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AMIR KHAN ABU AL-BAQA' AND HIS DESCENDANTS:

Aspects of Administrative and Cultural Contributions During the 17th and 18th Centuries

Mir Abu Al-Qasim Khan Namakin's eldest son Amir Khan Abu al-Baqa'¹ was an outstanding commander, intrepid soldier and illustrious successor to his father. His early life is shrouded in mystery; and it is in Rajab 1017/October 1608 on the eve of his father's departure for Qandahar that we hear of him for the first time. In Namakin's year long absence from Siwistan the way Abu al-Baqa' conducted various expeditions against disloyal tribes was a clear indication that a brilliant career awaited him in the years to come. Each of these campaigns bore testimony to his excellent military prowess, extreme agility and superb physical endurance. His lightning raid on the Beglar stronghold of Sadgarh where the rebellious elements sought refuge in times of need, and the way he ensured the defeat of the anticipated retaliatory attack of the Beglars by appointing a capable commandant in that fort was proof enough of his sagacity and foresight. Furthermore, to keep in check the rebellious instincts of the lawless tribes and their supporters he built fortresses at strategic points and manned them properly.²

On the death of Mir Namakin, Jahangir bestowed Siwistan on his family headed by Mir Abu al-Baqa', and on Shamshir Khan Uzbek collectively³. Mir Abu al-Baqa' who then held a *mansab* of 500,⁴ did not approve of Shamshir Khan's participation in his hereditary *jagir* and, counting on the record of his family's long service to the Mughul throne, hastened to the presence of Jahangir at Agra. Consequently, Siwistan was left with Shamshir Khan exclusively and Mir Abu al-Baqa' received in *jagir* the territories of Ubawra, Ganjaba and Ripri Langahan instead⁵.

Ever since its conquest by Mir Namakin, the situation in Siwi had been calm and completely under the control of the Mughul authorities at Bhakkar, of which Siwi was a dependency. Mir Abu al-Baqa's stay at Ganjaba, however, coincided with the outbreak of Afghan rebellion. Realizing the military weakness of Quch 'Ali Kurd, the Mughul *jagirdar* of Siwi, the Panni Afghans put him under a virtual siege. Alarmed at the consequences of this revolt in the remote border outpost, Jahangir directed Mir Abu al-Baqa' to procure necessary help from Taj Khan, the *jagirdar* of Bhakkar, and rush to the rescue of Quch 'Ali. Accordingly, as soon as the Mir appeared in Siwi the Afghans gave up their revolt and accepted the Mughul suzerainty once again.⁶

On the death of Taj Khan in 1023/1614, Shamshir Khan took his place as the governor of Thatta, and Sihwan was bestowed on Mir Abu al-Baqa' together

with Mirza Dust Beg. With the departure, soon afterwards, of Mirza Dust Beg to Qandahar, with the royal treasury of Multan, the responsibility of administering the entire region of Sihwan devolved upon Mir Abu al-Baqā' who, as expected, gave an excellent account of his administrative capabilities. Travelling long distances speedily and surreptitiously, he fell upon the Chandiyas, the Nuhmardis and the Samejas Unar and brought them to their knees. Likewise, he punished the Shuras and took necessary measures, including the repair of the Winjara fort and deployment of a strong force there, for the future protection of the Imperial peasants from the excesses of the recalcitrants.⁷ At this time Muzaffar Khan Ma'muri was the *bakhshi* of Thatta. Subsequently, when the latter was elevated to the position of governor, and Shamshir Khan was subordinated to him as the *jagirdar* of Sihwan, Mir Abu al-Baqā' was transferred to Badin, with Nayrankot and Shal as his *tankhwah jagir*.⁸ During his governorship of Thatta, Muzaffar Khan made an unsuccessful bid to crush the rebellion of the Dals of the region of Shal but owing to the stiff resistance of the latter many of his troops were killed and his initiative completely lost momentum. The following night Mir Abu al-Baqā' arrived from Badin. In a stormy attack on the Dals in the foothills, he killed about two hundred of their men and thus brought the punitive campaign to a successful conclusion. Thereafter, Muzaffar Khan left Mir Abu al-Baqā' at Nayrankot whence the latter sent some expeditions against the Dals and the Shuras, and himself returned to Thatta. It was in one of these military forays against the Shuras, that Mir Abu al-Baqā's younger brother Lutf Allah lost his life⁹.

According to Mirak Yusuf, from Badin Mir Abu al-Baqā' was recalled to the court for joining the campaign against the historic fort of Kangara¹⁰. The military proceedings against this impregnable hill fort which had defiantly withstood all attempts at its reduction by the Muslim rulers of India from the days of the Sultan Mahmud,¹¹ started on 14 Farwardin 1024/3 April 1615¹² and were completed on 1 Muharram 1030¹³/26 November¹⁴ 1620 with its surrender to Mughul arms. During this period Mir Abu al-Baqā' received two promotions. On 18 Mihr 1027/10 October 1618¹⁵ Jahangir bestowed on him a *mansab* of 800 personal and 600 horse, original and increase, which was raised to 1000 personal and 600 horse on 11 Urdibihisht 1029/1 May 1620.¹⁶

After the conquest of Kangara the Mir seems to have joined the entourage of the Khan-i Jahan on whose recommendations, on 1 Shahriwar 1031/23 August 1622¹⁷ Jahangir elevated him to a rank of 1000 personal and 900 horse. Subsequently, the Mir ingratiated himself into the favour and confidence of Nawwab Asaf Khan as well, and towards the close of Jahangir's reign when Multan was conferred on Asaf Khan the latter appointed Mir Abu al-Baqā' as his governor in Multan¹⁸. On the accession of Shahjahan Multan was conferred on Asaf Khan¹⁹ and Mir Abu al-Baqā' continued carrying out his duties undisturbed. In the meantime his title of *Mir Khan* was changed to that of *Amir Khan* and as a mark of his gratitude he made an offer of one *lakh* of *rupees* to the

Emperor which was accepted.²⁰

By the end of Jahangir's reign, Mir Abu al-Baqa' had already attained a *mansab* of 2500 personal and 1500 horse.²¹ In early 1039/ 1629 when the governorship of Thatta fell vacant on the demise of Husam al-Din Murtada Khan II, Shahjahan raised the *mansab* of Mir Abu al-Baqa' to 3000 personal and 2000 horse and transferred him to Thatta²². After his arrival there, one of the first things Mir Abu al-Baqa' did was to punish those, including the Jam Hala of Kukrala, who had helped Nawwab Sharif al-Mulk in frustrating the plans of Prince Shahjahan to capture Thatta unlawfully during the last days of his father's life. After this victimization and the bestowal of favours on the well-wishers of the rebel Prince were over,²³ Mir Abu al-Baqa' devoted his entire attention to the subjugation of the rebellious tribes²⁴ and restoring the confidence of the peasantry in the royal authority. He established a strong fort at Winjara and sent bodies of troops under the commands of his sons, Diya' al-Din Yusuf and Abu al-Qasim, to Darbela and Halakandi respectively, in order to chastise the Sameja freebooters.²⁵ Meanwhile, Shir Khan Tarin raided Siwi and Ganjaba. Thus, on the advice of his *diwan*, *bakhshi* and other Imperial *mansabdars*, Mir Abu al-Baqa' abandoned his campaign against the Samejas, rushed to Thatta and giving a strong contingent to his younger brother, Lutf Allah, dispatched him to Bhakkar with Dindar Khan²⁶. Until 22 Shawwal 1041/12 May 1632²⁷ at least, the Mir served in Thatta and then was transferred to Junagadh. In 1044/1634-35, when Mirak Yusuf wrote his *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* Mir Abu al-Baqa' was still there²⁸.

Before his departure for Junagadh, Mir Abu al-Baqa' had around 1500 excellent soldiers at his disposal, but as soon as they heard about the high cost of living and the bad conditions prevailing at Surat, five hundred of them deserted him at Thatta. Consequently, the Mir, doubling and trebling the allowances of about 500 of his ten to twenty years old retainers and paying their salaries of two months in advance, dispatched them under the command of his elder son, Mir Diya' al-Din Yusuf in advance and fast on his heels, he himself also came to Badin. As Mir Diya' al-Din turned his reins from Junagadh to Una, four hundred and fifty of his men fled to Thatta and he was left with only fifty loyal soldiers. These large scale desertions caused extreme panic among the followers of Mir Abu al-Baqa' and landed him in dire straits. Consequently, he rallied a strength of between seven to eight hundred men, mainly comprising his family, friends and old servants, and proceeded to Surat. Had he been allowed to retain his old *jagirs* in Thatta as long as he had not satisfactorily established himself in the place of his new assignment, he would not have run the risk of shortage of funds and his men would not have deserted him²⁹.

Mir Abu al-Baqa' also participated in Shahjahan's Deccan campaign and in 1045/1636 when that Emperor set out from Daulatabad for Agra, the Mir held a *Jagir* in the *sarkar* of Bir in the Deccan and was for some time among the auxiliaries (*kumakiyan*)³⁰. In Rabi I 1051/June 1641 the emperor honoured him with

a robe of honour and a horse and appointed him to the government of Siwistan, vice Qazzaq Khan³¹. The following year, in Rabi' I 1052/June 1642 he was once again appointed the governor of Thatta, vice Shad Khan³², and it was during his stay here that he finally died in office³³ sometime in Rabi' I 1057/1647³⁴ and was buried in the family graveyard of Suffa-i Safa³⁵

AMIR KHAN ABU AL-BAQA'S SONS

a. *Mir 'Atiq Allah*

Like his father Mir Abu al-Baqa' had a large family³⁶. His eldest son (*pisar-i kalan*) Mir 'Atiq Allah took active part in the maintenance of law and order in his father's *jagir*. In 1023/1614³⁷ when Siwistan passed under the joint administration of Mir Abu al-Baqa' and Mirza Dust Beg, Mir 'Atiq Allah led a punitive expedition against the rebellious Samejas. The latter were prepared to settle the matters amicably, but the young Mir out of impetuosity rejected the offer out of the hand and thus drove them into rebellion once again. Though his father subdued them subsequently, many of Mir 'Atiq Allah's men were killed unnecessarily³⁸. In 1028/1619 while he was engaged in the procurement of ibexes (*rangha*) in the region of Sihwan for the Royal Court, 'Atiq Allah, together with Sayyid Baqir son of Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari who was on a similar expedition from his father's side, extended military help to Shamshir Khan Uzbek's agent in Sihwan, Khusham Beg by name, to subjugate the recalcitrant elements³⁹. Finally, it was probably in one of his military campaigns against the turbulent tribes of this region that 'Atiq Allah met with his death on 4 Rajab 1037/10 March 1628. His grave is still extant on the Suffa-i Safa.⁴⁰

b. *Mir Diya' al-Din Yusuf*

Mir 'Atiq Allah's brother, Mir Diya' al-Din Yusuf had another important dimension to his character. As far as his erudition was concerned, he stood head and shoulders above his brothers and counted one of his uncles, Mirak Yusuf,⁴¹ the author of the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*⁴² among his admirers. During his father's tenure in Sind, like his other brothers Mir Diya' al-Din also participated in the administration and played no insignificant role in the subjugation of different tribes⁴³. Mir Abu al-Baqa' had administered an effective chastisement to Jam Hala,⁴⁴ the Samma⁴⁵ ruler of Kukrala,⁴⁶ but subsequently, when the government of Bhakkar and Thatta⁴⁷ passed under the control of Prince Aurangzib who was then the governor of Multan,⁴⁸ the Jam's sons, Masta and Gahiya, once again resumed their rebellious attitude. Aurangzib sent an army to crush their revolt. While Masta accepted the Mughul suzerainty and prepared to wait upon the Prince at Multan in person, his brother fled to Kachh and with the aid and abetment of the ruler of that region contemplated an invasion of his ancestral possessions. However, before he could embark on this path, Mir Diya' al-Din Yusuf, assisted by his brother, Mir Abu al-Makarim, issued forth from Thatta

with a huge park of artillery and put Gahiya to flight.⁴⁹

Similarly, when Nawwab Zafar Khan,⁵⁰ the last Mughul governor of Shahjahan in Thatta,⁵¹ wanted to stop the Sameja raids on the route between Siwistan and Halakandi and sought an Imperial injunction for the *faujdar* of Siwistan to cooperate in this task, he nominated Mir Diya' al-Din to lead this campaign.⁵²

Towards the close of Shahjahan's reign Mir Diya' al-Din held a *mansab* of 1000 personal and 600 horse.⁵³ Aurangzib conferred upon him the title of *Khan* and appointed him the *faujdar* of Siwistan.⁵⁴ The Mir served in this capacity until Jumada II 1075/ January 1665 when he was replaced by Arsalan Khan.⁵⁵

Mir Diya' Al-Din Yusuf's grandson (*nabira*),⁵⁶ Mir Abu al-Wafa' was also in the Imperial service and in 1114/1702, in addition to his other duties, he was made the *darugha* of the royal oratory. This latter position gave him ample opportunities to ingratiate himself into the favour of the Emperor Aurangzib. Once Aurangzib received a letter in cryptic language from Prince Mu' azzam. However much he tried, certain points remained unclear. Finally, he made over the letter to Mir Abu al-Wafa' and ordered him to explain the obscurities. The Mir readily worked out a solution to the problematic words and produced a satisfactory purport of the entire letter for the Emperor. The latter was so highly impressed by the sharpness and intellectual capacity of Mir Abu al-Wafa' that he rewarded him with a "a mohar weighing 50 mohars, 500 rupees, and an addition of 20 tr., to his rank by which he became a 4-*sadi* (30 tr.)."⁵⁷ The collection of rough notes of Aurangzib called the *Raqa'im-i Kara'im* contains at least two references to Mir Abu al-Wafa' which sufficiently illustrate his closeness to the Emperor.⁵⁸ The Mir outlived the reign of Aurangzib and was a frequent visitor to the literary gatherings that used to be held at Amir 'Abd al-Karim Khan's during the reign of Bahadur Shah (1118-1124/1707-12). During the sixth regnal year of Muhammad Farrukhsiyar (1124-31/1713-19) Mir Abu al-Wafa' waited upon that Emperor and was awarded a dress of honour⁵⁹ and the following year he passed away.⁶⁰

c. *Mir Abu al-Qasim*

Mir Abu al-Baqa's third son, Mir Abu al-Qasim, also played an active role in the restoration of law and order in his father's *jagir*⁶¹. Beyond that virtually nothing is known about him except that he died in 1045/1635-36 and was buried on the Suffa-i Safa.⁶² Likewise, his brother, Shams al-Din, finds only a passing mention in the *Tuhfat al-Kiram*.⁶³

d. *Mir 'Abd al-Razzaq*

Yet another son of Mir Abu al-Baqa' was known as Mir 'Abd al-Razzaq, who waited upon Shahjahan on 22 Shawwal 1041/12 May 1632 and presented to him some jewels, Sindhi stuff (*aqmisha*) and one thousand mohars on his father's behalf.⁶⁴ He subsequently joined Imperial service and rose to a *mansab* of 900 personal and 300 horse.⁶⁵ He was killed in Shi'i-Sunni clashes in 1062/

1651-2 and was laid to rest at the Suffa-i Safa.⁶⁶ According to Qani' Thaththawi the Mir was an embodiment of ratiocinative, as well as of traditional sciences, had an excellent command of languages and his memory and comprehension were remarkable.⁶⁷

e. *Mir Abu al-Makarim Shuhud*

Mir Abu al-Baqa's fifth son, Mir Abu al-Makarim Shuhud, also participated in military campaigns of Shahjahan's reign,⁶⁸ but his simple and austere style of life, strong inclination towards mysticism, and penchant for poetical compositions, gave an altogether different hue to his personality. Although he was well-versed in a variety of sciences, his fame basically rested on his literary attainments. Besides a *Diwan* he also left behind a romantic *mathnawi* called the *Parikhan-i Sulayman*. Another of his long poems dealing with the romance of Badi' al-Jamal and Sayf al-Muluk was still incomplete when he died in 1073/1662-63 and was buried in Siwistan near the tomb of Shaykh La'l Shahbaz.⁶⁹ He was survived by four sons, namely Amin al-Din Khan Husayn, Mu'in al-Din Hasan, Radi al-Din Fida' i and Mir Hafiz al-Din Khan.

A disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wasi,⁷⁰ Mir Amin al-Din Khan Husayn was appointed the governor of Thatta in 1114/1702-3 and he worked in this capacity for almost one year.⁷¹ Thereafter he seems to have been made the *faujdar* of the *sarkar* of Bhakkar and this position he occupied at least until 1120/1708-9.⁷² He was an accomplished poet and erudite scholar. Even the onerous responsibilities of the high offices he held from time to time could not prevent him from associating with contemporary scholars and following his literary pursuits. Besides some stray verses, he left behind two fine encyclopaedic works, namely the *Rashahat al-Funun*⁷³ and the *Ma'lumat al-Afaq*⁷⁴ which bear ample testimony to the assiduity and insight of their author. He died in 1127/1715 and was buried in the Makli graveyard.⁷⁵ Mir Amin al-Din fathered three sons, namely Mir Matin al-Din Khan⁷⁶ Isma'il, Mir Muhammad Gada and Mir Muhammad Ata'. Mir Matin al-Din who thrice served as the *diwan* of Thatta, was, in matters of style and circumstance, a true replica of his father. Family fortunes considerably improved under him and he was looked on as one of the leading nobles of his day,⁷⁷ He died in 1177/1763,⁷⁸ leaving behind two sons, Mir Muhammad Ghauth and Mir Abu al-Mafakhir. Mir Muhammad Ghauth served the Kalhora chiefs, Miyan Nur Muhammad (1132-67/1719-54),⁷⁹ and Miyan Ghulam Shah (1170-86/1756-63) with great distinction. He died sometime about 1181/1767-68 and was succeeded by his son, Mir Muhammad Karim al-Din in the office of *bakhshi*. When Karim al-Din died around 1219/1804-5, the Talpurs granted a stipend to his son, Sayyid Qanbar 'Ali. After the death of the latter, the stipend was transferred to his two sons, Sayyid Karam Ali and Pir Wadan Shah.⁸⁰

About Mir Matin al-Din's second son, Mir Abu al-Mafakhir, our information is limited to the fact that he also maintained his ancestral dignity during his life and was survived by one son who was a contemporary of Mir Qani' Thaththawi.⁸¹

Mir Amin al-Din's second son, Mir Gada was a poet of some merit. He died sometime between 1172/1758-59 and 1181/1767-68⁸² and left behind one son.⁸³ Mir Gada's brother, Mir 'Ata' associated quite extensively with the contemporary social elite and mingled with high and low with equal ease and cheerfulness. His propensity for mysticism made him amiable company to the mystics,⁸⁴ and he enjoyed the best relations with the illustrious Sindhi poet, Shah 'Abd al-Latif Bhita'i.⁸⁵ Being an outstanding member of his family, his death on 3 Sha'ban 1178/26 January 1765,⁸⁶ was a serious loss to the Amirkhani Sayyids and to the community at large. He was survived by two sons.⁸⁷

Mir Abu al-Makarim Shuhud's second son, Mir Mu' in al-Din Hasan had also drunk deep at the fountain of mysticism. Once he was engaged in the repair of his house and used a rope where an iron nail was actually needed. A passer-by remarked that when he could afford to use a nail, why he was contenting himself with a poor substitute such as rope. The Mir instantaneously recited two verses which purported:

A house temporary and perishable as it is, it deserves hardly more than this decoration. Why don't you fix your thoughts on the other house that will stand you in good stead permanently.

He died in 1133/1720-21.⁸⁸

Mir Shuhud's third son, Mir Radi al-Din Muhammad, who died in 1120/1708-9, was also an exquisite poet and craftsman of words.⁸⁹ His son, Mir Haydar al-Din Abu Turab Kamil, however, surpassed him not only as a poet but also in mystical leanings. Because he was a pious, celibate and scholarly person a vast number of people, including several nobles, turned to him for spiritual guidance, but they could not move the Mir from the path of indifference to the world.⁹⁰ Nawwab Mahabat Khan Kazim made an offer of a stipend to him, but he declined. Mostly he was in a state of meditation, and several supernatural deeds were attributed to him.⁹¹

Mir Kamil's appearance on the literary horizon of Sind marked a new phase in the development of Hindi poetry in this region. His contemporaries, such as 'Abd al-Hakim 'Ata'⁹² and Mir Mahmud Sabir,⁹³ were already expressing their thoughts in that language, and, on the latter's own testimony⁹⁴ we know that the fame of his poetry had reached as far as the Deccan. Through his towering personality, enormous literary output and numerous promising disciples, Mir Kamil gave a new impetus to this movement. Even towards the close of the 12th/18th century his poetry enjoyed so much of popularity that his only biographer, Mir Qani' considered it too wellknown to be quoted extensively in his biographical dictionary of poets called the *Maqalat al-Shu'ara*⁹⁵. The Mir died in 1164/1750-51⁹⁶. Little is known about his brother, Mir Hafiz al-Din,⁹⁷ but the latter's son, Mir Hafiz al-Din 'Ali, though far less educated than his uncle, in his lifestyle bore a great similarity to Mir Kamil. He was more at home in Hindi than in Persian and exhibited such an exceptional versatility in his

writings, prose and verse, in that language that his contemporary Mir Qani' refers to him as the second Amir Khusrau⁹⁸ and writes that had Mir Hafiz al-Din not been handicapped by the defects of eyesight and hearing,⁹⁹ he had all the potential of becoming another Kamil in literature.¹⁰⁰ At the time of the writing of the *Tuhfat al-Kiram* the Mir was still alive and led a life of celibacy and withdrawal from the world.¹⁰¹

f. *Mir 'Abd al-Karim*

Unlike his brothers Mir 'Abd al-Karim, the youngest son of Mir Abu al-Baqa' did not confine himself to the region of Sind. He moved farther afield into Hindustan where he succeeded in carving out a brilliant career and maintained the family tradition of the past two generations of rising to higher rungs of Imperial service. It was an old practice of the Mughul Emperors that they drew their personal attendants (*khwasis*) from the ranks of the progeny of their *amirs*. Mir 'Abd al-Karim was lucky enough to attract the attention of Aurangzib for this job.¹⁰² By dint of his perspicacity, ready wit, literary attainments and amiable manners he gradually worked his way up to be the chief of the royal attendants and began to be counted among the favourites of that puritan of all the Mughul Emperors. In Sha'ban 1093/August 1682 when Aurangzib was encamped at Aurangabad, the Mir was appointed the *darugha* of the royal oratory (*janamazkhana*).¹⁰³ Before long the duties of the *amin* of the seven *chaukis*¹⁰⁴ were also entrusted to him.¹⁰⁵ Mir 'Abd al-Karim discharged the dual responsibilities until he was relieved of the latter job,¹⁰⁶ and made the *darugha* of the *naqqashkhana* instead,¹⁰⁷ in addition to his original position of the head of the royal oratory.

In Dhi al-Hijja 1097/October 1685 when Prince Shah 'Alam communicated the news of his victory over Abu al-Hasan, the ruler of Telangana, and the reduction of Haydarabad and recommended the grant of suitable rewards to the officers serving under his command, the Emperor entrusted to the Mir the task of carrying robes and jewels to the Prince as a mark of his appreciation for his and his commander's efforts. At Mangal, four *kos* short of Haydarabad, the Mir was, however, ambushed by the men of Abu al-Hasan and the royal presents were looted. His entire entourage was massacred and he himself was taken prisoner in a critical condition. Abu al-Hasan kept him under detention for four days and then had him conveyed to the Prince's camp where the Mir's wounds were tended. On his recovery, Mir 'Abd al-Karim waited on the Prince and having passed on to him the verbal orders of the Emperor, returned to court¹⁰⁸ and resumed the usual duties of the *darugha* of the royal oratory. Soon afterwards, the *amini* of the seven *chaukis* was given to him for the second time.¹⁰⁹ In Rabi' II 1098/February 1657 Aurangzib appointed Sayyid Sharif Khan, son of Mir Sayyid Muhammad Qannauji, the spiritual guide of Shahjahan, as the *Karori-i ganj* of the camp and collector of *jizya*¹¹⁰ for the four provinces of the Deccan and ordered him to visit the aforementioned provinces in order to ensure

a strict observance of the Islamic law in the collection of *jizya*. A few months later, in addition to his *darughaship* of the royal oratory, the Mir was not only made the deputy to Sayyid Sharif Khan, in the post of the *karori-i ganj*,¹¹¹ but was also appointed the *darugha* of fines.¹¹² The duties of the *karori-i ganj* entailed a strict supervision of the supply of foodgrain into the royal camp at a reasonable price. While famine raged throughout the surrounding regions, the Mir handled the situation so skilfully that the Imperial camp was not only saved from this misfortune, but prices were also checked from rising. The Emperor expressed his pleasure with him by bestowing on him the title of *Multafat Khan*¹¹³. This was followed by his appointment as the head of the *abdarkhana*.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile in Rajab 1104/ March 1693 when Anwar Khan, son of Wazir Khan Shahjahani, died yet another feather was added to the Mir's cap and thenceforward he became the *darugha* of *khwas*.¹¹⁵ Sometime after Dhi al-Hijja 1112/ April 1701 he was created *Khanazad Khan* and before long,¹¹⁶ the title of *Mir* was also officially appended to his name.¹¹⁷ On Dhi al-Hijja 1115/15 March 1704 the Emperor conferred on him his father's title of *Amir Khan* and while doing so remarked in a light-hearted manner that when Shah-jahan bestowed the same title on the Mir's father, the latter presented one *lakh* of *rupees* to the Emperor. The Mir immediately understood the implication of the statement and replied that his life and property were all propitious alms (*tasadduq*) to the Emperor, and the following day presented him with a copy of the Qur'an calligraphed by Yaqut.¹¹⁸ There could have been no better connoisseur of this precious gift than Aurangzib whose own favourite pastime it was to write out the copies of the Holy Book in his own hand for sale and sending to the holy shrines at Mecca and Medina.¹¹⁹ The Emperor granted an elephant to the Mir on this occasion.

After the conquest of Wakinkhera the Emperor promoted Mir 'Abd al-Karim from a *mansab* of 2500 to that of 3000 personal.¹²⁰ The Mir's official rank and formal designation were, however, no match to his personal intimacy and influence with the Emperor. This made him the envy of the great and small and earned him the epithet of "close to the Emperor's person"¹²¹ from the contemporary annalists.

Once the Emperor decreed that only those of his *amirs* and princes could ride to the royal enclosure in their palanquins who owned it by virtue of royal favour. Although subsequently other leading personages, such as Bahramand Khan, Mukhlis Khan and Ruh Allah Khan, were also included in the privileged class, to start with, only Jumlat al-Mulk Asad Khan and Mir 'Abd al-Karim, were the real beneficiaries of this honour.¹²²

The easy and frequent access of Mir 'Abd al-Karim to the Emperor was, however, not devoid of its drawbacks. He became haughty and, at times, his attitude even towards prominent nobles also smacked of vanity and conceit.¹²³ Helpless to avenge themselves otherwise, these nobles sometimes failed to make a secret of their sarcasm against him.¹²⁴ The Mir's integrity, however, greatly

compensated for this flaw in his personality. An unscrupulous person in a position like his could have easily amassed a fabulous amount of wealth by fair and foul means but he strictly avoided all possibilities of gratification. Generally the merchants tried to sell items to him at a fraction of the original cost, but the Mir always, through private means, found out the exact prices of the objects concerned and obliged the merchants to accept the balance from him.¹²⁵

His pen was not less facile than the eloquence of his tongue. Possessed of a quick memory, he could extemporaneously compose and quote verses with good effect. During the last days of Aurangzib, he once overheard the Emperor murmuring the following lines in a melancholy mood.

'When you have reached your 80th and 90th year
Many evils have you suffered from Time,
When after that you attain the 100th stage
It is death in the form of life.'

He reminded the Emperor that those lines of Shaykh Nizami of Ganja were composed as a preface to the following couplet of his:

'Then, 'tis better you remain joyful,
And that in that joy you remember God.'¹²⁶

The Emperor ordered him to repeat that couplet and then directed him to jot it down which the Mir did and the Emperor recited it several times. The following day the Emperor held his court and acknowledged to the Mir the good effect of the couplet in reviving his spirits.¹²⁷

Similarly, on yet another occasion, when Asad Khan was apprehending some severe reprimand because of his rift with Prince Kambakhsh, Mir 'Abd al-Karim's timely reference to the famous adage:

'There is a pleasure in pardoning which is not in revenge'

saved the situation and Asad Khan was allowed to kiss the feet of the Emperor and was honoured with royal favours.¹²⁸

After the death of Aurangzib when his second surviving son A'zam Shah declared himself Emperor,¹²⁹ Amir 'Abd al-Karim, like all other officials and commanders joined his entourage. A'zam Shah removed Amir Khan from the *darughaship* of the *khwasis*,¹³⁰ but what other position was bestowed on him instead is not known. Nevertheless, Amir Khan accompanied the new Emperor in his march towards Agra, via Gowaliyar, and participated in the subsequent battle between A'zam Shah and his brother Prince Mu'azzam at Jajau.¹³¹ In this battle A'zam Shah lost his life and sceptre and crown fell into the hands of Prince Mu'azzam who ascended the ancestral throne and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah (1119-24/1707-13). Realizing the fact that if at the time of his father's death his own sons had been in the Deccan there was every chance that under the pressure of circumstances they would have also allied themselves with their late uncle,¹³² Bahadur Shah welcomed all the servants of his father regardless of their previous loyalties. Amir Khan was appointed the governor of Akbarabad.¹³³ During those days his house was a rendezvous for the literati of the

town and poets, such as Miyan 'Ali 'Azim,¹³⁴ Mirza Hatim Beg and Mir Abu al-Wafa' Wafa'i, met there regularly.¹³⁵ Amir Khan himself was an exquisite poet and his criticism of the poetry of others was regarded highly.¹³⁶

During the fourth regnal year of Bahadur Shah, Amir Khan's sons, Abu al-Khayr Khan, Muhtaram Khan and 'Ali Rida Khan waited upon the Emperor and were honoured with special dresses of honour.¹³⁷ Emperor Bahadur Shah also bestowed one elephant each on Abu al-Khayr Khan and Muhtaram Khan.¹³⁸

On his accession to the throne, Farrukhsiyar (1124-31/1713-19) reappointed Amir Khan the governor of Akbarabad¹³⁹ and his son, Muhtaram Khan was exalted with the directorship (*mutasaddigari*) of Bandar Surat.¹⁴⁰ Subsequently, when an envoy from Iran alighted at that harbour Muhtaram Khan was ordered to put 30,000 rupees at the disposal of the royal visitor and make arrangements for his journey to the capital.¹⁴¹ During the second regnal year of Farrukhsiyar Amir Khan was appointed the commandant of the fort of Akbarabad and Samsam al-Daula Khan-i Dauran Bahadur the governor of that province.¹⁴² The latter also entrusted his responsibilities to Amir Khan. During the sixth regnal year of that Emperor, Amir Khan waited on him and made an offering of one hundred *ashrafis*, one thousand rupees and a copy of the Qur'an.¹⁴³ Soon afterwards Amir Khan's brother's grandson Abu al-Wafa',¹⁴⁴ and his sons, 'Abd al-Azim Khan, Mahram Khan¹⁴⁵ and 'Ali Rida Khan did homage to the Emperor and were rewarded with dresses of honour. Amir Khan also received a robe of honour¹⁴⁶ and was made the *darugha* of *khwasis*. Since he had become too old to carry the burden of that exalted office by himself, Muhtaram Khan was appointed as his deputy.¹⁴⁷ The following year when Mir Abu al-Wafa' died and Amir Khan retired into mourning, Emperor Farrukhsiyar especially ordered Amin al-Din Khan Bahadur¹⁴⁸ to fetch the Khan and, besides consoling him, favoured him with a dress of honour.¹⁴⁹

During the interregnum that followed the death of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid brothers raised Amir Khan to the office of the *sadr al-sudur* of India, *vice* Afdal Khan.¹⁵⁰ The elder Sayyid, Qutb al-Mulk 'Abd Allah Khan held him in such a high esteem that he offered Amir Khan a seat at the corner of his own *masnad*. As *sadr al-sudur* Amir Khan spared no effort to ameliorate the conditions of the poor and the needy who turned to him for help.¹⁵¹ Under Muhammad Shah also Amir Khan served as *sadr al-sudur* for a while, but after his replacement with Mir Jumla¹⁵² he seems to have retired from active life. Nevertheless, towards the close of his second regnal year Muhammad Shah favoured him with a dress of honour.¹⁵³ Amir Khan died sometime between 16 Rabi' I 1132/27 January 1720¹⁵⁴ and 1 Rajab 1134/17 April 1722 on which last date his son Abu al-Khayr was appointed the commandant of the fort of Akbarabad on the recommendation of Jumdat al-Mulk Bahadur *wazir-i a'la*.¹⁵⁵

About Amir Khan's sons, the author of the *Ma'athir al-Umara'* writes that they contented themselves with the acquisitions of their father, except Abu

al-Khayr Khan, who because of his proximity to the Khan-i Dauran 'Asim Khan received the title of *Khan* from Farrukhsiyar.¹⁵⁶ This statement is not borne out by facts. Among other things, as we have seen earlier, the title of *Khan* appears with Abu al-Khayr's name, as with the names of his three brothers, as early as the fourth regnal year of Bahadur Shah.

From the preface to the *Raqa'im-i Kara'im* where the compiler of that work calls himself Sayyid Ashraf Khan Mir Muhammad al-Husayni and refers to Amir 'Abd al-Karim as *qiblagahi* and the *khan-i marhum*¹⁵⁷ Rieu¹⁵⁸ surmised that Sayyid Ashraf was also a son of Amir Khan. Other scholars have followed suit,¹⁵⁹ but unless it is corroborated by some other source, the evidence is too flimsy to be accepted as the basis of Rieu's conclusion and it would be safer to view it with circumspection.

As for Amir Khan's daughters, one of them was married to Prince A'izz al-Din,¹⁶⁰ a great grandson of Aurangzib,¹⁶¹ during the 51 regnal year¹⁶² (1118/1707) of that Emperor. The unfortunate Prince was, however, blinded by Farrukhsiyar on 6 Muharram 1126/22 January 1714 and he died at Delhi on 8 Dhi al-Hijja 1157/12 January 1745.¹⁶³

Mir Abu Al-Baqā's Daughters

Finally, a word about the female descendants of Mir Abu Al-Baqā'. A reference in the *Sakinat al-Auliya'* of Prince Muhammad Dara Shukuh suggests that the Mir fathered several daughters and at least five sons.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, miscellaneous other available sources refer to seven of his sons, and to only one of his daughters.

It seems that even after the death of Mir Abu al-Baqā' his family continued to enjoy a prestigious position in the court circles and Shahjahan's favours towards them did not undergo any effective change. Shahjahan's fourth son Sultan Murad Bakhsh had been married to a daughter of Shahnawaz Khan Safawi¹⁶⁵ for more than a decade.¹⁶⁶ As she failed to give birth to a child (*farzand*) in 1066/1656 Shahjahan obtained the hand of Mir Abu al-Baqā's daughter "who was not only adorned with the ornament of elegance," writes the court chronicler Muhammad Salih, "but was also a worthy match for that Prince of exalted birth." The bride, with a dowry worth one hundred thousand rupees, was dispatched to Ahmadabad, where the Prince was then serving as governor.¹⁶⁷

NOTES

1. For Mir Namakin see my article, "Mir Abu al-Qasim Namakin : A Critique of His Career and Achievements," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, vol.V, No.1, pp.15-28.
2. Yusuf Mirak, *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, (hereinafter *Maz. Sh.*), ed. S. Husam al-Din Rashidi, Haiderabad Sind, 1962, pp.116-20.

3. *Ibid.*, p.121.
4. Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'athir al-Umara'* (hereinafter *M.U.*), ed. Maulawi 'Abd al-Rahim and Maulawi Mirza Ashraf 'Ali, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1887-91, vol.I, p.171; Ra'i Kewalram, *Tadhkirat al-Umara'* (hereinafter Kewalram), British Museum MS. Add. 16,703, s.v. Amir Khan.
5. *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 121-2.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.29-30.
7. *Maz. Sh.*, pp.123-9.
8. *Ibid.*, pp.35, 45.
9. *Ibid.*, pp.45-6.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1940, Third Edn., p.268; Jahangir Padshah, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-4, pp.138-9, 318.
12. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, op. cit.*, pp.138-9.
13. *Ibid.*, p.319. The Text wrongly has A.H. 1031.
14. Beni Prasad, p. 270, has 26 November.
15. *Tuzuki-i Jahangiri*, p.245.
16. *Ibid.*, p.304.
17. *Ibid.*, p.347.
18. Kewalram, s.v. Amir Khan.
19. Muhammad Salih Kanbu, '*Amal-i Salih*, (hereinafter *A.S.*) ed. Ghulam Yazdani, rev. Wahid Qureshi, 3 vols., Lahore, 1967, vol. I, p.226. Shahjahan also conferred Bandar Lahari on Asaf Khan in *'am*.
20. *M.U., op.cit.*, vol.I, p. 172; Kewalram, *op.cit.*, s.v. Amir Khan.
21. *M.U., op.cit.*, vol. I. p.171; Kewalram, s.v. Amir Khan. Shaykh Farid Bhakkari (*Dhakhirat al-Khwanin*, ed. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1961, vol.I, p.199) wrongly states that Amir Khan had reached the *mansab* of 3,000 and was appointed the *subadar* of Thatta and Siwistan before the death of Jahangir.
22. *M.U., op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.171-72; Kewalram, s.v. Amir Khan.
23. Mir 'Ali Shir Qani' Thaththawi, *Tuhfat al-Kiram* (hereinafter *T.K.* tr.,) Urdu tr. Akhtar Radawi, rev. and annotated by Makhdum Amir Ahmad and Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, Karachi, 1959, p.295.
24. See *Maz.Sh.*, p.35.
25. *Ibid.*, pp.39-40.
26. *Maz.Sh.*, p.40.
27. S. Husam al-Din Rashidi, *Tadhkira-i Amir Khani* (hereinafter *T. A. Kh.*), Haiderabad Sind, 1961, p.100.
28. *Maz. Sh.* Punjab University Lahore MS.
29. See *ibid.*, ff.
30. *M.U., op.cit.*, vol.I, p.172; Kewalram, s.v. Amir Khan.
31. *A.S.*, vol. II, p.284; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.172; Kewalram, s.v. Amir Khan.
32. *A.S.*, vol.II, p.302; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.172; Kewalram s.v. Amir Khan.
33. See *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p.199.
34. 'Abd al-Hamid Lahauri, *Badshah Nama*, ed. Kabir al-Din Ahmad and 'Abd al-Rahim, Calcutta, 1866-72, vol.II, pp.641, 723.
35. Henry Cousens (*The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929, p.117), on the authority of *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, of Mir Qani' Thaththawi, wrongly presumes his tomb to be in Thatta. See *T.A. Kh.*, pp. 111-12.
36. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 199; *M.U.*, vol. I, pp. 172, 303.
37. *T.A. Kh., op. cit.*, p. 120.
38. *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 125-8; Punjab University Lahore MS., *op.cit.*, ff. 315 a-318 b.

39. *Maz. Sh.*, p. 142; P.U.L.MS., *op.cit.*, f. 329 a-b.
40. *T. A. Kh., op.cit.*, pp. 124-5; *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 304-5n.
41. See his note on the fly-leaf of the P. U. MS. reproduced in the *Maz. Sh.*, p. 85.
42. See my article 'Yusuf Mirak and his *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*: A Critical Assessment', *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Islamabad, vol. IV, No.2, pp. 43-51.
43. *Maz. Sh.*, p.39; P. U. MS., *op.cit.*, f. 256b.
44. *Maz. Sh.*, p. 35, P. U. MS., *op.cit.*, f. 253b. Also see *T.K. tr.*, p 395.
45. Sayyid Tahir Muhammad Nisyani Thaththawi, *Ta'rikh-i Tahiri*, ed. N. A. Baloch, Haiderabad Sind, 1964, p. 349n.
46. Kukrala comprised the present day *talukas* of Shahbandar and Tati in Thatta District. *Ibid.*
47. On 1 Dhi al-Hijja 1059/6 December 1649. Shaykh Abu al-Fath Qabil Khan, *Adab-i Alamgiri*, comp. by Sadiq Muttalibi Anbalawi, ed. 'Abd al-Ghafur Chaudhari, 2 vols., Lahore, 1971, p. 24n. Also see *T.K. tr.*, p. 298.
48. He held that position from 29 Safar 1058/25 March 1648 to 17 Sha'ban 1062/24 July 1651.
49. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, p. 26; Sayyid Najib Ashraf Nadwi, *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgiri*, ed. Maulawi Mas'ud 'Ali Nadwi, Azamgarh, (1929?), p. 301.
50. He was appointed to Thatta in 1063/1652-3 and served there for six years. In 1065/1654-5 when Sipih Shukuh, son of Dara Shukuh, who held a *mansab* of 7000 came to Thatta as the governor of that place. Zafar Khan was made his deputy. See *T. K. tr.*, p. 299.
51. *Ibid.*, Mir 'Ali Shir Qani' Thaththawi, *Maqalat al-Shu'ara'*, (hereinafter *M. Sh.*) ed. S. Husam al-Din Rashidi, Haidarabad Sind, n.d., p.380.
52. Miyan Nur al-Haqq Mushtaqi, *Munsha'at-i Mushtaqi*, MS. in the Private Collection of Pir Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi, Karachi (1979), Transcript, p. 26.
53. *A. S.*, vol. II, p. 364.
54. Muhammad Kazim, *'Alamgir Nama*, ed. Khadim Husain and Abdul Hai, Calcutta, 1867, vol. I, p. 875. Also see *T. K. tr.*, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
55. Muhammad Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Ma'athir- 'Alamgiri* (hereinafter *M. A. Eng. tr.*) Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1947, p. 273.
56. See below, n. 147.
57. *M.A. tr.* pp. 273-4.
58. Hermann Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, rev. and completed by Edward Edwards, 3 vols., Oxford, 1903, p.375, I. O. MS. No. 3021, ff. 2b, 10b. *Ruk'at-i Alamgiri or Letters of Aurangzebe*, tr. J. H. Bilimoria, Delhi, 1972, pp. 106, 163.
59. Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, *Tadhkirat al-Salatin-i Chaghta* (hereinafter Kamwar Khan), ed. Muzaffar 'Alam, Bombay, 1980, p.231.
60. *Ibid.*, p.242.
61. *Maz. Sh.*, p.39; P.U.MS., *op.cit.*, f.256b.
62. *Maz. Sh.*, p. 39, n.2; *T.A. Kh.*, pp. 125-6.
63. *T.K. tr.*, p.297.
64. 'Abd al-Hamid Lahauri, vol.I, p.424.
65. *A.S.*, vol. III, p.368.
66. *T.A.Kh.*, p.117.
67. *M. Sh.*, pp. 416-7; *T.K.*, *tr.*, *op.cit.*, p.297.
68. See above, n.53.
69. *M.Sh.*, pp.349-54. Also see *T.K. tr.*, pp.631-2.
70. *M.Sh.*, p.430. He had to his credit an excellent commentary on the *Makhzan al-Asrar* of Nizami Ganja'i.
71. *Ibid.*, pp.24-8.

72. Sayyid Muhammad Bilgrami, *Tabssirat al-Nazirin*, MS. Pir S. Husam al-Din Rashidi Private Collection, Karachi (1979), pp.61-2. In 1120/1708-9 he built a beautiful mosque in the town of Sukkur and Mir 'Abd al-Jalil Bilgrami composed a poem, containing a chronogram, to celebrate the occasion.
73. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Patna. See pp. 195-6.
74. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the Punjab University Library, Lahore.
75. *Ibid.*, p.206.
76. Cf. *T.K. tr.*, p.632, where his name has been recorded as Amin al-Din.
77. *Ibid.*, *T.A.Kh.*, pp.207-11.
78. *Ibid.*, p.210.
79. *Ibid.*, pp.213-5.
80. *T.K. tr.*, p.632.
81. *T.A. Kh.*, p.215.
82. *T.K.*, p. 632.
83. *M.Sh.*, p. 444; *T.K. tr.*, p. 632.
84. *T.A. Kh.*, p. 218.
85. *Ibid.*, pp.216-7.
86. *T.K. tr.*, p.175.
87. *M.Sh.*, p.175.
88. *Ibid.*, pp.492-3; *T.K. tr.*, p.633.
89. *T.K. tr.*, p.633.
90. *T.K. tr.* p. 633.
91. *M. Sh.*, pp. 670-1.
92. 'Abd al-Hakim 'Ata' Thaththawi, *Diwan-i 'Ata'*, ed. Sayyid Muhammad Muti' Allah Rashid Burhanpuri, Haiderabad Sind, n.d., pp.459-61.
93. For his life, see Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, *Sindh Mein Urdu Sha'iri*, Lahore, 1978, pp.21-38.
94. *Ibid.*, p.25.
95. *M.Sh.*, p. 673.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 671.
97. *T.K. tr.*, p. 633.
98. *M. Sh.*, p. 182.
99. *Ibid.*
100. *T.K.*, Urdu tr., p. 634.
101. *Ibid.*
102. *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 303.
103. *M.A.*, tr., pp. 135-6.
104. 'Mounting guard is called *Chauki* in Hindi language. The four divisions of the army having been divided into seven parts, each of which was appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy Mansabdar. Yusuf Husain Khan, *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, Hyderabad Deccan, p. 89, n.1.
105. *M.A. tr.*, p. 146.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
107. *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 303. During the 28th regnal year of Aurangzib owing to some misconduct (*qusus*) the Mir was suspended from the *darughaship* of the royal oratory.
108. *M.A. tr.*, pp. 164-5; *M.U.*, vol. I, pp. 303-4.
109. *M.A. tr.*, p. 174.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 181.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 181; *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 304.
112. *M.A. tr.*, p. 184; *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 304.
113. *M.A. tr.*, p. 199; *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 304.

114. *M. Al. tr.*, p. 204; The *Ma'athir-i'Alamgiri* also adds that the Mir was promoted by a hundred *dhat* (50 tr.* to the rank of a hazari) (150tr.). His office brought him close to the Emperor's person.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
116. *M. Al. tr.*, p. 265. He had already been promoted to a *mansab* of 1500/ 200 tr. in 1696 A.D. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
117. *M. Al. tr.*, p. 282.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 290. Shaykh Jalal al-Din Yaqut Musta'simi who was originally a slave of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Musta'sim Bi'llah (218-27/833-42) finally rose to the position of the Court Librarian. He is credited with the invention of the *naskh* style of calligraphy. Shaykh Ahmad alias Shaykhzada Suhrawardi, Arghun Kabuli, Maulana Yusuf Shah Mashhadi, Maulana Mubarak Shah Zarrin Qalam, Maulana Haydar Kandanawis, and Mir Yahya were six renowned pupils of Yaqut. He died in 697/1298 during the reign of Ghazan Khan. See Abu al-Fadl 'Allami, *A'in-i Akbari*, Lucknow, 1833, vol. I, p. 75; H. Blochmann, *The A'in-i Akbari*, ed., D.C. Phillot, Lahore, n.d., repr., p. 106; Zayn al-Din Mahmud Wasifi, *Badayi' al-Waqayi'*, ed. Alexander Boldyrev, Moscow, 1961, vol. II, pp. 888-9.
119. See Muhammad Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Ma'athir-i Alamgiri*, Calcutta, 1871, pp. 532; Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgir Nama*, ed. Khadim Husain and 'Abd al-Hai, Calcutta, 1868, p. 1093.
120. *M. U.*, vol. I, pp. 305.
121. *M. 'Al. tr.*, p. 300. Also see *Ibid.*, p. 199; *M. U.*, vol. I, p. 305.
122. *M. U.*, vol. I, pp. 307-8.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
124. See *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 159.
125. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 308.
126. *M. U.* tr. H. Beveridge, rev., annotated and completed by Baini Prashad, Patna, 1979 repr., vol. I, p. 256; *M. Al.*, tr., p. 302.
127. *M. U.*, vol. I, p. 306.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
129. He declared himself Emperor on 10 Dhi al-Hijja 1118/15 March 1706. Kamwar Khan, p. 2; William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, ed. Jadunath Sarkar, New Delhi, 1971 repr., p. 8.
130. Kamwar Khan, p. 3.
131. See Mubarak Allah Wadih, *Ta'rikh-i Iradat Khan*, ed. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Lahore, 1971, p. 54. According to *M. U.*, vol. I, p. 308, he was left behind at Gawaliyar with the heavy baggage of the army.
132. *Later Mughals*, vol. I, p. 36.
133. Kamwar Khan, p. 22.
134. For him, see Bhagwan Das Hindi, *Safina-i Hindi*, ed. S. Shah Muhammad 'Ata' al-Rahman, Patna, 1958, pp. 132, 134; Kishan Chand Ikhlash, *Hamisha Bahar*, ed. Wahid Qureshi, Karachi, 1973, pp. 172-3.
135. Bindrabin Das Khwushgu, *Safina-i Khwushgu*, ed. S. Shah Muhammad 'Ata' al-Rahman, Patna, 1959, p. 148. Also see *Ibid.*, p. 218.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
139. *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 173.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
144. *M. Al. tr.*, p. 273; *M. U.*, vol. I, p. 172; Kamwar Khan, p. 242. In this latter work on

- page 231 Abu al-Wafa is referred to as Amir Khan's nephew (*biradarzada*) which is probably a transcriptional error.
145. It could be a misreading for Muhtaram Khan.
 146. Kamwar Khan, p. 231.
 147. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
 148. For his particulars, see *M.U.*, vol. I, pp. 356-7; Kewalram, s.r.
 149. Kamwar Khan, p. 242.
 150. *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 309.
 151. *Safina-i Khwushgu*, p. 148.
 152. Kamwar Khan, p. 303. For Mir Jumla, see *M.U.*, vol. III, pp. 710-12.
 153. Kamwar Khan, p. 332.
 154. I.e., the date of bestowal of the robe of honour.
 155. *Ibid.*, p. 338.
 156. *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 309.
 157. I.O. MS. 3021, pp. 1,2.
 158. Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Oxford, 1966 repr., vol. I, p. 400.
 159. F.g., see *T.A. Kh.*, p. 184.
 160. Kewalram, s.r. Amir Khan.
 161. He was a son of Muhammad Mu'izz al-Din Bahadur. See Kamwar Khan, p.9.
 162. Kewalram, s.r. Amir Khan.
 163. *Later Mughals*, p. 242.
 164. Dara Shukuh, *Sakinat al-Auliya'*, ed. Tara Chand and M. Jalali Na'ini, Tehran, 1344 H. Sh., p. 30-31.
 165. For his career, see *M.U.*, vol. II, pp. 669-75.
 166. The marriage took place in the 15th regnal year of Shahjahan. See *ibid.*, p. 671.
 167. *A.S.*, vol. III, p. 176.