

# Historiography of Mughal Period-An Analytical Study

Dr. Shahina Bano

Department Of History, Assistant Professor,  
Maharni's Arts College For Women-Bangalore-1

---

*Abstract: In the Mughal period an innovative class of historiography- that of official histories or namah- came in to vogue in india under Persian influence. Akbar introduced the practice of commissioning officials or others to write the history of his new empire giving them access for this purpose to state records. This practice continued down to the reign of Aurangzeb who, however, stopped it in his eleventh regnal year. Besides, such official histories, biographical works great historical interest were also produced during the period under survey. And we not entirely dependent upon chroniclers; we have in some instances contemporary, independent historians. The historians of the Mughal Period did not develop any philosophy of history from which certain lessons may be drawn, and they mainly concerted on the political history completely neglecting the cultural, religious and social aspects.*

## INTRODUCTION

The historians of this period certainly differed from the historians of the sultanate period in social status class, out look, idiom and approach. The element of personal gain, getting a reward or repaying a debt of gratitude receded into the back ground or at least was not so prominent now as in the previous period.

Another significant change was the secularization of the history. Though the divine element is still noticeable, the humanistic aspect of the history tends to be more prominent. This chapter shall deal with some of the prominent historians of the Mughal period, and the contribution made by them to the medieval historiography.

## 1. LITERARY SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF MUGHAL HISTORY

Zahir-Al-Din Muhammad (Babur) – Baburnama Baburnama, literary "Book of Babur" or alternatively known as Tuzk-e-Babri is the name given to the memoirs of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammed Babur(1483-1530). He was the founder of the

Moghul Empire and great grandson of Timur. It is an autobiographical work. It was originally written in the Chagatai language, known to Babur as "Turk" (meaning Turkic), the spoken language of the Andijan-Timurids. Babur's prose is highly Persianised in its sentences structure, morphology, and language. It also contains many phrases and smaller poems in Persian. During the Emperor's reign, the work was completely translated to Persian by a Moghul courtier, Abdul Rahim, in (1589-90)

Baburnamah can be divided into three Parts. The first part begins with his accession to the throne of Fargana and ends with his driving out from his flight to his last invasion of India. The third part gives an account of his transactions in India. It may be noted that there are three important gaps in the memories of the forty seven and ten years of his life, give an account of only 18 years.

In his Memoirs Babur gives detailed account of the land, climate, vegetation, trade, industry as well as social and political condition of the people. Talking of India he says. "it is a remarkable fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with other countries. its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its animals and plants, inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains all are of a different nature.' He makes a reference to the economic prosperity and wealth of the country when he talks of the 'abundance of gold and silver'. We gather from his account that the food-grains, clothes and other merchandise were not only cheap but also available in abundance. Talking of the political conditions, Babur tell us that the country was divided into small kingdoms. While the greater part of Hindustan was in the possession of the Emperor of Delhi, five Muslim Kings and two Hindu kings ruled the hilly areas.

Babur's observation was very keen and his style was pleasant and forthright. He describes even the minutest things with such meticulous care that readers of his diary feel that the things are happenings before their very eyes.

Prof. Lanepoole says'. "If ever there were a case, when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Babur's Memoires No reader of this prince of autobiographies can doubt his honesty or his competence as a witness and chronicler."Prof. Elliot also considers Babur's Memories as one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography.

Despite the highly useful character of his memories, we must remember that "the historical truth presented by Babur in his Memories is mixed up in an almost inextricable manner with his own opinions, sentiments, judgments and his philosophy of life. His predilections colour all his observations, and while reading his Memoirs, we seem to live with him, to think with him, move with the hectic speed that was peculiarly his and yet stop to relay on the surroundings. Babur combined chronology with a deep knowledge of geography. This formed a definite corollary to historical events and helped him in forming the estimate of the resources, the climate, and the habits of the people of a particular place". In view of the rich content s of the Memoirs is one of those priceless records which are for all time.

## 2. AIN - I-AKBARI of ABUL FAZL

The Ain-i-Akbari or the "Constitution of Akbar" is a 16th century , detailed document recording the administration of the emperor Akbar's empire, written by Abul-Fazl -ibnMubarak. Ain -i- akbari is the third volume of Akbarnama contailing information regarding Akbar's reign in the fom of what would be called modern times, administration report, stastistical compilation, gazetteers. ABUL FAZL- (1551 - 1602) - Shaikh Abul Fazl belonged to the Hijazi Arab family which migrated to Sindh and then permanently settled at Nagor, near Ajmen. He was well educated by his father Shaikh Mubarak and soon earned reputation as a deep and critical scholar. At the age of 20 he became a teacher. He was introduced to the' Royal Court in 1573 and soon won the trust of his master Akbar by extraordinary intellect, assiduous devotion and loyalty, and ultimately rose to the position of his Prime Minister.

Abul Fazl apart from being a great statesman, diplomat, and a military general also distinguished himself as a writer. His chief contribution to medieval Indian historiography were his two works Akbarnamah and Ain-t-Akbari, which are an important source for the history of the reign of Akbar.

Akbarnamh was written by Abul Fazl at the command of Akbar and contains a detailed history of his reign. He collected the martial for this work from the records and narratives of the contemporaries and by interrogating the servants of the state and old members of the illustrious families. Abul Fazl devoted almost seven years to complete this work in 1596.

Akbarnamah consists of three volumes. The first volume traces the history of House of Fimur till the death of Humayun. The second volume deals with the reign of Akbar from 1556 to 1604. The third volume popularly known as Ain - l- Akbari, gives lot a gazetter information about the then prevailing social and economic conditions of the Empire. Making an assessment of the historical value of Akbarnamah.

Prof. V. A. Smith says.' "The historical matter in Abul Fazl's book is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric, and the author, and unblushing flatterer of his hero (Akbar) sometimes conceals, or even deliberately perverts, the truth (e.g. the dating of Akbar's birth with the story of his naming, and the account of his capitulation of Asingarh). Never the less, the Akbarnamah, not withstanding its grave and obivious faults, must be treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. It chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of the rival books by Nizamuddin and Badauni, and it brings the story to a later date than they do."

Ain-i-Akbari, the other work accredited to Abul Fazl, as mentioned above, is the third volume Akbarnamah. It contains a detailed description of the empire and institutes of Akbar. Prof. Luniya Says : "It is a mine of information about the rules, regulations, topography, revenue system, social habits and customs of the people of India and many other things.... Ain-l-Akbari is such a valuable and important book that no historian of the Mughals can do with out it." Ain-l-Akbari consists of five books each dealing with one particular aspect. The various aspects dealt with this book include an account of Akbar's household and court; the military and civil services and description of their ranks; the rules and regulations of the judicial and executive departments; and details about the revenue system etc.

In addition of these two outstanding works, Abut Fazl translated the Hindu scripture Gita and Published Mkhtabat-l-Abul Fazla collection of official letters

### 3. TUJUK - I – JAHANGIR

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Tuzuk Jahangiri is the autobiography of the Moghul Emperor Jahangir. (1569-1609) It is also referred as Jahangir nama. Tuzuk-e Jahangir is written in Persian and follows the tradition of his great grandfather Babur. Jahangir went a step further and besides the history of his reign, he includes details like his reflections on art, politics and also information about his family. The text details the first nineteen years of his reign, but gave up the writing of his memoirs in the seventeenth year of his reign. He then entrusted the task to Mutamad Khan, the author of the *Iqbal Nama*, who continued the memoirs to the beginning of the nineteenth year. From there, it was taken up by Muhammed Hadi, who continued it to Jahangir's death.

It forms an important reference point for the era along with his father, Akbar's *Akbarnama*. The first important printed version of '*Jahangirnama*' was by Sayyid Ahmad printed at Gazipur in 1863 and at Aligarh in 1864. Jahangir's autobiography also reflects the royal ideology of Jahangir's view on various political, religious and social issues. Within the memoir, he noted many of his local level legislative policies in his large empire consisting of all of modern day India. Among them were his decrees to manage and regulate the jagirdars. Jagirdars were holders of the Jahangir, the emperor's land grant title. The jagirdar were to take the income of the land and use it mainly to finance the maintenance of the troops and to address the town needs. Jahangir made various attempts to prevent corruption within the jagirdar. He prohibited each of them from using the money for personal profit by ordering the part of the land income to go to hospitals and infirmaries and for each town to be equipped with religious buildings according to the religion of that area. Jahangir also kept the jagirdar from gaining interest in family or land riches by ordering for jagirdars to seek his approval before marrying someone from the town they ruled in.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri is the most important source for the study of the reign of Jahangir. It not only gives an account of the various riots and rebellions, wars, and conquests and official regulations but also contains a candid account of the emperor's daily life. The *Memories* also provide a detailed account of the social, cultural and spiritual life of the people. One of the outstanding qualities of his memoirs is that they are marked by frankness. Jahangir even mentions how he got Abul Fazl murdered. However, there is no reference to his marriage with Nurjahan.

### 4. MUHAMMAD HASHIM ALIAS HASHIM ALI KHAN

Muntakhab - ul - Lubab Kafi Khan, author of the *Muntakhab-ul- lubab*, belonged to a respectable family of Delhi. His father, Khwaja Mir, also a historian, was an officer of high rank in the service of Prince Murad Bakhsh and later on Aurangzeb. Kafi Khan grew up in Aurangzeb's service, and was employed by him for political and military affairs. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he was made Diwan by Nizam-ul-Mulk.

The *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* is a highly esteemed history, commenting with the incursion of Babur and ending with the fourteenth year of Muhammed Shah's reign. Since Aurangzeb had prohibited the recording of events of his time, Kafi Khan completed a minute register of all happenings of the period and published it after the death of the emperor. His work is very important as it contains an account of the reign of Aurangzeb.

Kafi Khan was Shia, and therefore, showed particularity towards the Shia nobles in his work. He was prejudiced against the Turani nobles, excluding the Nizam-ul-Mulk, whom he was serving and for whom he was full of praise. Owing to this partiality he is sometimes nicknamed Nizam-ul-Mulki.

Khafi Khan informs us about the methods and principles which he has followed in completing his work. He says that it is obligatory on a historian to be truthful. He should be free from all hope of reward and fear of harm. He traces the beginning of partiality in historical writings to the reign of Farrukh Siyar, when interested people took advantage of the situation and got partial accounts prepared in which mutual jealousies determined the assessment of events.

Such people considered only their interest and discarded the requirement of truth. The good qualities of the opposite group were represented as vices, and the vices of the party to which they themselves belonged were depicted as virtues. Kafi Khan then refers to his own approach and method of dealing with the subjects. Kafi Khan began his narratives from the establishment of the Mughal Empire to the fourteenth regnal year of Muhammed Shah.

Muhammad Hashim, popularly known as Khafi Khan, wrote *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* or *Tarikh-ul-Khafi Khan*, a complete history from the Muhammad conquest to the fourteenth year of Muhammed Shah's reign (1733). In his historical approach and representation of data, analyses of situation, they differ on many vital points. To Kafi

Khan history connoted a catalogue of events, neatly presented in chronological sequences. He nowhere puts his fingers specifically on the role of the Mughal Emperor in accelerating the pace of political disintegration and administrative chaos. To him history is merely a jumble of facts without any co-ordination and coherence.

According to Khafi Khan, the conflict of the period could be explained only in terms of conflicts of Iranis (Shias) and Turanis (Sunnis). But Muhammed Qasim's opinion it is a class of newly promoted people from obscurity and poor social background that had upset the political equilibrium.

Khafi Khan, however, gives a different picture of divided loyalties for he had connections with the Nizam-ul-Mulk and he had respect for the Sayyid Brothers. His attachments to the Sayyids who was to some extent was due to common religious affiliations. He therefore blames the Turani Party in order to justify the actions of the Sayyid Brothers. The circumstances under which the Nizam-ul-M left for Deccan had been discussed by both Muhammed Qasim and Kafi Khan.

The reasons given by Khafi Khan give an entirely different background to Nizam-ul-Mulk's to quit the north. The account leaves upon one's mind the impression that Khafi Khan was anxious to justify that Nizam-ul-Mulk's continued presence in the north was not in the interest of the people. He says that there were several reasons which led to an estrangement between the Wazir and the Emperor Muhammed Shah. These reasons are-

1. It was during the period that the Mughal Court received the news that there was political unrest in Persia and Muhammed Khan, the Afghan, had overpowered Sultan Husayn Shah and had imprisoned him. He had annexed a considerable part of Persia and brought untold miseries on the people. The Nizam-ul-Mulk recalled before Muhammed Shah all the past events, when the Sultan of Persia had rendered great service to Babur and Humayun. He advised the Emperor to send his forces to help the Shah of Persia. He offered his service for this purpose. But when the Emperor consulted his upstart advisors, they imputed motives to the Nizam-ul-Mulk, and thus the scheme of sending the forces to Persia was dropped.

2. The Nizam-ul-Mulk, advised the Emperor to abolish the Jagirdari system and revoke the assignment of Jagir in Khalisa. This proposal was also rejected.

3. He advised the Emperor to stop the acceptance of presence in his name by his favourites, as it had

brought bad name to him. But his practice was not dropped.

4. He desired the Emperor to agree to the reimposition of Jiziya, but the Emperor did not pay any heed to this proposal.

Kafi Khan makes a subtle attempt to create an atmosphere in which the murder of Farruk Siyar becomes inevitable and leads to a logical culmination of the tragedy. He says that during his imprisonment, Farruk Siyar made an attempt to escape from the prison by offering bribes to a person in whose custody he was placed. He offered a mansab of 7000 to Abdullah Khan, if he successfully manoeuvred his escape from prison and took him to Raja Jai Singh Sawai, with whose help, he thought, he would be able to reestablish himself. The circumstances leading to the death of Rafi-ud-Daula and Rafi-ud-Darjat are similarly a moot point. Khafi Khan says that they died a natural death. Muhammed Qasim, on the other hand, says their death was the result of slow poisoning. He gives several reasons which motivated the Sayyid Brothers to perpetuate the crime.

The princes were devoid of wisdom, lacked valour and were illiterate. The Sayyid Brothers found that they could not carry on administration, as they desired. In consequence they removed them by slow poisoning. Till then he had achieved success in all matters, but now they feared any discomfiture should befall on them and disgrace them. So, the Princes were removed. Kafi Khan, on the other hand, following the traditional style of writing history, has devoted more space to describing the minutest details of wars and campaigns. He has avoided making suggestions to cure the malaise that was eating into the very vitals of the Mughal body politic.

## 5. OTHER TRADITIONAL WORKS

Apart from traditional narrative histories, a number of other extant works also shed light on both the man and his reign. These include collections of letters to and from Awrangzēb, such as the collection compiled by Ašraf Khan, *Raqā'at-e-karā'em*, containing letters Awrangzēb wrote to one of his amirs, and another set, the *Maktu-bāt-e-Moḥammad Ma'sum*, letters from his Naqšbandi Shaikh, Moḥammad Ma'sum, the son of Aḥmad Serhendi (q.v.). There are also divāns by Češti and Naqšbandi Sufis dedicated to Awrangzēb that illustrate his own intimate engagement with devotional and mystical Islam that characterized all members of the Timurid-Mughal dynasty. Other works commissioned by Awrangzēb reflect his well-known commitment to the Sunnite faith and

practice. The most important of these texts is the monumental compendium of Islamic law and legal practice *Fatāwāʿe ʿālamgiri*, first written in Arabic by Neẓām Shaikh and a number of other religious scholars and later translated into Persian at the request of Awrangzēb's well-educated and influential daughter, Zib-al-Nesā'. The Persian translation is important for what it suggests of the education, religious interests, and intellectual sophistication of Timurid-Mughal women and in particular Zib-al-Nesā', who also studied Arabic grammar through a personalized Persian translation of Ebn Ḥājeb's *Šāfiya* by one Ġolām Moḥammad.

Details about the life of Zib-al-Nesā's tutor, Ašraf of Māzandarān, the well-educated Persian religious scholar (*ālem*) and poet who had married into the famous Majlesi family of Isfahan, are found in the *Divān-e ašʿār-e Ašraf Māzandarāni*. Information about his life offers additional insight into the quality of Zib-al-Nesā's education, the intimate connection between the Iranian and Indian zones of the Perso-Islamic world, and, more generally, evidence of the high cultural standards of the Timurid-Mughal court. More famous but not necessarily the best-educated Timurid-Mughal princess during this period was Awrangzēb's influential sister, Jahānārā Begam, who, as well as being, like her brother Dārā Šokōh, a member of the Qāderi, was also a devotee of the Češti order. She herself wrote a biography of Mo'in-al-Din Češti, the *Munes al-arwāḥ*.

*Bahādor Shah and the later Timurid-Mughals: 1707-48.* Indo-Persian scholarship continues throughout the 18th century and even into the British period. However, the Timurid-Mughal empire began to unravel following Awrangzēb's death in 1707 and ceased to exist as an empire after Nāder Shah Afšār invaded India and seized the treasury in 1739. One especially important work written in an unusually simple style covers not only these years, but also the reigns of the last seven Timurid-Mughal emperors. This is the *Siar al-motaʾakkerin*, whose author, Ġolām Ḥosayn Khan Ṭabāṭabā'i, personifies the transitional nature of 18th century India, as he served both the emperor Shah ʿĀlam and the British and indeed critically analyzes British policy in Bengal in the late 18th century. Many of the prose and verse works devoted to the emperors are simply continuations of the narrative and panegyric conventions of earlier periods, except that the events they describe reflect the precipitate deterioration of the empire during the first four decades of the 18th century. Typically, many court officers wrote annalistic accounts of this era.

A few concern the brief reign of Awrangzēb's immediate successor, Bahādor Shah (1707-12). Others recount the civil wars among Bahādor Shah's sons, leading to the one-year enthronement of Jahāndār Shah (1712-13) before he was deposed by his nephew Farroḡsiar (1713-19). As in the case of the histories of the earlier reigns, eyewitnesses wrote many of these later narratives. This is true for example of the *Bahādor Šāh-nāma* by ʿAli Mirzā Nur-al-Din Moḥammad, which covers the succession struggle that followed Awrangzēb's death, the *Tāriḡ-e šāhanšāhi*, by Moḥammad Ḳalil Ḳwāja, who describes events between 1707 and 1713, and the longer *Ebrat-nāma* of Sayyed Moḥammad-Qāsem Ḥosayni ʿEbrat, who narrates the reigns of both Bahādor Shah and Farroḡsiar.

## 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON LITERARY SOURCES

A Survey of the works of the above historians of the Mughal period confirms the view of Prof. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar that they "differ from the writers of the sultanate period in social status, class, outlook, idiom and approach. The element of personal gain, getting a reward or repaying a debt of gratitude receded into the background or at least was not so prominent now as in the previous period. The most significant change was the secularisation of history in the Mughal age'. The other changes noticeable in the historiography of Mughal age are that history tends to be more humanistic than divine. Even the didactic element diminishes and the historians devoted more attention to the events and measure taken and their effect and do not make general or vague moral warnings.

## 7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Archaeological Sources of the Moghul period can be divided into inscriptions, coin, and paintings many monuments were constructed by the Mughal rulers. They provide valuable information to us. Similarly coins and painting, also provide economic and religious information for the period.

Study of inscription

The archeological sources for the period consist of

(1) Reports of the Archaeological survey of India Vols I-xxxI, Edited by Alexander Cunningham, Simla and Calcutta, 1865-87;

(2) The Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series from 1902-1903 to date, Ed. By Sir John and others;

(3) The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, described and illustrated in 4 Volumes, by E.W. Smith, Government press, Allahabad, 1894-98,

(4) Akbar's Tomb, Sikandra, near Agra described and illustrated, by E.W. Smith, published by the Government Press Allahabad 1909.

(5) History of Indian and Eastern Architecture by James Fergusson, revised and edited, with editions by James Burgess and Rhene Spiens, 2 Vols. Published by John Murray London, 1910;

(6) Moghul colour Decoration of area, described and illustrated, by E.W. Smith, Allahabad Government press, 1901;

(7) India Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure and History from the first Muhammad an Invasion to the present day by E.B. Havell, London, 1913;

(8) Handbook to Agra and the Taj by E.B. Havell.

(9) Mathura, a district Memoir, by F.S. Growse, 1883;

(10) Delhi Fort, a guide to the buildings and Gardens, Calcutta, 1929;

(11) Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore (J.I.H. Vol.x)

(12) A History of fine Art in India and Ceylon by V.A. Smith, 2nd Ed. Oxford, 1950;

(13) The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, by car Stephen, Calcutta, 1876;

(14) Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra, 1874, Delhi;

(15) Indian Architecture by Percy Brown, Vol.II (Islamic period) 4th Ed. Bombay, 1964. The number of inscriptions of the Period is not considerable large. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India has published Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Epigraphia Indo Moslemica (1907-1938). It may be noted that all these inscription arranged chronologically with Summaries, are given in V.S. Bandrey's. A study of Muslim Inscriptions (Karnataka publishing House, Bombay, 1944.)

## 8. STUDY OF COINS- NUMISMATICS

As regards numistic sources, we have several important modern publication describing the coins of the period. These are of great value in setting conflicting dates, and also throwing light on the economic condition of the age. These works are:

1. Edward Thomas, the chronicles of the a Pathan kings of Delhi, illustrated by coins, inscriptions and other antiquarian memories (London, Trubner 1871). This work furnishes some information about the coinage and history of the Mughul age also.

2. Lane Poole, Stanley, The coins of the Mughul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum, London, 1892.

3. Wright, H. Nelson, A catalogue of the coins in the indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol.III ford 1908.

4. Writchead, R.B., Catalogue of coints in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol.III Oxford, 1914.

5. Brown, C.J., Catalogue of coins in the luck now Museum, 2 Vols, 1920.

6. Hodivala, S.H. Historical Studies in Mugul Numismatics, Calcutta, 1923.

7. Rodgers, C.J., Copper Coins of Akbar (JASB, part I, 1880; 1885)

8. Rodgers, C.J., Rave Copper Coins (JASB, part I, 1895). 19

9. Rodgers, C.J., Rave Copper Coins of Akbar (Indian Antiquary, 1890).

10. Whitehead R.B., The Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India (J.Pro. A.S.B., 1912).

11. White King, L., Novelties in Mughal Coins (Num. Chron, 1896)

12. Dames, M.L. Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors (Num. Chron, 1902).

13. Habib, Arfan, The Mughal Currency System (Medieval India Quarterly, Vol.IV, PP. 1-21).

## 9. PANTINGS

There is considerable contemporary material on painting. Reference has already been made to the Tarikh-I-khandan-I-Timuria, which is profusely illustrated and which traces the evolution of the art of Mughul painting in india. There are numerous other profusely illustrated works on the history and literature of the times of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. They are preserved at jaipur and several Other Ms. Libraries in india, England and some other western countries. There are numerous extant portraits of the Mughul emperors, princes, and some of the queens and princesses in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; Victoria Memorial, Calcutta; Kala Bhawan, Banaras; Jaipur; British Museum;

South Kensington Museum; and India Office Library.

The Mural paintings and decorations can be seen in the Mughul buildings of the period several modern scholars from Comaraswamy to N.C. Mehta have made a special study of the Mughul art. The works of the technique of Mughul Painting. V.A. Smith rightly observes that there is enough contemporary material on Mughul art per writing more than one volume.

## CONCLUSION

The inscriptions, coins and painting proved valuable information regarding social, cultural aspect of Mughal History.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY-REFERENCES

1. Abd-al-Karim b. ‘Aqebat-Mahmud b. Kašmiri, *Bayān-e wāqe‘ or Nāder-nāma*, Condensed tr. F. Gladwin as *The Memoirs of Khojeh Abdul-kurreem*, Calcutta, 1788 and 1813.
2. Abu Ṭorāb Wali, *Tāriq-e Gojarāt*, ed. E. Denison Ross as *A History of Gujarat*, Calcutta, 1909.
3. Aḥmad-‘Ali Khan Ajmiri, *Aklāq-e Moḥammad-šāhi* (Marshall, 143).
4. Aḥmad Yādgar, *Maḳzan-e afḡāna*, ed. S. M. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1939.
5. Abu’l-Faḏl ‘Allāmi, *Ā’in-e akbari*, ed. H. Blochmann, *Bibl. Ind.*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1867-77; rev. ed. and tr., D. C. Phillott, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1939-49.
6. Bāyazīd Bayāt, *Taḏkera-ye Homāyun o Akbar*, ed. M. Hidāyat Husain, Calcutta, 1941.
7. Barahman Chandarbhān, *Čahār čaman*, Bombay, 1853.
8. Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden. Mysticism, History and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center*, Albany, 1992.
9. Charles A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, Leiden, 1927.
10. Ġolām Ḥosayn Khan Ṭabāṭabā’i, *Siar al-mota’akkerin*, Calcutta, 1833.
11. Ghairat Khan Kāmgār Husaini, “*Ma’āthir-i Jahāngiri*,” tr. Thākur Rām Singh, in *Journal of Indian History* 7/2, August 1928; see also Marshall, 845.
12. Ḥasan Qazvini, *Šāh-Jahān-nāma* (Marshall 240, i).
13. Ḥāji Moḥammad Jān Qodsi, *Zafar-nāma-ye šāh-jahāni* (Marshall, 1496).
14. Kēwal Rām (Kē-walrām), *Taḏkerat al-omarā‘* (Marshall, 880). Khāfi Khan (Kāfi Kān), *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, ed. Maulavī Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmed and Ghulām Qādīr as *The Muntakhab al-lubāb* (vol. II only), 2 vols., Calcutta; ed. Sir Wolseley Haig as *Muntakhab-al-lubāb* (vol. III only), 1909-25; tr. Elliot and Dowson, VII, pp. 207-533.
15. Kūwāja Moḥammad Kāli, *Tāriq-e šāhānšāhi* (Marshall, 1196). Kayr-Allāh b. Loṭf-Allāh Mohandes, *Taqrir al-taḥrir* (Marshall, 905).