

Tarkhān Nāmāh: *An Important Source* *for the Muslim History of Sindh*

Arshad Islam

The main Arabic sources for the history of Sindh¹ which shed an abundant light on the history of the region are: *Akhbar al Sindh wa'l-Hind* (circa 851 C.E.) of Sulayman Tājir; *Futūh al-Buldān* (869 C.E.) of Ahmad bin Yahyā al Baladhurī; *Ta'rikh-i-Ya'qūbī* of Ahmad bin Ya'qub bin Ja'far Ya'qūbī (d. 900 C.E.); *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* of Ibn Khurdadhbīh (d. 911 C.E.); *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* of Buzurg bin Shahriyar (10th century); *al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī Istakhrī (10th century); *Kitāb Surat al-Ard* of Ibn Hauqal (10th century); *Muruja'l-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir* of Abu al-Hasan 'Alī bin al-Husayn al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956 C.E.); and *Ahsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm* of Bashrī al-Maqdīsī (d. 1000 C.E.). Besides the Arab accounts, there are several other general historical works written within India during the Sultanate period. The Persian sources of the Sultanate period (including *Tāj al-Ma'athir* of Hasan Nizāmī, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* of Minhāj al-Sirāj, two historical works by the same name, namely *Ta'rikh-i-Firūzshāhī* by Zia' al-Dīn Baranī and Shams Sirāj 'Affī, *Inshā-i-Māhrū* of 'Ayn al-Mulk Māhrū and *Tarikh-i-Mubāarak Shāhī* of Yahyā Sirhind), however, do not provide sufficient material for the history of Sindh. But certain works of the Mughul period contain useful material; they include *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Khwāja Nizām al-Din Ahmad, *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh* of 'Abd al-Qadir Badayūnī, and of Muhammad Yusuf Atakī, *Akbar*

Nāmah and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* of Abu al-Faḍl, *Ta'riḫ-i-Firishtah* of Abu al-Qasim Hindūshah Firishtah, *Ma'athir-i-Rahīmī* of Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī.

The first regional history of Sindh is *Chach Namah*. It is a comprehensive history, dealing mainly with the period of Muhammad bin Qasim. But the tradition of compiling regional histories systematically developed during the Mughul period. Those pertaining to Sindh include *Ta'riḫ-i-Ma'sūmī* (1600 C.E.) of Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakhrī; *Bēglār Nāmah* (1608 C.E.) of Idrākī Bēglārī; *Ta'riḫ-i-Tāhirī* (1621 C.E.) of Mīr Tāhir Nisyānī; *Ta'riḫ Mazhar-i-Shāhjahānī* (1634 C.E.) of Yūsuf Mīrk; *Tarkhān Nāmah*² (1654 C.E.) of Sayyid Muhammad bin Mīr Jalal al-Din al-Husayni al-Shīrāzī;³ and *Tuhfat al-Kirām* (1767 C.E.) of Mīr Ali Shēr Qānī Thattawī; of these, *Tarkhān Namah* is the most important.

The date of the compilation of this work has not been clearly mentioned by the author, but in the genealogical table given at the beginning of the work a reference is made to the year 1065 A.H./1654 C.E.⁴ It helps us to determine the date of compilation. Internal evidence as well leads us to the same conclusion. For instance, the author states in his preface that Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Tarkhān, the *faujdār* of Sorath (Junagarh) in the year 1651 C.E., desired to know the past records and the family history of his ancestors.⁵ Other sources such as *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi* of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān and *Bādshāh Nāmah* of 'Abd al-Hamīd Lāhōrī indicate that Mirzā Ṣāliḥ Tarkhān, the patron of the author, held the said post during the period, 1652-54 C.E., when Shāhjahān was the Mughal emperor.⁶ Hence our conclusion that the work would have been done during this period.

Of this work, there are six manuscripts,⁷ five in the British Museum and one in the India Office Library. The work has been published with an extensive introduction by Sayyid Husamuddin Rashidi from the Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi, in 1965 C.E.

About the author himself, information that is available is rather meagre. Neither *Tarkhān Nāmāh* nor the contemporary sources nor the later works furnish any details about him. However, in the light of the scattered information available in the *Tarkhān Nāmāh* and some other sources, an attempt is being made to give here a brief account of the author and his ancestors.

Sayyid Muhammad belonged to a reputed family of Īnjū Sayyids of Shiraz. His great-great grandfather, Sayyid Muhammad,⁸ better known as Mīrān Muhammad, had left Shiraz in the 14th century, settled down in Sind during the reign of Jām Salāh al-Dīn Sammah (1388-1399 C.E.) and lived there till his death.⁹ Later, Mīrān Muhammad's son, Sayyid Ahmad (d. 1441 C.E.), made Thatta his permanent abode where he married the daughter of Qādī Ni'mat Allah 'Abbāsī, a learned person of that place.¹⁰ Thus, his family was able to establish close relations with an important family of Thatta. Sayyid Ahmad's son, Sayyid Muhammad Hasan, otherwise known as Sayyid Murād Shīrāzī (1427-187 C.E.), was a *Sūfī* and was venerated for his piety and religious learning throughout the region.

Sayyid Muhammad's grandfather, (Sayyid 'Alī II), (d. 1573 C.E.), and his father (Sayyid Jalal II) were both held in esteem by the contemporary political authorities and they enjoyed royal patronage and favour under the Arghūns, the Tarkhāns and the Mughuls. Sayyid 'Alī II held the post of *Shaikh al-Islam* under the Arghūns and the Tarkhāns. When Humayun, during his flight to Persia, was staying at Umarnkot, Shah Hasan Arghun sent Sayyid 'Alī to Humayun as his envoy. The author reports that Akbar who was born during Sayyid 'Alī's stay at Umarnkot was first wrapped in the cloth taken out of the Sayyid's garment. This indicates, *inter alia*, the esteem in which he was held not only by the Arghuns but also by the Mughuls.¹¹

Moreover, when Shāh Hasan died in 1555 C.E., Sayyid 'Alī accompanied his body along with the late rulers's wife, Mah Begam, to Makkah.¹² It appears that he continued to hold the

post of *Shaykh al-Islam* during the reign of Mirza 'Isā Tarkhān (1555-1567) C.E.). It was during Mirza Baqi Tarkhan's reign that Sayyid 'Ali was instrumental in bringing about a reconciliation between Baqi Tarkhān and Mirza Jan Bābā Tarkhan, step-brother of Baqi Tarkhan. Sayyid 'Ali is reported to have died in 1574 A.D.¹³

After the death of Sayyid 'Ali II, his son, Sayyid Jalal¹⁴ succeeded him as *Shaikh al-Islām*. In 1568 C.E. when Akbar visited Multan on his way to the mausoleum of Shaikh Farid at Pakpattan, Baqi Tarkhan became apprehensive that he might attack Sindh.¹⁵ Consequently, Mirzā Baqī sent Sayyid Jalal as his ambassador to Akbar's court along with one of his daughters, Sindhī Begam, to be included in Akbar's *Harem*. Akbar is said to have declined the offer,¹⁶ but in consideration to the Sayyid Jalal's dignified position, he spared Sindh for the time being. Sayyid Jalal was once again sent to Akbar's court as an ambassador by Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhān in 1585 C.E.,¹⁷ when Sadiq Muhammad Khan had launched an attack on Sindh by the emperor's order. Sayyid Jalal stayed at the court for some time; later, he was sent back with an elephant and gifts for Jani Beg Tarkhan. Consequently, Sadiq Muhammad Khan retreated. Sayyid Jalal, the father of the author of *Tarkhān Nāmah* married¹⁸ the daughter of Mirza Muhammad Salih Tarkhān,¹⁹ son of Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhan in 1585 A.D. Thus, the author might have been born in or about 1586-87 C.E., if he was the eldest son of Sayyid Jalāl II.²⁰ Sayyid Muhammad had two sons, namely Sayyid Mīr Buzurg and Sayyid 'Abd 'Allah, but no account of their lives is available. However, a son of Sayyid Mir Buzurg, named Mir Zayn al'Abidin alias Sayyid Lutf Allah (d.1717-18 C.E.), finds a mention in the *Tarkhān Nāmah*. He was a great Persian poet, using *Qāni'* as pen-name; he had also authored *Hirz al-Bashar*.²¹

Unfortunately though, no information is available about the academic and political career of the author except that he was closely related²² to Mirza Muhammad Salih Tarkhan, and important member of the Tarkhan dynasty and *faujdar* of

Thatta and Sorath (Junagarh).²³ The Preface indicates that it was written at the instance of Mirza Muhammad Salih Tarkhan,²⁴ who deputed Sayyid Muhammad to search for and locate *Tarkhān Nāmah* an old work on Tarkhans, which was then untraceable. Despite his efforts, Sayyid Muhammad, who himself belonged to the Tarkhan family, could not succeed in locating it. Thus, in order to fulfil Mirza Salih's wish, he himself decided to compile a work on the subject and called it after the old title, *Tarkhān Nāmah* in order to make it popular.²⁵

As regard his source material, it appears that he utilized a number of important works dealing directly or indirectly with Sindh. The main sources referred to by him are *Ta'rikh-i-Tabari*, *Ta'rikh-i-Guzidah*, *Majma' al-Ansab*, *Zafar Namah*, *Raudat al-Safā*, *Nigaristan*, *Ta'rikh-i-Humayunī*, *Akbar Namah*, *Ta'rikh-i-Tahiri* and *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*.²⁶ These works which were contemporary or near contemporary, contain useful information about the history of Sindh during the period. Some other contemporary works which do not find a mention in the list of his sources include *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmi* (1600 C.E.) of Sayyid Mir Ma'sūm Bhakhri and *Beglar Namah* (1608 C.E.) of Idraki Bēglārī. The apparent reason for their omission is that either these works were not available to him or information available in them might have been provided by other contemporary sources. For instance, the author of *Ta'rikh-i-Tahiri* (1621 C.E.), was a contemporary of the author of *Beglar Namah*; hence the author might have opted for *Ta'rikh-i-Tahiri* and ignored *Beglar Namah*. It is significant to note that Sayyid Jamal failed to include *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmi* among his sources, but a careful reading of *Tarkhān Nāmah* with that of *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmi* shows that he has extensively drawn upon the latter.

The main importance of *Tarkhān Nāmah* lies in the fact that it is the only complete book about the Tarkhan dynasty, dealing in detail with the history of the Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sind, their origin, migration from Central Asia and their settlement in Sindh. The work starts with an account of the first Arghun ruler in Central Asia in 1469 C.E., providing a compre-

hensive geneological table from Nuh to Mirza Salih and to the time of Nawab Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan in 1651-52 C.E., thus covering about two hundred years of Tarkhan history. A good deal of information recorded by him about the early Tarkhans had come down to the author through his ancestors, and this makes the work an authentic and reliable source from historical point of view. The most important part of the work, however, is that which relates to those Tarkhans who were contemporaries of the author, as this information is based either on his personal observations or on information gathered from distinguished persons of his own time. This section throws a good deal of fresh light on the Tarkhan dynasty. His style is simple and straightforward, free from the usual hyperbolic and flowery language of other works. As against the preceding histories, Sayyid Jamal adopts a different approach. For instance, unlike his predecessors, he opts for a simple and brief narration of events, generally avoiding unnecessary details. Thus, in his accounts, as against those in earlier ones, the main theme does not lose its sequence and significance.

His approach, however, seems to be subjective. In his compilation, he tries to follow the main theme given by Mirza Salih Tarkhan, and is rather brief in his account of the contemporary Tarkhans. This may be attributed to the fact that the chief purpose of the compilation was to highlight and preserve the history of Mirza Salih Tarkhan's ancestors.

Tarkhān Nāmah's significance as a source book also stems from the fact that it supplies some additional information which is not found in other sources on Sindh. For instance, the details about Mirza Baqi Tarkhan (1566-85 C.E.) at the time of his accession to the throne of Thatta, and how he routed and destroyed the refractory and rebellious Arghun nobles; about the execution of Bega-Begi, his sister, along with her two children, on the orders of Mirza Baqi Tarkhan,²⁷ and the elevation of Mirza Jani Beg and his marriage to Mirza Baqi's aunt; about Shāhjahān's orders to Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan to imprison Sharir al-Mulk and send him to the imperial court which he did accomplish, and for which he was made *Sahib-i-Naubat*,

awarded one lakh rupees in cash, and given enhancement of one thousand in his previous rank.²⁸

However, despite its being an invaluable source for the history of Sind, *Tarkhan Namah* is characterized by certain defects and shortcomings. For instance, the author fails to observe the chronological sequence at many places, with the dates of some of the events being at variance with those given by other contemporary chroniclers and confirmed by epigraphical evidences. Clearly, Sayyid Jamal had not utilized these contemporary accounts, some of which are detailed below.

First, the epitaph on Mirza 'Abd al-'Ali Tarkhan's tomb mentions 9th Rajab 1040/11th February 1631 C.E. as the date of his death, but Sayyid Jamal records it as 1039 A.H./1630 C.E. What is more surprising is that the book was written at Thatta, where Mirza 'Abd al-'Ali Tarkhan is buried. Second, according to *Badshah Namah* and *'Amal-i-Salih*, Nawab Mirza 'Isa died on 13th Muharram 1062 A.H./26 December 1651 C.E., at Sanbhar, but Sayyid Jamal places his death on 13th Muharram 1061 A.H./6th January 1651 C.E. Third, Mirza Ghazi Beg died on 11th Safar 1021 A.H./13th April 1612 C.E., as given by the author of *Dhakhirat al-Khwānin* and *Ta'rikh-i-Tahiri*, but Sayyid Jamal gives 11th Safar 1020 A.H./25th April 1611 C.E. as the date of his death. The date given by *Dhakhirat al-Khawanin*, and *Ta'rikh-i-Tahiri* is correct as these authors were the contemporaries of Ghazi Beg Tarkhan. The same date (i.e. 11th Safar 1021/13th April 1612 C.E.) is also given in the chronogram. Fourth, as the epitaph on his tomb indicates, Mirza Jani Beg died on 23 Rajab 1009 A.H./2nd February 1601 C.E., but Sayyid Jamal puts his death in Rajab 1011 A.H./December 1602 C.E. Fifth, while Mirza Jan Baba Tarkhan, son of Mirza 'Isa Takhan, was assassinated by Mirza Baqi Tarkhan in 978 A.H./1570 C.E., as indicated by his epitaph, Sayyid Jamal puts his assassination in 979 A.H./1571-72 C.E. Sixth, while Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan died in 973 A.H./1565 C.E., as testified by his epitaph, the author mentions 974 A.H./1566-67 C.E. as the year of his death. Seventh, according to contemporary sources,

Humayun arrived in Sind in 974 A.H./1540 C.E., but Sayyid Jamal puts this event in 949 A.H./1542-43 C.E. And, finally, while Ma'sumi, Firishtah and Nizam al-Din Ahmad give 12th Rabi' al-Awwal 962 A.H./4th February 1555 C.E. as the date of Mirza Shah Hasan's death, the author puts it on 12th Rabi' al-Awwal 961 A.H./15th February 1554 C.E.

Yet another serious shortcoming of the *Tarkhan Namah* is that certain important events, which call for a good deal of detail, are treated rather cursorily. For instance, as against *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sumi*, which dilates at length on the defeat and expulsion of Mirza Shah Beg Arghun in 1507 C.E. from Qandhar, Sayyid Jamal provides rather scanty information on this important event.²⁹ Likewise, as against *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sumi* which recounts in detail Mirza Shah Beg's asylum under Shah Isma'il Safai in 1510 C.E., his loss of favour at his court, resulting in his being imprisoned and finally his escape — all these events, though extremely important, are treated in a rather casual way.³⁰ Again, compared to Sayyid Jamal, the Turkish traveller, Seydi 'Ali Reïs (1553-55 C.E.), gives more details of events relating to the reign of Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun, the ruler of Sindh. For instance, he reports that Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, one of Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun's nobility, declared his independence in 1553 C.E. and assumed the title 'Humayun Shah' in the Nasirabad fort. Seydi 'Ali Reïs being present there, was an eye witness to the events he describes.³¹

Two other earlier works, *Ta'rikh-i-Tahiri* and *Bēglār Nāmah* provide ample information about the events leading to the war of succession fought between Mirza Janī Beg Tarkhān and his uncle, Mirza Muzaffar Tarkhan, in 1584 C.E., but a compromise was arrived at resulting in the accession of Mirza Janī Beg Tarkhan to the throne.³² Similarly, the *Tarkhan Namah* is again silent on the marriage of the daughter of Mirza Janī Beg Tarkhan with Mirza Iraj Beg, son of 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i-Khānān, in 1591 C.E., when Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan

surrendered Sindh to the Mughul emperor, Akbar, under the command of Khan-i-Khanan.³³

A later work, *Tuhfat al-Kirām* of Ali Sher Qāni' Thattawi, also throws light on the social and cultural history of Sindh, but *Tarkhan Namah* is almost silent in this regard. *Tuhfat al-Kiram* tells us that Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun, Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan and Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan were poets with the poetic names, *Sipāhī*, *Halīmī* and *Wiqārī*, respectively.³⁴ It is the only book to record the date of birth of Mirzā Shāh Hasan Arghun and the relation of Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun with the Shaykhs, Sayyids and scholars. The apparent reason for Sayyid Jamal failing to provide information about the geographical, social, cultural and economic life of the period may be attributed to the fact that the prime object of his compilation was the preservation of the political history of the Tarkhān dynasty. Hence, the author concentrates mainly on political events during the Arghun and Tarkhan rule in Sindh, with special reference to the military compaigns conducted by them.

Finally, it is rather surprising that *Tarkhān Nāmah* which was compiled at the instance of Mirzā Muhammad Sālih Tarkhan fails to provide adequate details about him and his son. Despite these shortcomings, *Tarkhān Nāmah* is a useful and important work for the history of Arghūns and Tarkhāns in Sindh, covering a period of about 200 years. Hence its claim to merit attention among the regional histories of Sindh.

REFERENCES

1. The name Sindh is most probably derived from the word 'Sindhu' the Sanskrit name of Indus. It has been recorded in the Vedas as a self-moving river of golden hue, coming down the snow-clad mountain and after traversing a vast expanse of plain it finally spreads into the sea. It is a mighty river which is fed by branches on both sides. It has been also explained in the term of Saptasindhavah, the land 'par excellence' in the Rigveda. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. II, London, 1912, p.450 (under Sindhu).

2. It is also known as *Arghūn Namah* as referred to by C.A. Storey *Persian Literature*, Vol. I, Reprint, London 1970, p.655 (fn. I).
3. Only one MS. (British Museum Or. 1814) has Sayyid Jamāl bin Mir Jalāl al-Din al-Husayni Shirāzī.
4. This date has been incidentally referred to by the author where he records it as the current date. See Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mir Jalāl al-Dīn al-Husaynī al-Shīrāzī, *Tarkhān Nāmāh*, British Museum MS. No. p.13499 (Rotograph No. 110, fol. 10a, Dept. of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.)
5. *Tarkhan Namāh* (Preface).
6. 'Abd al-Hamīd Lāhōrī, *Bādshāh-Nāmāh*, Vols. I, II (ed., Maulavi Karimuddin Ahmad & Abdur Rahim), Calcutta, 1868, pp.230, 244, 295, Vol. II, p.12; Muhammad 'Alī Khān, *Mir'at-i-Ahmādī*, ed., 'Abdul Karim, Bombay, 1889, pp.222, 224, 227-28, 231.
7. The list of the manuscripts is as follows:
 - 1) British Museum MS. No. p.13499 29 July 1686 C.E.
 - 2) British Museum MS. Or 1814 1849 C.E.
 - 3) British Museum-MS. Or 1815 19th Century C.E.
 - 4) British Museum MS. Or 1976 1850 C.E.
 - 5) British Museum MS. Or 1829 1851 C.E.
 - 6) India Office MS. I.O. 3841 19th Century C.E.
8. Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir, *Hadīqat al-Auliya'* (ed., Sayyid Husamuddin Rashidi), Hyderabad: Sindhi Abadi Board, 1967, p.65.
9. Mir 'Alī Sher Qānī' Thattawi, *Tuhfat al-Karām*, Vol. III, (ed. Sayyid Husamuddin Rashidi) Hyderabad: SAB, 1971, p.528.
10. Mir Ma'sūm Bhakhri, *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmī*, ed., Daudpota, Poona, 1939, p.216.
11. *Tarkhān Nāmāh*, p.35 (Karachi Edn.)
12. *Ibid.*, p.55.
13. *Tarkhān Nāmāh*, p.60.
14. *Ibid.*, p.66.
15. *Ibid.*, p.55.

16. Abu al-Fadl, *Akbar Nāmāh*, Vol. II, ed., Maulawi Abdur Rahim) Calcutta, 1887, pp.361-62; Abdul Baqi Nihawandi; *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1924, pp.325; Ma'sūmī, pp.212-13.
17. *Tarkhān Nāmāh*, p.69; Ma'sūmī, pp.247-48 *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. II, pp.244-245, Idrākī *Bēglari*, *Beglār Nāmāh*. British Museum MS. Or 1814 (Rotograph. No. 82, Dept. of History, A.M.U. Aligarh) ff. 222-3; Mir Tāhir, *Tā'rikh-i-Tāhirī*. British Museum MS. No. Or 1685 (Rotograph No. 131, Dept. of History, A.M.U. Aligarh) ff. 150-53.
18. *Tāhiri*, ff. 120, 142-43.
19. He was the son and heir-apparent of Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān (1555-1567 C.E.). He was assassinated by a robber named Murīd Balūch in 1563 C.E. (*Tarkhān Nāmāh*, pp.47-48).
20. Nothing is known about the early life and educational career of the author.
21. *Tarkhān Nāmāh* (Introduction) p.41, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, Vol. III, p.188.
22. *Tāhirī*, ff.120, 143-44; *Tarkhān Nāmāh*, p.67.
23. *Bādshah Nāmāh* (M. Waris) Vol. II, p.12; Muḥammad Sāliḥ Kanbōh, *'Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. III, ed., Ghulam Yazdani, Calcutta, 1923, pp.134, 458; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā*, Vol. III (ed., Muhammad Ashraf) Calcutta, 1891, pp.487-88; *Mir'at-i-Ahmadī*, Vol. I, pp.225-230.
24. *Tarkhān Nāmāh*, pp.2-3.
25. *Ibid.*, p.4.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Tarkhān Nāmāh*, pp.51-55.
28. *Ibid.*, pp.97-99.
29. *Tarkhān Nāmāh*, p.11; Zahir al-Din Bābur, *Bābur Nāmāh*, Eng. tr., A.S. Beveridge, (reprint) Delhi, p.330; Ma'sūmī, p.103.
30. Ma'sūmī, pp.107-8, 'Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*, Vol. II, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1925, pp.286-87.
31. Sidi 'Alī Reīs, *Ṣafar Nāmāh Seydi 'Alī Reīs*, Eng. tr., Vembery, London, 1899, p.37, under the title of *Travels and Adventure of Turkish Admiral*.

32. *Bēglār Nāmah*, ff. 218-22; *Tāhiri*, ff.136-142.
33. Firishtah, Vol. II, p.323; Muhammad Khan, *Iqbāl-Nāmah Jahāngīrī*, Vol. II (ed., Fida Ali), Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1884, pp.425-6; *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, Vol. II, p.348; *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā'*, Vol. I, p.697-8; *Ma'sūmī*, pp.256-7; *Tāhiri*, ff 178-80.
34. Fakhrī Harawī, *Raudat-al Salāṭīn*, (ed., Sayyid Husamuddin Rashidi), Hyderabad, Sind, 1968, p.105; Shāh Jahāngīr Hāshmi, *Mathnawī Mazhar al-Athār*, (ed. Sayyid Husamuddin Rashidi) Karachi, 1957, p.40; *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, Vol. III, pp.129, 164-5, 310; Shaykh Farid Bhakhri, *Dhakhirat al-Khawānīn*, Vol. II, (ed., Syed Moinul Haq), Karachi, 1961, pp.23-25, 31, 210; 'Abd Nabi, *Maykhānah*, ed., Muhammad Shaffī, Lahore, 1926, pp.228-29.