

SOURCES OF MUGHAL HISTORY

Manik Lal Gupta

Atlantic Publishers & Distributors

**Collection of Prof. Muhammad Iqbal Mujaddidi
Preserved in Punjab University Library.**

پروفیسر محمد اقبال مجددی کا مجموعہ
پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری میں محفوظ شدہ



SOURCES OF MUGHAL HISTORY

(1526 TO 1740)

by
MANIK LAL GUPTA
(M.A., Ph.D)
Head of History Department
Y.D. Post-graduate College
Lakhimpur Kheri-262701



ATLANTIC PUBLISHERS & DISTRIBUTORS
4215/1, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj
New Delhi-110002

Published by

Atlantic Publishers & Distributors,
4215/1, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj,
New Delhi-110002

136655

Head Office :

B-2, Vishal Enclave, Najafgarh Road,
New Delhi-110027
Phone : 5413460

©- Manik Lal Gupta, 1989

Printed at : Print India through Chawla Composers,
New Delhi

Dedicated to
Sri Ganpat Singh
Retd. Principal of
P.G. College with
whose able guidance and
affectionate encouragement
it has been possible to bring out
the book

PREFACE

The Mughal Period was the most glorious epoch in the History of India. There was peace and prosperity, and an all-round development. It is rather surprising that no systematic attempt has yet been made at surveying its original sources. The present study is the first attempt at surveying the original authorities for the Mughal period from 1526 to 1740. It describes published works and Manuscripts in Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Gurmukhi, Marathi and in European languages.

The present book is primarily intended for the serious students of what is popularly known as Mughal History whether he be an under-graduate aspiring to a University degree or a candidate for the competitive examinations for the higher administrative services. He will find his purpose admirably fulfilled. Even the general reader will not find it wholly unprofitable. There is much to arouse his interest and awaken his sympathy.

We are grateful to eminent authors whom we have quoted copiously in our book. Suggestions for further improvement of the book will be gratefully acknowledged and incorporated in the next edition.

Lakhimpur Kheri

MANIK LAL GUPTA

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	7
<i>Introduction</i>	11
I. Original Sources of Mughal India (Mughal Emperors)	13
II. Original Sources of Mughal India (Afghan Kings)	36
III. Original Sources of Mughal India (Maratha Rulers)	39
IV. The Persian Sources	43
V. The Turkish Source	79
VI. The Sanskrit Source	81
VII. The Gurmukhi Sources	85
VIII. The Hindi Sources	86
IX. The Marathi Sources	89
X. Contemporary European Writers	92
<i>Appendices</i>	
A—Genealogical Tables	99
B—European Travellers to Mughal India and Their Accounts	103
C—Famous Sanskrit Writers of the Mughal India And Their Works	106
D—Mughal-Rulers	108
E—Chronology	109
<i>Bibliography</i>	116

INTRODUCTION

The Mughal Period was the most glorious epoch in the History of India. There was peace and prosperity and an all-round development. It is rather surprising that no systematic attempt has yet been made at surveying its original sources. The present study is the first attempt at surveying the original authorities for the Mughal period from 1526 to 1740. It describes published works and Manuscripts in Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Gurmukhi, Marathi and in European languages.

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.

A large number of European travellers visited the country. Their accounts also contribute to our knowledge of this period. Some histories of the period were also compiled about this time.

The present book concerns itself with a detailed study of the sources of Mughal History.

CHAPTER I

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF MUGHAL INDIA

(MUGHAL EMPERORS)

Original authorities that follows, our sources of information have been classified according to the reign of the various emperors.

Babar

1. Tuzak-i-Baburi (Babur Nama)
By Emperor Babar.
2. Ruqqat-i-Inayat Khan Rasikh
By Inayat Khan.
3. Akbar Nama
By Abul Fazl.
4. Waqiat-i-Baburi
By Zain-ud-Din.
5. Humayun Nama
By Gulbadan Begum.
6. Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat
By Jauhar.
7. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi (Tuhfat-i-Akbar Shahi)
By Abbas Khan Sarwani.
8. Tarikh-i-Daudi
By Abdullah.
9. Makhzan-i-Afghani
By Nimat Ullah.

10. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana
By Ahmad Yadgar
11. Tabaqat-i-Akbari
By Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din.
12. Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh
By Abdul Qadir Badayuni.
13. Tarikh-i-Firista
By Muhammad Qasim Firishta.
14. Tarikh-i-Alfi
By Mulla Ahmad.
15. Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Temuria
(The name of the author is nowhere mentioned in manuscript)
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-i-Jahangiri
By Mutamid Khan.
21. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh
By Sujan Rai.
22. Mujmal-i-Mufassil
By Muhammad.
23. Tarikh-i-Babar-o-Akbar-o-Shah Jahan
By an annonymous.
24. Asar-i-Shah Jahani
By Muhammad Sadiq.
25. Sarvadesavrtantasangrah
By Mahesa Pati.
26. Tarikh-i-Sindh.
By Muhammad Masum.

27. Akhbar-ul-Akhayar
By Abdul Haq.
28. Janam Sakhi
By Sewa Das.
29. Adi Granth
Compiled by Guru Arjun Dev.
30. Tarikh-i-Rashidi
By Muhammad Haidar.
31. Faqqa-i-Baburi
By Babar.
32. Diwan-i-Baburi
By Babar.
33. Dastur-ul-Amal (Bankipur)
By anonymous.

Humayun

1. Fayyaz-u-Qawanin
By Muhammad Ali Hasan Khan.
2. Ruqqaat-i-Inayat Khan Rasikh
By Inayat Khan.
3. Akbar Nama
By Abul Fazl.
4. Humayun Nama
By Gulbadan Begum.
5. Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat
By Jauhar.
6. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi (Tuhfat-i-Akbar Shahi)
By Abbar Khan Sarwani.
7. Tarikh-i-Daudi
By Abdullah.
8. Makhzan-i-Afghani
By Nimatullah.
9. Humayun Nama
By Khwand Mir

10. Tabaqat-i-Akbari
By Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din.
11. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh
By Abdul Qadir Badayuni.
12. Tarikh-i-Firishta
By Muhammad Qasim Firishta.
13. Tarikh-i-Alafi
By Mulla Ahmad.
14. Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Temuria
By Anonymous.
15. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh
By Yahya-bin-Abdul Latif.
16. Rauzat-ut-Tahrin
By Tahar Muhammad.
17. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh
By Hasan.
18. Zabd-ut-Tawarikh
By Nur-ul-Haq.
19. Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri
By Mutamid Khan.
20. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh
By Sujan Rai.
21. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandahari
By Muhammad Arif.
22. Mujmal-i-Maffasil
By Mulla Muhammad.
23. Asar-i-Shah Jahani
By Muhammad Sadiq.
24. Sarvadeshavrtantasangrah
By Mahesa Pati.
25. Tarikh-i-Sindh
By Muhammad Masum.
26. Mirat-i-Sikandari
By Sikandar.

27. Mirat-i-Ahmadi
By Ali Muhammad Khan.
28. Jinat-ul-Fardus
By Mirza Muhammad.
29. Maasir-ul-Umra
By Shah Nawaz Khan.
30. Chhand Rao Jayatsi
By Jayatsi.
31. Sair-ul-Arfin
By Shaikh Jamal.
32. Akhabar-ul-Akhayar
By Abdul Haq.
33. Sair-ul-Iqtab
By Allah Daya.
34. Munagib-i-Ghausiya
By Shah Fazl.
35. Janam Sakhi
By Sewa Das.
36. Adi Granth
Compiled by Guru Arjun Dev.
37. Account of Jodhpur
By Mehta Nensi.
38. Insha-i-Yusafi
By Muhammad Yusaf.
39. Insha-i-Nami
By Khawand Mir.
40. Ruqqaat-i-Qalami (Nama-i-Nami)
By Anonymous.
41. Dastur-ul-Amal (Bankipur)
By Anonymous.
42. Sidi Ali Rais's Travels
By Sidi Ali Rais (translated into English By Vembrey).

Akbar

1. Ain-i-Akbari
By Abul Fazl.
2. Akbar Nama.
By Abul Fazl.
3. Fayyaz-ul-Qawanin
By Nawab Muhammad Ali Hasan Khan.
4. Ruqqaat-i-Inayat Khan Rasikh
By Inayat Khan.
5. Tabaqat-i-Akbari
By Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din.
6. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh
By Abdul Qadir Badayuni.
7. Tarikh-i-Firishta
By Muhammad Qasim Firishta.
8. Tarikh-i-Alfi
By Mulla Ahmad.
9. Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Temuria
By Anonymous.
10. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh
By Yahya bin Abdul Latif.
11. Rauzat-ut-Tahrin
By Tahar Muhammad.
12. Zabd-ut-Tawarikh
By Nur-ul-Haq.
13. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh
By Hasan.
14. Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri
By Mutamid Khan.
15. Khulasai-ut-Tawarikh
By Sujan Rai.
16. Maasir-i-Jahangiri
By Kamgar Ghairat Khan.
17. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.
By Jahangir

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF MUGHAL INDIA

18. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandahari
By Muhammad Arif.
19. Mujmal-i-Muffasil
By Mulla Muhammad.
20. Tarikh-i-Babar-o-Akbar-o Shah Jahan
By An Annonymous.
21. Asar-i-Shah Jahani
By Muhammad Sadiq.
22. Tazkirat-ul-Maluk
By Mirza Raffi-ud-Din.
23. Tarikh-i-Sindh
By Muhammad Masum.
24. Belgar Nama
By Shah Qasim Khan.
25. Tarikh-i-Tahari
By Tahar Muhammad.
26. Mirat-i-Sikandari
By Sikandar.
27. Mirat-i-Ahmadi
By Ali Muhammad Khan.
28. Tarikh-i-Gujarat
By Taraf Ali.
29. Rayaz-us-Salatin
By Ghulam Husain.
30. Tarikh-i-Bengal
By Salim Ullah.
31. Tarikh-i-Azami
By Muhammad Azam.
32. Jinat-ul-Fardus
By Mirza Muhammad.
33. Khyat
By Mehta Nainsi.
34. Khyat
By Kaviraj.

35. Khyat
By Mundhyar.
36. Waqiat-i-Asad Beg
By Asad Beg.
37. Safar Nama
By Abdul Latif.
38. Maasir-i-Rahimi
By Muhammad Abdul Baqi.
39. Maasir-ul-Umra
By Shah Nawaj Khan.
40. Tazkirat-ul-Umra
By Kewal Ram.
41. Biography of Karamchand (in Sanskrit)
By Jai Soma.
42. Raja Prashasti
By Ranchhor Bhatta.
43. Jai Singh Charita
By Man Kavi.
44. Amar Kavya
By Ranchhor Bhatta.
45. Sea and land travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the 16th Century
By Tara Nath.
(original in Chinese. English translation by Professor Tucci.)
46. Akhabar-ul-Akhayar
By Abdul Haq.
47. Siyar-ul-Iqtab
By Allah Daya.
48. Mirat-ul-Khayal
By Shaikh Ibn Ali Ahmad Khan.
49. Safinat-ul-Auliya
By Dara Shikoh.
50. Munaqib-i-Ghausiya
By Shah Fazl,

51. Janam Sakhi
By Sewa Das.
52. Adi Granth
Compiled by Guru Arjun Dev.
53. Hirasaubhagyan
By Vimalamuni.
54. Haft Aqlim
By Amin Ahmad Razi.
55. Account of Jodhpur
By Mehta Nensi.
56. Ruqqaat-i-Hakim Abul Fath Gilani
By Hakim Abul Fath Gilani.
57. Ruqqaat-i-Abul Fazl.
Compiled By Nur Muhammad.
58. Miyar-ul-Adrak
By Tughra.
59. Maktubat-i-Muhammad Masum
By Masum.
60. Dastur-ul-Amal (Aligarh)
By Munshi Sher Afgan.
61. Farhang-i-Kardani
By Jagat Rai.
62. Hedayatul Qawanin
By Hidayat Ullah.
63. Dastur-i-Jahan-i-Kusha
By Khair Ullah.
64. Dabistan-i-Mazahib
By Fani.
65. Akbar and the Jesuits
By Du Jarric.
66. Account of India
By De Laet.
67. Commentry
By Monserrate.

68. History of Mughal India
By Palsaert.
69. Early English Travels in India
edited by Foster.
70. A Voyage in the East Indies
By Linschoten.
71. Journal of a Voyage in the East India
By Jourdan.

Jahangir

1. Tuzak-i-Jahangiri
By Jahangir.
2. Insha-i-Har Karan
By Har Karan.
3. Fayyaz-ul-Qawanin
By Nawab Muhammad Ali Hasan Khan.
4. Ruqqaat-i-Inayat Khan Rasikh
By Inayat Khan.
5. Zabd-ut-Tawarikh
By Nur-ul-Haq.
6. Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh
By Hasan.
7. Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri
By Mutamid Khan.
8. Khulas-ut-Tawarikh
By Sujan Rai.
9. Maasir-i-Jahangiri
By Kamgar Khan.
10. Jahangir Nama (inverse)
By An Anonymous.
11. Tarikh-i-Tahari
By Tahar Muhammad.
12. Mujmul-i-Muffasil
By Mulla Muhamad.
13. Asar-i-Shah Jahani
By Muhammad Sadiq.

136655

14. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh
By Mulla Muhammad Nazim.
15. Muntakhib-ul-Lubab
By Khafi Khan.
16. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah
By Habib Ullah.
17. Tazkirat-ul-Maluk
By Mirza Rafi-ud-Din.
18. Belgar Nama
By Shah Qasim Khan.
19. Mirat-i-Ahmadi
By Ali Muhammad.
20. Babaristan-i-Ghaibi
By Shitab Khan Nithan.
21. Rayaz-us-Salatin
By Ghulam Husain.
22. Tarikh-i-Bengal
By Salim Ullah.
23. Tarikh-i-Azami
By Muhammad Azam.
24. Jinat-ul-Fardus
By Mirza Muhammad.
25. Khyat
By Mehta Nensi.
26. Khyat
By Kaviraj.
27. Khyat
By Mundhyar.
28. Makhzan-i-Afghani
By Nimat Ullah.
29. Shah Fath Kangra
By Jalal-ud-Din.
30. Waqiat-i-Asad Beg
By Asad Beg.

31. Safar Nama
By Abdul Latif.
32. Maasir-ul-Rahimi
By Muhammad Abdul Baqi.
33. Maasir-ul-Umra
By Shah Nawaj Khan, edited by Abdul Hay.
34. Tazkirat-ul-Umra
By Kewal Ram.
35. Raja Prashasti
By Ranchhor Bhatta.
36. Jai Singh Charita
By Man Kavi.
37. Jahangir Chandrika
By Keshav.
38. Amara Kavya
By Ranchhor Bhatta.
39. Siyar-ul-Iqtab
By Allah Daya.
40. Mirat-ul-Khyal
By Shaikh Ibn Ali Ahmad Khan.
41. Safinat-ul-Auliya
By Dara Shikoh.
42. Sakinat-ul-Auliya
By Dara Shikoh.
43. Vichitra Natak
By Guru Govind Singh.
44. Account of Jodhpur
By Mehta Nensi.
45. Miyar-ul-Adrak
By Tughra.
46. Jahangir and the Jesuits
By Guerrerio.
47. Jahangir's India
By Pelsaeri.
48. Early English Travels in India
edited by Foster.

49. The First Letter Book of the East India Company.
50. The Court Minutes of the East India Company.
51. English Factories in India
edited by Foster.
52. Account of India
By De Laet.
53. Account of the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India.
54. Journal of a Voyage in the East India.
By Jourdan.

Shah Jahan

1. India Office Persian MS. 370
By Mir Abul Hasan.
2. Dastur-ul-Amal Agahii
By Aya Mal.
3. Fayyaz-ul-Qawanin
By Nawab Muhammad Ali Hasan Khan.
4. Ruqqaat-i-Inayat Khan Rasikh
By Inayat Khan.
5. Bahar-i-Sakhun
By Muhammad Salih Kambhu.
6. Nau Badah-i-Munir
By Abul Barkat Munir.
7. Badshah Nama
By Mirza Amini Qazwini.
8. Badshah Nama
By Abdul Hamid
9. Badshah Nama
By Muhammad Waris.
10. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh
By Sujan Rai.
11. Mujmal-i-Muffasil
By Muhamud.
12. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani
By Muhammad Sadiq.

13. Subh Sadiq
By Muhammad Sadiq.
14. Tarikh-i-Babar-o-Akbar-o-Shah Jahan
By An Anonymous.
15. Badshah Nama
By Muhhammad Tahar.
16. Badshah Nama
By Kalim.
17. Badshah Nama
By Mutamid Khan.
18. Shah Jahan Nama
By Bhagwan Das.
19. Intakhab-i-Waqaat-i-Shah Jahani
By Muhammad Zahid.
20. Halat-i-Aurangzeb
By Aqil Khan.
21. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh
By Mullah Muhammad Kazim.
22. Tarikh-i-Ali Adal Shah Sani
By Nur Ullah.
23. Muhammad Nama
By Zahur.
24. Qutb Nama
By Abdullah.
25. Mirat-i-Ahmadi.
By Ali Muhammad.
26. Rayaaz-us-Salatin
By Ghulam Husain.
27. Tarikh-i-Bengal
By Salim Ullah.
28. Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai
By Muhammad Masum.
29. Tarikh-i-Azami
By Muhammad Azam.

30. Lataif-ul-Akhabar
By Badi-uz-Zaman.
31. Jinat-ul-Fardus
By Mirza Muhammad.
32. Khyat
By Mehta Nensi
33. Chahar Chaman
By Chandar Bhan.
34. Maasir-ul-Umra
By Shah Nawaz Khan.
35. Tazkirat-ul-Umra
By Kewal Ram.
36. Raja Prashasti
By Ranchhor Bhatta.
37. Jai Singh Charita
By Man Kavi.
38. Shiva Bavani
By Bhushan.
39. Amar Kavya
By Ranchhor Bhatta.
40. Rubaiyat-i-Mulla Shah
By Mulla Shah Badakhshi.
41. Musanoviyat-i-Mulla Shah
By Mulla Shah Badakhshi.
42. Mirat-ul-Aulia
By Shikoh Ibn Ali Ahmad Khan.
43. Safinat-ul-Aulia
By Dara Shikoh.
44. Sakinat-ul-Aulia
By Dara Shikoh.
45. Account of Jodhpur
By Mehta Nensi.
46. Munishiyat-i-Tabrezi
By Abdul Ali Tabrezi.

47. Insha-i-Brahman
By Chandar Bhan.
48. Chahar Chaman
By Chandar Bhan.
49. Insha-i-Ibrahimi
By Ibrahim Turkman.
50. Ruqqaat-i-Hasani
By Abdul Hasan.
51. Haft Anjaman
By Tali Yar.
52. Ruqqaat-i-Tughra
By Tughra Mashahadi.
53. Dastur-i-Jahan Kusha
By Khair Ullah
54. Guldasta-i-Saltanat
By Chandar Bhan.
55. Farhang-i-Kardani
By Jagat Rai.
56. Hidayat-ul-Qawanin
By Hidayat Ullah.
57. Account of his Mission and Travels
By Manrique
58. General Description of India
By Von Twist.
59. Travels of Peter Mundy.
60. Account of Travels of George Ardries.

Aurangzeb

1. Kalamat-i-Aurangzeb
edited by Inayat Ullah.
2. Kalamat-i-Tayyibat
edited by Inayat Ullah.
3. Ruqaim-i-Karaim
By Ashraf Khan.

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF MUGHAL INDIA

4. Dastur-ul-Amal Agahi
By Aya Mal.
5. Ahkam-i-Alamgiri
edited by Inayat Ullah.
6. Adab-i-Alamgiri
edited by Qabil Khan.
7. Fayyaz-ul-Qawanin
By Nawab Muhammad Ali Hasan Khan.
8. Bahar-i-Sakhun
By Muhammad Salih Kambhu.
9. Nau Badah-i-Munir
By Abul Barkat Munir.
10. Alamgir Nama
By Muhammad Kazim.
11. Halat-i-Aurangzeb
By Aqil Khan.
12. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh
By Sujan Rai.
13. Lub-ut-Tawarikh
By Rai Bindra Ban.
14. Maasir-i-Alamgiri
By Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan.
15. Tarikh-i-Ibrat Muqal
By Qasim.
16. Tabasar-ul-Nazarin
By Sayyed Muhammad Bilgrami.
17. Tarikh-i-Alamgiri
By Ahmad Quli Safavi.
18. Mirat-i-Alam
By Bakhtawar Khan.
19. Tazkirat-ul-Salatin-i-Chughta
By Muhammad Hadi.
20. Tarikh-i-Abul Fazl Mamuri
By Abul Fazl.

21. Muntakhib-ul-Lubab
By Khafi Khan.
22. Fatuhāt-i-Alamgiri
By Ishar Das.
23. Aina-i-Bakht
By Bakhtawar Khan.
24. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh
By Mulla Muhammad Nazim.
25. Mufid-ul-Mawarakhin
By Abdul' Shakur.
26. Tarikh-i-Ali Adil Shah Sani
By Nur Ullah.
27. Muhammad Nama
By Zahuri.
28. Qutb Nama
By Abdullah.
29. Nuskha-i-Dilkusha
By Bhim Sen.
30. Basatin-us-Salatin
By Mirza Ibrahim.
31. Mirat-i-Ahmadi
By Ali Muhammad.
32. Rayyaz-us-Salatin
By Ghulam Husain.
33. Tarikh-i-Bengal
By Salim Ullah.
34. Tarikh-i-Asham
By Shahab-ud-Din Talish.
35. Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai
By Muhammad Masum.
36. Tarikh-i-Azami
By Muhammad Azami.
37. Jinat-ul-Firdus
By Mirza Muhammad.

38. Khyat
By Mehta Nensi
39. Waqiat
By Nimat Khan Ali.
40. Roz Namcha
By Mirza Muhammad.
41. Maasir-ul-Umra
By Shah Nawaz Khan.
42. Tazkirat-ul-Umra
By Kewal Ram.
43. Raja Prashasti
By Ranchhor Bhatta.
44. Raj Vilas
By Man Kavi.
45. Jai Singh Charita
By Man Kavi.
46. Shiva Bavani
By Bhushan.
47. Chhatra Sal Charita
By Lal.
48. Rubaiyat-i-Mulla Shah
By Mulla Shah Badakshi.
49. Mirat-ul-Khayal
By Shaikh Ibn Ali Ahmad Khan.
50. Masnaviyat-i-Mulla Shah
By Mulla Shah Badakshi.
51. Dasam Granth
Compiled by Guru Gobind Singh.
52. Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim
By Murtza Husain.
53. Chahar Gulshan
By Chatarman.
54. Account of Jodhpur
By Mehta Nensi.

55. Ruqqaat-i-Shah Abbas Sani
Compiled by Tahar Wahid.
56. Insha-i-Raushan Kalam Bhupat
By Bhupa Rai.
57. Rayaz-ul-Wadad
By Aizad Baksha Raza.
58. Karnama-i-Jeth Mal
By Jethmal.
59. Insha-i-Zarbakhsh
By Sayyad Muhammad Zaya Chughtai.
60. Nuskha-i-Aish Afza
By Saif Khan.
61. Jami-ul-Qawanin
By Shah Muhammad.
62. Ruqqaat-i-Hasani
By Abdul Hasan.
63. Haft Anjaman
By Tali Yar.
64. Ruqqaat-i-Tughra
By Tughra Mashahadi.
65. Farhang-i-Kardani
By Jagat Rai.
66. Hidayat-ul-Qawanin
By Hidayat Ullah.
67. Dastur-i-Jahan Kusha
By Khair Ullah.
68. Saiyd Nama
By Muhammad Raza.
69. Majmuat-ul-Alamgiri
By Abdul Khaliq.
70. Tuhfat-ul-Hind
By Mirza Khan.
71. Mughal India
By Manucci.

72. A Voyage to Surat
By Ovington.
73. Travels in Mughal Empire
By Bernier.
74. Travels in India
By J.B. Tavernnier.
75. John Marshal in India
edited By S.A. Khan.
76. Account of Mughal India
By Thavenot.
77. Voyage and Travels into the East Indies
By Mandelslo.
78. A New Account of East India and Persia
By Fryer.
79. Description of Portugese Asia
By Fari-ya-Sonso.
80. English Factories in India
By Foster.
81. A Historical Fragment of Mughal India
By Orme.

LATER MUGHALS

Bahadur Shah I to Bahadur Shah II

1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab
By Khafi Khan.
2. Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan.
By Mir Mubarakullah Iradat Khan.
3. Ibrat-Nama
By Muhammad Kasim.
4. Tazkira-i-Chaghatai
By Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan.
5. Tarikh-i-Chaghatai
By Muhammad Shafi.
6. Tarikh-i-Hind
By Rustam Ali.

7. Jauhar-i-Samsam
By Muhammad Mushin Sadik
8. Tazkira
By Anand Ram Mukhlis.
9. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah
By An Anonymous.
10. Bayan-i-Waqi
By Khwaja Abdul Karim Khan.
11. Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani
By An Anonymous.
12. Tarikh-i-Manazilul Futuh
By Muhammad Jafar Shamlu
13. Farhatun Nazirin
By Muhammad Aslam.
14. Siyaru-l-Muta-Akhirin
By Ghulam Husain Khan.
15. Ibrat Nama
By Fakir Khairud-din Muhammad.
16. Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan
By Ali Ibrahim Khan.
17. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari
By Muhammad Ali Khan.
18. Nigar-Nama-i-Hind
By Saiyid Ghulam Ali.
19. Ahwal-i-Jang-i-Bhau-wa-Ahmad Shah Durrani
By Kashi Raj Pandit.
20. Ahwal-i-Adina Beg
By Ahmad Yadgar.
21. Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daula-wa-Ali Muhammad Khan
By Bihari Lal.
22. Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daula
By Saiyad Nuruddin Hasan.
23. Ahmad Shah-Baba-i-Afgan
By Gubar Gulam Ali.

24. Imad-us-Sadat
By Saiyad Gulam Ali.
25. Umdat-ut-Tawarikh
By Sohan Lal Suri.
26. Khazanh-i-Amirah
By Gulshan Ali Khan Azad.
27. Khalsanama
By Bakhat Mal.
28. Gul-i-Rahmat
By Muhammad Sad Yar Khan.
29. Gulistan-i-Rahmat
By Muhammad Mustjab Khan.
30. Chahar-Gulzar-i-Shujai
By Har Charan Das.
31. Tazkirat-i-Imad-ul-Mulk
By Imad-ul-Mulk.
32. Tazkirah-i-Anandram
By Anandram.
33. Tahmas Nama
By Tahmas Khan.
34. Tarikh-i-Ali
By Muhammad Saleh Kudrat.
35. Tarikh-i-Janak-O-Bhau
By Ali Ibrahim Khan.
36. Tarikh-i-Mujaffari
By Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari.
37. Halat-i-Amdan-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani
By Gulam Husain.
38. History of Nadir Shah
By James Fraser.

CHAPTER II

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF MUGHAL INDIA (AFGAN KINGS)

Sher Shah and His Successors

1. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi
By Abbas Khan Sarwani.
2. Makhzan-i-Afghana
By Niamat-ul-Lah.
3. Tarikh-i-Daudi
By Abdullah.
4. Tuzak-i-Baburi
By Emperor Babar.
5. Tarikh-i-Rashidi
Mirza Haidar.
6. Humayun Nama
By Gulbadan Begum.
7. Tazqirat-ul-Waqiat
By Jauhar.
8. Tabakat-i-Akbari
By Nizamuddin Ahmad.
9. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh
By Abdul Qadir Badauni.
10. Akbar Nama
By Abul Fazl.
11. Ain-i-Akbari
By Abul Fazl.

12. Tarikh-i-Ferishta
By Ferishta.
13. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandhari.
By Muhammad Arif.
14. Mujmal-i-Maffasil
By Mulla Muhammad.
15. Tarikh-i-Sindh
By Muhammad Masum.
16. Mirat-i-Sikandari
By Sikandar.
17. Mirat-i-Ahmadi
By Ali Muhammad Khan.
18. Janam Sakhi
By Sewa Das.
19. Adi Granth
Compiled by Guru Arjun Dev.
20. Account of Jodhpur
By Mehta Nensi.
21. Maasir-ul-Umra
By Shah Nawaz Khan.
22. Sair-ul-Arfin
By Shaikh Jamal.
23. Akhabar-ul-Akhayar
By Abdul Haq.
24. Insha-i-Nami
By Khawand Mir.
25. Jinat-ul-Fardus
By Mirza Muhammad.
26. Ruqqaat-i-Inayat Khan Rasikh
By Inayat Khan.
27. Sidi Ali Rais's Travels
By Sidi Ali Rais.
28. Account of India
By De Laet.

29. Commentary
By Monserrate.
30. History of Mughal India
By Palsaert.
31. Early English Travels in India
edited by Foster.
32. A Voyage in the East Indies
By Linschoten.
33. Journal of a Voyage in the East India
By Jourdan.
34. Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque
By Afonso Dalboquerque.

CHAPTER III

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF MUGHAL INDIA (MARATHA RULERS)

Chhatrapati Shivaji and his Successors

1. "Shiva-Chhatrapati-Chen Charitra"
By Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad.
2. "Shiva-Chhatrapati-Chen Sapta-prakaranatmak
Charitra"
By Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis.
3. "Shivadigvijay"
edited By P.R. Nandurbarkar and L.K. Dandekar.
4. "Chitra Gupta Bakhar."
5. "Shivapratap".
6. "Shrimant Maharaj Bhonsle-yanchi Bakhar".
7. "More-yanchi Chhoti Bakhar".
8. "Mahabaleshwar-chi Juni Mahiti".
9. "Zedhe-yanchi Shakavali."
10. "Marathyan-chya-Itihasochin Sadhanen."
11. "Powadas" (Marathi Ballads).
12. "Aitihāsik Patren Yadi Waghaire."
13. "Aitihāsik Patravayavahara."
14. "Bavda Daftar."
15. "Bhau Sahebanchi Bakhar."
16. "Chandrachud Daftar."

17. "Chitnis Bakhar."
By Malhar Ramrao Chitnis.
18. "Gadadhar Pralhad Shakavali"
By Gadadhar Pralhad.
19. "Hingane Daftar."
edited By G.H. Khare.
20. Inchalkaranji Samsthancha Itihas
By Vasudev Vaman Shastri Khare.
21. Jadhav Gharanyachi Kaifiyat
By O.D. Dalvi.
22. Purandare Daftar.
23. Ahwal-i-Adina Beg
By Ahmad Yadgar.
24. Ahmad Shah Baba-i-Afghan
By Ghubar Ghulam Ali.
25. Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daulahva Ali Muhammad
By Bihari Lal
26. Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daulah
By Sayyed Nuruddin Husain.
27. Gulistan-i-Rahmat
By Muhammad Mustajab Khan.
28. Halat-i-Amadan-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani
By Samin Ghulam Husain.
29. Maasir-ul-Umra
By Shah Nawaz Khan.
30. Manzil-ul-Futuh
By Muhammad Jaffar Shamlu.
31. Mirat-i-Ahmadi
By Ali Muhammad Khan.
32. Muntakhab-ul-lubab
By Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan.
33. Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin
By Sayyid Ghulam Husain Tabatabai.
34. Tahmas Nama
By Tahmas Khan.

35. Tajkirat-i-Imad-ul-Mulk.
By Imad-ul-Hulk
36. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghan
By Ahmad Yadgar.
37. Tarikh-i-Iradatkhān
By Mir Mubarak Ullah Iradat Khan.
38. Tazkirah-i-Anandram
By Anand Ram Mukhlis.
39. Alamgir Nama
By Mirza Muhammad Kazim.
40. Masir-i-Alamgiri
By Saqi Mustaid Khan.
41. Nuskha-i-Dilkasha
By Bhimsen Burhanpuri.
42. Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri
By Ishwar Das Nagar.
43. Muhammad Nama
By Muhammad Zahur.
44. Tarikh-i-Ali Adil Shah II
By Sayyid Nurullah.
45. Adab-i-Alamgiri
By Qabil Khan
46. Shiva Bavani
By Bhushan.
47. Chhatra Sal Charita
By Lal.
48. Storia do Mogor (travels of Manucci)
By Manucci.
49. Travels in Mughal Empire
By Bernier.
50. Travels in India
By J.B. Tavernnier.
51. A New Account of East India and Persia
By Fryer.

52. A Historical Fragment of Mughal India
By Orme.
53. History of the Mahrattas
By J. Grant Duff.
54. English Factories in India
By Foster.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERSIAN SOURCES

Ahkam-i-Alamgiri

'Ahkam-i-Alamgiri' of Inayat Ullah supplies us with some information about the reign of Aurangzeb, particularly the political institutions of the period. The levy of the Jizya, Aurangzeb's relations with the Europeans, his Rathor troubles, his order forbidding the appointment of Hindus as Subahdars and Foujdars all find a place here. Aurangzeb's relations with Raja Bhim Singh and Ajit Singh are also related here. There is a Manuscript in the Raza Library, Rampur.

Adab-i-Alamgiri

'Adab-i-Alamgiri' edited by Qabil Khan contains 628 letters of Aurangzeb. They form a valuable means of estimating Aurangzeb's character and throw light on many vexed questions. Aurangzeb is found advising his grandson, Muhammad Azim, to get himself weighed against different metals and corn twice a year in order to safeguard himself against bodily and spiritual ills. The compilation, besides throwing light on many points of historical interest, explains the actual relations between the emperor and his commanders and governors.

Akbar Nama

'Akbar Nama' by Abul Fazl was the first official history of the Mughals. Abul Fazl's work is by far the best and most reliable. Abul Fazl wrote under State patronage, and hence had all the facilities the state could place at his disposal. Akbar desired Abul Fazl to write a history of the Mughal dynasty

since its foundation. The method adopted in describing various events is chronological. Abul Fazl seems to be acting as a diarist. He uses the Ilahi as well as the Hijri Calendar. 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. Abul Fazl was murdered in 1606 and the account of the years thereafter is continued by Shaikh Faizi Sirhindi.

Akbar Nama of Abul Fazl "paints Sher Shah and Islam Shah in the same colour as the Court historians of Aurangzeb, two centuries afterwards, painted the great Maratha hero Shivaji and his son."

The Akbar Nama (or History of Akbar) by Abul Fazl, translated from the Persian, by Henry Beveridge. It comes down to the early part of 1602, or the end of the 46th year of Akbar's reign. It was brought to an abrupt close by the murder of its author in that year. "The historical matter in Abul Fazl's book," Observes V.A. Smith, "is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric, and the author, an unblushing flatterer of his hero, sometimes conceals, or even deliberately prevents, the truth (e.g., the dating of Akbar's birth with the story of his naming; and the account of the capitulation of Asirgarh). Nevertheless, the Akbar Nama, notwithstanding its grave and obvious faults, must be treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate."

Akbar Nama of Abul Fazl is the Chief Source of information regarding the birth, education and early life of Jahangir. In Abul Fazl's monumental work we come across some stray references to the birth and early education of Prince Khurram.

Ain-i-Akbari

'Ain-i-Akbari' of Abul Fazl is an official Gazetteer of India besides being a useful administrative manual. The 'Ain-i-Akbari' 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.

The Ain-i-Akbari, according to Banarsi Prasad Saxena "is

absolutely essential for a study of the administrative institutions of the Mughals". The best criticism of the Ain-i-Akbari is to be found in W.H. Moreland's 'Agrarian System of Muslim India.'

The Ain-i-Akbari has some valuable references to Sher Shah's land settlement and revenue system.

The Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl—translated from the original Persian by H. Blochmann. The whole is invaluable for the account of Akbar's Administrative system. Abul Fazl's work is by far the best and most reliable.

Bahar-i-Sakhun

'Bahar-i-Sakhun' by Muhammad Salih Kambhu contains letters of Shah Jahan as also of Aurangzeb to the rulers of Barra, Balkh, Persia, Herat, Turan and Kandhar. It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal foreign policy. No student of Mughal History can afford to neglect this important source.

Badshah Nama

'Badshah Nama' by Muhammad Amin Qazavini was written to Shah Jahan's order in the twentieth year of his reign and supplies a good deal of information not available elsewhere. Mirza Muhammad Amin Qazavini was the first extant official historian of Shah Jahan's reign. He was present in the Deccan when the terrible famine of 1630 occurred. His first composition was the account of Aurangzeb's fight with the elephant Sudhakar, it was highly commanded by the Emperor Shah Jahan. He then wrote an account of the Bundela campaign, which so much impressed Shah Jahan that he appointed him Court historian. He continued to hold this post till he had completed the record of the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign, when he was removed on account of the jealousy of his rivals.

According to Banarsi Prasad Saxena, "the Badshah Nama of Qazavini is in simple but graceful language, and is typical of the pure Persian study of that period. Naturally the author is partial to his patron the Emperor. When dealing with the latter's early life, and especially his rebellion, he fixes the entire blame on Nur Jahan, whom he condemns in strong language.

In fact the account of the rebellion is very meagre, and the author attempts to explain this period of trouble on superstitious grounds. But the work is valuable for the early education of Shah Jahan and for the events which occurred during the first ten years of the reign.

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.

Badshah Nama of Qazavini is also called Tarikh-i-Shah Jahan Dahsala.

Badshah Nama

'Badshah Nama' 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. Shahnawaz Khan praises him for his refined and chaste style, but as a historian Muhammad Tahir ranks among those who can copy but not create. Though placed highly in the Imperial service and in a position to obtain independent information from reliable sources. Muhammad Tahir was the son of Zafar Khan the governor of Kashmir.

Muhammad Tahir is partial to Shah Jahan, and therefore omits the murder of Khusrav, and Shah Jahan's demands from his father before his rebellion. His remark that the Balkh Campaign was in the nature of retaliation for Nazr Muhammad Khan's attempt to conquer Kabul, is interesting.

Badshah Nama of Muhammad Tahir is a complete history of Shah Jahan's reign. It makes references to Shah Jahan's linguistic equipments and tells us that he knew Hindi well.

Chahar Chaman-i-Bhahman

Chahar Chaman-i-Bhahman by Chandar Bhan is divided into four parts. The part first gives the writer's recollections of certain public events of Shah Jahan's reign. The second part includes a description of contemporary India. The Third part records many personal anecdotes of the writer's life. The last

part includes some wise saws, his autobiography, and some letters of his. The last date mentioned is December 20, 1658.

Chandar Bhan is the first gifted Hindu poet of the Mughal period. He was a native of Lahore. He could write both prose and poetry with equal elegance. His work 'Chandar Chaman-i-Bhahman' is an outstanding instance of what ornate and involved prose can be. He was endowed with pungent wit, ready intelligence, and some originality.

Dastur-ul-Amal-Agahi

'Dastur-ul-Amal-Agahi' compiled by Aya Mal Jaipuri contains 281 letter of Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan, Shah Alam, Azam Shah, Akbar, Kam Baksh, Muaz-ud-Din, Azim-ud-Din Bedar Bakht, Abul Hasan Tana 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. In it we find the daily cares of an Emperor's life exhibited, as also, Mughal administrative practices in their actual working revealed. 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. It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal administration.

Faiyaz-ul-Qawanin

'Faiyaz-ul-Qawanin' compiled by Nawab Muhammad Ali Hasan Khan, contains in its 688 pages letters of Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb besides those of Dara and Murad. The diplomacy of the war of succession is revealed here in many of the letters. Murad's letters to Aurangzeb are particularly important as throwing some light on the question of their relations during the War of Succession. 'Faiyaz-ul-Qawanin is invaluable for a study of the Mughal foreign policy. The first Chapter (covering pages 10 to 366) contains letters received by the Mughal emperors from foreign potentates. Last pages contain letters of officials and private citizens and the book is rounded off by a description of India. No student of Mughal administrative practices can afford to neglect this important source. Thus this letter book is a mine of historical information.

Fatuh-at-i-Alamgiri

'Fatuh-at-i-Alamgiri' of Ishar Dass gives us a contemporary account of Aurangzeb's reign till his 34th year. It is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter opens with a reference to the illness of Shah Jahan and the activities of Dara to obtain control of the State affairs. The most interesting fact in the second chapter is the reference to Aurangzeb's promise to Murad to seat him on the throne and then retire from the world. The detailed working of Mughal administration in its various phases in Rajput States and imperial territories all stands revealed here. Thus this book is extremely useful for the reign of Aurangzeb.

Guldasta-i-Saltanat

'Guldasta-i-Saltanat' by Chandar Bhan describes the daily life of Shah Jahan and the Court ceremonies. Chandar Bhan was a native of Lahore, of tolerant disposition and wide outlook. He could write both prose and poetry with equal elegance. He is the first gifted Hindu poet of the Mughal period. If credit may be given to any author for having completely absorbed and reproduced the style of Abul Fazl, undoubtedly it would go to Chandar Bhan. Thus this book is extremely useful for the reign of Shah Jahan. The following is a detailed table of its contents :

1. Jharoka-i-Darshan
2. Jharoka-i-Khas
3. Chahar Taslim
4. The Ghushl Khana
5. The Court of Justice
6. In the Harem
7. The Ghushl Khana
8. Praises of the Emperor
9. Festive Courts
10. Riches
11. The Id
12. On the move

13. The Army
14. The Royal Hunt
15. The Feast of Lamps
16. Recent Victories
17. Foundation of Delhi
18. End

Humayun Nama

'Humayun Nama' written by Gulbadan Begum is a valuable authority for Humayun's reign. Gulbadan was a daughter of Babar and was born somewhere about 1523. She was a little child when her father set on his last Indian expedition and was eight years old at the time of Babar's death. She was married to Khizr Khwajah Khan, a Chaghatai Mughal, and it appears from her account that at the age of seventeen she was a married woman. Humayun's sister Gulbadan is the only woman writer of the period. Her descriptions of (i) Babar's affection for Maham Begum and for Humayun, and his sacrifice of life for the latter, (ii) Maham Begum's interest in Humayun's reign, (iii) the 'mystic' feasts and Hindal's marriage feasts, (iv) Humayun's return journey from Gaur, (v) The record of losses among Humayun's women after the battle of Chausa, are extremely vivid.

Gulbadan Begum is not devoid of faults : (i) Her spelling of words is not always in the orthodox style; (ii) her dates are not always correct; this is because she wrote the memoirs more than forty years after the occurrence of the events; (iii) her love for her full brother, Hindal, made her blind to his defects.

She wrote this between 1580 and 1590 A.D. at Akbar's instance. Prof. Qanungo writes, "I have found this book very useful, especially as regards dates and events of Humayun's life", Gulbadan Begum lived to a ripe old age and died in February 1603 after a short illness.

In the Humayun Nama we obtain a glimpse of the culture and refinement of the Timurids of both sexes and of their lively appreciation of political events. The value of the Humayun

Nama is considerable because Gulbadan was an eye-witness of many of the events that she relates.

The Humayun Nama was written in Persian. The authoress seems to have been a well-educated lady, fond of books and learning, and her upbringing qualified her for portraying faithfully the events of her time. She describes herself as In Haqir (the insignificant) which shows her humility. Mrs. A.S. Beveridge's translation is a faithful rendering of the text and is excellently annotated. The only copy of Gulbadan's work is in the British Museum and bears on the fly leaf the following endorsement :

'Ahwal Humayun Padshah Jamah Kardah Gulbadan Begum bint Babar Padshah amma Akbar Padshah.'

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "There are errors in the book, and Gulbadan sometimes gives us very little information about important matters. The Battles of Chausa and Qanauj occupy an inconsiderable space in her narrative and evidently she, a woman to the core, care more for marriages and the gaiety of social life in the royal seraglio than about these decisive events of Humayun's career. The sequence of events is sometimes faulty and her brevity causes much disappointment.

Humayun Namah

'Humayun Namah' 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. Khwand Mir was born in Herat in 880 A.H., and died in Gwalior in 941 A.H. His full name was Ghiyasuddin Khwand Mir bin Himamuddin. Khwand Mir like his grandfather, Mirkhond is a well-known figure among the Muslim historians. His history, the Humayun Namah, though it deals only with the first three years of Humayun's reign, was written at the King's desire. Humayun's words as quoted by the writer are, 'It seems proper and desirable that the inventions of my auspicious mind, and the improvement of my enlightened understanding, should be arranged in a series and written down.'

The writer received from the Emperor the title of 'Amir-i-

Akhbar' or 'the noble historian'. It gives some "curious accounts of the regulations established by Humayun in the early part of his reign".

A complete translation of the work (Humayun Namah or Qanun-i-Humayuni) made by Sadasukh Lal, Sir Henry Elliot's Munshi, is in the British Museum. Khwand Mir is an eye-witness of things that he describes. He accompanied Humayun on some of his expeditions, and was introduced to him at Gwalior some time in 1533-34. Khwand Mir writes in a highly ornate style of persian full of similes and metaphors. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "Like Abul Fazl, he expresses himself in hyperbological language and passes a high-flown eulogy upon the Emperor. The Humayun Namah is not a historical treatise but a collection of observances, regulations, ordinances and descriptions of court festivities. The innovations of the Emperor which he saw with his own eyes are fully described and Khwand Mir's account has been adopted in toto by Abul Fazl."

A translation of the Humayun Namah in English by Dr. Beni Prasad of Calcutta has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The text has also been edited by K.S. Hidayat Husain.

Insha-i-Har Karan

'Insha-i-Har Karan' by Munshi Har Karan was compiled between 1034 and 1040 A.H. (1624 to 1630 A.D.). It contains a letter of authority exempting a particular trader from the payment of Baj and Zakat. Another mentioning appointment of arbitrators in a civil suit. Thus this book is invaluable for a study of the Mughal administration. No student of Mughal administrative practices can afford to neglect this important source. Its Chief interest lies in its preserving official forms of Letters of Appointment thereby throwing light on the functions of different officials and Mughal administrative practices.

Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri

Mutamid Khan wrote Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahagiri in 1632. It deals with the reign of Babar, 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 Jahagir's reign supplements the Memoirs of Jahagir. The author was a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir and his description a very valuable part of the work. It gives an economic description of Empire. The author mentions certain events which he himself witnessed.

Jaipur Records

The Jaipur Records form a very valuable mine of information. Ever since the submission of Raja Bhagwandas 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 Gujrat, they served the Mughal Emperors in various capacities. 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 lettres from the emperors and princes, 9298 letters to the Maharajas, more than 10000 miscellaneous letters, and memoranda and 340 drafts of letters.

The date of these letters range between 1606 and 1717. This correspondence embrace all varieties of official papers. The Jat rebellion in Mathura 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 Maharana 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 Govind Singh and his relations with Aurangzeb, siege of Udgir under Shah Jahan, Mughal expedition to Nurpur, Shah Jahan's rebellion of 1627, capture of Nagpur are, among others, some of the episodes in the Mughal history, light on which is thrown by these papers.

According to Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, "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.

Jinat-ul-Fardus

'Jinat-ul-Fardus' by Mirza Muhammad was written in 1714 A.D. and is a history of the different provincial dynasties of India. Besides the history of various provincial dynasties, scholars of various localities, past and present, are also mentioned. It is invaluable for a study of the Provincial administration of the Mughal period.

Kalimat-i-Aurangzeb

'Kalimat-i-Aurangzeb' compiled by Inayat Ullah contains notes of Aurangzeb, addressed to 31 persons mostly about public affairs. It describes the delicate ceremonials observed between a Mughal nobleman and a Mughal prince when they met. 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. 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. It contains another of the rare references to the Sikhs to be found in the Persian writings of the seventeenth century. Besides it throws very useful light on many dark corners of Mughal administration. Aurangzeb's relations with Rajputs are also related here. It is invaluable for a study of the Deccan policy of the Mughals

Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh

'Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh' of Sujan Raj Khattri 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. Sujan Rai Khattri was a resident of Patiala in the Punjab. He says that from his youth upwards he was acting as Munshi to high government officers, and he gives a long list of authorities from the Ramayan to the Tarikh-i-Bahadur-Shahi, on which he has based his work. It gives an economic description of the country besides making mention of contemporary saints,

scholars and teachers. The author says that since it is a summary of the reigns of various kings up to Aurangzeb he has named his work *Khulasat*. Practically half of the work is devoted to a description of Subas and the Hindu and Muslim Kings preceding the Chaghtais. 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.

In his account of the Hindus he mentions the kumbh fair which is held every twelve years at Hardwar. He is doubtful about Shahjahan's complicity in the murder of Khusrav, and describes the events of Jahangir's reign very briefly. For the details of Shahjahan's reign he refers to the *Shahjahan-nama* of Mohammad Waris. In his account of the war of succession the author attributes the flight of Jaswant Singh to the desertion of followers, especially Raja Raj Singh Sisodia and Raja Sujan Singh Chandrawat. The author does not say that Dara dismounted from his elephant at the instance of Khalilullah Khan. The work ends with Dara's flight from Sindh to Gujarat, and the author abruptly remarks that Aurangzeb died in the Deccan at the age of 92 years in 1707. Thus this book is extremely useful for the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

Lub-ut-Tawarikh

'Lub-ut-Tawarikh' of Rai Bindraban, a contemporary official, which stops short at the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda. It is invaluable for a study of the Deccan Policy of the Mughals. No student of Mughal History can afford to neglect this important source.

Makhzan-i-Afghani

'Mukhzan-i-Afghani': the author of this work Nimat Ullah was for thirty years in the Khalsa Department during the reign of Akbar, and for eleven years occupied the post of Waqiah-navis under Jahangir. Further he says that in 1595 he was serving as librarian to the Khan Khanan.

Nimat Ullah began to write his work on February 1612. He has devoted the first four chapters to the history of the Lodhi and Suri dynasties, and in the fifth chapter he gives an

account of the ancestors of Khan Jahan. The last event mentioned is Khan Jahan's retirement to Elichpur in May 1612.

The State Library, Kapurthala possesses a copy of *Mukhzan-i-Afghani* written by Nimat 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.

Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh

'Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh' of Abdul Qadir Badayuni 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. Abdul Qadir Badayuni was the son of Saikh Muluk Shah and was born at Toda on August 21, 1540 A.D. He went to Agra in A.D. 1558-59 and studied under famous Saikh Mubarak Nagori alongwith Faizi and Abul Fazl. As Abdul Qadir's father died at Agra in A.D. 1562, he went to Badayuni, now in Uttar Pradesh. All through this period, he studied different branches of knowledge under the most renowned and pious men of the age and thus attained great but many-sided scholastic attainments in Islamic literature and attained a high watermark in outstanding others in the field of music, history, astronomy. He had developed a great passion since his childhood for history and spent his hours in reading and writing history, as he himself wrote. He was very fortunate, indeed, to have flourished in a period which was animated by various influences then at play and he naturally could not escape their aftermath in the unfoldment of his personality. The fate of the Madhvi leaders was hanging in the balance and hardly any serious aspirant of knowledge could receive initiation in the holy portals of learning without becoming conscious of and influenced by the deep rift and cleavage that had torn asunder the rank and file of the ulamas, brought about by the teachings and propagations of Sayyad Muhammad of Jaunpur and occasioned by the divergent opinions of various personalities and parties to the conflict in the realm of national values, viz.,

hugging of wealth, pelf and power, or abjuring them completely. In the world of sufis and ulamas the aforesaid two types had their admirers and followers. The struggle for power between the Afghans and the Mughals was another counter to make an inroad in the field of national values, as it had given rise to occasion to evaluate afresh the concept about the nature and value of loyalty itself in the world of thinking section of the period and this had left an indelible impress of its own.

Finally, by the time Badayuni came of age and received the necessary scholastic accomplishments to draw attention and command respect, Akbar's thirst for the satiety of his intellectual curiosity had led him to go in quest of men, ideas and books. This naturally paved the ground for the two to come close with each other.

In A.D. 1574 Badayuni came to Agra where he was admitted to the court of emperor Akbar through the instrumentality of Jamal Khan Qurci and Hakim Ain-ul-Mulk. Akbar appointed Badayuni as an Imam in A.D. 1575 and ultimately gave him 1000 bighas of land as madad-i-maas at Badayuni, for he was greatly impressed by Badayuni's extent of theological learning and his capacity to humble the overbearing attitude and arrogance of the Mullahs for their learning. Saikh Abdun Nabi was the Sadr and Akbar was smarting under great discomfiture at the overbearing dominance of the former and other ulamas of his brand. "As learning was a merchandise much in demand" Wrote Badayuni, "I had the privilege of being addressed (by His Majesty) as soon as I reached (his threshold). I was included among the members of the assembly and was thrown into discussion with the ulamas who blew the trumpet of profundity and thought nothing of anybody. By the grace of God, the power of my mind, the sensitiveness of my intelligence and that boldness which is a natural quality of youth, I often proved myself the superior." He was frequently called upon by emperor Akbar to translate Arabic and Sanskrit works (Mahabharat) into Persian.

Abul Fazl also found his way to the imperial court of Akbar at about the time of Badayuni's entry therein. Abul Fazl finally proved insurmountable for Badayuni to demolish

the former's ever-growing hold on emperor Akbar. Badayuni found himself ultimately thrown into the background and at bay in the course of encounter with the two brothers, Faizi and Abul Fazl. He was fighting for Sariat, and any one who differed with him was his enemy, be he Akbar, Faizi, Abul Fazl, the entire world of intellectuals, infidels, accursed Shias, fanatically extreme Sunnis, and he branded them all as impostors. The final outcome was that Badayuni never forgave Akbar or Abul Fazl for the fact that he failed to get due recognition for his merit which he deserved. The result was the severe castigation of Abul Fazl, his brother Faizi and emperor Akbar at the hands of Badayuni in his work "Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh". Badayuni, having been an orthodox Muslim, not only developed a strong dislike for Akbar's free thought and eclecticism, but became thoroughly disgusted with Akbar's patronage of men of different persuasions to the detriment of the Muslims who alone claimed to have the sole title to government offices and patronage. His aforesaid work was completed shortly before his death in A.D. 1615 (A.H. 1024) and according to Khafi Khan, its publication was suppressed by Jahangir.

Badayuni's Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh is a history of India, covering the period from the days of the Ghaznavides down to the fortieth regnal year of Akbar. It contains three parts. The first records the history of India from Subuktagin (A.D. 977-97) down to the death of Humayun (on January 24, A.D. 1556). The second is devoted to cover only the first forty years of Akbar's reign. The third and the last part contains the biographical accounts of the saints, poets and men of letters who were either known to him, or were attached to the court of Akbar. This work was completed on March 5, A.D. 1595.

The Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh, of Badayuni, compiled shortly before his death in A.D. 1615, written as it is in a spirit of disgust against the eclecticism of emperor Akbar and his two close associates, namely, Faizi and Abul Fazl in particular, for their having breached Islamic orthodoxy, a dissatisfaction having been further heightened in its biting invectives against them by author's growing sense of frustration to get proper dues at the hands of his master in the field of material advance-

ment, happily in the sum-total of its effects acts as a necessary corrective to and a brake against the over-laudatory panegyric of Abul Fazl's Akbar Nama.

The English translation of Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh was published in three Volumes. The first volume, translated by George S.A. Ranking and published in A.D. 1898 deals with the history of India from Subuktagin (A.D. 977-97) down to the death of Humayun in January, A.D. 1556.

The Second Volume translated by Lowe and published in A.D. 1884 treats the first forty years of Akbar's reign.

The Third and last volume, translated by Sri Wolsely Haig and published in A.D. 1925, gives the biographical accounts of the saints, poets and men of Akbar. Smith says, "Badayuni's interesting work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor's life-time and could not be published until after Jahangir's accession. The book being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunni, gives information which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors."

Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh

'Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh' by Yahya Bin Abdul Latif gives an account of the reigns of Babar, Humayun and Akbar and was written towards the end of Akbar's reign. It throws very useful light on many dark corners of Mughal administration.

Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh

'Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh' 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. It traces the history of the Mughals from the foundation of their dynasty in India. He gives us an account of Humayun's relations with the saints and scholars of his age. The author was a contemporary of Akbar. It gives an economic description of the reign of Akbar.

Maasir-i-Jahangiri

'Maasir-i-Jahangiri' of Kamgar Khan gives version of the events in Jahangir's reign and supplies us with a detailed bio-

graphy of him as a prince. As such it is useful for the reign of Akbar as well. Kamgar Khan wrote *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* in 1630. According to Khafi Khan, "Kamgar Khan is more reliable and truthful." But Kamgar Khan is partial to Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang, being closely related to him. He offers plausible explanations for Firoz Jang's treacherous conduct on two occasions; first his changing sides on the eve of the battle of Bilochpur; and second, his desertion of Shah-jahan, after the latter's return from Bengal. In spite of their defects, the work furnish valuable information on a period which otherwise would have been a blank to us, viz., the rebellion of Shah Jahan and the events immediately preceding his accession.

Muntakhib-ul-Lubab

'Muntakhib-ul-Lubab' occupy a very important place. But 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. Undoubtably he is a very judicious writer. It is a complete history of the Mughal Emperors from Babar down to Muhammad Shah (1733). The author's father was an official under Murad Bakhsh. Khafi Khan himself conducted an embassy to Bombay in 1694. "His reflective style, description of the condition of society, and characteristic anecdotes", writes Prof. J.N. Sarkar, "save his work from the dry formality of the court annals, and he is specially informing with regard to Deccan affairs."

This work is also frequently referred to as 'Tarikh-i-Khafi Khan, Khafi (concealed) is supposed by some to have been the title wittily conferred by Muhammad Shah upon the writer, Muhammad Hashim Khwafi, for his having concealed his valuable work for a long time (owing to Aurangzeb's ban on histories). Others derive the word from Khwaf a district of Khurasan near Naishapur. The historian was made Diwan by Nizam-ul-Mulk in the reign of Farrukh Siyar (Extracts in E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 207-533).

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 Alamgir's reign proves him to be one of the biggest impostors among historians. Khafi Khan began the writing of his book in the year 1030 A.H. (1717 A.D.) as he himself seems to indicate in the introduction to the first volume and completed it in A.H. (1045) (1732 A.D.), to which date he brings down his narrative in the second volume. The author mentions certain events which he himself witnessed. It becomes an important document of Aurangzeb's reign.

Mirat-i-Sikandri

'Mirat-i-Sikandri' of Sikandar bin Muhammad was completed in 1613. It is invaluable for a study of the relations of the Mughal emperors with Gujrat. It also gives a very full descriptive account of Gujrat.

Mirat-i-Ahmadi

'Mirat-i-Ahmadi' of Ali Muhammad Khan was completed in 1748. Its main value lies in the reproduction of many orders and instructions issued by the Mughal emperors. It gives a very full descriptive account of Gujrat. It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal's Domestic policy.

Maasir-i-Rahimi

'Maasir-i-Rahimi' by Muhammad Abdul Baqi was written in 1616, and is a biography of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan with a background of a short history of the Muslim rule in India. It gives suggestive accounts of various men of letters with whom Abdur Rahim used to surround himself.

Maasir-ul-Umra

"Maasir-ul-Umra' is a well known biographical dictionary of the Mughal public servants. The author 'Shah Nawaz Khan Aurangabadi' wrote Maasir-ul-Umra' in 1742-1747. It is based

on contemporary accounts and is a very useful work of references. 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 today. Maasir-ul-Umra is a work of peculiar interest and value. Its chief value lies in the many characteristic anecdotes it mentions and the light it throws on the manners of the age.

Nuskha-i-Dilkusha

'Nuskha-i-Dilkusha' by Bhim Sen is a contemporary account of Deccanese affairs during Aurangzeb's reign. There is only one Manuscript extant in the British Museum.

After a short introduction, Bhim Sen begins his work with an account of the ancestors of Rao Dalpat. Sir Jadunath Sarkar procured a transcript of this Manuscript. The following table of its contents would indicate the nature of the work :

1. Praises of God and of the Emperor.
2. Author's account of the various appointments held by him.
3. Illness of Shah Jahan, first defeat of Shuja.
4. Defeats of Jaswant, Dara and imprisonment of Shah Jahan.
5. Captivity of Murad and fall of Dara and Shuja.
6. Farman to Mir Jumla, his appointment as the Subedar of Bengal.
7. Shivaji's early career.
8. Temple demolition by Aurangzeb; Jat rising near Mathura; Shivaji's war with the Siddis of Janjira; Jai Singh forces Shivaji to submit; Shivaji's audience with the Emperor and flight.
9. Diler Khan's quarrel with prince Shah Alam, Viceroy of the Deccan.
10. Battle with Shivaji near Salher.
11. Rising of the Satnamis.
12. Disasters to the imperial arms in Afghanistan.

13. Death of Jaswant Singh, escape of his children; the Jizya; the Rajput War, Akbar's rebellion.
14. The war with the Rathors.
15. Prince Azam's expeditions into Bijapur and Shah Alam's into the Konkan.
16. Conquest of Golkonda.
17. Rising of Pahar Singh Gour in Sironj.
18. Conquest of Bijapur.
19. Sambhaji and Prince Akbar.
20. Shah Alam's imprisonment.
21. Capture of Salher.
22. Risings in Bundelkhand.
23. Desultory fighting in the Deccan.
24. Akbar's flight to Persia.
25. Rebellion of Durjan Singh Hada and disturbances in Rajputana.
26. Capture of Adoni.
27. Capture of Bangalore.
28. Rising of Raja Ram Jat near Agra.
29. Rising of Gopal Singh Gaur near Gwalior.
30. Rising of Churaman Jat at Sansani.
31. Capture of Rustam Khan by Santa Ghorpare.
32. Rupa Bhonsla loots Siddi Abdul Qadir.
33. The blinding of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang.
34. Campaign against Sambhaji.
35. Capture and execution of Sambhaji.
36. Capture of many Maratha forts.
37. Flight of Raja Ram.
38. Agha Khan Slain near Agra.
39. Submission of Durga Das.
40. End.

Bhim Sen's explanation of the word Bhonsla is interesting. He says that the founder of this dynasty was one Raja Ur Sen who migrated from Chitor to the Deccan, and settled in the village of Bhonsa in Parenda. It is after this village that his descendants are known as Bhonsla. Thus, it throws very useful light on many dark corners of Aurangzeb's period. It also gives an economic description of the reign of Aurangzeb. No student of Mughal History can afford to neglect this important source.

Nama-i-Nami

'Nama-i-Nami' or 'Ruqqaat-i-Qalmi' is a collection of fortyfour letters written to Akbar, Humayun, Dara, Abul Fazl and others. This letter book is a mine of historical information.

Ruqaim-i-Karaim

'Ruqaim-i-Karaim', compiled by Sayyid Ashraf Khan, contains 166 letters of Aurangzeb to Shah Alam, Shaista Khan, Asadullah Khan, Mir Abdul Karim and Muhammad Azam. The compilation, besides throwing light on many points of historical interest, explains the actual relations between the emperor and his commanders and governors. 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, regulations about the assessment and collection of land revenue, the position of Hindus at the Court.

Ruqqat-i-Inayat Khan Rasikh

'Ruqqat-i-Inayat Khan Rasikh' compiled by Inayat Khan contains letters of Babar, Humayun, Akbar and Shah Jahan, besides some of the letters written to them as well. It was compiled in 1750 A.D. when he was in his 49th year. It is a very useful record and throws valuable light on the history of the Mughal Period.

Rauzat-ut-Tahrin

'Rauzat-ut-Tahrin' 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 author was a contemporary of Akbar. It gives an economic description of the country.

Subh-i-Sadiq

'Subh-i-Sadiq' of Muhammad Sadiq, a history of the world written in 1048 A.H., devotes pp. 1704 to 1981 to an account of the Mughal dynasty till his own times. The Subh-i-Sadiq gives an account of a large number of saints, literatis, poets and philosophers with whom the author came in contact during his sojourn in Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, Bengal, Bihar and the Deccan. Muhammad Sadiq was in the fort of Allahabad with his father (Muhammad Salih) when it was besieged on behalf of the rebel Prince Shah Jahan.

Safinat-ul-Auliya

'Safinat-ul-Auliya' by prince Dara Shikoh is 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. Some of the poets mentioned in this collection were men of affairs as well. The book thus throws light not only on the history of saints and poets but sometimes gives information about political matters as well. It has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri

'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri' or the Memoirs of Jahangir (also called Waqiat-i-Jahangiri, Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi, Iqbal-nama, Jahangir-nama, etc.) is of considerable interest and value as the personal memoirs of the Emperor, mostly written by himself. It deals, however, with only the first eighteen years of his reign. Dowson speaks of it as a very rare work, almost unknown even in India itself. "It is a plain and apparently ingenuous record of all that its author deemed worthy of note taken as a whole, the work is very interesting, and assuming that Jahangir is mainly responsible for its authorship, it proves him to have been a man of no common ability. He records his weaknesses and confesses his faults with candour, and a

perusal of this work would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents."

They form as valuable an asset to literature as to history. 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 tells us how he got Abul Fazl murdered. He does not mention his marrying Nur Jahan. He describes the natural beauty of Kashmir. 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 Mutamid Khan 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.

Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat

'Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat' by Jauhar has a high place among the medieval histories of India. The author was a contemporary of Humayun. He was Humayun's Aftabchi or ewer-bearer and in this menial capacity served him for twenty-five years. He wrote by the command of Akbar, Jauhar's work is known under several names. It is called Kitab-i-Jawahir Shahi, Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat, Tarikh-i-Humayuni and Tarikh-i-Humayun Shahi. Jauhar tells us that on all occasions he was in attendance upon his royal master, and it occurred to him that he should put down in black and white all the events of his life, of which he had been an eye-witness. The work was commenced at the beginning of A.H. 995 (1587 A.D.). Prof. Qanungo considers this work, "a highly authoritative history of the reign of Humayun, and having greater weight than that of Gulbadan even," at least up to Humayun's departure from Thatta to Kandahar. The work deals with the rest of his career as well. Jauhar's own preface is worth quotation: "I was at all times, and in all stations, in constant attendance on the royal person; it therefore occurred to me a desirable that I should write a narrative of all the events to which I had been an eye-witness, that it may remain as a record of the part

interesting occurrences. I have endeavoured to explain them to the best of my humble ability, although in a style very inferior to the dignity of the subject. I commenced this work in the year 995 A.H. (A.D. 1587) and have named it the Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat, or Relation of Occurrences." As pointed out by Dowson, "The Memoirs bear all the appearance of truth and honesty, and are to a great degree exempt from that exaggeration and fulsome eulogy to which oriental biographers are prone."

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "Being a knowledgeable contemporary, Jauhar gives us many interesting details about the Emperor's life. He is not a rhetorician like Abul Fazl and often in plain and unvarnished language he expresses the truth. The minute details relating to Humayun's life and conduct reveal to us his charming personality and the equanimity of his temper under the most trying circumstances."

The value of Jauhar's work is greatly enhanced by the fact that he writes from personal observation. In certain respects he supplements and corrects other writers. Jauhar is the only one who describes the unpleasant Persian episode which has been slurred over by Abul Fazl. But for him we would have never known of the differences between Humayun and the Shah.

Jauhar was a faithful servant and his services were so appreciated by Humayun that he appointed him Collector of several villages belonging to Tatar Khan Lodi. Towards the end of his work, he says he was appointed treasurer of the Punjab and Multan and was evidently considered fit for this post by his royal master. Jauhar is not a historian in the modern sense. He is deficient in dates, has little topographical knowledge and mixes up facts of all kinds. He suffers from lapses of memory and at times falls into serious errors. Yet he is an interesting narrator of events and gives us a first-hand account of much of Humayun's reign.

A translation of the Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat by Charles Stewart was published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1832.

Tarikh-i-Humayuni

Copies of the 'Tarikh-i-Humayuni' by Bayazid are not

known to exist in any public library in India there is a condensed translation of Bayazid, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898. The author was a contemporary of Humayun and Akbar. The Memoirs of Bayazid, of which only the India Office has a copy, are styled on the fly leaf of the MS, as Tarikh-i-Humayuni. The Memoirs begin with Humayun's flight to Persia in 1543 and come down to the time when they were written, *i.e.*, 1590-91. It ends with an account of the coming of the news of Mirza Hakim's death at Kabul.

Bayazid was in the service of Humayun and had valuable opportunities of acquainting himself with the life-history of that monarch. He is an eye-witness of what happened in the Kabul region between Humayun and Kamran and gives a detailed account of it. After Humayun's death he joined Akbar's service. In A.H. 998 (A.D. 1590) he was a darogha of the treasury and amin. In A.H. 999 (A.D. 1591) Akbar allowed him to sit in his presence and declared that he was an honest man who had served the state loyally for sixty years. He is an eye-witness of many things that he relates and the plain and simple manner in which he describes facts lends weight to his narrative. He says many interesting things about prominent men and women and affords us a glimpse into the social life of the Mughal aristocracy. Humayun's invasion of Hindustan in 1555-56 is fully described. He gives a long list of officers who were in the Emperor's service at the time and describes the battles fought with the Afghans. The dates are not always correct nor is the sequence of events precisely maintained.

Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi

'Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, also called Tuhfat-i-Akbar Shahi, by Abbas Khan Sarwani, written by order of Akbar. The author himself says that he was connected by marriage with the family of Sher Shah, and "so had peculiar sources of information as to the life and character of that adventurous and successful chief, whose craft and valour won a crown." Dowson however, says, "It is a biography, not a history" though he admits, "this work has fortunately preserved the means of forming a judgement of his (Sher Shah's) character

and talents." Thus this work is extremely useful for the reign of Sher Shah.

Tarikh-i-Daudi

'Tarikh-i-Daudi' of Abdullah written in the reign of Jahangir. "Abdullah," says Qanungo, "has in many cases borrowed the very words of Nizamuddin. Here and there he gives valuable pieces of information". It is interesting to note that this medieval chronicler wrote, History is not simply information regarding the affairs of kings who have passed away; but it is 'a science which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples.'

'Tarikh-i-Daudi' is invaluable for a study of the History of Afghan's rulers. It is invaluable for a study of the Afghan-Mughal relations. No student of Mughal History can afford to neglect this important source.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari

'Tabaqat-i-Akbari' 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 1694. 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 Babar's death.

Nizamuddin Ahmad's Tabaqat-i-Akbari has a high place among the medieval histories of India. As pointed out by Dowson, "It is one of the most celebrated histories of India and is the first that was composed upon subject matter of the work to the exclusion of the histories of other Asiatic countries." Both Farishta and Shah Nawaz Khan, the author of the work (Masir-ul-Umra), have highly praised Nizam-ud-Din's work. He is a straightforward writer. There is no doubt that he wrote with considerable care and judiciousness. The style is simple and the inaccuracies of dates and facts are not too many. Nizam-ud-Din was Bakshi under Akbar and his father (Mir Mukim Harvi) had served under Humayun. The incentive for writing it was that he had 'from his youth, according to the advice of his father, devoted himself to the

study of works of history which are the means of strengthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation'.

Tarikh-i-Firishta

'Tarikh-i-Firishta' 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 corner of their history. The author was also called Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, and was born about A.D. 1570. Smith considers Briggs' the best translation (History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India). Smith says, "His account of Akbar's reign has little independent value although, so far as the later years are concerned, he wrote as a contemporary who had taken a small personal share in the Emperor's transactions in the Deccan."

The Tarikh-i-Firishta enjoys the reputation of being a reliable history. Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah wrote his history at the suggestion of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and so in his work we find a great deal of space allotted to the description of the rulers of the South Indian States. In a historian's language, 'He is free from prejudice and partiality; he does not even flatter the prince in whose reign he lived; and though not entirely without sectarian bitterness when noticing Sayyids and though not exempt from Muhammadan bigotry, when speaking of the wholesale massacre of the defenceless Hindus he is more diverted of that feeling than any other author of his own religious creed who recounts similar atrocities.'

Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandahari

'Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandahari is often cited as an authority in many extant works on Mughal history. Arif wrote an account of India under her Muslim rulers. The MS. (in the State library of H.H. the Nawab of Rampur) 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 Fatehpur Sikri in A.H. 987 (A.D. 1580).

That, this closes a section of the work, obvious by its ending with a prayer as is usual elsewhere in this work. 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. This done, he returned to India and lived in Bihar and was presented to Akbar. Presumably then he became an imperial servant and passed his days as a contented servant of the empire. It is invaluable for a study of the reign of Akbar.

Tarikh-i-Alfi

'Tarikh-i-Alfi' of Mulla 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. The MS. is full of inaccuracies and is badly written. The dates are incorrect.

Tarikh-i-Haqqi

'Tarikh-i-Haqqi' 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. No student of Mughal history can afford to neglect this important source.

Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Temurya

'Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Temurya' seems to have been written early in Akbar's reign. The only manuscript known is preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur (Patna). 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.

Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani

'Tawarikh-i-Shah Jaahani' by Muhammad Sadiq is a complete history of Shah Jahan's reign. The author 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. Muhammad Sadiq'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 Shah Jahan as it becomes the work of a contemporary who was Waqai Nawis at Agra and himself took part in the battle of Samugarh.

According to Banarsi Prasad Saxena, "Nevertheless the Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani (Shahjahan Nama) if not the most remarkable, is certainly one of the most reliable authorities on the reign of Shah Jahan. Not only was the author most favourably placed (he held the post of Darogha-i-Ghuslkhana) to watch, understand, and make a judicious analysis of the affairs he describes, but even where he does not speak from personal knowledge, his sources of information are unimpeachable."

Muhammad Sadiq had no axe to grind. He was not a court historian, and he did not write to please any patron. Of course, he is partial to Shah Jahan, but otherwise he is very just, and he never spares necessary criticism, or omits unpalatable facts. He begins from the time of Jahangir's death and goes up to the time of Shah Jahan's imprisonment. He personally participated in the negotiations between Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb after the defeat of Dara, and therefore his account is most authentic.

Tazkirat-ul-Salatin-i-Chughta

'Tazkirat-ul-Salatin-i-Chughta' 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. The author held important offices under Bahadur Shah, and "was in a position to know what was going on; and the apparently straight-forward manner in which

he has written his history inspires the confidence of the reader.”

Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah

‘Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah’ was written in A.H. 1027 (1618 A.D.) by Habib Ullah. It is a history of Golkonda. It is invaluable for a study of the Deccan policy of the Mughals.

Tarikh-i-Ali Adil Shah Sani

‘Tarikh-i-Ali Adil Shah Sani’ of Nurullah is a history of Bijapur. The last date mentioned is November 12, A.D. 1667. It seems to have been written by the orders of the Sultan himself. It throws very useful light on many dark corners of Mughal-Bijapur relations. No student of Mughal history can afford to neglect this important source.

Tarikh-i-Sindh

‘Tarikh-i-Sindh’ by Muhammad Masum is a well-known work. Muhammad Masum was in Mughal service under Akbar and Jahangir. He died in 1610. It contains the only reference to the famine which visited Sindh in 1540-41. The author was born in Bhakkar where his father had settled. After his father’s death he went to Gujrat and there became very friendly with Nizamuddin Ahmad.

According to Ishwari Prasad, “Being a man of versatile genius, he wrote on a number of subjects. He gives the history of the Arghun dynasty and a detailed account of Humayun’s transactions in Sindh.” He was in the Imperial service and retired from it in 1606. He says he completed this work after great delays for the benefit of his son. The Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, has published the Tarikh-i-Masumi under the title of Tarikh-i-Sindh.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi

The Tarikh-i-Rashidi is a valuable history of the Mughals and Turks of Central Asia by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, a cousin of Babar. The author’s father, Muhammad Hussain Kurkan, was married to Khub Nigar Khanim, sister of Babar’s mother Qutlugh Nigar Khanim and a daughter of the Mughal Chief,

THE PERSIAN SOURCES

Yunus Khan. Mirza Haidar was born in 905 A.H. (1493-1500 A.D.) at Tashkind, where his father had at one time been governor. His father conspired against Babar but was pardoned. After a short time he was seized by the Uzbeks and was put to death by Shaibani Khan's orders. Mirza Haidar, who was only a child of nine, was taken care of by Babar and treated with great affection. He distinguished himself as a soldier and general and took part in many important political affairs. After Babar's death he entered Humayun's service and was present in India when the battle of Qanauj was fought in A.D. 1540. The Mughals met at Lahore to decide upon a common plan of action but they failed to reach an agreement. Mirza Haidar was induced by certain chiefs of Kashmir to attempt an invasion of their country. He conquered the valley without encountering any resistance in November, 1540, and brought the country under his sway. As a ruler he exercised authority for some years, established peace in the country. In 1551 he was killed by the natives.

According to Ishwari Prasad, "Mirza Haidar was a man of talent and good disposition. He had a rare gift for elegant composition in verse as well as in prose. Erskine calls him "a man of worth, of talent and of learning." The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was dedicated to Abdur Rashid Khan of Kashghar. It consists of two parts. The first daftar was written in 951 and 952 A.H. (1544-1545 A.D.) and the second, which contains a detailed account of the author's life, in 948 A.H. (1541 A.H.).

The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* begins with an account of Tughluq Timur, Mughal Khaqan, who was the first to embrace Islam. It gives us a vivid picture of Central Asian politics. Mirza Haidar writes of both Babar and Humayun. He praises Babar for his great gifts and expresses his gratitude to him. He gives more details about Humayun and his account of the battle of Qanauj is that of an eye-witness who was himself in command of a wing of the imperial army. What he says about Humayun's character and habits is of great value because he knew him intimately and was associated with him for some time prominently in public affairs. An English translation of the '*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*' by Elias and Ross has been published under the title of *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*.

Tarikh-i-Ibrahimi

'Tarikh-i-Ibrahimi' is a general history of the world from Adam to 956 A.H. (1549 A.D.). It gives an account of Humayun's reign up to the year 1545-46 A.D. but it is very brief. It describes his meeting with the Shah of Persia, the conquest of Kandhar and Kabul and ends with a number of verses. The author's name is given as Ibrahim bin Hariri and in Beal's dictionary his name is given as Ibrahim and the work is said to have been dedicated to Babar. The last entries in the book relate to the year 1549 which makes it clear that it was written in Humayun's time. It has another title, Tarikh-i-Humayuni, which shows that it was compiled during Humayun's reign.

Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana

The Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, written about 1595 A.D., by Ahmad Yadgar, is a good authority for the battle of Panipat (Second Battle of Panipat) 1556 A.D. and the connected events up to the death of Hemu (the last Hindu Emperor of Delhi & Agra). It is invaluable for a study of the Sur administration.

Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan

Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan by Mir Mubarakullah Iradat Khan Waza, whose grand-father and father had held important offices under Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, respectively. Iradat Khan was a faujdar under Aurangzeb, and governor of the Doab under Bahadur Shah. He died in the reign of Farrukh-Siyar. Dowson observes, "This is a good history of the Mughal Empire from the close of Aurangzeb's reign to the commencement of Farrukh Siyar's. It has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott. The book is written in a plain straight-forward style and it never wanders beyond the sphere of the author's own observation; but it is full of spirit, and has all the vigour and vividness of a personal narrative."

Tarikh-i-Bahadur-Shahi

Tarikh-i-Bahadur-Shahi by Muhammad Kasim, also called

Ibrat-Nama is a well written history, commencing with the death of Aurangzeb, and closing with the death of Kutbu-l-Mulk Saiyid Abdu-llah. It is invaluable for a study of Mughal administration.

Tarikh-i-Chaghatai

Tarikh-i-Chaghatai of Muhammad Shafi, Teharani is written in an elegant, but somewhat difficult style. It begins with Babar and concludes with the withdrawal of Nadir Shah in 1739. The work closes with the following interesting observation :

“After the departure of Nadir Shah, a Royal Order was issued to the following effect : ‘All public officers should occupy themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, except the historians. These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a pleasant one. The reins of Imperial or Supreme Government have fallen from my hands. I am now the Viceroy of Nadir Shah’. Notwithstanding that the nobles and great officers of the Court, hearing these melancholy reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommended him to withdraw this order, His Majesty would not be satisfied. Consequently, being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate, and laid down their pens.”

Tarikh-i-Hind

Tarikh-i-Hind of Rustam Ali was composed in the year 1154 A.H. (1742 A.D.). It closes with the 24th year of Muhammad Shah's reign. “It may be considered altogether a useful compilation” writes Dowson, “as it is not copied verbatim from known authors and in the latter part of it the author writes of many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends.” His object in composing the work is stated by the author to have been a desire to commit to writing a brief account of just kings, and how they controlled oppressors and tyrants, in the hope that, while it might prove a lesson to the wise, it would not fail to draw the attention of intelligent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures,

and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world.

Tazkira

Tazkira of Anand Ram Mukhlis is invaluable for its account of Nadir Shah's invasion. The author was an eye-witness of much that passed during Nadir Shah's stay in India, and suffered from his exactions.

Tarikh-i-Manazilu-l-Futuh

Tarikh-i-Manazilu-l-Futuh of Muhammad Jafar Shamlu is the account of an eye-witness of the battle of Panipat and the events leading thereto. The author states that 'during the prime of life' and 'for the space of five-and-twenty years, he was constantly with Ahmad Sultan Abdali more commonly styled Durrani, and having accompanied him several times to Hindustan, became well acquainted with the whole series of royal marches from the city of Kandhar to the metropolis of Shah-Jahanabad. At the battle which was fought at Panipat with Vishwas Rao and his deputy Bhao, the author was himself present on the field, and witnessed the circumstances with his own eyes. Other particulars too, he learnt from persons of credit and sagacity, and having written them down without any alteration, designated the work by the title of Manazilu-l-Futuh, or Victorious Marches'.

Tarikh-i-Muzaffari

Tarikh-i-Muzaffari of Muhammad Ali Khan is, according to Dowson, "the most accurate of General Histories of India". The work was composed about 1800 A.D. This is the principal authority on which is based Keene's Fall of the Mughal Empire.

Waqiat-i-Babari

Waqiat-i-Babari by Zain-ud-Din which though generally based on Babar's Autobiography, contains additions by the author, who was Babar's Sadr and thus had many personal opportunities of acquiring accurate knowledge of events. It begins with the last invasion of India by Babar 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 Babar's fifth invasion in 932 A.H., in the body of the work there is a reference to an account of 931 A.H.

Waqiat-i-Asad Beg

The Waqiat-i-Asad Beg occupies a very important source. The author had spent seventeen years in Abul Fazl's service when his master was murdered by Bir Singh Bundela. 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. The author 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. (1632 A.D.), the year of his death.

Waqiat-i-Asad Beg or Halat-i-Asad Beg by Asad Beg is valuable for a study of Mughal's Domestic policy. Waqiat-i-Asad Beg is a work of peculiar interest and value.

Zabdut-ut-Tawarikh

Zabdut-ut-Tawarikh by Ullahdad Faizi Sirhindi. This work was composed at the request of Shaikh Farid Bukhari. It was completed in 1010 A.H. (1601 A.D.). It is a useful summary of the reign of Akbar, 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.

Zafar Nama

Zafar Nama (also called Aurang Nama, Halat-i-Alamgiri) of Akil Khan Razi is a short history, beginning with the invasion of Bijapur (1650 A.D.) and ending with the death of Mir Jumla (1663 A.D.). Prof. J.N. Sarkar observes, "The author writes with independence and in some cases reveals facts which could not have been pleasing to his master."

Zafarnama-i-Alamgiri

Zafarnama-i-Alamgiri by Mir Khan (Subedar of Kabul) is

a record of the eventful period in which Aurangzeb succeeded in deposing his father and crushing his rivals. The author writes from personal knowledge, and his account of the mission of Jahan Ara Begum to Aurangzeb is very interesting.

CHAPTER V

THE TURKISH SOURCE

Tuzuk-i-Babari

Babar's own Memoirs are the principal source of information about his life and career.

The most important authority on the early life of Humayun is the Babar-Nama, an autobiography of Babar; which is also known under the name of 'Tuzuk-i-Babari and the Waqiat-i-Babari. It was originally written in Chaghatai Turki which was Babar's mother tongue. A Persian translation of the Tuzuk-i-Babari was prepared by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, son of Bairam Khan, a distinguished nobleman of Akbar's court. It was completed in A.H. 998 (1590 A.D.). Another translation, rather ornate and rhetorical, was made by Shaikh Zain, a contemporary of Babar, who is often mentioned in the Memoirs.

The Memoirs do not represent a complete record of Babar's life. There are several gaps in them. Of the forty-seven years and ten months (Babar was born on February 14, 1483 A.D. and died on December 23, 1530 A.D.) which are recordable, we have only an account of eighteen years. These gaps are due to accident.

The Tuzuk-i-Babri was translated into French by A. Pavet de Courteille from the Bokhara compilation under the title of 'Memoires de Babar' in two volumes (1871 A.D.). The translator used the Turki text as the words Traduits, pour la premiere fois, sur la texte diagatai on the title page show. There are two translations in English—one by Leyden and Erskine and the other by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, wife of the distinguished scholar Sir Henry Beveridge. John Leyden made

his translation from the Turki text in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but he did not live to complete it. Erskine translated the Persian version of Abdur Rahim into English and made use of Leyden's work. With scholarly modesty he exaggerated the importance of the latter and gave it a "posthumous recognition" which perhaps Dr. Leyden himself would have found it difficult to accept, Mrs. A.S. Beveridge examined a number of texts both in Turki and Persian of which she gave an account in a number of articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. The translation was originally published in four fasciculi in June 1912, May 1914, October 1917, and September 1921 and the whole work has now been published in two volumes which are excellently annotated. There is an Urdu translation of the Memoirs by Mirza Nasiruddin Haidar and published by the Muhammadan Printing Works, Delhi, in 1924. It lacks a critical introduction and the foot-notes are scanty and meagre.

Babar 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. Babar 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.

Babar seems to have been writing for his own amusement. We do not find much economy of truth—ever 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 1,00,000 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.

According to Beveridge, the Babar-Nama, "is one of those priceless records which are for all." There are three important gaps in the Memoirs! the first covering the period 1503-1504; the second 1508-1519; and the third 1520-1525,

CHAPTER VI

THE SANSKRIT SOURCE

The Sarvdesavritant Sangrah

The Sarvdesavritant Sangrah has come down to us in a unique Sanskrit Manuscript preserved in the India Office, London. It is a history of the Mughals up till Akbar's reign. In its present condition the Manuscript 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 Manuscript which was not in proper order. The result is the greatest confusion imaginable. The work opens with an account of Akbar's birth at Amar Kot abruptly. 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 Mahesh Thakur. The following table of contents tries to reconstruct the original arrangement of the work.

1. Introductory verses in praise of God intermingled with prose.
2. The method of compiling this account.
3. History of the world in brief with a genealogy of Akbar tracing his descent to Adam in 52 generations.
4. Babar :
 - (i) Eldest son of his father.
 - (ii) His birth, character and derivation of his name.
 - (iii) March on Kabul.

- (iv) Invasions of India.
- (v) Arrival at Panipat, battle with Ibrahim, his victory, his task and achievements compared with other invaders of India.
- (vi) March on Agra.
- (vii) The movement to leave India, Babar's success in dealing with it.
- (viii) Babar's gifts and Jagirs at Agra.
- (ix) Conflict with Rana Sanga.
- (x) Happenings of the year 933 A.H.
- (xi) Arrival of Humayun from the East.
- (xii) Battle with Rana Sanga.
- (xiii) Rana Sanga's allies.
- (xiv) Babar's arrangement of his army.
- (xv) The Battle and Babar's success.
- (xvi) Rana Sanga's preparations for a second attack.
- (xvii) Occupation of his territories of some of the allies.
- (xviii) Askari in India in 935 A.H.
- (xix) Humayun's return from Badakhshan.
- (xx) Abrupt beginning of the story of Humayun's illness from the point it was suggested that Babar should sacrifice something that he held valuable.
- (xxi) Babar's death-bed scene, his advice to those about him.
- (xxii) A character sketch of Babar.
- (xxiii) His sons and daughters.
- (xxiv) Prominent men of his times.

5. Humayun :

- (i) Humayun's birth.
- (ii) His accession.
- (iii) Affairs in Kalinjar.
- (iv) Trouble in Bihar.

136655

- (v) An embassy from Gujarat.
- (vi) Building of the Din Pinah.
- (vii) Muhommad Zaman Mirza.
- (viii) Kamran in the Punjab.
- (ix) Affairs in Gujarat.
- (x) Humayun's advance against Gujarat checked by the news of Bahadur's siege of Chitor (begins abruptly and ends abruptly).
- (xi) Invasion and conquest of Gujarat.
- (xii) Troubles in the Trans-Indus area.
- (xiii) Mirza Haidar at Lahore.
- (xiv) Troubles in Gujarat and Malwa culminating in Askari's losing Gujarat and Malwa.
- (xv) Affairs in Bengal.
- (xvi) Humayun returns defeated to Agra.
- (xvii) The final defeat of Humayun.
- (xviii) Humayun leaves Agra.
- (xix) The brothers in council.
- (xx) Humayun abandons the Punjab.
- (xxi) Humayun turns to Sind and reaches Lahri.
- (xxii) Humayun's departure from Sind for Jodhpur.
- (xxiii) En route to Jodhpur.
- (xxiv) Humayun's flight from Jodhpur.
- (xxv) Arrival at Amar Kot.
- (xxvi) Akbar's birth.
- (xxvii) Humayun proceeds towards Qandahar.
- (xxviii) Bairam Khan joins Humayun.
- (xxix) Humayun decides to go to Martank.
- (xxx) Humayun changes his route to Iraq.
- (xxxi) Sher Shah in India.
- (xxxii) Haidar Mirza in Kashmir.
- (xxxiii) Kamran's doings.

(xxxiv) Humayun proceeds to Persia.

(xxxv) Humayun advances from Persia.

(xxxvi) Akbar in Kamran's hands.

6. Miscellaneous—

(Hindu castes, their speculations about the origin and nature of the universe.)

7. The end.

CHAPTER VII

THE GURMUKHI SOURCES

Bachitra Natak

'Bachitra Natak' by Guru Gobind Singh, the last Guru of the Sikhs, forms a collective biography of his predecessors and his own autobiography. The book thus throws light not only on the life sketch of the Sikh Guru's but sometimes gives information about political matters as well.

Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak

'Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak' by Bhai Sewa Das is most easily accessible in Trumps English translation of the Adi Granth and is probably our earliest authority for the life of the founder of Sikhism. It is invaluable for a study of the Religious History of Medieval India.

Wars

'Wars' of Bhai Gurdas form a useful mine of information about the early history of Sikhism. This has been composed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The compilation, besides throwing light on many points of historical interest.

Kabits

'Kabits' of Bhai Gurdas has been composed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This is another useful compilation about the early history of Sikhism. It is very invaluable for a study of the Religious History of Mughal India.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HINDI SOURCES

Amar Kavya Vansavali

'Amar Kavya Vansavali' is an account in verse of the Ranas of Mewar bringing the story to the accession of Maharana Raj Singh. It was written by Ranchhor Bhatta in the reign of Maharana Raj Singh. It contains 1408 verses, covering 103 leaves. Leaf 82 is missing. It begins the story of the Ranas of Mewar from their very origin. The Manuscript (Manuscript Sajjan Vanivilas Library, Udaipur) 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 the great hero of Rajasthan. It also gives a very full descriptive account of Rajasthan. The author mentions certain events which he himself witnessed. It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal-Rajput Relations.

Khyat

'Khyat of Mehta Nensi is a general history of Rajasthan. The author was for several years the Prime Minister of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. Nensi's Khyat is one of the best books known to the writers on Rajasthan history. The book is in two volumes, one containing the history of Jodhpur, the other of the rest of the Rajasthan states. The book opens with a description of the Jagirs held by Maharaja Jaswant Singh in 1664 A.D. No dates are given for the early period. He was a Prime Minister to Maharaja Jaswant Singh and naturally his knowledge of that reign and the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh's father was almost contemporary.

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 Abul Fazl of Jodhpur. His description of the villages suggests comparison with the Ain-i-Akbari while the history itself is an Akbar Nama. The book is a medieval chronicle brightened by the official information of a State official.

Kaviraj's Khyat

'Kaviraj's Khyat' 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. It seems to have been written in the time of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. Its study is necessary not only for a history of Rajasthan, 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.

Mundhyar Khyat

'Mundhyar Khyat' is what has been called, for lack of a better name, the Mundhyar chronicle, Mundhyar is a village, 16 kms. 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. 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. 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 marriage alliances with the Mughal Emperor are also duly recorded.

It is written in simple prose which is embellished here and thereby 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. 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.

Raja Prashasti

'Raja Prashasti' by Ranchhor Bhatta, a contemporary poet of Maharana 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 Amarkavya 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 has 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 gives a credible account of the relations of Maharana Raj Singh with the Mughal Emperors besides throwing a good deal of light on the social and religious customs of the period.

Udaipur Ki Khyat

'Udaipur Ki Khyat' (Manuscript in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal) is a curious manuscript, without a beginning and without a proper end. Thus neither the name of the scribe nor that of the author is given. 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. It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal-Mewar Relations.

CHAPTER IX

THE MARATHI SOURCES

Marathyan-chya-Itihasachin Sadhanen

'Marathyan-chya-Itihasachin Sadhanen' edited by V.K. Rajwade, contain a few political letters and a vast mass of private legal documents and charters of Shivaji and his times. The compilation, besides throwing light on many points of historical interest. The diplomacy of the war is revealed here in many of the letters. Thus this book is a mine of historical information. It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal-Maratha relations.

Powadas

'Powadas' or Marathi ballads, collected by H.A. Acworth and S.T. Shaligram. Mostly legendary and of a much later date than Shivaji's life-time. The Afzal Khan ballad is probably the oldest, and belonged to Shambhuji's reign. Touches only two incidents of Shivaji's life. English translation of ten of the ballads (with an excellent introduction), by Acworth was published in 1894. The book throws light not only on the life sketch of the Maratha leader but sometimes gives information about political matters as well.

Shiv-Chhatrapati-chen Charitra

'Shiv-Chhatrapati-chen Charitra' by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, written in 1694 at Jinji, by order of Chhatrapati Raja Ram. 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. A small book of barely

100 pages, composed from memory without the help of written memoranda or documents. The events are not arranged in the order of time, and the frequent expression 'then' does not mean chronological sequence, as Mr. Rajwade was the first to point out. Some of the statements are incorrect, weak in topography, no dates. Language very condensed and sometimes obscure. But the most valuable Marathi account of Shivaji and our only source of information from the Maratha side. It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal Deccan policy during Aurangzeb's reign.

Shiv-Chhatrapati-chen Sapta-prakaranatmak Charitra

'Shiv-Chhatrapati-chen-Sapta-prakaranatmak Charitra' by Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis is a very valuable mine of information. Incorrect, rambling or pure guess-work in many places. No state-paper used, no idea of correct chronology. Muhammadan names grossly incorrect and anachronistic. Its study is necessary not only for a history of Maratha Pradesh, but it may, and does, throw light on the general course of Indian history during the period.

Shivadigvijay

'Shivadigvijay' edited by Nandurbarkar and L.K. Dandekar in 1895. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "Falsely described as written by Khando Ballal (the son of Shivaji's secretary Balaji Avji) in 1718. The published version was evidently fabricated at Baroda by a writer familiar with the style of modern vernacular novels written by imitators of Bankim Chandra Chatterji. Too much gush rhetorical padding and digression. The author speaks of an English general being present at Shivaji's coronation and of goods from Calcutta being used in decorating his hall in 1674. Shiva bows to his mother two years after her death. Tanaji Malusare visits Hyderabad seven years after his death. But the Kernel of the book is some lost Marathi work composed about 1760-74 and containing, among many loose traditions, a few facts the truth of which we know from contemporary Factory Records. This lost source was also the basis of the Persian Tarikh-i-Shivaji, which agrees with Shivadigvijay in many passages".

It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal-Maratha relations during Shivaji's times.

Zedhe-Yanchi Shakavali

'Zedhe-Yanchi Shakavali' edited by B.G. Tilak, resembles the Rajput Vanshavalis in containing a bare chronology of events from 1618 to 1694 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. A bare record of events with dates, kept by the Zedhe family. From the nature of the work, it was written by different hands at different times. Its value depends on the fidelity with which these different memorandum-Sheets were copied for the manuscript. The dates are given in the Hindu luni-solar era of the Deccan. It also gives a very full descriptive account of the Deccan.

CHAPTER X

CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN WRITERS

Bernier

Francois Bernier was a highly educated man and possessed an acute sense of observation. He was a French physician, whose favourite hobby was political and speculative philosophy. In the early part of Aurangzib's reign he spent twelve years at that monarch's court, during which time he indulged his tastes, especially on the political side, to the full.

Francois Bernier enjoyed unrivalled opportunities of observation; was acquainted with the leading philosophers of his day; was fully conversant with the newest historical and philosophical methods; and was easily capable of looking beyond the immediate occasion of an event to its ultimate cause. The result was that the 'Histoire de la derniere Revolution des Etats du Grand, Mogul', which was published in 1670, and the various letters which he wrote from India to his friends in France, are among the first authorities which the historian of Aurangzib consults. "The desire of seeing the world, which had induced me to visit Palestine and Egypt, still prompted me to extend my travels". It is in these words that Bernier begins the narration of his visit to the "Great Mogul".

Of all the European travellers who have recorded their impressions about the East, Bernier's account is most popular. Bernier sailed from Cairo for Surat towards the end of 1658, and he was on his way to Agra when he met Dara near Ahmadabad; the latter having retreated to Gujarat after his defeat at Deorai near Ajmer. During what he calls his twelve

years stay in India, Bernier visited Lahore, Kashmir, Rajmahal, Qasimbazar, Masulipatam, and Golconda. Travelling through Persia he reached Marseilles in 1669. He died in 1688.

Bernier's observations on the defects in the military system of the Moghuls are correct. His description of Delhi, Agra and Kashmir is interesting, and his tribute to the Taj well-deserved.

Careri

Dr. John F. Gemelli Careri, the Italian, visited Aurangzeb in the midst of his Deccan campaigns. His travels in India, which were comparatively circumscribed, occupied the early part of 1695.

Careri has some very interesting remarks on the Moghul theory of administration and on the land system; a useful analysis of Aurangzeb's revenue and wealth, and of the extent of his territory; a critical dissertation on his absolute power; and an examination of the organization of his army.

De Laet

De Laet's work is only a compilation. De Laet should, strictly speaking, not be included among European travellers, since he never visited India. At the end of it there is a confused account of the rebellion of Prince Shahjahan, the death of Jahangir and the accession of Shahjahan.

Fryer

Dr. John Fryer's narrative conveys to us a considerable amount of information relative to Sivaji and the Mahratta power in general. Dr. John Fryer was in Persia and India during the nine years ending in 1681. His perigrinations in India seem to have been confined to sea visits, to places on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, and trips a little way inland at various places between Cambay and Goa. For his limited field, however, he is a valuable authority, in addition to which he is an exceedingly interesting writer. He clearly points out one of the chief causes of the political distractions of the later years of Aurangzeb's reign. Akbar had perceived that a powerful Mogul Empire was only possible if it were propped up by Hindu and Mohammedan alike, and had acted on that

belief. "This religious bigot of an Emperor, Aurenzeeb," says Fryer, "is on a project to bring them all over to his faith, and has already begun by two several taxes or polls, very severe ones, which has made some Rajahs revolt. Early in his reign the Puritan Emperor had reimposed the hated 'jizya', or poll-tax on unbelievers, the tax which, as Mr. Lanepoole says, Akbar had disdained, and Shah Jahan had not dared to think of." As Dr. John Fryer saw, the impost was responsible for most of the Hindu disaffection which harassed the greater part of the reign of Aurangzib, and was one of the main influences which kept alive the feeling of nationality among the Mahrattas.

In 1674, when Dr. John Fryer was at Bombay, Oxenden and others were sent from that town on an embassy to Sivaji, Fryer did not accompany it, though he gives a very good account of its proceedings. He has excellent account of the two cities of Bombay and Surat; but by far the most valuable part of his narrative is his analysis of the political condition of the Kingdom of Bijapur. The historian Orme remarked, "Our attention to what Fryer says of his (Sivaji) first led us to discover that Sevaji was the founder of the present nation of the Morattoes."

Fitch

The first Englishman entitled to that appellation, as far as India is concerned, was "Master Ralph Fitch, Merchant of London," to use the title which Purchas gives him. With two other Englishmen, named Newbery and Leedes, he travelled to Ormuz, and thence crossed the Indian Ocean to Goa. In all Fitch was eight years away from England, starting his travels in 1583, and returning in 1591.

In 1585 the three left Goa, and went to "Bisapor". Fitch gives a quaint description of the idols here. "Some be like a Cow, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some like Peacockes, and some like the Divell." The travellers then went on to Golconda, "the king whereof is called cutup de lashac (Mohammed Kuli)", and finally, after passing through various towns, including Burhanpur, they reached the "country of Zelabdim Echabar (Jalaluddin Akbar)." Reaching Agra, which

Fitch describes as a "very great city and populous built with stone, having fair and large streets with a faire river running by it," they did not stay there long, but pushed on to Fatehpur, the residence of "the Great Mogor". Fitch must have seen Akbar several times, as the three stayed in Fatehpur till September, 1585, but very little is said about him in Purchas's version of his narrative. There are some remarks on the magnificence and style in which Akbar lived, and on the nature of the vehicles employed in the Streets of Fatehpur, and that is all.

Sailing down the Jumna, Fitch started from Agra for Lower Bengal, passing Benares on the way. He gives a number of interesting remarks on the various rites and customs which he saw in the plain of the Ganges. Fitch returned to Europe by Goa, Chaul, Ormuz, Busrah, Aleppo, and Tripoli, reaching London in April, 1598. Fitch's observations, as recorded in Purchas His Pilgrimes, are not of any especial value, and we can never forgive him for dismissing the great Akbar so curtly, and for failing to see that he was a far different personage from the numerous lordlings whom he met in his wanderings; but nonetheless stands high among the famous travellers of England.

Hawkins

Hawkins sailed straight to Surat, and landed, leaving his ship with orders to go on to Bantam. Before leaving for Agra he suffered a good deal from the hostility of the Portuguese and the rapacity of the local Mogul authorities, who pillaged his goods, only paying such a price, Howkins tells us, as their "own barbarous conscience afforded." Hawkins arrived at Agra in April 1609. He was speedily introduced into Jahangir's presence, and gave him the letter from King James which he had brought with him. Jahangir accepted it, and employed a Jesuit to read it to him; Hawkins requested permission to go Surat to establish an English factory there; and, in addition, asked for freedom from all restrictions on trade. Jahangir also accepted it. Hawkins was not a scientific or philosophic observer, but his narrative (In Purchas, it has been published by the Hakluyt Society, in The Hawkin's

Voyages) possesses no mean value and interest. The most important of his pages are those in which he describes the system of life-peers, "men of Livings or Lordships."

Manucci

Niccolao Manucci, is entitled to the distinction of being the most extraordinary figure in all the long list of European travellers who visited India between the irruption of Timur and the death of Aurangzeb. Manucci spent a lifetime in India, and wrote a book of the highest value.

Niccolao Manucci was a native of Venice. In 1653, he left Venice while still a boy of 14 years, and spent the rest of his life in the East, especially in India. Manucci possessed a working knowledge of Persian and Turki which helped him to enter the service of Dara, whom he served with sincerity and devotion.

Manucci was present at the Battle of Samugadh, escaped to Lahore to join his patron, and followed him to Multan and Bhakkar. After the surrender of Bhakkar he went to Lahore whence he repaired to Delhi and he entered the service of Raja Jai Singh, whom he followed to the Deccan. At Aurangabad, where Jai Singh amalgamated his forces with those of Shah Alam, Manucci saw, for the first time, the famous Mahratta Chief, Shivaji. This was in June, 1665, Manucci resigned his post in 1666, and after a fairly adventurous life settled down at Lahore, where he practised as a physician for seven or eight years. In 1678 he entered the service of Shah Alam. He died in 1717, at the age of eighty-four.

Such a chequered and adventurous career must be almost unique in the annals of Indian travel, he aspired to become a man of letters. The fruit of this aspiration was his 'Storia do Mogor'. This work is one of the most extraordinary documents bearing on Indian history that we possess.

Manrique

About 1612 Sebastian Manrique, a friar of the order of St. Augustine, was sent to Bengal with three other missionaries to propagate Christianity in that province. During the course of

the next thirteen years he travelled widely in India, and visited certain districts of which few accounts are extant.

Manrique reached Rome in 1643 and published his work 'Itenerario' in 1649. In his narrative (Itenerario) Manrique makes some valuable observations on the political and social condition of Bengal. He describes the great fertility of the Ganges plain, and the magnificence of its cotton fabrics. Manrique gives a detailed account of every town which he visited, and refers to the weighing ceremony of the Moghul Emperor, the Moghul darbar, and the growing building of the Taj, which he says, was planned by Germino Veroneo.

Pietro Della Valle

Pietro Della Valle, a well educated Italian, born at Rome in 1586, arrived at Surat on February 10, 1623, and during his stay of four years in India visited many important towns in the Deccan. Pietro Della Valle honestly records the events which he witnessed his historical narrative is fairly accurate.

Peter Mundi

Peter Mundi arrived at Surat in 1628, and was in 1630 appointed to the Agra Factory. During his eight years stay in India visited many important towns in Malwa, Awadh and Bihar. That he tried to observe accurately is evident from his references to some of the peculiar socio-religious customs of the Hindus. His description of Agra, its markets and its houses is both vivid and picturesque. He has also a great deal to say about the king and the court. He also mentions some events which occurred prior to the accession of Shahjahan.

Thevenot

Jean Thevenot arrived at Surat in January, 1666, having come from Persian by usual sea route. After paying a visit to Cambay, Ahmedabad, and Burhanpur, Thevenot returned to Surat, where he witnessed the interesting ceremony of the marriage of the governor's daughter. At this point in his narrative Thevenot devotes considerable space to a description of all the chief towns of north-west India, as well as of the previous history of Gujrat. After a flying visit to Masulipatam, where

he gained a considerable amount of information relative to the Coromandel Coast. Thevenot returned to "Bagnagar", and subsequently travelled back to Surat by way of Bidar and Burhanpur. In the autumn of 1667 he embarked at Surat for Persia, and died at Miana. His description of Northern India, and his analysis of the Mogul empire, cannot be neglected by the historian. Thevenot's remarks on the administration of Gujrat, and especially of Surat, are very valuable.

Thomas Roe

Among the early travellers who visited the court of Jahangir, Sir Thomas Roe stands out most prominently. Valuable light is shed on the administration of the Mogul Empire by a conversation which Thomas Roe states he had with the "Vicroy of Patan." This conversation is one of the most valuable portions of Roe's narrative, and we can only wish that he had given us more such items of information. In his diary he refers to Prince Khurram, sketches his character and portrays his personality. His account of court factions, is very interesting.

Tavernier

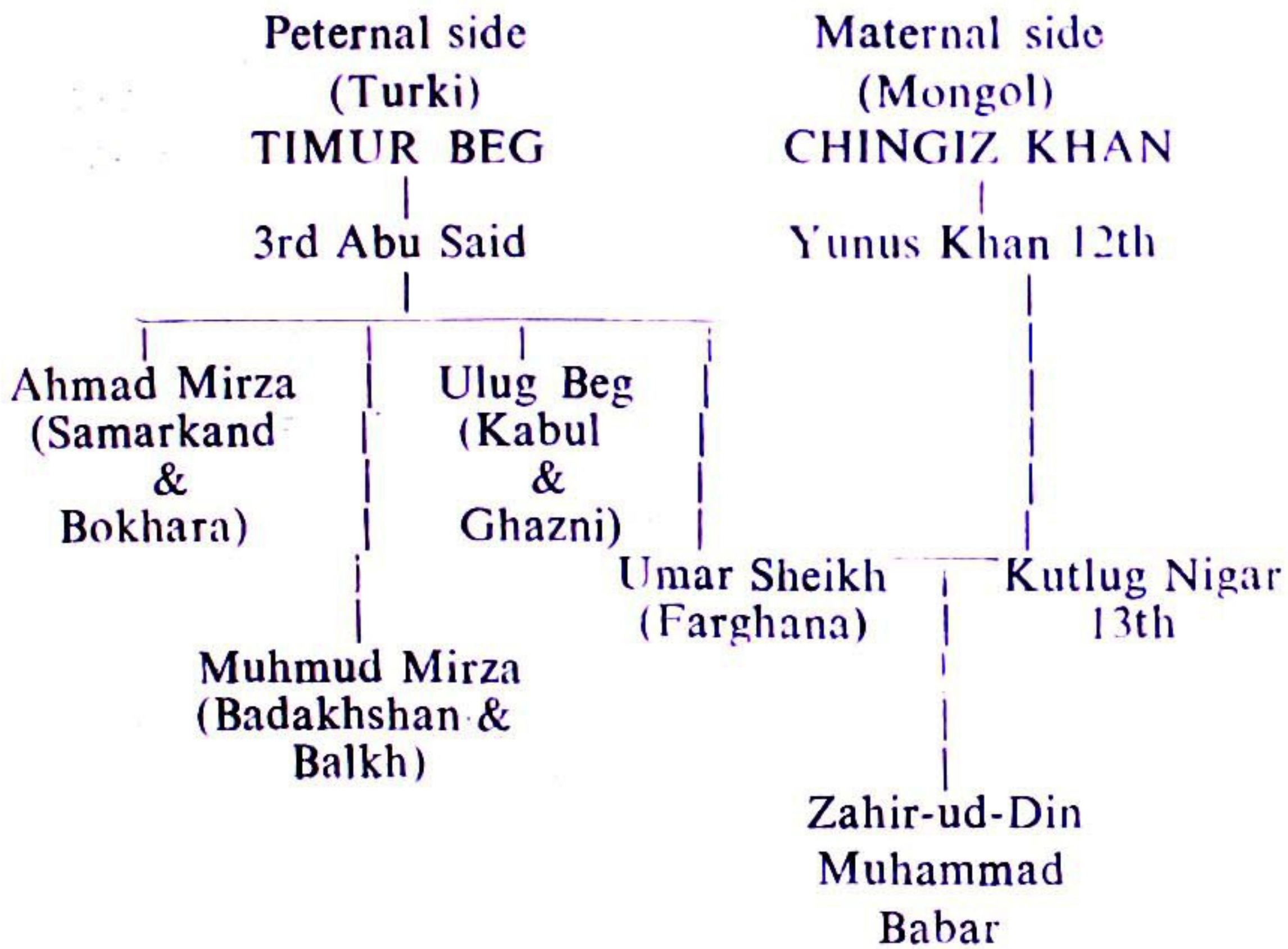
Jean Baptiste Tavernier's six voyages in the East have made him famous in history. He visited India for the first time in 1640, and during the succeeding years his travels extended to the greater portion of this country. He became a friend of Bernier and travelled to Bengal with him. Tavernier's work is important for the commercial history of the period. His description of roads and highways is full of interest, also his occasional remarks on the social life of the people. In 1676 appeared the 'Six Voyages'. Tavernier lived on to a wealthy and honoured old age, dying at Moscow in 1689.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

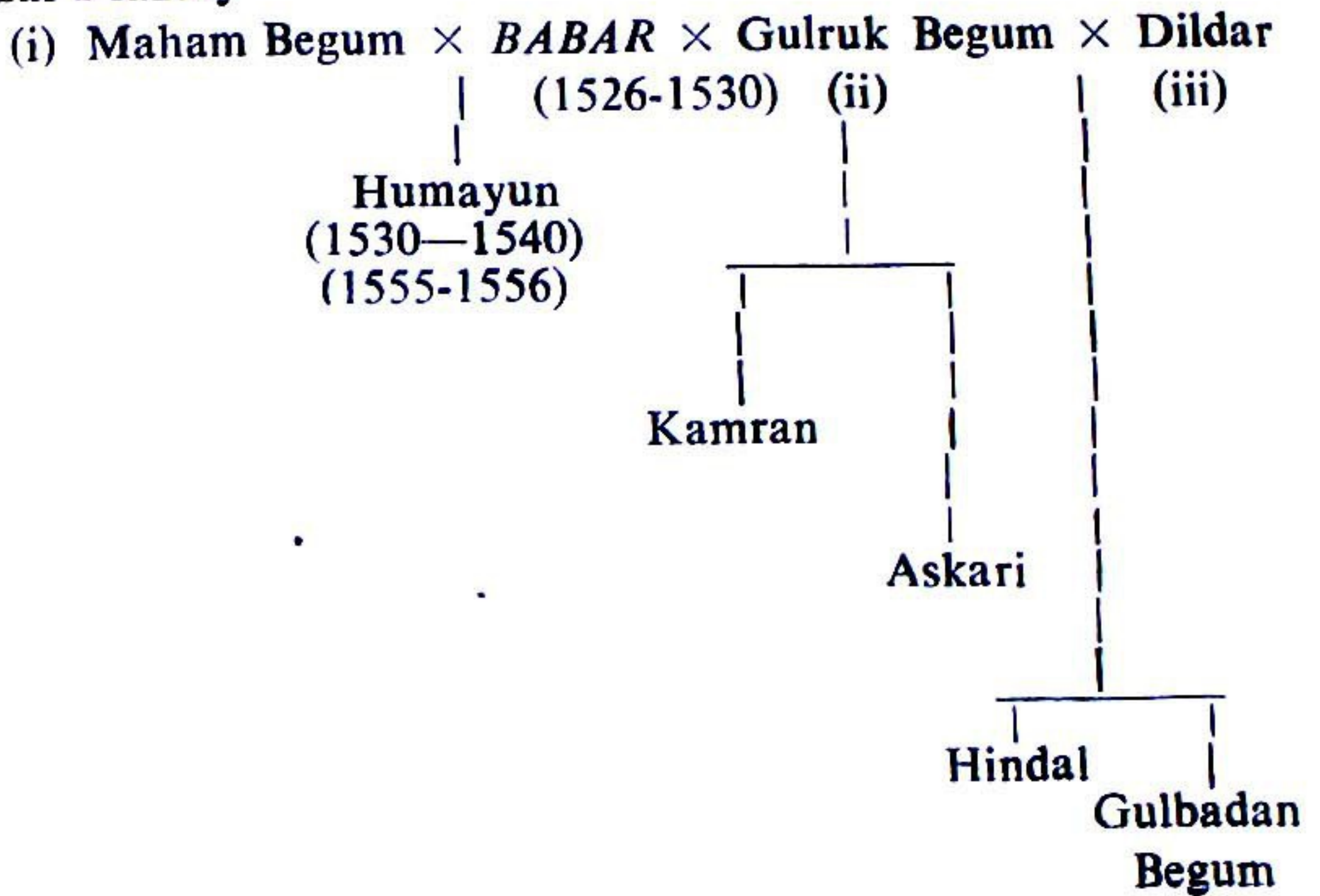
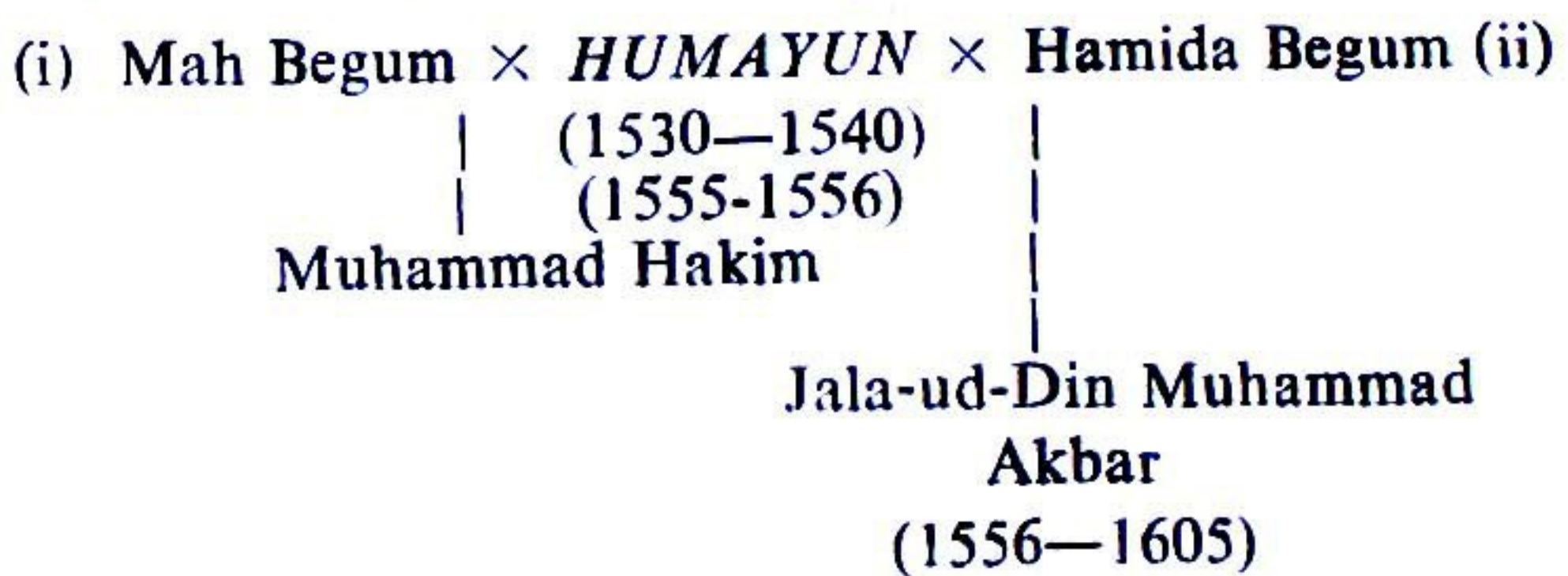
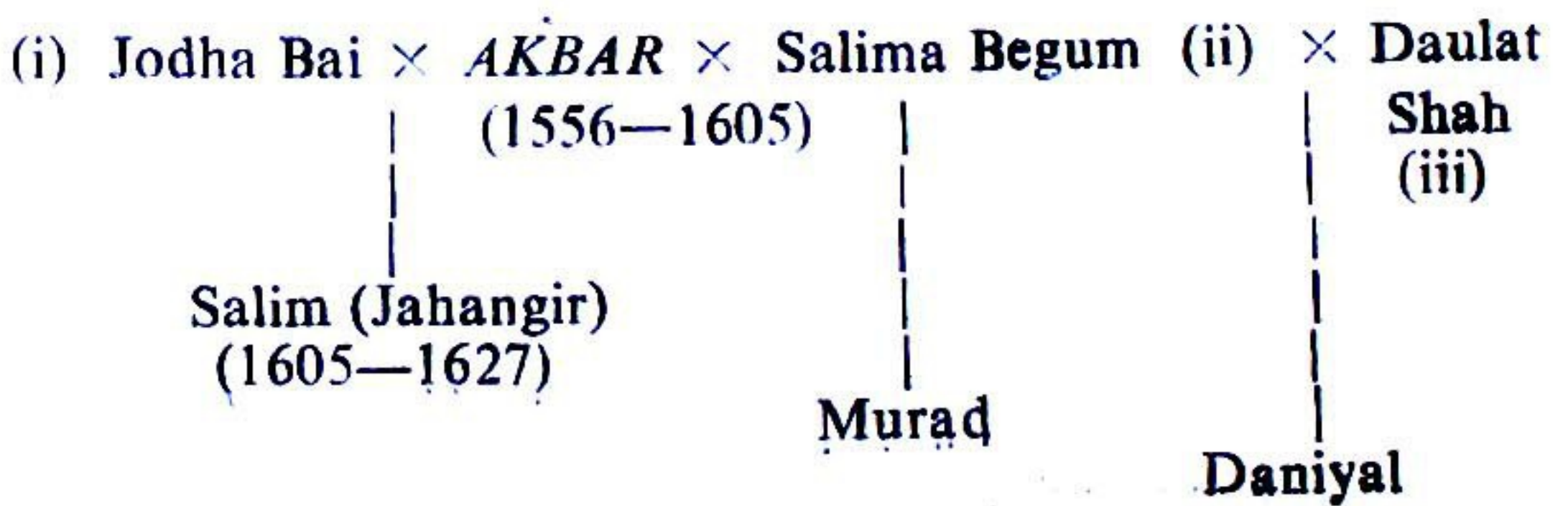
Babar's Pedigree

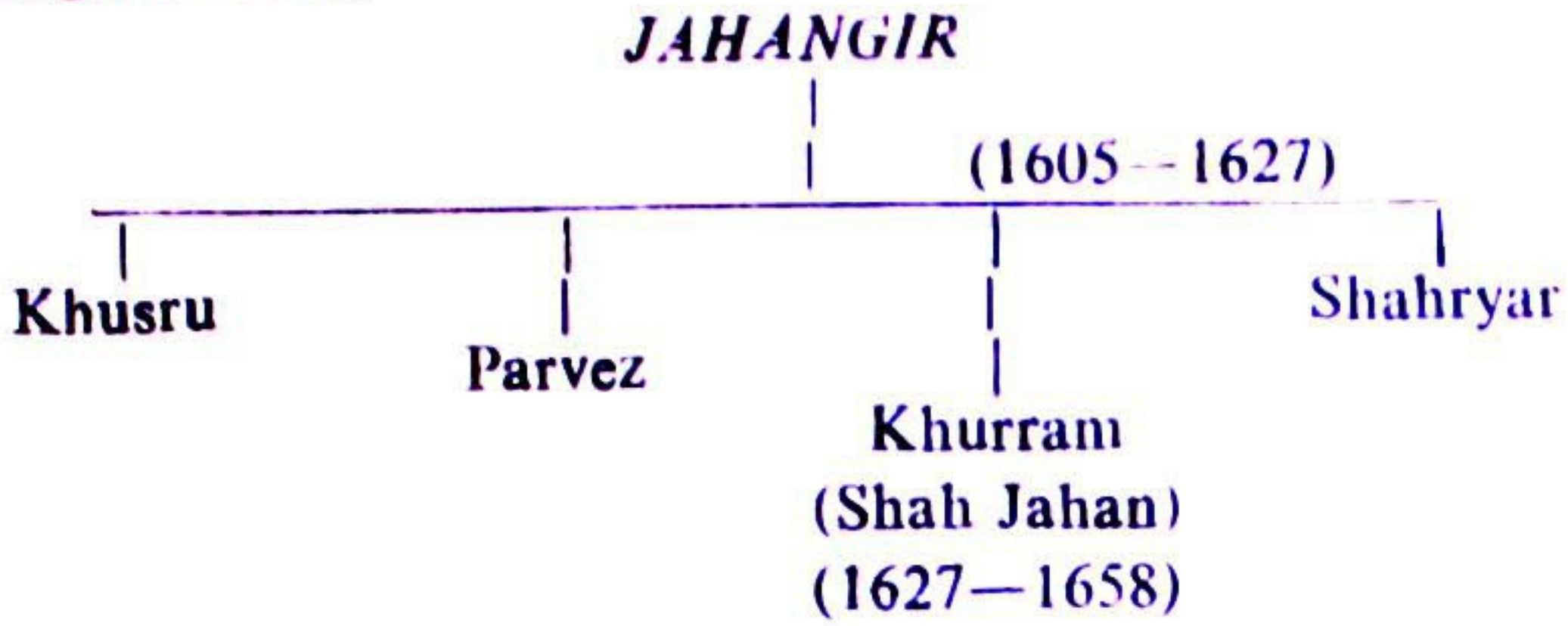
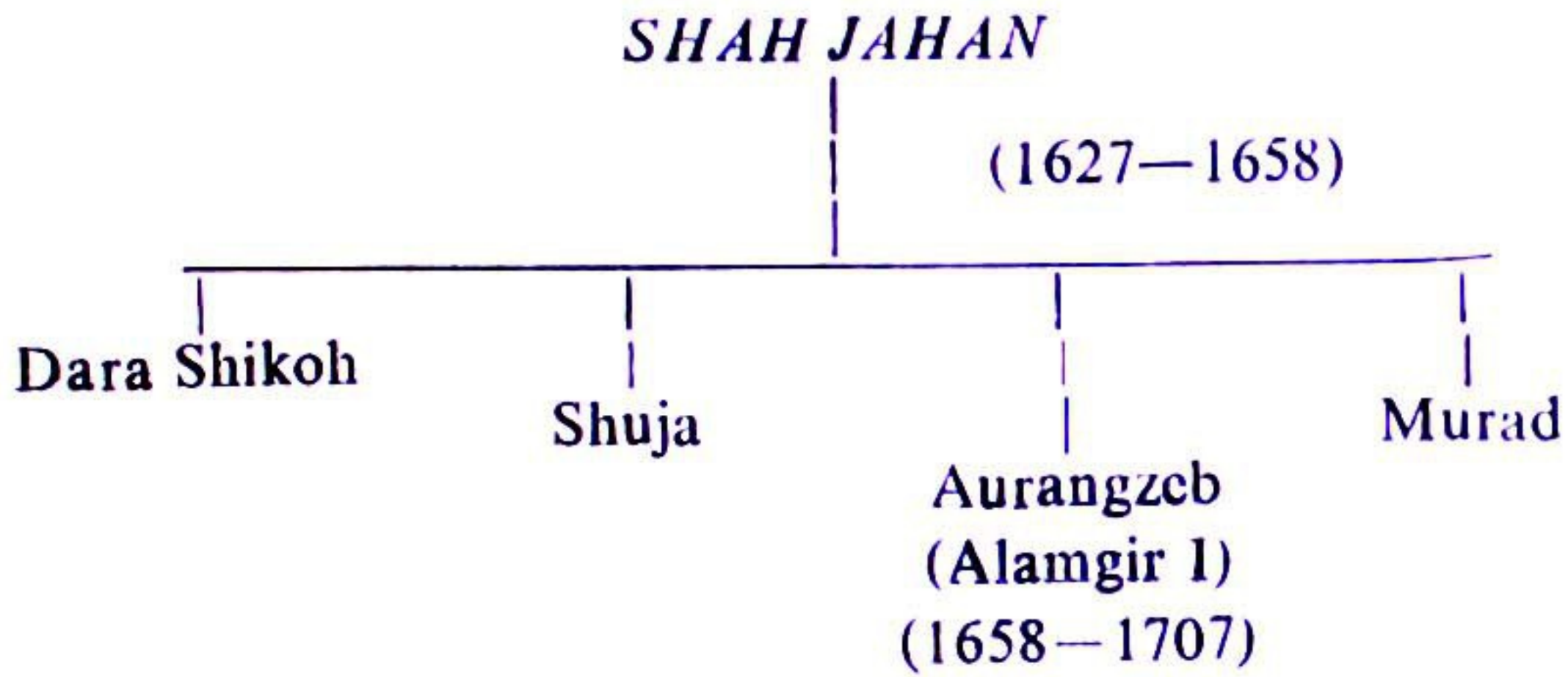
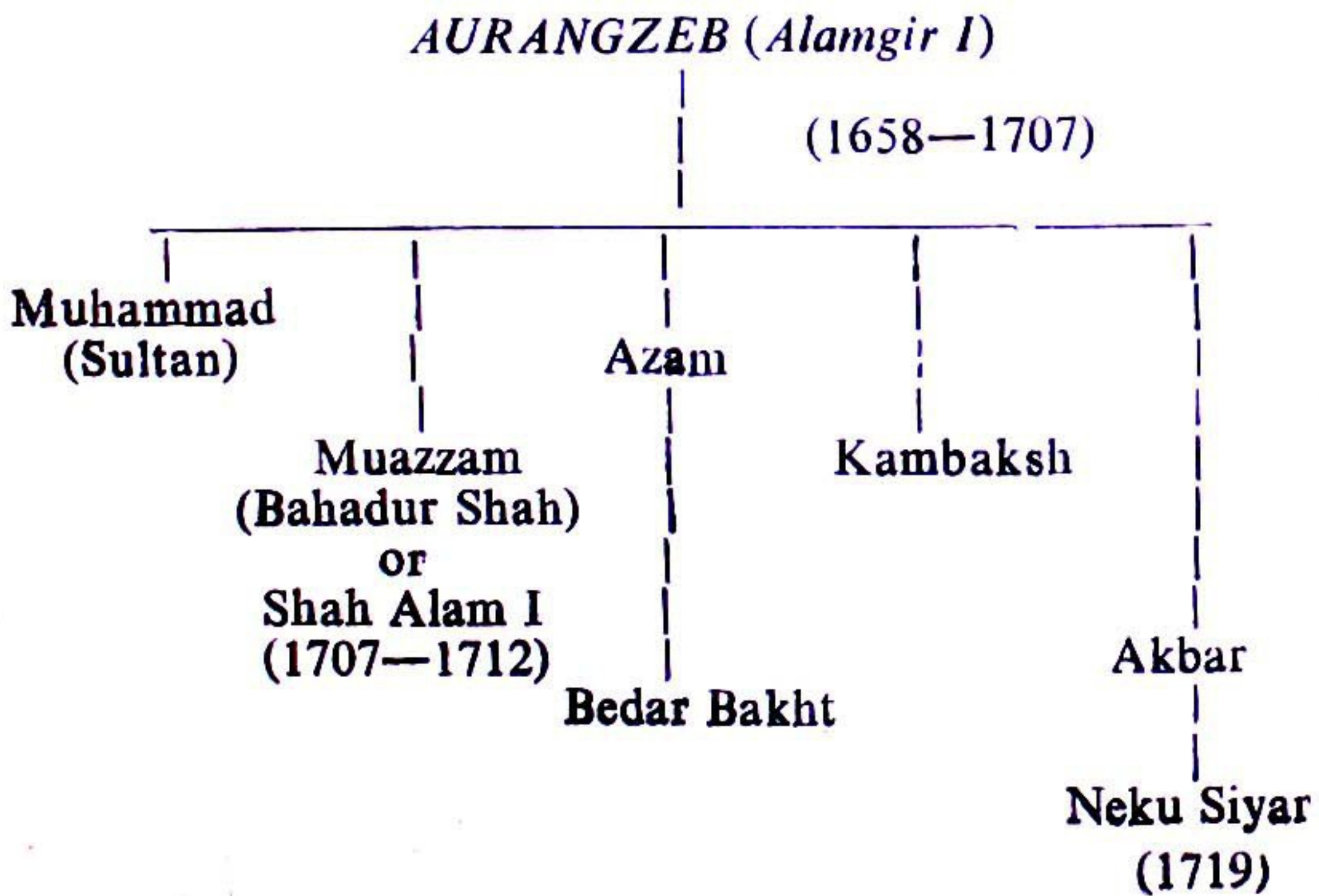


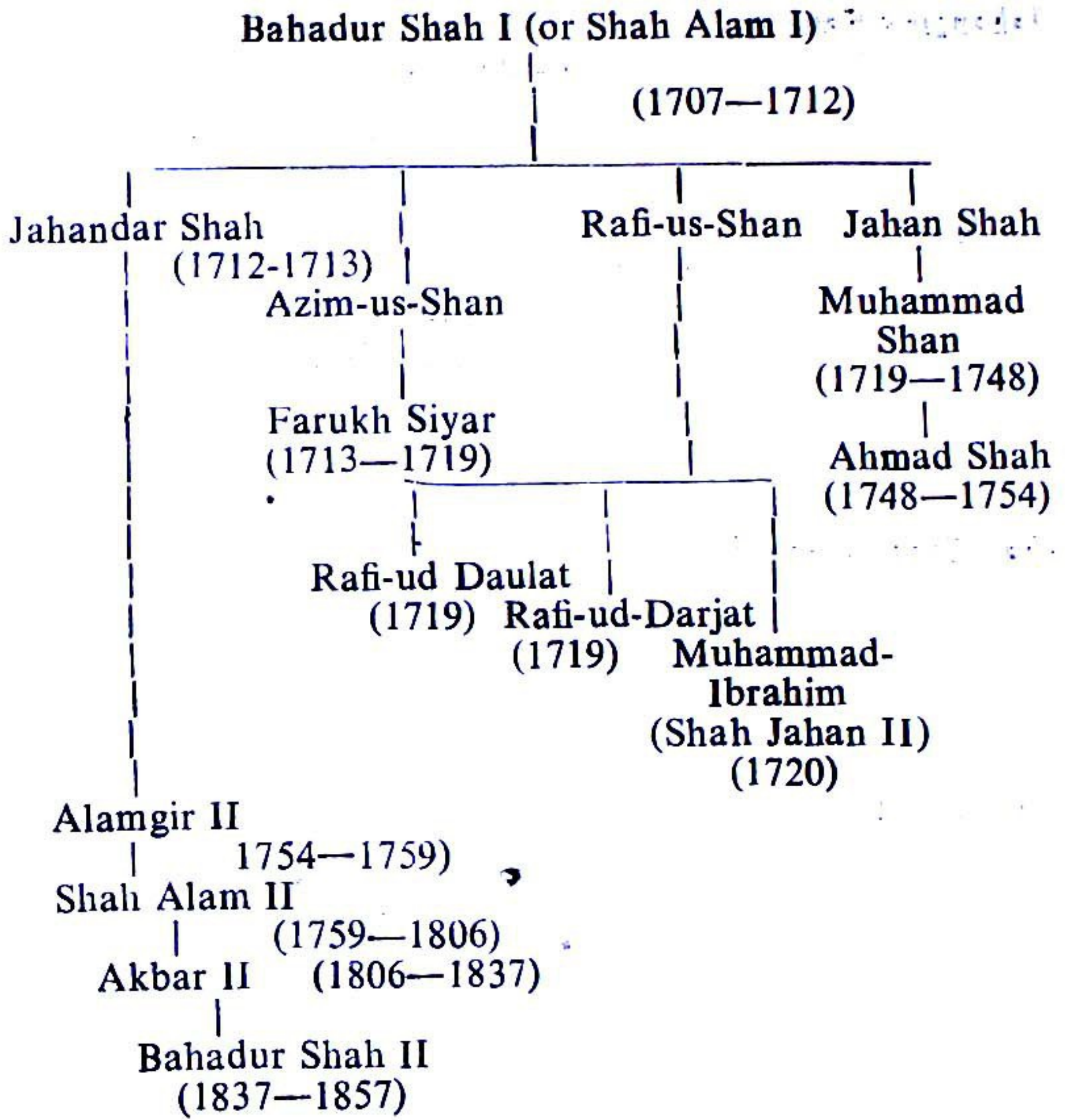
Note 1— (i) Babar was fifth in descent from Timur and fourteenth from Chingiz Khan, both of them great conquerors and scourges of Asia.

(ii) Babar was a Turk from his father's side and a Mongol from his mother's side.

(iii) Mughal or Mogul is the Persian and Indian form of Mongol.

Babar's family**Humayun's Family****Akbar's Family**

Jahangir's Family**Shah Jahan's Family****Aurangzeb's Family**



APPENDIX B

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS TO MUGHAL INDIA AND THEIR ACCOUNTS

1. Francis Bernier
 "Travels in the Mughal Empire"
2. Jean Baptiste Travenrier
 "Travels in India"
3. John Marshall
 "Notes and Observations in Bengal"
4. Manucci
 "The Story of Mughal India"
 (Storia do Mogor)
5. Sebestian Manrique
 "Travels in India"
6. Thomas Roe
 "Embassy to India"
7. Pietro della Valle
 "The Travels"
8. John Jourdain
 "The Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies"
9. Francisco Palsaert
 "Jahangir's India"
10. Peter Mundi
 "Travels of Peter Mundy"
11. Thevenot
 "Travels into the Levant"
12. John Albert de Mandelslo
 "The Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels"
13. Ralph Fitch
 "Early Travels in India"
14. John Mildenhall
 "Early Travels in India"

15. William Hawkins
 "Early Travels in India"
16. William Finch
 "Early Travels in India"
17. Nicholas Withington
 "Early Travels in India"
18. Thomas Coryat
 "Early Travels in India"
19. John Huyghen Van Linschoten
 "The Voyages of John H.V. Linschoten in Western India."
20. De Laet
 "Description of India"
21. Thomas Bowrey
 "A Geographical Account of the countries round the the Bay of Bengal"
22. Pyrard De Laval
 "The Voyage of Francois Pyrard"
23. John Fryer
 "A New Account of East India"
24. Sir Thomas Herbert
 "Travels into Africa and Asia"
25. Ovington
 "A Voyage to Surat"
26. Sir James Lancaster
 "Voyages to the East Indies"
27. Alexander Sharpey
 "Purchas"
28. William Nicholas
 "Purchas"
29. Joseph Salbanke
 "Purchas"

30. Nicholas Downton
 "Purchas"
31. Peter Floris
 "The Journal of Peter Floris"
32. Hedges
 "Diary of Sir William Hedges"
33. Streynsham
 "The Diary of Master Streynsham"

APPENDIX C

FAMOUS SANSKRIT WRITERS OF THE MUGHAL INDIA AND THEIR WORKS

1. Anantadeva
“Dattakadidhiti”, “Samskarakaustubha”
2. Gangadhara
“Manorama”
3. Nilakantha
“Todarananda”
4. Raghunandana Misra
“Todara Prakasa”
5. Ananta Bhatta
“Vidhana Parijata”
6. Krishna Das Kaviraja
“Chaitanya Caritamritam”
7. Kamalakara Bhatta
“Nirnaya Sindhu”
8. Ganesa Daivajna
“Jatakalamakara”
9. Gangadhara, Son of Ram Chandra
“Pravasakritya”
10. Gourisa Bhatta
“Anumaranapradipa”
11. Camunda Kayastha
“Jvartimirobhaskara”
12. Cintamani
“Muhurtacintamani”
13. Jayaratna
“Jvaraparajayah”
14. Jagannatha (Physician)
“Yogasangraha”

15. Jinaraja
 "Naisadhiyatika"
16. Dada
 "Dattarka Dharmasastra"
17. Nilakantha Bhatta
 "Bhagavanta Bhaskara"
18. Balabhandra Sukla
 "Kunda—tattvapradipa"
19. Mitra Krsna.
 "Viramitrodaya"
20. Raghunatha Bhatta
 "Kalatattavavivecana"
21. Ratna Simha
 "Pradyumna—Carita"
22. Vithala Diksita
 "Kundamandapasidhi"
23. Vaidya Nath Bhatta
 "Laksanaratna"
24. Jagannatha (Court Pandit of Shah Jahan)
 "Jagadabharana", "Asaf Vilasa", "Bhamini Vilasa"
25. Madhava Sukla
 "Kundakalpadruma"

APPENDIX D

MUGHAL RULERS

Babar	1526—1530
Humayun	1530—1540 and 1555—1556
Akbar	1556—1605
Jahangir	1605—1627
Shah Jahan	1627—1658
Aurangzeb (Alamgir)	1658—1707
Bahadur Shah I (Shah Alam)	1707—1712
Jahandar Shah	1712—1713
Farrukh Siyar	1713—1719
Rafi-ud-Darjat	1719
Rafi-ud-Daulat	1719
Muhammad Shah	1719—1748
Ahmad Shah	1748—1754
Alamgir II	1754—1759
Shah Alam II	1759—1806
Akbar II	1806—1837
Bahadur Shah II	1837—1857

APPENDIX E

CHRONOLOGY

1483 A.D.	Babar's birth.
1494 A.D.	Babar succeeds his father.
1504 A.D.	Babar captures Kabul.
1507 A.D.	Babar assumes the title of Padshah.
1508 A.D.	Birth of Humayun.
1519 A.D.	Babar enters India.
1523 A.D.	Babar attacks Lahore and Sarhind.
1526 A.D.	Battle of Panipat (1st Battle).
1527 A.D.	Battle of Khanua.
1528 A.D.	Babar captures Chanderi.
1529 A.D.	Battle of Ghagra.
1530 A.D.	{ Babar's death. { Accession of Humayun.
1531 A.D.	Humayun besieges Kalinjar.
1532 A.D.	Humayun's first siege of Chunar.
1533 A.D.	Humayun raises the 11nd siege of Chunar.
1534 A.D.	Humayun leaves Agra for Kalpi.
1535 A.D.	Bahadur Shah flees from Champanir.
1536 A.D.	Humayun captures Champanir.
1537 A.D.	Humayun at Agra.
1538 A.D.	Humayun at Gaur.
1539 A.D.	Battle of Chausa.
1540 A.D.	Battle of Kanauj.
1541 A.D.	Humayun marries Hamida Banu.
1542 A.D.	Birth of Akbar.
1543 A.D.	Humayun leaves Sindh.
1544 A.D.	Humayun meets Tahmasp.

- 1545 A.D. Humayun conquers Qandhar and Kabul.
- 1555 A.D. { Humayun captures Lahore.
Battle of Sarhind.
Humayun enters Delhi.
- 1556 A.D. { Death of Humayun.
Accession of Akbar.
Battle of Panipat (second).
- 1557 A.D. Death of Adil Shah.
- 1560 A.D. Dismissal of Bairam Khan.
- 1561 A.D. Conquest of Malwa,
- 1562 A.D. { Matrimonial alliance with the house of
Ambar.
Conquest of Merhta.
Abolition of the custom of enslaving prisoners
of war.
- 1563 A.D. Abolition of Pilgrims Tax.
- 1564 A.D. { Abolition of Jizya.
Conquest of Gondwana.
- 1566 A.D. Retreat of Mirza Hakim.
- 1568 A.D. { Siege of Chittor.
Acquisition of Ranthombhor.
- 1569 A.D. Conquest of Kalinjar.
- 1570 A.D. Humiliation of Marwar.
- 1573 A.D. Conquest of Gujrat.
- 1575 A.D. { Organisation of the Mansabdari System.
Orders for the Construction of Ibadat Khana.
- 1576 A.D. { Conquest of Bihar and Bengal.
Battle of Haldighati.
- 1579 A.D. Akbar himself read the Khutba.
- 1580 A.D. Reorganisation of the Provinces.
- 1581 A.D. Invasion of Kabul.
- 1584 A.D. Introduction of the Ilahi Era.

- 1585 A.D. Annexation of Kashmir.
- 1592 A.D. Conquest of Sindh and Orissa.
- 1595 A.D. Conquest of Baluchistan and Qandahar.
- 1600 A.D. Fall of Ahmadnagar.
- 1601 A.D. Surrender of the fort of Asirgarh.
- 1602 A.D. Abul Fazl way-laid.
- 1603 A.D. Revolt of Salim.
- 1605 A.D. { Death of Akbar.
{ Accession of Jahangir.
- 1606 A.D. { Khusro's flight from Agra.
{ Guru Arjun's death.
{ Qandhar besieged by the Persians.
- 1607 A.D. Sher Afgan, first husband of Nur Jahan, killed.
- 1608 A.D. Ahmadnagar taken by Malik Ambar.
- 1609 A.D. Hawkins arrives at Agra.
- 1611 A.D. Jahangir marries Mihr-un-Nisa (Nur Jahan).
- 1612 A.D. { Khurram marries Arjumand Banu Begam
{ (Mumtaz Mahal).
{ First English factory at Surat.
- 1615 A.D. { Rana of Mewar submits to Khurram.
{ Sir Thomas Roe arrives in India.
- 1616 A.D. Khurram appointed to Deccan.
- 1617 A.D. Khurram makes peace in Deccan and receives title of Shah Jahan.
- 1618 A.D. Roe, after obtaining farmans for English trade, leaves court.
- 1621 A.D. Itimad-ud-daula dies.
- 1622 A.D. { Shah Abbas of Persia besieges and takes
{ Qandahar.
{ Shah Jahan ordered to recover Qandahar but
{ rebels.
- 1623 A.D. Shah Jahan defeated by imperial army at Bilochpur.

- 1624 A.D. Malik Ambar attacks Bijapur.
- 1625 A.D. Shah Jahan joins Malik Ambar.
- 1626 A.D. Death of Malik Ambar.
- 1627 A.D. Death of Jahangir.
- 1628 A.D. Accession of Shah Jahan.
- 1629 A.D. Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi.
- 1630 A.D. Shah Jahan invades Ahmadnagar territory.
- 1631 A.D. Death of Mumtaz Mahal.
- 1632 A.D. Mughals invade Bijapur.
- 1633 A.D. { English factories opened at Balasore and Hariharpur.
{ End of Ahmadnagar dynasty.
- 1634 A.D. Insurrection in Bundelkhand.
- 1637 A.D. Aurangzib appointed Viceroy of Deccan.
- 1638 A.D. Qandahar recovered by Mughals.
- 1639 A.D. Foundation of New Delhi laid.
- 1640 A.D. Foundation of Fort St. George, Madras.
- 1645 A.D. { Death of Nur Jahan.
{ Invasion of Balkh.
- 1646 A.D. Balkh taken by Murad Baksh.
- 1647 A.D. { Aurangzib replaces Murad Bakhsh.
{ Shivaji captures Kondhana (Sinhgarh) and other forts.
- 1649 A.D. { Persians recover Qandahar.
{ Inauguration of New Delhi.
- 1651 A.D. { Aurangzib re-appointed to Deccan.
{ English factory opened at Hooghly.
- 1652 A.D. Shuja grants permission to English to trade in Bengal.
- 1657 A.D. { Illness of Shah Jahan.
{ Murad and Shuja rebel.
- 1658 A.D. { Aurangzib defeats royalists at Dharmatpur.
{ Battle of Samugarh.
{ Aurangzib crowned at Delhi.

- 1659 A.D. { Dara defeated at Deorai and executed at Delhi.
Shivaji murders Afzal Khan.
- 1660 A.D. Mughals occupy Poona and Chakan.
- 1661 A.D. Capture of Cooch Behar.
- 1662 A.D. Assam occupied.
- 1663 A.D. Shivaji raids Poona.
- 1664 A.D. Shivaji sacks Surat.
- 1665 A.D. Jai Singh defeats Shivaji.
- 1666 A.D. { Death of Shah Jahan.
Shivaji visits Agra and escapes.
- 1667 A.D. Ahoms recover Assam.
- 1668 A.D. Intolerant religious ordinances issued.
- 1669 A.D. Jat rebellion.
- 1670 A.D. { Shivaji rebels and again sacks Surat.
Chhatra Sal becomes leader of Bundelas.
- 1672 A.D. Rebellion of Afrids and of Satnamis.
- 1674 A.D. Shivaji assumes title of Chhatrapati.
- 1675 A.D. Guru Tegh Bahadur executed.
- 1677 A.D. Shivaji conquers Carnatic and Mysore.
- 1679 A.D. { Jizya reimposed.
Attack on Mewar.
- 1680 A.D. Death of Shivaji and succession of Shambhuji.
- 1681 A.D. { Prince Akbar rebels.
Aurangzib sets out for Deccan.
- 1682 A.D. Aurangzib attacks the Marathas.
- 1685 A.D. { Siege of Bijapur.
Jat rebellion.
- 1686 A.D. Fall of Bijapur.
- 1687 A.D. { Prince Akbar sails for Persia.
Shah Alam imprisoned.
Golconda captured
- 1688 A.D. Marathas plunder Conjeveram.

- 1689 A.D. { Shambhuji captured and executed.
Raja Ram succeeds.
- 1695 A.D. Mughal army defeated by Marathas near Chitaldroog.
- 1697 A.D. Santaji Ghorpare murdered.
- 1699 A.D. First Maratha raid in Malwa.
- 1700 A.D. { Death of Raja Ram.
Satara Taken by Mughals.
- 1702 A.D. Durga Das rebels.
- 1705 A.D. Chhatra Sal recognised by Aurangzib.
- 1707 A.D. { Death of Aurangzib.
Prince Muazzam becomes emperor as Bahadur Shah.
- 1708 A.D. { Shahu recognised as Maratha King.
Death of Guru Govind Singh.
- 1710 A.D. Bahadur Shah attacks Sikhs.
- 1712 A.D. { Death of Bahadur Shah.
Jahandar Shah becomes emperor.
- 1713 A.D. { Farrukh Siyar defeats Jahandar near Agra,
and is enthroned.
Jahandar murdered.
- 1714 A.D. Sayyid Husain Ali appointed Viceroy of Deccan.
- 1716 A.D. Execution of Banda.
- 1717 A.D. Jizya reimposed.
- 1718 A.D. Churaman Jat visits Delhi.
- 1719 A.D. { Farrukh Siyar deposed and strangled and Rafi-ud-Darajat succeeds.
Death of Rafi-ud-Darajat and of his successor
Rafi-ud-Daula Raushan Akhtar succeeds as
Muhammad Shah.
- 1720 A.D. { Death of Balaji Peshwa and succession of Baji Rao.
Assassination of Sayyid Husain Ali.
Jizya abandoned.

- 1721 A.D. Ajit Singh rebels but submits.
- 1722 A.D. Sayyid Abdullah poisoned.
- 1724 A.D. Nizam independent.
- 1725 A.D. Nizam-ul-Mulk receives title of Asaf Jah.
- 1727 A.D. Arakanese raid in Bengal.
- 1728 A.D. Treaty of Mungi Shevgaon.
- 1731 A.D. Muhammad Khan Bangash appointed to Malwa.
- 1732 A.D. Baji Rao invades Malwa.
- 1735 A.D. Baji Rao recognised by emperor as governor of Malwa.
- 1736 A.D. Nadir Shah becomes King of Persia.
- 1738 A.D. Nadir Shah takes Kabul and invades India.
- 1739 A.D. { Nadir Shah defeats Mughals near Karnal,
enters Delhi and orders massacre.
Burhan-ul-Mulk dies and is succeeded by
Safdar Jang.
- 1740 A.D. { Ali Vardi Khan appointed to Bengal.
Death of Baji Rao and succession of Balaji
Rao.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>Author</i>	<i>Work</i>
Turkish	
Babar	Tuzk-i-Babri, English translation by A.S. Beveridge.
Persian	
1. Abdul Rahim	Persian Translation of the Memoirs of Babar, English translation by Leyden and Erskine.
2. Abul Fazl	Akbar-nama, 3 Vols., translation in English by H. Beveridge.
3. Abul Fazl	Ain-i-Akbari, 3 Vols., English translation by Blochmann and Jarrett.
4. Abdul Qadir Badaoni	Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh Vol. I, English translation by Rankin, Vol. II, English translation by W.H. Lowe.
5. Abbas Khan	Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi; English translation by Elliot.
6. Abdullah	Tarikh-i-Daudi; English translation by Elliot.
7. Abul Qasim Ferishta	Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi, English translation by Briggs.
8. Abdul Hamid Lahori	Padshahnama.
9. Bhimsen	Nuskha-i-Dilkusha.
10. Gulbadan Begum	Humayun Nama, English translation by Beveridge, A.S.

11. Haider Doghlat Tarikh-i-Rashidi, English translation by Elias and Ross.
12. Jauhar Tazkirat-ul-Waqayat, English translation by Stewart, C.
13. Jahangir Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, English translation by Rogers and Beveridge.
14. Khafi Khan Muntakhab ul-Luba b.
15. Mohammad Sharif Iqbalnama.
Motamid Khan
16. Mohammad Saqi Maasir-i-Alamgiri.
Mustaidd Khan
17. Nizamuddin Ahmad Tabaqat-i-Akbari, English Translation by De.
18. Niyamat Ullah Tarikh-i-Afghana, English translation by Dorn.
19. Sujan Rai Khulasatut Tawarikh.
20. Shah Nawaz Khan Maasir-ul-Umara.

Hindi

1. G.H. Ojha Rajputana Ka Itihas.

Urdu

1. Zakaullah Tarikh-i-Hindustan.

English

1. Banerji, S.K. Humayun Badshah
2. Beni Prasad History of Jahangir.
3. Banarsi Prasad History of Shah Jahan.
4. Erskine History of India.
5. Elliot and Dowson History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. I to VIII.
6. Francois Bernier Travels in the Mughal Empire, 2 Vols., English translation by A. Constable.
7. G.N. Sharma Mewar and Mughals.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 8. K.R. Qanungo | Sher Shah. |
| 9. Malleson | Akbar. |
| 10. P. Saran | The Provincial Adminishtation of the
Mughals. |
| 11. P. Saran | The Successors of Sher Shah. |
| 12. Roy Chowdhari | Din-i-Ilahi. |
| 13. R.P. Tripathi | Rise And Fall of The Mughal Empire. |
| 14. Rushbrook
Williams | An Empire Builder of the 16th century. |
| 15. S.R. Sharma | Religious Policy of The Mughal Em-
perors. |
| 16. Smith, V. | Akbar The Great Mogul. |
| 17. Sarkar, J.N. | Aurangzib, 5 Vols. |
| 18. Sarkar, J.N. | Shivaji And His Times. |
| 19. Sarkar, J.N. | Fall of the Mughal Empire. |
| 20. Srivastva, A.L. | Akbar The Great, 3 Vols. |
| 21. Tavernier, J.B. | Travels in India, English translation by
V. Ball. |
| 22. Von Noer | Emperor Akbar. |
| 23. Wolseley Haig | The Cambridge History of India, Vol.
IV. |



		Rs.
Mountbatten and The Partition of India	S. Hashim Raza	150
History of India Under Humayun	William Erskine	450
History of India Under Baber	, , ,	450
Muslim Educational thought in the Middle Ages	Ziauddin Alavi	90
A History of the Indian Mutiny	T.R.E. Holmes	495
History of Sikh Struggles	Gurmit Singh	450
Constitutional Development of India	Manik Lal Gupta	150
Kingship in India : From Vedic Age to Gupta Age	Ravindra Sharma	100
A Social History of Islamic India (in Hindi)	Mohammad Yasin	180
Gandhi and the Mass Movements	S.R. Bakshi	275
Revolutionaries and the British Raj	S.R. Bakshi	130
Nationalism and British Raj	S.R. Bakshi	150
History of Partition of India : Origin and Development of the Idea of Pakistan (4 Vols. Set)	K.K. Aziz	900
History and Culture of Punjab	Mohinder Singh	500
The Sikh Volcano	Ghani Jafar	400
History of India : From the Earliest Times to the 20th Century	H.G. Keene	345
Vol. I		355
Vol. II		
Reading in Indian History	Mohammad Yasin	150
History of India (Vol. I & II)	Mountstuart Elphinstone	800
Comparative Politics	Vidya Bhushan	120
Concept of Justice	Dibakar Sahoo	130
The Emperor Akbar : A Contribution Towards the History of India in the 16th Century (Vol. I & II)	Frederick Augustus	695
The History of India (With a Map and Twelve illustration)	W.H. Davenport Adams	400
Swaraj Party & Gandhi	S.R. Bakshi	275