R.A.S.E. or A.S.B. . . . Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
Calcutta.
- Lahore . . . Punjab Public Library, Lahore.
- Punjab University. . . Punjab University Library, Lahore.
- Bankipur or Patna . . . Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public
Library, Bankipur (Patna).
- Sarkar, . . . Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Library,
Darjeeling.

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA

Page.		Wrong,	Correct
17	≧	Aman. •	'Imam,
17	o	Amdit."	■*Amdat
20	o	'Adi 'after the.	Dotir-al-Awai
		Agd&i, (Ms. Sarkar).	■
47		Subh Sadiq.	'StM <i>Sādiq</i> .
49	o	Bengal.	Khajwa,
49	8	Wul	Nadir.
51	≧	Lubb-ut-'	<i>Lubb-ut-Tawā-</i>
		•Tawarikh, ■.	'riO. . . ■
65	1	Add, 'just before the first line, ud*	" Dur. written in. ■ ■.
75	⊙	Barihetoy.'	■Barthetay.
76	15	Bhoge,	. Kart
87	12	Mirai	Mirat
87	12	Shaikh " ■ ■	Sher Khan.
87	13	Ahmod	? ■ <Amjad.' ■.
88	4	<i>Jenam.</i>	r . /«».
88	9	<i>Bachtra.</i>	<i>Vichitra.</i>
95	1	Lahore.	Sarkar.
95		Gujarat.	Malwa.
135	‡	biography	bibliography.
139	≧	Vembrey	Vambrey.
140	∞	Thevenot.	Thavenot
142	∞	journal	Journal.
143	∞	modem works	works.
144		Travernier	Tavernier.
166	o	of	on.
176	4	Nithan	Nathan.

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