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# MAĀSIR-I-‘ĀLAMGIRI

A History of the Emperor Aurangzib-‘Ālamgir  
(reign 1658—1707 A.D.)

OF

SĀQI MUST‘AD KHAN

*Translated into English and annotated by*

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

### I

THE Emperor Akbar (reign 1556-1605 A.D.) set the example of having a detailed history of his reign written by official command. The result was the *Akbar-nāmah* or 'Book of Akbar' of *Abul Fazl* (completed by other hands after that author's death). Then came the Emperor Jahāngir, who dictated his own memoirs, known as the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, and therefore no official *Jahāngir-nāmah* had to be written about him. This book, however, combines the literary characteristics of an autobiography with those of an official history, or in other words, it gives the Emperor's own reflections and feelings as well as an objective record of the events of his reign. Indeed, in this reign, the literary type of the Mughal official histories was determined for the future, as was exemplified by the *Pādishāhnāmah* (Shāh Jahān), the *Ālamgir-nāmah* (of Aurangzib, completed by the *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*), the *Bahādur Shāh-nāmah* (Shāh Ālam I) and later attempts like the *Tārikh-i-Āhmad Shāhi* and the *Tārikh-i-Ālamgir Sāni*.

In all these works, or *Nāmahs* proper, the events are built upon a rigid skeleton of dates chronologically arranged; there is an accurate but tiresome assemblage of minute names of persons and places in the course of every month's narrative of occurrences, and the mechanical division of the book into a chapter for each regnal year is followed. Such a collection of facts, if it is to be correct, requires a basis of written official records, and this basis was supplied by the *waqāi'* or official reports of occurrences regularly sent from every province to the central Government of Delhi. By an order issued in the 24th year of his reign (1580), Akbar appointed in each province of his empire a uniform set of officers, one of whom was the *Waqāi'-navis* or Recorder of Events. (*Akbar-nāmah*, Bev. tr., iii. 413, also 559). Jahangir continued the system. As he writes, "It had been made a rule that the events of the subahs should be reported according to the boundaries of each, and news-writers from the Court had been appointed for this duty. This being the rule that my revered father had laid down, I also observe it, . . . and information is thus acquired about the world and its inhabitants." (*Tuzuk*, Roger's tr. i. 247, see also *Bahāristān-i-Ghayibi*, Borah's tr. i. 209.) But the system of appointing secret news-writers to the provinces was really borrowed by the Indian Mughals from the 'Abbasid Khālifas who had borrowed it from the ancient Irānian empire. The different classes of these news-reporters and their method of work are fully described in my book, *Mughal Administration*, ch. IV. sec. 6.

When this State intelligence-department was fully developed with the expansion of the Mughal Empire under Shah Jahān and Aurangzib, (1627-1707), a huge collection of reports, written on small slips of paper and transmitted to the capital in bamboo cylinders (*nalo*) at regular weekly or fortnightly intervals,—came to

be formed in the archives at the capital. Besides these there were the *ākhhbārāt-i-darbār-i-mu'ala*, or reports of everything that was done or said in public at the Court or camp where the Emperor was present in person. These were written daily,—sometimes twice a day, when (as usual) there were morning levees and evening Courts held by His Majesty. Such *ākhhbārāts* or manuscript news-letters were sent to the vassal princes, provincial governors, and generals out on campaign by their paid agents at the imperial Court, and differed only in their place of origin from the letters coming in a contrary direction, namely the letters of the Government spies in the *mufassil* which supplemented the more open reports of the official *waqāi'-navis*.

On this accumulated mass of accurate, detailed, and absolutely contemporary records of occurrences, some Persian author, known for his mastery of polished courtierly prose, was selected by the Emperor to work and write the *Nāmah* or official annals of his reign. The book was read to the Emperor and corrected under the royal direction before being passed for publication,—the term 'publication' here meant, the release of the book for being copied for presentation to the princes and high nobles. The Emperor, after one or two trial hearings, delegated the work of revision to his wazir.

These official annals, in addition to being full of nauseating flattery of the author's patron and his "sacred" offspring, were extremely verbose; for example the record of the first 20 years of Shah Jahan's reign occupies 1662 printed pages of 22 lines each (or 83·1 pages for a single year on the average); the history of the first decade of Aurangzib's reign covers 1107 pages of the same size (or 110·7 pages for one year). But their details and dates of incidents are valuable, though I have detected instances where the *Nāmah* has given a wrong date owing to the carelessness of the historian's clerks in making extracts from the *waqi'ā* in the imperial record office for being worked into his history. However, the survival of the *ākhhbārāt* for that particular day has enabled me to correct the wrong date entered in the *Nāmah*.

It must also be conceded that the author's flattery of the Emperor, though fulsome and offensive to modern taste, is more a defect of manner than one of fact. In these official histories, no fact has been really falsified, though credit is often given to the Emperor where he did not deserve it. We shall have more patience with the courtly author and derive greater profit from his book if we remember that he is only following the *façon de parler* prevalent in Asiatic courts. And why Asiatic only? The Stuart king of England was styled "His Gracious and Sacred Majesty" and Napoleon's *Moniteurs* were not models of factual veracity. Thus, with a *Nāmah* in our hands, we get the true basis for a narrative of the events of that monarch's reign and can then form our own judgment of the characters and political forces. Their chief defect—and one which disqualifies them from being called histories in the modern sense of the term, is their absolute silence about the economic and social aspects of the times, and what is known as "the condition of the people".

The history of the first ten years of Aurangzib's reign was written, under his orders, in the form of a full-sized *Nāmah*, by Mirzā Muhammad Kāzim, under the title of '*Ālamgir-nāmah*. (Printed in the Bibliotheca Indica series by the R.A.S. Bengal.) But after the author had completed the first decade, the Emperor forbade him to continue it any further. The reason for this prohibition is given by Sāqi Musta'd Khan as, "Because this monarch of the external and internal universe preferred laying the foundations of things esoteric to displaying things external", (p. 68 of the printed Persian text.) What really happened was that when (about 1670) the history of the tenth year was completed by Kāzim, Aurangzib curtailed his State expenditure and closed the costly department of prolix official annals. There is no authority for the popular legend that he forbade the writing of his history by any one else as a crime or that Khāfi Khan's history is so entitled because it was written in secret (*khufiā*) in fear of any such royal prohibition. The word *Khāfi* has nothing to do with *khufiā*; it really means 'a native of Khwāf',—a district of Khurāsān situated between Herāt and Nishābur (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ii. 866.)

Aurangzib's finances did not improve when the second decade of his reign ended in 1678. He now found himself too much involved with the tribes on the Afghan frontier and was soon afterwards too hard pressed by the Rajputs and the Marathas, to allow him to spend any thought or money on such non-utilitarian purposes as the compilation of a florid and verbose chronicle of his reign. And his circumstances did not improve up to the end of his life. Thus it happened that no *complete* history of his reign came to be officially composed while he lived.

After his death (in 1707), his last secretary and favourite disciple in State policy and religiosity, I'nāyetullah Khan Kashmiri, urged Sāqi Musta'd Khan to complete the history of such a model sovereign. In order to help him in this work, the State archives were thrown open to him and he made extracts of the necessary materials to be used in his book, which was completed in 1710 and entitled *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*. For the career of I'nāyetullah, see Irvine's *Later Mughals*, 1. 259 and 333; he rose to be Wazir under Muhammad Shah and was keen on reimposing the *jazia* on the Hindus, (*Ibid.* 1. 103-105).

Of our author Muhammad Sāqi Musta'd Khan's life, we know a few facts only, all supplied by him either in his own History of Aurangzib or in his preface to his patron Bakhtāwar Khan's book the *Mirāt-ul-Ālam*. He was brought up by Bakhtāwar Khan (a favourite officer of Aurangzib, whose character is noted in the *Maāsir*, (p. 253 of the printed text). In this Khan's establishment our author filled the offices of *munshi* and *diwān*. He assisted his patron, during the last seventeen years of his life, in the composition of the *Mirāt-ul-Ālam*, which Aurangzib authorised him after Bakhtāwar's death, to make public. He then passed into the imperial service with a *mansab*. He held under this Emperor in succession the posts of *mushrif* of the *jā-namāz-khānah*, *waqā'i-navis*

of Thursdays, *mushrif* of the Khawāses, and *munshi* of the *nazāral*, (text, pp. 253, 255, 407, 462.)

A gentleman of Patna City, named Babu Ram Bahadur (*alias* Chhotu Lal), has a Persian ms. named *Inshā-i-Matlub*, which contains letters written by Sāqi Musta'd Khan to his contemporaries, but it lacks pp. 9-48, and the paper is old and brittle.

The *Maāsir-i-'Ālamgiri* has been written in a very much abridged form compared with the *Nāmahs*; on an average it gives 11 pages to one year's narrative, against 110·7 pages for one year of the same reign in the *'Ālamgirnāmah*. But the loss is really one of the flowers of rhetoric rather than of facts. Consequently in many places it reads like a dry list of official postings and promotions as in our Government Gazettes. But its other portions give valuable, sometimes interesting information, especially the few that embody the author's personal observations and reflections on events, or character-sketches.

In this translation the text has been slightly condensed. Not a single fact or date has been omitted by me, but the prolix wording of some sentences has been replaced by a plain recital of their substance, and many trite reflections and moralisations (which are conventional in Persian historical literature at the beginning of a chapter or section) have been omitted altogether; also, verses and long laudatory phrases. But every *significant* epithet has been preserved. I have inserted the page numbers of the Persian original in the body of my translation, so that any curious reader can easily satisfy himself that this is a complete reproduction in English of the historical matter of the original text. All the Hijera dates have been converted to the Christian era according to Swami-Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*.

This translation was made by me many years ago for my own use, and it was laid aside when my *History of Aurangzib* in 5 volumes was completed. On the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal agreeing to print it and thus fill a long-standing gap of 51 years in the authentic sources of Mughal Indian history available in English, my translation was compared word for word with the original, revised, and in several places expanded by the addition of phrases and sentences from the original which had been omitted in my rather too utilitarian first version. Every word of the Persian text which I now consider to be significant and necessary for bringing out the author's tone and spirit, has been restored.

In this work of revision I have been very greatly helped by Professor Nirod Bhusan Roy, M.A., whom the Society has appointed to assist me in preparing the copy and seeing this (and several other books planned by the Society) through the press. He has gone through my translation with meticulous care and persistently drawn my attention to every point where he thought it better to modify my former wording or amplify a passage in order to make it correspond more closely to the original author's intentions. After discussion, I have in most cases accepted his view and made the change. After the press-copy had been thus prepared and a portion actually set in type, I was supplied, through the courtesy of Khan Sahib Sayyid

Hasan Askari, M.A. (Professor, Patna College), with an old manuscript of the Persian original, transcribed about 1750, from the Waqf Library of Diwān Nasir Ali (in Khujwān, Arrah district), which furnishes a much more correct text than the printed Bibliotheca Indica edition and fills up certain serious gaps in the latter not noticed when the text was printed. My English translation has been revised a second time by collating it with this newly found manuscript under Professor N. B. Roy's care, and a great improvement effected. Most of the emendations I have made in the printed Persian text from this manuscript and other authentic sources, are indicated by inserting in the body of the book the word *Cor* within brackets, without burdening the pages with a footnote on every variant reading. Many other obvious errors of the printed text also have been silently corrected. For this enhancement of the usefulness of the translation, the reader's gratitude is due to Professor Roy.

Owing to the present difficulty of printing, the translation has been printed with a bare minimum of the most necessary diacritical marks, namely ā, é, and the apostrophe for *'ain*. But it has been considered unnecessary to insert these marks in the case of words which occur most frequently, or continue the system to the end of the book after following the rules for several pages. Nor have I been able to maintain uniformity in the spelling of proper names throughout such a long book full of such names. This is particularly the case with regard to the final *h*.

The elaborate index has been prepared by Professor Nirod Bhusan Roy and ought to prove very helpful to the reader by reason of its accumulation of information and methodical arrangement. The glossary of obscure words has been added by me.

*Jadunath Sarkar*  
Oct. 1947

## ERRATA

|                                    |   |   |
|------------------------------------|---|---|
| P. 32, l. 9                        | for Sayyid  | read Sa'id  |
| „ 66, l. 10                        | „ „   | „ „   |
| „ 33, l. 26                        | „ Islām   | „ Āslam   |
| „ 37, l. 43                        | „ Khan and Mulla  | „ Khan, Mulla   |
| „ 39, l. 19                        | „ intetrviewed  | „ interviewed   |
| „ 49, l. 24                        | „ Saifullah   | „ Saifuddin [as on p. 84 of text]                                     |
| „ 67, l. 14-15                     | „ a silver sword-belt<br>and <i>baẓ</i>   | „ a sword-belt decorated with<br>silver filigree work [ <i>cor.</i> ] |
| „ 78, l. 27                        | „ jalau   | „ jilau   |
| „ 95, l. 7                         | „ Ali Tabār   | „ Ala Tabār   |
| „ 117, l. 20                       | „ Fāzil   | „ Fazāil [ <i>cor.</i> ]  |
| „ 158, l. 34                       | <i>after Qamruddin insert</i><br>Khan gained the title of Mukhtar Khan and Qamruddin, |   |
| „ 163, l. 28                       | for Nur-ul-bahar  | read Nur-ul-dahar   |
| „ 207, l. 39                       | „ Āsam  | „ Āsad  |
| „ 247, l. 34                       | „ langar  | „ langri  |
| „ 250, l. 39                       | „ <i>mashk</i> and <i>matwala</i>   | „ and <i>mashk</i>  |
| „ 278, l. 20                       | „ Islampur  | „ Islampuri   |
| „ 307, l. 6                        | „ Mirza   | „ Mirza Khan  |
| „ 319, cancel footnote and insert— |   |   |

*Māqabl āyāt-khāndan ayti bud* [Ms. reads *āst*] *manzil dar shān-i-ān barguzidah-i-ruzgār*. The word *manzil* means a halting-place in a journey, or the point at which the reading of a section of the *Qurān* stopped on a particular day. Does the variant adopted in the printed text mean that Shāh 'Ālam at first trained himself by duly chanting only one verse a day, and after he had memorized the whole he used to recite whole sections?

For *Sakkhar* read *Sagar*, on pp. 207, 208, 218, 220, and 294.

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## GLOSSARY

- Āghābāni—must not be mistaken for *Agha-Khani*, that title being a 19th century creation. I suggest *Aghā-bāshi*, chief of the Āghās or a certain class of Turkish Court officials or inferior officers up to the grade of captain. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, i. 180.
- Āhadi—'gentleman trooper', or soldier on a higher pay and status than the ordinary and serving directly under the Emperor. IR. 10, 43. BL. 250.
- Āima—land granted either rent-free or subject to a small quit-rent, to learned and religious persons of the Muslim faith or for religious and charitable uses in relation to Islam. WL. 13.
- Ākhṭa-begī—master of the horse. IR. 21.
- Anant—a bracelet of gold, usually in the form of a snake with its tail entering into its mouth, (named after the Anant snake on which Vishnu reclines.)
- Ārgajā—a perfume of a yellowish colour, compounded of several ingredients. FB. 30.
- Ārsi—a small mirror set on a thumb-ring. FB. 29.
- 'Arz-i-mukarrar—confirmation of an order (for appointment, promotion, etc.), by reporting the order to the Emperor a second time. IR. 13, 18.
- 'Asa—a long stick or mace, coated with silver, carried before a man of rank. WL. 34.
- 'Atr of fitna—scent or essence of the flower *fitna* (which see).
- Bahlia—infantry armed with muskets ; (mostly Rajputs of Oudh) see Crooke's *N. W. Provinces*, 212-213. WL. 46 calls them *Baheria*, "a clan of Rajputs in Jaunpur and Chunar".
- Bait-ul-māl—the public treasury into which payments on various accounts are made, and according to the sources from which they are derived, applicable to the support of different classes of persons ; an escheat property that falls to the Crown on failure of heirs goes into it. WL. 48.
- Bakāwal—head cook, superintendent of a kitchen. FB. 118.
- Bālāband—(1) turban-ornament, IR. 29. (2) a coat of a particular kind. FB. 91.
- Bālādast (khil'at)—(probably) a superior kind of *khil'at*.
- Barq-āndāz—Match-lockmen. IR. 20, 166.
- Bayutāt—short for 'diwan-i-bayutat', an officer who registered the property of deceased persons, in order to secure the payment of the dues of the State as well as to safeguard the property for the heirs. SK. 53.
- Bāz—(p. 67), a mistake for *tār*. See *Shamsher*.
- Bāzuband—a bracelet or an amulet worn on the arm. FB. 90.
- Beldār—a digger. IR. 173.
- Bid-i-mushk—musk-willow, celebrated for its fragrance. FB. 155.

- Chabutra of Kotwāl—platform in front of the police-prefect's office, where criminals or their severed heads were exposed to public view. SK. 66-71.
- Chādar—(1) a missile of spreading fire. IR. 131.
- Chakmaq—battle-axe, IR. 81.
- Chāmar—fly-whisk, usually made of the tail of the Yak cow.
- Chār-qab—"chār-qubā is a vest without sleeves. It covers only the breast and the back and reaches up to the shoulders. The front and the arms are covered with frills made of (small) pearls". (Letter c. 10 Dec. 1784 of the Maratha envoy in Delhi. *Dilliyethil M. Rajkaranen*, i. No. 133.)
- Chaugharā—a small box with four partitions for holding betel-leaf, nut, chunam, and spices, or for perfumes. FB. 336.
- Chauki-i-khās—the special watch or guard placed round the Emperor's person.
- Haft chauki—the patrol conducted by noblemen round the Emperor's residence, one on each day of the week. IR. 188. BL. 257.
- Chobdār—a mace-bearer, a servant whose business is to announce the arrival of company. FB. 332.
- Daftardār—Registrar, recorder. FB. 384.
- Dāgh—branding of horses at muster. IR. 46.
- Dām—a small coin of which 40 made a rupee. IR. 6.
- Dāna-kesh—a kind of embroidered neck-cloth, worn in cold weather over the cloak. FB. 372.
- Dangal—crowd, party.
- Dārogha—superintendent or chief of a department or office.
- Dār-ul-inshā—"writing office", Secretariat.
- Deorhi—literally a gate; the audience or office held in the front room or portico. FB. 410.
- Dhakhaki—*dhuk-dhuki*, an ornament worn on the breast. FB. 401.
- Dhup—a straight sword. Usually Deccani. IR. 76.
- ✓ Diwān—(1) Hall of Audience. (2) Revenue minister.
- Do-āspā—a trooper with two horses and receiving higher pay than the ordinary. IR. 23.
- Do-balgha—
- Do-dāmi—flowered muslin, the flowers worked with a needle. FB. 391.
- Doli—also *dola*, a sort of sedan in which women are carried, inferior to a palki. WL. 147.
- Do-patta—a kind of veil in which there are two breadths, a sheet for covering the body when sleeping. FB. 391.
- Do-shāla—two shawls sewn together; (a single shawl is never worn by Indians.) FB. 394.
- Ek-lari—an ornament (necklace) with one string only.
- Fath-pech—a mode of tying the turban. FR. 535. Probably here, a cloth for tying the beard (*fatha*).
- Fīlkhānah—Elephant stables, also the department of elephants.
- Fitna—a species of mimosa or acacia, bearing flowers and having a powerful scent. FB. 535.

- Fota—a cloth which they wrap round the middle when going to bathe. FB. 539.
- Gaj-mānik—see BL. 118. An excrescence resembling a large pearl on the forehead of a first-class elephant. FB. 609, "it is a popular idea among the Hindus that the finest gems (*mānik*) and pearls (*moti*) are to be found in the heads of elephants and serpents."
- Gajnal—a small gun, mounted on an elephant. IR. 135.
- Ghor-nal—a long musket or swivelgun fired from horse-back. IR. 111 has *Ghor-dahan*.
- Ghusal-khānah—literary "bath-room", but in Mughal history applied as the popular name to the Emperor's hall of private audience, because in the new palace of Agra fort built by Shah Jahan this hall occupied the site of Akbar's bath-room (now demolished). It is a fanciful theory of some European writers that the Mughal hall of private audience was so called because every Emperor gave audience to his select grandees when he was washing! This theory is due to the false analogy of Louis XIV of France giving audience to his nobles when he was rising from his bed (whence the term *levee*), and the nobles handed to His Majesty his soap and towel!!! It is true that Akbar allowed the highest officers to report *urgent* business to him when he was bathing. Abd. Hamid, *Padishah-namah*, IA. 148.
- Gulālbār—outer enclosure of the Emperor's own residential tents. IR. 199.
- Huqqa—hand-grenade. IR. 282.
- ✓ 'Ilaqa—lace-work (FB. 526) or pearls strung in the form of a border.  
Inā'm—literally, a present or gift; in this book, a cash gift over and above the pay of a person's mansab. BL. 271. Later (esp. in the Deccan) it came to mean a rent free grant of land. WL. 217-218.
- Jahalam—correctly *Jihlam*, the vizor of a helmet, (Steingass spells it as *chahlam*). IR. 68.
- Jilau-khānah—yard for the parade of led horses. BL. 142 n.
- Jamdhār*—a kind of dagger. IR. 86. EG. Plate I. no. 27.
- Jā-namāz-khānah—the Emperor's prayer-room the materials of which were kept in an anteroom of the palace; chapel.
- Jigha—an ornament of gold and jewels worn in the helmet. FB. 308. crest, *aigrette*.
- Jhumka—the bell-shaped pendant of an ear-ring. FB. 306.
- Kajāwah—a camel's saddle; a kind of camel's litter in which females travel. FB. 561.
- Kalgi—an ornament on the turban.
- Kamar-band—a girdle, a long piece of cloth girt round the loins. FB. 581.
- Kangan—also Kankan, an ornament worn on the wrists by women, bracelet. FB. 586.

- arah—a ring worn on the wrists, ankles etc. FB. 570.
- arori—collector of the Government dues of a certain area (originally estimated to yield one krór of dam or Rs. 2,50,000), or market place. SK. 86.
- hās—literally, special; superior kind of articles made for the Emperor's use, or articles already used by the Emperor.
- hatam-bandi-khānah—department of setting shells. FB. 356 gives a different meaning.
- hawās—a domestic servant, a page.
- hil'at—robe of honour conferred by the Emperor and other high persons.
- hil'at-khānah—department or factory for the manufacture and storing of robes of honour.
- hush-āspā—possessing excellent or superior horses.
- hush-manzil—an officer whose duty was to select good places for the Emperor's halt during his marches; he fixed the limits of each stage of the journey.
- Khutba—the royal titles as proclaimed from the pulpit before prayers.
- Kirkirāq-khānah—ward-robe of a peculiar kind. Full description in Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 193.
- Langri—(misspelt as *langar*), a large shallow metal pan used for kneading bread in or serving rice. FB. 650.
- Latkan—drops worn in the ear. FB. 642.
- Mahalla—parade of an officer's contingent of troops. IR. 46.
- Māhi marātib—*māhi o marātib*, or fish and standard, the highest insignia of distinction. IR. 31-33.
- Makri—an ornament for the ear resembling a spider's web.
- Mānik—gem.
- Mashk—leather-bag.
- Masnad—royal seat, usually a cushion or carpet raised above the floor.
- Mir Tuzuk—chief marshal, an officer whose duty it is to preserve order in a march or procession. FB. 722.
- Misl—station, department; here encampment.
- Mufti—assistant to the Qazi or judge; he consulted the old Arabic works on jurisprudence and stated the abstract law bearing on the case to the Qazi, who pronounced the sentence. SK. 27.
- Muttakā—cushion or couch. FB. 665.
- Muzāwwar—? probably, a retaining wall or buttress (*pushṭa*).
- Naqdi—troops paid in cash. IR. 14, 20.
- Naqqār-khānah—band-room.
- Nazar—present made to a superior.
- Nāzir—superintendent of an office, esp. the harem.
- Niāz—offering made usually in fulfilment of a vow, or by way of dedication or prayer.
- Nimchāh—A short sword. IR. 75, 112.
- Nisār—literally sacrifice; money waved round the head of the Emperor and then scattered among the people to ensure God's blessings for his health or victory.

- Pakhwāz—a kind of drum, a timbrel. FB. 201.  
 Pān—betel-leaf, chewed in India.  
 Parastār—(1) servant-girl, (2) concubine, sometimes also married wife.  
 Par-i-kaling—feather of the heron, used as a crest.  
 Parkhāna—  
 Parm-narm—  
 Peshdast—office assistant, head clerk (?)  
 Phul-katārā—a kind of dagger.  
 Prahar—one quarter of the day or night, 3 hours.  
 Punchhi—an ornament like a fish-tail.
- Qur—The Turkish standard of balls and the Yak cow's tail fixed on a rod and borne aloft; imperial insignia; the officer in charge of these was called the *Qur-begi*.
- Rahkala—wheeled field-piece. IR. 135, 139, 140.  
 Rāk—Shalwār—*Shalwār* means trousers. If *rāk* be taken as *rak* (or vein, *rag*), it would mean striped trousers.
- Sadr—civil judge (and royal almoner.) SK. 28.  
 Sadr-us-sadur—the chief Civil Judge and Almoner, i.e., supervisor of the religious endowments of the Emperors. SK. 29.  
 Sihra—a wreath worn on the head by a bridegroom and a bride at the marriage ceremony.  
 Sarbāri—a porter who carries loads on his head, but on p. 135, chief.  
 Sarf-i-khās—literally privy purse, the Emperor's private expenditure.  
 Sarpech—an ornament in front of a turban. FB. 464.  
 Sawār—(1) trooper, (2) additional men assigned to a mansabdar as a mark of distinction. IR. 5-8.  
 Sāz—trappings, harness, accoutrements, ornament.  
 Sehbandī—militia, or irregular troops enlisted for assisting in revenue collection.  
 Shāgird-*pešā*—menials.  
 Shamsher-band-o-baz (p. 67)—wrongly printed and translated. The correct words are *Shamsher-bandi-e-tār-i-nuqra*, "a sword-belt decorated with silver filigree work". IR. 75 is doubtful about it.  
 Shutar-nal—a long piece fired from the back of a camel.  
 Smarani—a small rosary or string of beads for prayer. FB. 477.  
 Sukh-sajyā-khānah—department or store of cosy beds for the Emperor.  
 Suzani—a kind of coverlet, sometimes ornamented with needle work.
- Tabar-dār—wood-cutter, a man plying an axe.  
 Takht-i-rawān—literally, portable throne, litter for the Emperor's riding.  
 Talāir—?  
 Tashiha—verification at muster. IR. 53.  
 Tan—short for *tankhwa*.  
 Tankhwā—cash payment of officers, usually by an order on a treasury as distinguished from *jagir* or payment by the assignment of the land-revenue of a marked place.  
 Tāqah—a single silken garment. Steingass, 806.

- Ḥān—one entire piece of cloth, sometimes 20 or 40 yards.
- Ḥop-khānah—the artillery department, which included all fire arms, not only cannon, but also muskets and rockets whether handled by horsemen or infantry.
- Ḥora—a bag containing a thousand rupees. FB. 250.
- Ḥuighun falcon—not mentioned among the various classes and breeds of falcons kept by Akbar. BL. 293-295.
- Ḥuman tugh—a kind of standard. IR. 31, 34.
- Wāla-shāhi—the household troops, or men raised and paid by the Emperor out of his privy purse. IR. 40.
- Zamburak—a long musket fired from a camel's back, and resting on a prong. IR. 135.
- Zarah—or *Zirih*, a kind of armour. IR. 66. Coat of chain mail, EG. 120.
- Zāt—the personal rank of a mansabdar, as distinct from his sawar or trooper rank. IR. 5.

*Note.*—Words commonly used in Muslim religious practices and Persian and Arabic literature are not included in this list. The following works will supply fuller information or authority on my translation :

*Abbreviations—*

- BL—Eng. trans. of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, by Blochmann (1873.)
- EG—Egerton's *Handbook of Indian Arms*, (London, 1880.)
- FB—Forbes's *Dictionary, Hindustani and English*, 2nd ed. (London, 1866.)
- IR—W. Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, (London, 1903.)
- SK.—Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 3rd ed. (1935.)
- WL—Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, (London, 1855.)

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