

# Akbar the Great

**In Three Volumes**



**VOLUME I**

**Political History, 1542-1605 A.D.**

# **AKBAR THE GREAT**

Vol. I

**Political History, 1542-1605 A.D.**

*By*

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*Dedicated*

to

**the sacred memory of**

my father

**DIWAN RAM DAYAL**

**who was fond of the story of Akbar's life**

and

**who first gave me an idea of that ruler's  
greatness and popularity**

## *Preface to the Second Edition*

While preparing the Second Edition of this volume for the press the author has taken the opportunity to revise the book and add a few pertinent details discovered after the publication of the first edition. These details relate firstly to Akbar's proficiency as a poet of Hindi and Persian, and secondly to the confirmation of the surrender of the fort of Asirgarh on account of a foul epidemic, and not owing to the so-called perfidy of Akbar, as related casually by almost a contemporary English traveller. Akbar's grants to Hindu religious shrines, such as, to the Jogis of Jakhbbar in Gurdaspur district, besides those already given, and a few other minor details have been added. The book now contains almost everything of value known to us about the reign of Akbar.

June 1, 1972.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

## Preface

This work dealing with the political history of Akbar's reign, that is, of the whole of Northern India minus Assam and a part of the Deccan for more than half a century (1542-1605), is the first of a series of three volumes on Akbar the Great. The second volume will deal with the evolution of administration in all its branches, and the third with the society and culture of the 16th-century India.

Since the publication of 'Akbar the Great Mogul' by the late Dr. Vincent A. Smith in 1917, considerable fresh contemporary material has come to light. Of this *Tarikh-i-Akbar Shahi* (Persian MS.), the earliest notable chronicle of the reign written in 1580 A.D. by Haji Muhammad Arif Qandhari, an officer in the Revenue Department under Akbar's famous minister Muzaffar Khan Turbati, *Dalpat Vilas* (Rajasthani MS.), the only memoirs associated with the name of a Rajput chief of the 16th century, *Bhanu Chandra Charitra* (Sanskrit) by Siddhi Chandra Upadhyaya and *Karam Chandra Vansa Prabandha* (Anup Library, Bikaner, Sanskrit MS.) by Jayasoma Upadhyaya, and a later work entitled *Vir Vinod* (Hindi) of Kaviraja Shyamal Das (printed at the end of the last century, but released from the Udaipur State vaults only a few years ago), deserve special mention. Dr. Smith does not seem to have studied, in original Persian, the chronicles listed by him in the bibliography of his book and depended wholly on their English translations. It was for this reason that he failed to utilise Persian works like *Tarikh-i-Masumi* by Mir Muhammad Masum (wr. 1593) and *A History of Gujarat* by Mir Abu Turab (edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and published by the A. S. B. in 1909) which, though known to scholars of his time, had not been translated into English. He was, moreover, highly distrustful of Abul Fazl whom he unjustly accused of deliberate perversion of facts and even of forgery (vide Akbar the Great Mogul, 284-285, 460n.). At times he rejected, in an arbitrary manner, the testimony of

all contemporary Indian writers in favour of a later European compiler, like de Laet and even of a more modern chronologist like Beale, attempting to conceal his arbitrariness in specious argumentation in lengthy appendices (vide, Akbar the Great Mogul, 315-316, 328-332). He preferred Du Jarric to Abu Fazl and in fact to all the contemporary Indian chroniclers combined, and yet he did not bestow that critical attention on the examination of his *Histoire* which he should have done. Du Jarric's *Histoire* is, to use the words of Mr. C. H. Payne, "in no sense an original work, nor is it a great literary achievement. It is, from first to last, a compilation, a series of extracts and abstracts from the writings of others." But the historian Smith, who treated it as if it were superior to Abul Fazl's Akbar Nama, made use of its imperfect Latin version and was, in the expert judgment of Mr. Payne, "let down" more than once in consequence." (Introduction to Akbar and the Jesuits, xxxvii.)

Little need be said about the recent books that have appeared after V. A. Smith's 'Akbar the Great Mogul'. They are, almost all of them, well-written and readable, but not the result of painstaking research. Mr. J. M. Shelat, however, the only Indian so far to write an independent monograph on Akbar in two volumes, attempts to investigate some of the main contemporary sources, though not in their originals. But besides being unacquainted with the fresh contemporary material unearthed after 1917 he covers the same ground as his predecessors in the field, and leaves untouched some of the highly important aspects of Akbar's achievements, which were ignored by the historian Smith.

The present work is, partly, in fulfilment of a long-cherished desire formed by the author as early as 1940. But owing to the abnormal conditions at Lahore and his subsequent displacement from there on account of the Partition of the country, he could not undertake it even after the publication of his third volume on the history of the eighteenth-century Awadh (Shuja-ud-Daula, Vol. II.) in 1945. Nevertheless he did not lose sight of the project and before taking it up seriously in July 1957 continued his search and collection of source-material, old and new, during the intervals of his leisure. He has studied all available contemporary Persian, Sanskrit, Rajasthani and Hindi

sources in the original. He does not, however, lay the same claim with regard to the European sources except those in English. Fortunately we in this generation have the advantage of possessing authentic English translations of the main European sources for the reign of Akbar, such as, the *Commentarius* of Fr. Anthony Monserrate, the *Histoire* of Fr. Pierre Du Jarric, the *De Imperio Magno Mogoli*, etc. of de Laet, and the Dutch *Chronicles* of Van Den Broecke, besides a vast mass of literature produced by modern writers in the form of articles and books based on the letters, despatches, and monographs of the Jesuit missionaries at Akbar's court. Nevertheless, Abul Fazl's *Akbar Nama* must always remain the most valuable primary source of Akbar's life and times, as its author had made use of state records and other documents including the *aide memoires*, which embodied verbatim every thing that Akbar said or did and which was faithfully recorded then and there every day by writers who were employed on this duty. These records and *aide memoires* have unfortunately perished, but Abul Fazl's work remains as it was, without any diminution or interpolation. Next in importance are other Persian chronicles by contemporary Indian writers. The Jesuit accounts come third, as their authors had no intention of writing a history of Akbar's reign, and merely recorded what they thought relevant to their mission. Besides, they suffered from religious and racial prejudices, and their observations have, therefore, to be taken with a grain of salt. But their accounts are of primary importance as throwing valuable light on Akbar's personal and court life, his personality and character, his tastes and hobbies, his likes and dislikes, and so forth. In this field they confirm and, in some particulars, supplement the *Akbar Nama* and the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

The scheme of transliteration followed in this volume is that adopted in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, but diacritical marks, especially *hamza* have been sparingly used. Modern spellings of place-names have been preferred except in the case of such well-known places or regions as Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow, Allahabad, Bareilly, Berar, Deccan, Bengal, etc., whose corrupt forms have passed into common and classical usage. It is unfortunate that the names of some very prominent men have been misread in the Persian script of the original

authorities by H. Beveridge and other early writers, and the mistake has been perpetuated by V.A. Smith, Wolseley Haig and most other modern European and Indian scholars. For example, Rana Prasad has been misread for Rana Virisal, Bihari Mal for Bharmal (more correctly Bharamal), Bhagwan Das for Bhagwant Das and Patra Das for Tipur Das. The present writer has taken care to correct the mistakes as far as possible. The dates in this volume, except where specifically mentioned otherwise, are of the old or unreformed calender.

The author is indebted to the historian Smith whose *Akbar the Great Mogul*, despite its obvious defects, is a pioneer work and a monument of industry and erudition, to Count von Noer, the first modern biographer of Akbar, to the late Sir Wolseley Haig for his scholarly chapters on Akbar in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, to Dr. R. P. Tripathi, and a host of other scholars for their specialised studies on the subject. Nevertheless he has not taken anything—a single date or fact—from these eminent scholars on trust without himself going to the original sources. He is also thankful to the Honorary Librarian, Allahabad University Library for the loan to him of the *Tarikh-i-Akbar Shahi* (Per. MS.), and to his three former pupils and present colleagues, Dr. Gopi Nath and Messrs R. C. Jauhri and Sri Prakash Kashyap for their help in reading the proofs, and preparing the index. His thanks are also due to his publishers, Messrs Shiva Lal Agarwala and Co. (Private) Ltd., Agra, for the interest they have taken in the publication of this volume.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

## *Abbreviations*

1. *Abdul-Baqi*—Maasir-i-Rahimi, by Abdul Baqi.
2. *Ain*—Ain-i-Akbari of Shaikh Abul Fazl.
3. *A.N.*—Akbar Nama of Shaikh Abul Fazl.
4. *Asad Beg*—Waqaya of Asad Beg.
5. *Badayuni*—Abdul Qadir Badayuni, author of Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh.
6. *Bartoli*—Missione al gran Mogor, etc.
7. *Bayazid*—Mukhtasar or Tarikh-i-Humayun, by Bayazid Sultan.
8. *Beale*—An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, by T.W. Beale, edited by H.G. Keene.
9. *C.H.I.*—Cambridge History of India.
10. *Commentarius*—Mongolicea, Legationis Commentarius, by Father A. Monserrate, translated into English by Father Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee.
11. *Commissariat*—History of Gujarat, by M. S. Commissariat.
12. *Dabistan*—Dabistan-i-Mazahib of Muhsin Fani.
13. *de Laet*—De Imperio Magni Mogolis, Sive India Vera, by John de Laet, translated into English by Father Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee.
14. *Du Jarric*—Histoire of Du Jarric, translated into English by C. H. Payne under the title of 'Akbar and the Jesuits'.
15. *E.D.*—Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own historians.
16. *Eng. Tr.*—English Translation.
17. *Firishta*—Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi alias Tarikh-Firishta of Hindu Beg Firishta.
18. *Foster*—Early Travels in India, edited by Sir William Foster.
19. *Fr. Goldie*—First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul, by Father Goldie.
20. *F. R. Felix*—Father Felix's paper in the J.P.H.S., Vol. V, No. 2.

21. *F. Sarhindi*—Akbar Nama of Faizi Sarhindi.
22. *Gulbadan*—Humayun Nama, by Gulbadan Begum.
23. *Hadiqat*—Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim, by Murtaza Husain Bilgrami.
24. *Haig*—Wolseley Haig.
25. *Hosten*—Father Hosten's article in the Examiner, Bombay, 1950.
26. *Inayat-Ullah*—Maasir-i-Jahangiri of Inayatullah.
27. *Iqbal Nama*—Iqbal Nama of Mutamid Khan.
28. *Jahangir*—Beni Prasad's Jahangir.
29. *Jauhar*—Tazkirat-ul-Waqayat of Jauhar
30. *Jhaveri*—Imperial Farmans (1577-1805 A.D) granted to the ancestors of His Holiness Tilkayat Maharaj, by K. M. Jhaveri.
31. *J.I.H.*—Journal of Indian History.
32. *J.P.H.S.*—Journal of the Panjab Historical Society.
33. *K.K.*—Muntakhab-ul-Lubab of Khafi Khan.
34. *M.A.Q.*—Tarikh-i-Akbar Shahi, by Muhammad Arif Qandhari.
35. *Maclagan*—Jesuits at the Court of the Great Moghul by Sir Edward Maclagan.
36. *Malcolm*—A Memoir of Central India, by Sir John Malcolm.
37. *Modi*—The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Maherji Rana, by Jevanji Jamshedji Modi.
38. *M.R.*—Massir-i-Rahimi of Mulla Abad-ul-Baqi Nahavandi.
39. *Ms.*—Manuscript.
40. *M.T.*—Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Abdul Qadir Badayuni.
41. *M.U.*—Maasir-ul-Umra, by Shah Nawaz Khan.
42. *Nainsi*—The Nainsi Khayat, by Muhnot Nainsi.
43. *Nizam-ud-din*—Tabqat-i-Akbari, by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad Khan.
44. *Ojha*—Rajputana-Ka-Itihas, by Gauri Shankar Hira-chand Ojha.
45. *P.U.H.S.J.*—Panjab University Historical Society Journal.
46. *Payne*—Akbar and the Jesuits, by C. H. Payne.
47. *Per.*—Persian.
48. *P.I.H.C.*—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.

49. *Per. T.*—Persian Text.
50. *Smith*—Vincent A. Smith.
51. *Surjan*—Surjan Charitra Mahakavya by Mahakavi Chandra Shekhar.
52. *T.A.*—Tabqat-i-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad Khan.
53. *Takmil*—Takmil Akbar Nama.
54. *Terry.*—A Voyage to East India by Edward Terry.
55. *T.G.*—Tarikh-i-Gujarat, by Mir Abu Turab.
56. *T.S.A.*—Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana of Ahmad Yadgar.
57. *Tulsidas*—Ramcharit Manas by Tulsidas.
58. *Tuzuk*—Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.
59. *T.J.*—Tuzuk-i-Jahangir of Jahangir.
60. *Virabhanudya*—Virabhanudya Kavya.
61. *Vir Vinod*—History of Mewar by Kaviraja Shyamal Das.

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#### A. Persian

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*. By Shaikh Abul Fazl. Published by the A.S.B. in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in 3 volumes. This deals primarily with "a code of Akbar's regulations in all departments and on all subjects, and includes, besides some extraneous matter, a valuable and minute statistical account of his empire, with historical and other notes." The volume III gives an account of Hindu philosophy and civilisation and also contains Akbar's Happy Sayings. To this is added a brief description of the ancestry and biography of Abul Fazl. The work is the principal authority on Akbar's institutions.

Volume I of the *Ain-i-Akbari* was translated into English by H. Blochmann with a scholarly introduction and notes, and published by the A.S.B., in 1873. The second edition by D. C. Phillott was published in the same series in 1939. The second volume was translated into English by H. S. Jarrett and published by the A.S.B., in 1891. Its second edition, revised and re-annotated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who identified most of the place-names, was published in 1949. The third volume, translated by Jarrett and published in 1896, was re-edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and published in 1948.

2. *Akbar Nama*. By Shaikh Abul Fazl. Edited by Abdur Rahim and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta in the Bibliotheca Indica Series,—volume I in 1877, volume II in 1881, and volume III in 1887. It is translated into English by Henry Beveridge and published by the A.S.B., in the same series in three volumes, 1897-1910. This work is based on official documents and other papers including the aide memoire which embodied the daily record, word by word, what Akbar said or did, and is, therefore, the most valuable source of information about Akbar's reign. Though the author was a great admirer of his hero and indulged

in fulsome flattery, yet he did not conceal material facts. Moreover, he not only recorded the day-to-day incidents, but also threw light on Akbar's motives in undertaking measures relating to administration, war, diplomacy, etc. The translation by H. Beveridge is faithful and correct, and the foot-notes given by him are valuable.

3. *Akbar Nama*. By Shaikh Alahadad Faizi Sarhindi. The author was attached to the service of Shaikh Farid Bukhari, chief bakhshi of Akbar, and wrote this book at his instance in the 36th year of the emperor's reign. It comes down to 1602. The author was present at the siege of Asirgarh and gives a valuable account of it. Extracts from this work are translated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. VI.
4. *Anfaul-i-Akbar*. By Muhammad Amin. It is a general history of the Muslim world and was written in 1626 (1036 A.H.). It gives a brief account of last years of Akbar's reign. Some extracts from the work are translated in E. D., volume VI, pp. 244-250.
5. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* (Per. Text lithographed at N. K. Press, Lucknow, 1904). Supposed to have been written by one Muhsin Fani about 1648, it deals with various religions, and is useful for religious discussions at Akbar's court and for an account of the Din-i-Ilahi.
6. *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* alias *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. By Mulla Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah. This work is divided into two volumes and describes the history of India from the earliest times, and also that of provincial kingdoms during the medieval age. Written in 1015 A.H. (1606-1607 A.D.) it comes down to the accession of Jahangir. Although it is a compilation based on the works of earlier writers, particularly Nizam-ud-din Ahmad's *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, yet it gives at places fresh information which is not found in other works. It is particularly valuable for a history of the sultanates of the Deccan of which the author was an eye witness. The work was lithographed for the first time at Bombay in 1832, and later on by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1905. My references are to the Lucknow edition. Lt. Col. John Briggs has translated it into English. He has, however, taken liberty with the text, and his translation is full of mistakes.
7. *Humayun Nama* (Per. Text). By Gulbadan Begum, Akbar's aunt. The work is edited and translated into

- English by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge. It was published by the R.A.S., London, in 1902. It is of great value as throwing light on Akbar's birth and early life and on the life in the Mughal *harem*.
8. *Imperial Farmans* (A.D., 1577 to A.D., 1805). Granted to the ancestors of His Holiness the Tilkait Maharaj. Edited and translated into English by K. M. Jhaveri, Bombay, 1928. Valuable for Akbar's patronage of Hindu religious men and institutions.
  9. *Insha-i-Abul Fazl* alias *Maktubat-i-Allami* (Per. Text). By Shaikh Abul Fazl. Published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1863. This work contains official despatches written by Abul Fazl, and is divided into two parts. The first part gives Akbar's letters to Abdullah Khan Uzbek of Turan, Shah Abbas of Persia, the ruler of Kashghar, the divines of Macca, to the Wiseman of Europe, Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh, Burhan-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar, and to his own nobles such as Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka, etc. The second part consists of Abul Fazl's letters to Akbar, Daniyal, Mirza Shahrukh, the Khan-i-Khanan, etc. It is a very valuable collection and throws fresh light on many incidents and matters which have been only very briefly alluded to in the Akbar Nama.
  10. *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri* (O.P.L., Patna Ms.), Vols. I-II. By Muhammad Sharif entitled Mutamid Khan. Vol. I begins with the history of Timur and ends with Akbar's second Gujarat campaign. The second volume ends with Akbar's death. It is a contemporary work and is invaluable, barring the details of Salim's rebellion.
  11. *Jaridata-i-Farman-i-Salatin-i-Dehli* (Muslim University, Aligarh Ms.). It contains letters of Akbar to the Khan-i-Khanan, Shahbaz Khan, Raja Ali Khan, etc. Some of these letters give instructions for the government of cities and countryside. The work is very useful.
  12. *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* (O.P.L., Patna Ms.). By Khwaja Kamghar Khan. Begins with Jahangir's birth and describes the prince's early career during Akbar's reign. It says that Salim was imprisoned for ten days and then released. Partial to Jahangir. Part II gives the history of Jahangir as king.
  13. *Maasir-i-Rahimi*. By Mullah Abdul Baqi Nahavandi. This work is published in three volumes by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. It is primarily an account of the life and activities of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. The second volume deals with the history of Akbar's reign, and though a compilation, is useful.

14. *Maasir-ul-Umra*. By Shah Nawaz Khan Aurangabadi. Written in 1743-1747, it is a history of the Mughal peerage in three volumes. It is a useful work and is published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.
15. *Mukhtasar* alias *Tarikh-i-Humayun*. By Bayazid Sultan. Published by the A.S.B. The author was Mir Saman of Humayun and served under Munim Khan during the early years of Akbar's reign. The book was written about 1591-1592, and is useful.
16. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*. By Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni in three volumes. Published by the A.S.B. in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. Volume I gives the history of the Sultans of Delhi and comes down to the end of Humayun's reign. Volume II deals with Akbar's reign upto 1595. Volume III gives an account of Muslim learned men and saints. The book is written from the orthodox Muslim point of view by a man who was a bigoted Sunni, had no sympathy with the progressive tendencies of the time and was highly critical of Akbar's religious views and policy. It is defective in dates and sometimes in the presentation of the sequence of the events. Nevertheless the work is of great value as depicting the other side of the picture (as delineated by the latitudinarian Abul Fazl). The first volume of this work is translated into English by Lt. Col. Ranking, volume II by W. H. Lowe, and volume III by Lt. Col. (afterwards Sir) Wolseley Haig. The translation of the first and second volumes is faulty and deserves revision, but that of the third volume is excellent.
17. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (O.P.L., Patna Ms.). By Yahia-bin-Abdul Latif. Gives an account of Babar, Humayun and Akbar. Written towards the end of Akbar's reign, and is useful.
18. *Ruqqat-i-Abul Fazl* (Per. Text). By Shaikh Abul Fazl. Published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow in April, 1913. This contains Abul Fazl's letters to Murad, Daniyal, Akbar, Mariam Makani, Salim, Akbar's queens and daughters, to Abul Fazl's own father, mother and brothers, and to several other notables. These letters are of great historical value, and throw a great deal of fresh light on the history of Akbar's reign.
19. *Takmil-i-Akbar Nama*. By Inayat-ullah. This is a continuation of Abul Fazl's Akbar Nama beginning with the 46th regnal year where Abul Fazl's work had stopped on account of his death, and comes down to the death of Akbar in October, 1605. The whole of this work in English translation is appended to volume III of Beveridge's translation of Akbar Nama.

20. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*. By Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Ahmad. This work too is divided into three volumes and is published by the A.S.B., in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. The second volume deals with Babar, Humayun and Akbar, and the third with the provincial kingdoms in the country. The author belonged to an important family which had held high posts under Babar and Humayun. He himself was Akbar's bakhshi and a highly polished courtier and very popular both with orthodox and liberal Musalmans of all grades of the society. He was liked by Abul Fazl and also by Abdul Qadir Badayuni. In fact the latter considered him to be one of his best friends. The work by such a polished courtier was bound to be a cautious dry chronicle with no comments of his own. Nevertheless it is of considerable importance, particularly with regard to the history of Gujarat during Akbar's reign. It comes down to the 39th year of the reign.

It is translated by B. De, I.C.S. (retd.). The translation is on the whole faithful. Some mistakes, however, have crept in here and there.

21. *Tarikh-i-Akbar Shahi* (Allahabad University, Persian Ms. No. 113). By Haji Muhammad Arif Qandhari. The original copy of this valuable work was discovered in the Rampur State Library. The Allahabad University had a copy transcribed at the instance of Prof. Rushbrook Williams in 1920. The author, who was an officer in the revenue department under Akbar's famous Wazir Muzaffar Khan Turbati, commenced the work in 1578 and completed it in 1580. It is a most valuable history of Akbar's reign and, although the author was, like Badayuni, an orthodox Musalman, yet he did not take much notice of Akbar's religious views. The work throws fresh light on Akbar's personality and administration. The author was partial to his patron Muzaffar Khan whose administration he discussed at length in eulogistic terms. The chronology of the reign is accurate and tallies with that given by Abul Fazl.
22. *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (A.S.B. Ms.). By Jaffar Beg and Asaf Khan. It is a history of one thousand years of Islam and was compiled at Akbar's orders about 1588-89 A.D. Volumes IV and V are useful.
23. *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* (A History of Gujarat). By Mir Abu Turab Wali. Edited with introduction and notes by Sir E. Denison Ross and published by the A.S.B., in 1909. The book is divided into two parts the first of which commences with the flight of Muhammad Zaman Mirza to the court of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and

- comes down to Alam Khan's prime-ministership. The second part commences with the murder of Sultan Mahmud in 1552 A.D. (961 A.H.) and ends with the capture of Ahmedabad by Muzaffar III in 1584 A.D. (992 A.H.). It is a first rate authority on matters relating to Gujarat during the reign of Akbar.
24. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi* (Udaipur Ms.). By Abdul Haq (father of Nurul Haq, author of *Zubadat-ut-Tawarikh*). This work was written in 1596-97 and is useful. Abdul Haq was an orthodox Muslim and opposed to Akbar's liberal policy. He was also the author of a series of letters subsequently collected and published under the title of 'Maktubat-i-Hazrat Abdul Haq'.
  25. *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Taimuria* (O.P.L., Patna Ms.). By an anonymous writer. It gives an account of Babar, Humayun and Akbar and comes down to the 22nd year of the latter's reign. Profusely illustrated.
  26. *Tarikh-i-Masumi* (Per. Text). By Mir Muhammad Masum. Edited by Dr. Daudpota, and published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1938. It is a history of Sindh and is valuable for an account of Akbar's relations with that province and its conquest and annexation.
  27. *Tarikh-Salatin-i-Afaghana* (Udaipur Persian Ms.). By Ahmad Yadgar. It is a history of the Lodi and Sur sultans of Delhi, but it also gives an account of the reigns of Babar, Humayun and Akbar and of the first few years of the reign of Jahangir.
  28. *Tazkirat-ul-Waqayat* (Udaipur Ms.). By Jauhar Aftabchi. It is a history of Humayun's reign by one who was his menial servant and attendant, and is a good source of information about Akbar's early life. Jauhar's dates are almost invariably wrong, and sometimes his description of events is confused. The book is translated into English by Charles Stewart ; but the translation is not very accurate.
  29. *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*. Ed. by B. N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal. Simla, 1967. It contains 17 documents, two of which are Akbar's *farmans*, granting free grant land to Udant Nath Jogi. The documents are of great value. See the author's review in *J. I. History*, 1967.
  30. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Per. Text lithographed at N. K. Press, Lucknow). It is Jahangir's autobiography for the first seventeen years written by himself and continued by Mutamid Khan thereafter. Useful for his early career, and Akbar's personality, character and administration. English translation by Rogers and Beveridge in 2 vols. is good.

31. *Waqaya or Halat-Asad Beg* (Muslim University Aligarh Ms.). This constitutes the memoirs of Asad Beg, an officer in Akbar's service, who was mostly employed in the Deccan and followed Abul Fazl on his fatal journey to Agra. It comes down to 1631-32 and is very useful for the last days and death of Akbar.
32. *Zabadat-ut-Tawarikh* (Udaipur Ms.). By Nur-ul-Haq. It is a history of Muslim rule in India from the time of Muhammad of Ghaur to the accession of Jahangir. The author was a contemporary of Akbar and consequently his work is of special value as a source of information for the reign of that emperor.

#### **B. Sanskrit**

1. *Akbar-Nama or Sarvadesvritant Samgrah* (Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad Ms.). By Mahesh Thakur. It is a rotographic copy of the India Office Library, London Ms. and is an abridged edition in Sanskrit of Abul Fazl's Akbar Nama. The Ms. is incomplete. It does not seem to have much independent value. Another rotographic copy of this work is preserved in the Panjab University Library, Lahore.
2. *Akbar Shahi Shringar Darpan*. By Padama Sundar. Published under the auspices of the Ganga Oriental Series by Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. Very useful.
3. *Bhanuchandra Charitra* (Sanskrit Ms.). By Siddhi Chandra Upadhyaya. It is a contemporary work and gives an account of the Jain missions to Akbar's court and is very useful. It has been edited by Mohan Lal Dalichand Desai and published by Singhi Jain Granth-mala.
4. *Hira Saubhagyam* (Sanskrit Ms.). By Deva Vimala. It gives an account of the visit of Jain monks to the court of Akbar. Although written in a flamboyant style, it is useful as it gives an account of the Jain customs and usages in the 16th century.
5. *Karam Chand Vansa Prabandha* (Anup Library, Bikaner, Sanskrit Ms.). By Jayasoma Upadhyaya. It is an eulogy on Karam Chand, who was a minister of the Bikaner State and later took up service under Akbar, and was instrumental in introducing Jain monks to Akbar's court. It notices some of the important incidents of Akbar's reign and his relations with Jain monks.
6. *Kriparas Kosh* (Sanskrit text). By Shanti Chandra, a disciple of Hira Vijaya Suri and a Jain monk at Akbar's court. It is a contemporary work and though a panegyric, it confirms Akbar's religious and other liberal policies, and is valuable. The work is published by Atmanand Jain Pustak Pracharak Mandal, Agra. Second ed., 1959.

7. *Surjan Charitra Mahakavyam*. By Mahakavi Chandra Shekhar. Edited by Dr. Chandra Dhar Sharma, B.H.U., Banaras, 1952. It is a panegyric in verse of the exploits of Surjan of Ranthambhor and his ancestors. Chapters XVI and XVII describe Surjan's heroic resistance against Akbar and chapter XVIII gives an account of the peace treaty. It is not a work of history and, though written by a contemporary poet, is of no value for the historian of the age.
8. *Amarkavya Vansavali* (Sajjan Vani Vilas Library, Udaipur Ms.). It was written by Ranchhor Bhatt during the reign of Maharana Raj Singh. It is a history of the ranas of Mewar, but it also gives Akbar's relations with that state.
9. *Virabhanudaya Kavyam* (Sanskrit text edited and translated by K.K. Lele and A.S. Upadhyaya, published by N.K. Press, Lucknow in 1938) of Madhava. It is a contemporary history of the Baghela kings of Bhatha (Rewa), and is useful for an account of the relations between the Baghelas and the Mughals.

**C. Hindi and Rajasthani**

1. *Ardh-Kathanak* (Hindi T., Ed. Nathu Ram Premi, 2nd ed., 1957 A.D.). Written in 1641 A.D., it is an autobiography of Banarsi Das, a businessman of Jaunpur who spent the later part of his life at Agra. It is a contemporary work and is very valuable for economic and social conditions of Northern India in the last two decades of the 16th century and the first forty years of the 17th century.
2. *Dalpat Vilas* (Anup Library, Bikaner Ms.). Written for Dalpat Singh of Bikaner. It is the only work associated with a Rajput chief of the reign of Akbar. Although it is very poor in dates and facts, yet it gives a valuable picture of Akbar and his activities, particularly his relations with Rajput noble families as seen by a high-placed Rajput chief.
3. *Jahangir Chandrika*. By Keshava Das. Though a contemporary work, it does not furnish new information about the early life of Jahangir.
4. *The Nainsi Khyat, Vols. I and II*. By Mohta Nainsi. Written during the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, it is a history of Rajasthan in general and of Jodhpur in particular. It gives some useful information about Jodhpur's relations with the Mughals. The work has been translated into Hindi by R. N. Duggar and published by the Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Banaras. A Marwari edition has recently been published at Jodhpur.
5. *Vir Singh-Deva Charitra*. By Keshava Das (Hindi Text). Published at Banaras. It is an eulogy in verse on Bir Singh Deva Bundela of Orchha, who was responsible

for murdering Abul Fazl at the instigation of Salim. This work gives in 88 printed pages an account of Bir Singh Deva and is on the whole faithful regarding Bir Singh's contest with the Mughals. But its account of the Abul Fazl episode is full of imaginary details. It was written about 1607 A.D.

#### **D. European**

1. *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*. By Father Anthony Monserrate, S. J. Latin text edited by Father H. Hosten and published in the Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, III, No. 9, 1914. It is translated into English from the original Latin by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerji. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1922. Very reliable.
2. *Travels of Ralph Fitch (1583-91) and John Mildenhall (1599-1606) in the Early Travels in India*. Edited by W. Foster, 1921. Valuable.

#### **Modern Works**

##### **(a) European Languages**

1. *Akbar*. By Laurence Binyon, 1932.
2. *Akbar* (Rulers of India Series). By G. B. Malleson, 1890.
3. *Akbar, Vols. I and II*. By J. M. Shelat. Bombay, 1959.
4. *Akbar the Great Mogul*. By V. A. Smith; 1917 (First Edition), 1919.
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