## Mid 18th c. Mughal Court and Nobles

 in the Khuda Bakhsh Manuscript of GuLSHAN-E-SADIQby<br>Dr. Chander Shekhar<br>Director, Lal Bahadur Shastri Centre for Indian Culture<br>Tashkent, Uzbekistan

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# Mid $18^{\text {th }}$ c. Mughal Court and Courtiers: Family of Shakir Khan s/o Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, in Gulshan e Sadiq ( KBL) or Hadiqu e Haziq (BL) 

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# Mid 18 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ c. Mughal Court and Courtiers: Family of Shakir Khan s/o Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, in Gulshan-e Sadiq (KBL) or Hadiqa e Haziq (BL) ${ }^{1}$ 

In Aurangzeb's period, writing unofficially imperial history was prohibited. But Bhimsen Kayasth of Aurangabad recorded majority of the events in his work, Nuskha-e-Dilgusha-e Bhimsen ${ }^{2}$. Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan criticized him in a reprimanding tone in his work for not obeying royal mandate yet copied (in today's term, plagiarize) all his recordings in his work, Muntakhab ul Labab. In 18th c. it seems all those who had access to royal archives or working in different official capacities outpour immensely all the records as they were waiting for an appropriate time to show their writing ability as well as how much important information they have with them.There one may find a large number of writings in Persian from macro or focused narrative on the family affiliations with the imperial house to the expanded projection of the contemporary events which one may call the shift in the power. The shift in the power was also multilayered. From earlier centralized to regional and with in the region too between various ethenic groups who will not even hesitate to provide military support to the outsiders like in the case of Nadir Shah

[^0]getting support from some nobles of Muhammad Shah or Abdul Qadir Rohillas's support to Ahmad Shah Abdali or Surajmal who remained on the fences looking for an appropriate time to side with one party or other. In many works, one may find the detail in accordance to Ilmul Ansab, the science of geneology. Perhaps, this genre became the source of recognition of loyalty to get the imperial jobs. Later, when the individual's merit become the dominant virtue for selection of Govt jobs, the phrase, Pidram Sultan BOOd didn't work. It remained only for boasting one's lineage.

Historical sources speak of variety of genres with in history writings of every period and same is with $18^{\text {th }}$ c. Every type of source is bound to be associated with a person and his lineage. Majority of the writers of the era of $18^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$ or even prior are found to be in diehard position to establish themselves to hail from a very literary, educated, elite noble and well known family of royal service provider. It seems this kind of endeavor of the writers/even the poets is for the self projection. Even those who were holding position of 250 mansab, like Asad Beg Qazvini ${ }^{3}$ may be noticed in their narration to project themselves as man of higher contactsrather direct contact with the emperor-. Their writings project them as they are sitting next to the emperor and they are constantly conversing with the emperor and noting down their words in their writing. This kind of narration creates constancy of interest in the modern reader of their text. These sway away the reader into

[^1]mesmerization some time. One hand, this their fanciful art of narration and other hand, tricks to outdo their other contemporary writers. It may be also noticed that rarely we come across any reference of the contemporary writer who too is writing on the same aspects in the lifetime of the writer. During the $18^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$. so many writers were engaged in writing on the history of the period but none refers to others. It was another kind of secretive competition of $18^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$ writers. There are some direct sources, like Ma'sir Ul Umra of Samsamuddaula Shanawaz Khan, added by Azad Bilgerami (his name may not be there) but there are works which provide biographical sketches with much elaborate detail.

Many encyclopedic works, Gazetteers, economic and cultural histories, city descriptions, sufic treatises were compiled in 18th c . which had no such precedents earlier sprang up in the said period. Hoards of roznamchas and waqai, which are still not even counted, are lying in various public and private collections. Among the encyclopedic works, Gulshan-e-Sadiq, also recorded as Hadiqa e Haziq-e Ganjina-e Sadiq, of Shakir Khan, one of the seven sons of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq. Shakir Khan, a suspended grandee of Muhammad Shah's court, though his father was among the elite nobles of the same court. His other brothers, like Inayat Khan Rasikh, based at Aziamabad, were also active in court services as well as literary works. Tarikh-e-Shakir Khani, provides in depth detail on the causes of denigrating Jagir dari system is usually not considered by modern historians as a worthy source. (The History of Muhammad Shah, by Zahiruddin Malik, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1977). To some extent, Prof. Malik is justified in his
observation, as the contents of Tarikh-e-Shakir Khani has no plan, or sequence of the events recorded in it. In fact, majority of the contents are excerpts from Gulshan e Sadiq. Yah, some lists of courtiers, eunuchs, men of minstrals which were part of Gulshan e sadiq and in the extant mss not available is repeated in TS and hence it became important for its inclusion as the extant copies don't have those folios.

Before I proceed to the main subject, it may be mentioned the off springs of this family are still alive though most of them may not be knowing the extant of this or other works of their family history. Amongst the known figures of recent past are Shad Azimabadi (1846-1927), a renowned poet of pre-Partitioned Hindostan who too did not mentioned this work in his family history, though living very near to Khuda Bakhsh library. He was given title of Khan Bahadur and a pension of Rs. One thousand by the Company Bahadur or British rulers of India. He wrote biography of his own and his ancestors which is published by Prof. Muslim in 1954, after keeping the hand written manuscript of Shad Azimbadi for 30 yrears with himself ${ }^{4}$. But Gulshan e sadiq or even Tarikh-e-Shakir Khani are not part of the biography of Shad Azimabadi. In his auto biography, Shad ki Kahani, Shad ki zabani: Khudnawish Hayat, he even did not enlist name of Shakir Khan. He mentions under the title Sayyed Sahib ke Nana ka Khandan (family tree of maternal grand father, from the family of Khwaja Abdulla Ansari, Nawwab Shamsuddaula Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, Nawwab

[^2]Inayat Khan Rasikh, Nawwab Izzat ullah,( Izzatulah was the son of Rasikh) Nawwab Jafar Ali Khan (son of Shakir Khan) and Nawwab Mahdi Ali Khan. Shakir Khan is not even named while his son's name is given.

However, let's talk about Gulshan e Sadiq of shakir Khan. It is an encyclopedic work on multifaceted subjects, also provide information on 18th c. court politics, nobility and its sharp decline, their greeds, chaotic scenes of imperial powers, Marahatas, Rohillas,Jats and Sikhs and weakening of Central forces and the causes of increasing decline of Mughal imperialism as well as outside looters. Shakir Khan, a noble of 1500 mansab also highlights working environment and procedures as well as copies of some official letters. Gulshan e Sadiq, or Hadiq -e Haziq, in its encyclopedic format also has enormous detail on Islamic History, history of Muslim rulers of minor central Asia, west Asia including Iran (from Pre-Islamic Iran), jurisprudence, rationale sciences, human development, sex (which is one of the essential subject in most of the encyclopedic works of this era and past) and treatments and medicinal advices, practices and obligations for Muslims of various religious obligations including Hajj. He explains all the must-be done practices to perform Hajj, He also explains how he sent his mother on Hajj. Apart from this,, he provides detail on oneirology or science of dreams in which he also regales his own dreams and the outcome of those seen and how to tackle the problems as advised in dreams. In the nine folios list of contents, he bifurcates these detail in chapter, entitled as Khyaban, section as Chaman and sub-section as Bariki. There were fourteen Khyaban in
the complete work as the list indicates but in the extant copies all is not available.

First about the Manuscripts of the said work, there are only two copies of this work: 1. Gulshan e Sadiq, Bankipor Collection, Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, Acc. No. 2022/2. 2. Hadiqa e Haziqe Ganjina-e Sadiq, India office Collection, BL, London, Acc No. 2227. Both the Mss. Have their own peculiarities while both are incomplete too but available folios have important information on various facets of variety of realms of knowledge as well as biographical sketch which also contain social factors and cultural vistas.

List of the contents of KB shows it has 722 folios and BL had 1023. BL copy has many more chapters in comparison to KB one. BL goes up to 1783 AD i.e. the events related to Shah Alam II ranging from his escape from Delhi towards Allahabad and efforts to gain Azimabad and later getting Delhi's throne with the help of Marathas. Shakir Khan mentions he was there and the account is an eyewitness. While KB does not have those detail. Similarly, the chapters copied in BL are not consistently in order according to the list of contents. For example, the detail on the family and ancestors is recorded in the tenth chapter but in BL it is available in VI the chapter. : عسودّه هاش مكرر نوشتر شد زان پس چو باغ خلد فرح بخش خاص و عام آمد: Or the description of Shakir khan, himself, which are in $6^{\text {th }}$ Khyaban in BL starts in $10^{\text {th }}$ Khyaban in BL from folio 567. More important in BL, there was a description of the state affairs from beginning of the reign of Firdaus Aramgah (Muhammad Shah) till $9^{\text {th }}$ RY of Shah Alam II i.e. $1187 \mathrm{AH} / 1773$ similarly as per the list
of contents in BL the last chapter was on Delhi and its destruction. Both these are not recorded in the list of contents of KB. It reflects that the BL copy was a revised and it was entitled with a new title. According to an introductory poem of this work in BL, Folio 9, it was completed in $1187 \mathrm{AH} / 1782 \mathrm{AD}$. He says:


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But the whole work was took the writer 14 years and he recorded even the year in the course of narrating events. Such inner evidences are taken up in this paper at the appropriate places.

Rarely, we come across such Mss which have so much exhaustive detail on the plan of the contents. Alas, a good portion of the work is missing from both the copies of the work. Both the copies have their peculiarities too. If BL has some additional information, KB has some information on Cultural facets and Hindwi poetics which BL does not have.

Both the Mss provide a picturesque of meetings of literary meets entitled as Sabha Vilas. The term is also used in Rajasthani (as quoted in the Urdu of Jaipur texts, catalogued by Vohra and Chander Mani, on the Manuscripts of City Palace collection, Jaipur). In $14^{\text {th }}$ Khyaban of Gulshan e Sadiq, it is stated that it had detail on Hindwi poetics, Dohre, Chopai (quatrains), Shringar Ras
(romantic poetry), riddles (PahleiyaN), (KB Fol 328 \& BL 550). Shakir Khan also testifies the interpretation of the dreams. ${ }^{5}$

It took the writer fourteen years to the writer to complete this work. Though, in his life time only two copies were prepared but he was hopeful that much copy will come out due to its detail on many known aspects. The writer is very specific about his time and particular to mention the time line in between the detail. He is also specific in highlight certain contemporary issues with mention of the year as he knew it will be a source of history one day. From the contents, it is evident that Shakir Khan had a good library in his reach. The variety of subjects and the detail of each show that he studied thoroughly each subject him. He not only narrates varies aspect of different histories but also intermittently gives his own observations too. Even during writing this work he wrote other works, like Tafsir e Qasemi and copied the same work too in this work. He was a poet of higher taste and quoted a large number of verses from renowned poets of Persian. He also often quotes Ayat of Holy Quran and many Sayings of the Prophet as well as other renowned Muslim scholars to establish his observations. There are also his own verses and one elegy on the demise of his grandfather and father. Lamenting the decline and fast changes took place in his life time are highlighted in the form of poetic expressions in between the narration. There is a note of Late Khuda Bakhsh Khan on KB copy dated $23^{\text {rd }}$ Ramzan ul Mubarak 1302 AH/Nov. 12, 1884.

[^3]BL does not have any such note by any renowned person but it is more important copy. There are corrections on the margin and brief one line note about the contents, and these may in the hand of Shakir Khan himself too. There is a portrait of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq in BL. There may be some archival documents too which may have his seal as he was governor of Delhi and holding position of Mir e Saman, in Red fort for a long time during Muhammad Shah period.

According to Shakir Khan, his ancestors migrated from greater Khurasan to Hirat during the time of onslaught of Changez Khan. Though no specific place is mentioned, but it seems the family was from Turani group as in the course of detail on Shakir Khan's unsuccessful efforts to get back the confiscated jagir and wealth of his father, he quoted regarding the behavior of the emperor: - فردوس آر امگاه هم از نور انيان صـاف دل نبود

The Emperor, Firdaus Aramgah> Muhammad Shah was not much favourable to the Turani nobility.

Similarly, he also criticized Khurasanis who imprisoned Shah Jahan saying: ونتيك خراسانيان نمكحرام صاحبقران ثانى را زندانى نمودند.

After some time, his ancestors moved towards Hindostan in the time of Balban. Khwaja Malik, his ancestor, settled in Panipat at the said time. It was the time when Bu Ali Shah Qalander was alive. Despite his popularity in the said city, there were his opponents too. According to Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi, (Akhbarul Akhiyar), he is the only Indian Sufi who had met

Maulana Rumi. At the court of Balban, the renowned Muhtasib, (head of the moral policing) Sunami (there were three renowned Sunamis in that time, according to Chahar Gulshan.) He was very strict in imposing Sharia and didn't allow Sufis to overrule any act against Sharia to give any dominance to Tariqat. In Panipat, a group of Afghans were against Bu Ali Shah Qalander, they reported anti-Sharia activities to the royal court. The said Muhtasib went once to Panipat. He became enraged to see the long beard, not in Islamic way. Bu Ali Shah Qalander was giving sermon at that time. There was a large gathering at that time. But Muhatasib went with a scissor to the stage, hold the beard of Bu Ali Shah Qalander and cut it with his scissor. There became a commotion in the assemblage on seeing this act of Muhatasib. Bu Ali Shah Qalander did not object on this act of Muhatasib. Rather he asked his followers not to react. He just said, today, Sharia dominated on Tariqat.

During early period of settlement of Khwaja Malik, same group approached Khwaja Malik with a Mahzar to sign and approve the murder of Bu Ali Shah Qalander for his anti Sharia activities. But Khwaja Malik refused to sign the Mahzar and reprimanded them for such a proposal. He told them that Bu Ali Shah is a Majzub and his activities should not be observed with a benign perspective. On learning this, Bu Ali Shah Qalander came to meet him and asked why he did not sign the Mahzar or the public resolution? Khwaja Malik replied," for you, conditions of Sharia are not mandatory as you are doing a great job for humanity. Bu Ali Shah Qalander blessed him and thereafter, their family, according to Shakir Khan remained under the divine protection of Bu Ali

Shah Qalander. They became part of all sufic activities of his Khanqah. Thus, the family, known as Khanwad-e-Ansariyan settled down at Panipat. Khwaja malik got a respectable position in the court of Balban. Shakir Khan also mentions that his family also attained the status of Sufis. Proundly he says: خلاصـ دودمان اهل الهو و رون

 انصار بظور آمد و از مخالفين كر جماعر كثير بودند بكخانر باقيست و اميد قويست فضل و دولت .كـ از دعاى آنجناب الـى هميشم اين قوم تا وقت معلوم بمر اتب علم و رسند
(BL fol. 87, Khyaban e Dahum, chaman charrum, bariki e awwal). His ancestor were men of letters and divine accomplishements, never had desire for worldly affairs and thus avoided to do any court services, for their divine accomplishments, they were assigned a Madad e Ma'sh grant. But in the time of his ancestor, Khwaja Abdus Salam better known as Sufi, due to differences among the family members, especially for his own brother Shekih Muthwwar's short vision and short tempredness, it was withdrawn by the royal court. It was only during the period of Shah Jahan, this was restrored with the help of Abdullah Mishkin Raqam Yusafi, father of Muhammad Saleh Kashfi who was teacher of Shah Jahan. Shakir Khan states that it was during the royal encampment at Panipat when Shah Jahan was going to Kashmir. When Yusafi sought an audience with the emperor and got the Madad e Ma'sh of his ancestor's was restored. Yousafi also recommended Khwaja Abdur Razaq, a young talented man at that time to be admitted in the royal services.




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Initially Khwaja Abdur Razaq, being not well trained in court services was first appointed on a daily allowance of 20 rupees. He was admitted int the Resala of Dara Shukoh. Later on the recommendation Prince Dara Shukoh. Khwaja Abdur Razaq was accorded Mansab of Chahar Bisti ${ }^{6}$ and from the said position he was earning Rs. 600 monthly.




[^4]
Shakir Khan repeatedly projected his family as an elite family amongst the contemporary nobility. In every narrative on the lineage of his family and description of the services of his grandees, one find some new information. Shakir Khan quotes one Ruqa (folio 99) highlighting through a dream of the great Sufi, how Khwja Abdur Razzaq first visited Ajmer to seek blessing on the Dargah of Hazrat Moinuddin chishti, his meeting here Shah Qasim and on his advice, he moved to Akbarabad to descend in a mosque situated in Mandi Nai. Shakir Khan links this visit, through a
dream, seen by his grandee Sufi, as was the case of Akbar and birth of Jahangir, with the blessing of Hz MOinuddin Chishti, in the same manner when Abdur Razzaq reached Akbarabad, he was received by Shaikh Abdur Rashid and he facilitated his introduction in the nobility. This Ruqa' also forcasts the rise and down fall of their family or the family to see the problems after Nadir Shah and other after 1151Ah but will survive. (It seems this is a creation of Shakir Khan's imagination). Shakir Khan mentioned that it was 1174 AH when he was recording these detail.

Interestingly, Shakir Khan's grandee Khwaja Abdur Razzak was married to Aziz Begum of Khwaja Kamaluddin Naqashbandi of Shah Jahan's period. Accroding to above Ruqa, it is also suggested how the names of the four sons should be adopted.

Speaking on the royal lineage of the mother of his father, he tells She-Aziz Beguma- was daughter of Mariam Begum, daughter of gulrukh begum, and her father was Khwaja Kamaluddin Naqashbandi, mansabdar of 700 and 200 Swar, rendering services in the time of Shah Jahan in Chakla Saronj and Bankawali. His father Khwaja Muhammad Ghos had arrived in Hindostan in the time of Jahangir. He was assigned 200 rupees perday for royal services. Khwaja Abdur Rashid was Mir Bakhshi holding mansab of 3000 and 3000 swar, Gulrukh Begum, grand mother of Aziz Begum was sister of Khwaja Mehmood Khane Dauran, a noble hodling mansab of 7000/-from Akbar's period Subedari of Malwa and thereafter of Orrisa. He was son of Khane dauran Sabir Lang son of Khwaja Hisari of Akbar's court holding mansab of 4000. Shakir Khan again emphatically mentioned that In their marriage,
all the elite shahjahani nobles had attended the said wedding and Aziz Begum was bestowed with rich dowry of approximately 7080 K excluding precious jewelry, carpets, clothes of exclusive quality, . Due to this wedlock, he got a jagir in Panipat. It was more due to Abdullah Mishkin Raqam that Shaikh Abdur Razzaq got Amarat Hasab e Dilkhah, position of an Amir as he desired. He also took part in the compaigns of Deccan. As his elderst sone Khwaja Abdullah Diler Dil Khan born in Deccan while his lutfullah Khan in Sarason in Bihar and Khwaja Shukrullah Sherafgan and Khwaja Abdul Khaliq Babarafgan born in Panipat.

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It may be noticed from the text of Gulshan e Sadiq, (quoted in above para), that Khwaja Abdur Razaq who was from Risala e Dara shukoh remained loyal to the ill-fated prince. Shakir Khan criticizes the Khurasanis for imprisoning Shah Jahan and after Sahahdat of Dara Shukoh, left the royal services and setteled in Shah Jahanabad near Katral Mewa Mal, adjacent to the Haveli of Yar Khan. His elderst son, Diler Dil Khan who had acquired knowledge in poetry, prose and Insha' was encouraged to take up service at the court of Jahandar Shah at Lahore as he has been assigned five subas's governorship by Bahadur Shah Khuld Manzil. On the recommendation of Syed Husian Ali Khan Baraha, brother of Abdullah Qutubulmulk Farrukh Siyari, he was assigned a mansab of Chahar Bistegi initially. While Lutfullah Khan remained in the service of his father and continued his education and training to become a courtier. As he records:

Shakir Khan provides minute detail on the matrimonial alliances of his family members. Apperently, recording of these interwoven detail of various families seems to project the interfamily relations between the elite class of later $17-18^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$ nobility. He even provides detail on the dowry and gifts of moveable and immovable wealth bestowed on this occasion. Today's researches on the flow of Material culture in early modern India can sift out ample data from the detail provided by shakir khan.

He mentions that his grand father Abur Razzak, after dissociating himself from the royal services (which must be towards to the end of Aurangzeb's reign) settled down in Shah Jahanbad, allowed his sons to join royal services. After some time his first wife from whom three sons -Moinul mulk, Lutfullah Khan and Shukrullah Khan had survived passed away and as well as one daughter. But after some time wife of his brother died and their children became orphan. Abdur Razzaq consulted about it with Lutfullah Khan who agreed to release all their inherited property in the name of Fakhrunnisa Begum Naimatullahi, mother of Babar Afgan Khan, sister of Mahru Begum, wife of Late Nawwab Sher Afgan Khan. He even signed the Ibra Nama (Property release letter) in the name of the said lady and her offspring. Lutfullah prepared
the draft and got it approved from his father. He even signed it on behalf of his brothers and sealed it. (This is strange as by that time Lutfullah has not got any official position so how he got his seal with what designation?). Obdserving this kind of sacrifice in favour of his relatives, Khwaja Abdur Razzaq became happy and blessed him immensely. But co-brother of Khwaja Abdur Razzaq, Muhammad Asiq made hue and cry on this decision and asked for equal share for the mother of Inayat Khan Rasikh and other children. Lutfullah shifted to the mosqe, namely mosque of Khwaja Malik Ali. Many people, especially the passer byes who used to halt at this mosque presumed that he has lost senses due to the demise of his sister and wife and also due to his brother's absence. However, Lutfullah was in wait for an appropriate opportunity to move out in search of a job.His grand father passed away in the absence of Lutfullah and Diler Dil Khan who were away on their royal duties. Shakir khan was at panipat. He wrote an elegy on his death which is included in this work.








Shakir Khan highlights various facets of his father's position right from joining the services (BL, from folio 97 b till 109, a chapter starts: بيان احو ال خير مآل حضرت جنّت آر امحاه والد مفور مهبرور از ابتداى نوكرى تالغايت وديعت حيات. continuously speak about his father's position, his role in many affairs, family disputes, buildings of their family in panipat, including their estimated value, role of his brothers in post lutfullah period, especially his step brother Inayat khan rasikh and his maternal grandfather Muhammad Ashiq etc. all these are worth reading.). But the information about Lutfullah Khan is scattered over in different chapters. In different contexts, Shakir Khan starts talking about him passaionately. On the beginning of his court career, he explains that his grand father who allowed his elder son to join royal services at Lahore and kept back Lutfullah Khan with him for educating and training or for his own care. It seems it was more for his own care as Shakir explains that one day, Lutfullah Khan without informing his father, prepared a Bheli ${ }^{7}$ uploaded requisite luggeage for travelling and a horse for himself, taking alongwith him his help Muhammad Aqil Koka who was his -Chelanamely as a Rafiq and now known as Dost Mohammad, a noble himself, set forth to move to Deccan to join the services of Khuld Makan Almgir. But after covering 12 manzil they lost the way. In classical narrative style, Shakir Khan regales that they met a Darvesh who predicted his bright future in royal service. The Dervesh guided them till good distance and then he suddently disappeared. He also stayed for a short time at the Dargah of

[^5]Shaikh Abdul Latif - az Kmbal poshan of Shahjahanabad like Shah Hussain Dervesh and then moved ahead. Finally he joined the court of Alamgir on the recommendation of Ilahi Bakhsh Khan under the Risala of Nawwab Tarbiat Khan, Mir Aatish who was also holding Subedari of Deccan. Shakir Khan elaborates the entry of Lutfullah Khan as a full interview is held in the court of Madarul Miham and Lutfullah Khan describes his family history. His explaination was much appreciated and found him a very suitable for higher and important tasks, according to Shakir Khan (BL, Fol 104-105. Initally, he was given a job in lieu of Rs. 300 as expenditure grant. He was issued a Parwana for unhindered entry and exit at every place including hunting places. But at the same time, an associate of him, Aaqil koka floated a rumor that Lutfullah Khan wants to get his daughter married to his master. It enrazed the wife of the master. Lutfullah was summoned in the inner apartment for explaination. But he could not erase the impact of rumours which his associate had caused to make. Finally, Lutfullah khan decided to go back to Hindostan. He found place in group of cannon drivers whose head was Hazari (Singh, a Hindu). In his company the passage was covered fast. On reaching Rajputana, in the domain of Raja Ajit Singh (of Jodhpur), Hazari asked Lutfullah for a Siasta in a carvan sera alongwith his luggage and men, as من اشنان كرده اين مقام سيتا جيو است و پوجـ نموده خواهم آمد...انجا بزى را طلبداشتث مويها او را دور كرده
 قبول سيتا جيو شود آن را حو الـ’ بر همنان خادم نمايد as it is a place known for Sita ji - he went for his special puja, got a goat and severed its hairs, decorated with Sandal and put flowers
around its neck and waited near the temple to wait for his turn. Either he should wait or given it to Brahamns helps. (see the flow of language with insertion of Hindwi words. I will talk about usage of the language later) The narrative about the movement of the carvan, halting at different places, happening of mischievous events or uploading or dropping of certain co passanger on the way, reflect the medieval period culture of transportation. It again reminds me Asad Beg Qazvini's two travels to Bijapur. However, Lutfullah Khan reached Akbarabad. Got an assignment with the help of Shaikh Abdur Rashid and also got into wedlock with Aziz Begum.
(BL Folios 130-135)Shakir Khan narrates some events of the war of succession. He mentions Lutfullah Khan Sadiq was with the prince Kam Bakhsh who got badly injured in the said battle. His body remained astrayed for more than six months in the encampment and finally it was brought to Delhi and buried in Humayoun tomb. (Now days, some people are making claims for various findings including on the grave of Dara Shukoh) During the time of Farrukhsiyar, he became favourite of Syed Abdullah Khan Barha Qutubulmulk. He made him his deputy and assigned the Khedmat e Tan and Khalsa both. He continued on this position for two-three years. Shakir Khan states that since the Abdullah brothers, alongwith other nobility of their group used to discuss matters against the emperor and Lutfullah did not like those conspiracies, and Ratan Chand Diwan and Mukhtar e Sarkar conveyed feelings of Sadiq Khan to Syed brothers. Shakir Khan also adds that Roshan ud Daula, actually Khwaja Muzaffar was always present in the court and got honoured in the court of FS and
got elevated due to proximity with Syed Qutbul Mulk. He was given title of Zafar Khan. He became an important noble during the reign of MS. He was much popular among Sufis, Dervesh, poor people and men of knowledge for his generosity that he became popular as Hatim of his period. (Fol 138, BL/2397)Roshanud Daula too had matrimonial alliance with the family of Shakir Khan. He got his daughter married to a syed Band Ali Khan who later got title of Sher Afgan Khan. Similarly, he got engaged his son, Anwar Khan, from the senior most wife, with my niece. Anwar Khan was also the brother of the wife of Bande Ali Khan. Marriage of his son was celebrated with all pomp and show. He gave one lac rupees in the dowary to him.in the said royal marriage of his daughter, he spent two lac rupees on the entertainment of the guests.My father too spent five lac rupees in the marriage of my niece, namely Jani Begum. Hence, a strong bond of relationship was made between the two families. On his recommendation, my father was accorded a robe of honor of seven pieces, mansab of 7000 and 7000 horses and the title of Shamsud Daula Lutf Ullah Khan Bahadur Sadiq Niknam Muthwar Jang with usage of Mahi o maratib and trumpet, permission to move in a Palki decorated with fringe (Jhalar) and Sube dari of Multan. He remained for some time in the said Suba and then also got Sube dari of Kabul and title of Umadatul Mulk. Shakir khan explains the title Niknam: once there was lesser money in the royal exchequer and there was no funds to pay the salary of the soldiers and others. When lutfullah arranged the funds, some officers tried to defame him. Matter was reported to MS, he said, you are a Nik nam for me and it will remain till infinite time (azal)
and was honoured with a Yaqut studded ring. Thereafter, LK did not agree to go to Kabul and in the $6^{\text {th }}$ ry of MS became Mir e Saman and Diwan e Bayutat (House hold expenditure. Shakir Khan states this was the position in the time of Jahangir, Asaf Khan held and in this time of my exalted father. He continues to provide detail on other important Mir e Saman and Buytat under various other emperors. According to Shakir Khan, the emperor told Sadiq Khan I know only how to spend money, it is your duty to arrange and keep money ready in the royal exchequer. He was also given signate studded with a precious stone having inscribed
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The above elevations had also made some contemporary nobility jealous of LK Sadiq also. The emperor had full trust on him and other one Sa'dud Din Khan Mir e Aatish. At the time of arrival of Nadir Shah's ambassadors too, my father advised to pay of a crore rupee to avoid any major trouble. But he was not heard but mocked at. Every one, according to Shakir Khan, was playing his side to get a position. Burhanul Mulk was ahead among them and even after debacle of Nadir Shah, Burhanul Mulk became Deputy of the Sultanat. But his luck was time limited and he died. The emperor set forth for the battle ground. First he had a halt at Shalamar bagh on $27^{\text {th }}$ Shawwal 1151 Ah, $21^{\text {st }}$ RY. Everyone came to convey his good wishes for the victory in the battle. Emperor too accepted with all humbleness by taking off his turban at hand. This kind of gesture of the emperor made a specific impact on the public. Soon the royal standards reached Karnal. There, the emperor summoned LKS and asked to take charge of Karkhanas at
the capital. He was given the Subedari of Darul Khelafe (Shah Jahanabad) from the very day. Hence, after some time, LKS set forth for Dehli alongwith Jawahar Khan. A unit of 300-400 soldiers from Mir Samani whose Bakhsi ship was with me as there was a cash of Rs. Twently thousand also. Along with me my brother Inayat Khan Rasikh was also travelling. With us, Mohammad Khan Turkman, an Ilchi of Nadir Shah, a noble from Safavid court. He was much impressed with Shakir Khan as he writes about his conversation with his father.






In the time of Farrukh SiyarTo strengthen his claim about the higer position Lutfullah Khan had in the royal services, Shakir Khan copies some of the royal edicts in this regard. - Shakir Khan elaborates the detail on the role and duties of his father in the court of Muhammad Shah. He emphatically projects the prime important offices his father was holding and as a very responsible officer was discharging his duties with having personal greed. He states that his father Lutfullah Khan Sadiq didn't save a single penny from his Jagir and constructed buildings for public use. He quoted Bahadur Shah Alam I, "Sadiq have you saved some money for thy or spent whole wealth on the construction on the buildings for public welfare?, Among those jagirs which were under his control were
parts of Lahore, Saharnpur, Hisar, and the buildings, he constructed were a Madrasa in Delhi, a Khanqah, gardens and wells on the main highway for passerbys. He was very well ettiquated and disciplined person. No one had seen him giggling or laughing in the meetings. He started his professional life at the age of 12 and remained fully committed to his profession till his last breath and I too inherited the same values from him.

A copy of Arzi of Amirul Umra Asad Khan which was submitted after ascension of Khuld Manzil Bahadur Shah Moazzam Shah which states that Lutfullah Khan Sadiq was holding the position of Mir Bakhshi and Wakil of Badshah Zadeh Wala Gohar Mohammad Khujasta Akhtar Jahan Shah ... He also explains the sitting position in the office of Wazir and the place of Lutfullah Khan Mir Bakhshi to highlight the high position in the royal court he was holding. He says: for his proximity to the seat of Yaminud Daula he sit just at he distance of two yards, a place where all matters pertaining to appointment or suspension of the Jagirdars were decided. These decisions, taken by Yaminud Daula in consultations with other officers - تن بخشى و صوبر دارى و فوجدارى يا evn they were sitting at the distance of four yards from the seat of Yaminud Daula, were sealed and signed by Lutfullah and then carried to the court of his majesty for the approval.





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One Wasiat Nama written in favour Lutfullah Khan Sadiq by Prince Khujasta Akhatar, later Muhammad Shah, highlights the exalted character of him. It has been quoted by Inayat Khan Rasikh also in his Ruqaat. (BL Ms.)

In the KB copy of Gulshan e sadiq, Shakir Khan states that he is recording the detail on his father and attributing him. He names it as memoirs for Lutfullah Khan Sadiq entitling Hadiqa e Haziq Ganjina e Sadiq, a set of fruitful and useful discourses based on wisdom. He conferes title Jannat Aramgah on his father.

Interestingly, he equals his work as Tarikh-e-Rahimi (of Nihwandi) written on the deeds of Abdur Rahim Khan-e Khanan. He speaks of his birth in 1077 AH in the time of Khuld Makan Alamgir and demise in 1165 Ah at the age of 88 and an elegy on his death as quoted here.

Another important detail on the role of Lutfullah Khan during the reign of Muhammad Shah we find in Gulshan e Sadiq during the even of Nadir Shah. Shakir Khan was present with his father in the battle ground. Rfc

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Shakir Khan states he was Najibut tarafaiin i.e. born in the family of high elites from both the sides. He sketches a detail of his mother's lineage too. His great grand mother Aziz Begum, daughter of Khwaja Kalamuddin Naqashbandi. He was a jagirdar of 700 mansab ( with 200 swar) having chakla of Saronj and Bakawali under his control and his father Khwaja Ghos, who came to Hindostan in the time of Jahangir was assigned 200 rupees per day. Similarly, Khane Dauran, brother of her, a mansabdar of 7000 was
the Subedar of Malwa. There after, Shakir Khan also provide a list of relations (given here under) about whom he knew till the writing of these detail in 1174AH/. These are: Khwaja Abdulla, entitled Diler Khan Moinuddaula Nasir Jang, Subedar of Lahore, Thata, Kashmir also holding office of Baytut of the imperial court. He was honored with a carriage having embroidery as well as standard engraved with the royal ensignia known as Mahi o Maratib. After his death, two lac rupees in cash and other significant valuables were assessed from his possession ${ }^{8}$. He held the above position till $19^{\text {th }}$ RY of Muhammad Shah. He died in Lahore. Unfortunaely, his son Dilwar Dilkhan died prior to him. It was a natural calamity that one night when he and his wife, Fazulnisa Begum, my own elder sister, were sleeping. Suddenly, due to severe wind whirle and rain, the ceiling of their house came crushed down and both of them buried under the debris. It was the night when my another real sister Jani Begum born and a man had gone to invite them to join the merriment. Younger to him was Hayatullah born to other wife (of Lutfullah Khan) and next the fourth one, was a spoiled one, Himyatullah Khan, cousine of my mother. He ruined his career himself. Left for Murshidabad, his jagir, without imperial permission. His jagir was confiscated and was given to Lutfali Khan, Diwan of Javed Khan. He finally died of cholera in the $4^{\text {th }}$ RY of Alamgir II. Fifth was Fathullah Khan, an Ummu awalad, got job in Kashmir for three hundered rupees per

[^6]month, he had three daughters. One of them was married of to Inayat Khan Rasikh, She was poisoned by the Kanizs of the house. She left behind one sone, izzatullah Khan, second daughter was married to Ibrahim khan who is still alive. She has two daughters. Third daughter was came into wedlock of late Jamilluddin Khan and has one daughter from him. Dilawar Dil Khan had no issue. Himmat Diler Khan had one son Ghulam Husain Khan. He too had a son and two daughters who are nephews to my co-brother Khwaja Baqir. My father, was three years younger to him.but due to his exalted position, he became respondant to every one. His eldest son Inayat Khan Rasikh ${ }^{9}$ was aboveall of us. He was unparallel in the art of drafting (Insha), historian, poet of Hindwi. (fol.90b). Here onwards, Shakir starts giving description of the professional excellence as well as their facial and other features of body description of all of his siblings. These include, Rasikh and his two sons Izzatullah Khan (he too had three sons and one daughter) and Hafizullah, two daughters-elder one is married to his own son 46 years old Muhammad Sarfaraz Khan, second brother Hidayatullah Khan who also had six sons and one daughter and two grand children, two sisters Fazulunisa Beguam and Padshah Begum, and Ibrahim Khan who is Hafiz e Quran but also romantic one (all these siblings were from one mother). Fakher Makin ${ }^{10}$, my elder brother

[^7]was a man of multifaceted personality. He was one and half year elder to me. He has good knowledge of music and composes Khyal, Tappa and Tarana. He also composes poetry. Some verses of him-


He has one son namely Muhammad Mafakher Iftekhar Khan. Muhammad Mafakhir has two sons and one daughter. I had one son Jamiluddin who passed away in young age in Ind RY of Ahmad Shah (1748-1754) i.e. 1750. Third younger brother was Nasiruddin Khan who has two sons and three daughters. Fakhar Makin, elder to Shakir Khan, and younger Nasiruddin and sister Jani Begum were from one wife of Lutfullah Khan. All these were known to be grand children of Sa'duddin Khan bin Kwaja Muhammad Nasir, descendents of Khwaja Abul Fateh while Inayat Khan, Hidyatullah Khan, Fazlunnisa Begum, Padshah Begum are from Qazi Muhammad Ashiq, a descendent of Khwaja Abdullah. Shakir khan continues the narrative on the family tree as Ilmul Ansab. He also vividly describes the sharing of the property among all the siblings as well as the material support provided to each sibling by Shukrullah alias Izzat ud Daula Sher Afghan Khan. He states there are 174 personages in our family. Many of them of next generation again got important positions. Izzatud Daulan i.e.

[^8]Shurkullah Khan, became known as Izzatud Daula Sher Afgan Khan Safdar Jung, he became Subedar of Malwa and Multan and assignement of Kovil. He as assigned Kovil etc 72 parganans. He remained Khan-e Saman for twelve years. He distributed his wealth to all his offsprings. Five lac rupeeds
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Similarly, Lutfullah Khan too married thrice. Inayat Khan Rasikh, his elder brother and a sister were from first wife. Shakir khan states when his father made himself free of all his assests by releasing the immovable and moveable property - which he inherited from his ancestors - in the name of his mother, Khwaja Mohammad Ashiq, maternal grand father of Inayat khan who was at panipat came to know about this transfer of property became angry and asked my father about the fater of his grand children. My father convinced him that we are together co brothers and with the divine help every one will get its due share. He should wait for the better days.

Shakir Khan narrates in detail on his birth in the course of detail of the Subject of development of fetus in womb and birth of a healthy child. He regales his birth in $7^{\text {th }}$ sub section of the IInd
section of the $1^{\text {st }}$ Chapter (Khyaban). He says emphatically that he born after complete nine months.(because a child born in $8^{\text {th }}$ months or less than 9 months either he dies or survives with some deformity, as per popular belief) on $27^{\text {th }}$ of the month of Safar, $1127 \mathrm{AH} / 4^{\text {th }}$ March, 1715AD. He also states that present work was initiated in 1174 AH. With chronogram Shakir be Khuda. Again, he speaks of his birth that his birth place is Panipat. He explains of his birth:

When he became five years old, he was shifted to the Haveli of his father at Shahjahanabad and the education at early stage. His early education was initiated by his elder uncle, Moinud Daula Diler Dil Khan Bahadur Nasir Jung. (It may be noted that he writes names of his relatives with their titles, may be to impress the reader). He was gifted a special inkpot and paper. He was taught to write Alif by first putting a dot and then drawing it to down words to shape it Alif. Hafiz Rustam was his first teacher

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He provides full detail of his physique or body description (not only facial features):

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Apart from these, his own personality based features, Shakir Khan provides detail on the events related to Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali as well as the post Muhammad Shah's court history.

In the BL copy from 442), Shakir Khan sketches his daily schedule. He used to practice arrow throwing, and then visit to the Sufi Centers. I had no interest in the historical texts as these were full of absurd verbs. (He may be referring to Naimat Khan-e Aali's Waqai). The visit to the Sufi centers will lead to the Mahfil e Rag or rang. It concludes with the beating of night drums. Thereafter, I used to have my night meal. In morning again, I used to keep myself busy in writing. Now I will explain what happened in post death of Lutfullah Khan. First I was taken care by my elder brother (Fakhar Makin, not Rasikh). He had elaborated paraphernalia of Khadme o Hasmhe i.e. servants and helps, Tora, Naqqare and a Chapar Khat (terms used by Shakir), all royal insignias of lower Mansabdars. He was treating me like an infant who was given me Ghutti ( a word he used in the text and in vogue even today for a
herbs based medicine given to an infant for clearing meconium and figurative a perspective which is instilled from the time of infancy). He never allowed us (two other brothers and a sister-from one mother) as a burden on him. I had a great desire to go for Hajj after marriage of my son Nasir Khan. But it just remained a desire and always painful for not keeping my words. (As a habit, again Shakir Khan deviates from his subject and moves to Pilgrimage account of his mother). (He adds) however, there was little relief too as we arranged hajj of my mother instead of my father. Five thound rupees were arranged for her travel for Hajj. She paid visit both the holy cities and other holy places. It took two years to come back after pilgrimage. She brought variety of gifts for every one. These include Tiryaq- Farooq (Treacle against poison), Khorma (dates), Aabe Zamzam, Jaroob e Khane Ka’ba (broom), Kattan (cotton), Aba and Khak e shefa etc. But the travel costed her life. She expired soon after returning from Hajj. My father could not bear this loss and he also passed away after six months of her demise. Shakir Khan narrates a dream in which he had a meeting with her mother who showers all compassion and love on him. Shakir Khan narrates that he had gone to Panipat after her demise. My father, who was much worried about me, had got sealed the room where huge wealth was stored. He sent a messenger to me to arrive in Haveli of Delhi immediately to take over the legitimate share. But before that my elder sister and brother removed the seal and unlocked the room and took away whole the wealth. My father shouted a lot on them but there was no effect and resulted in vain. My father was much anguished on the irresponsible behavior of
mine and the lecherous conduct of my step elder sister and brother. However, it cursed them. Today, (he gives the date) 7th Muharram $1177 \mathrm{AH}, \mathrm{I}$ am still in better condition while all of those userpers are in bad condition. Shakir Khan explains about decline of their wealth and property, decreasing income from every quarter whether it is agricultural land or tenets. In the moving assests, even horses and elephants- either became ill or sold, wells got dried, canals had no water, cultivators grabbed agricultural lands on the instigation of short vision of the family members. They deliberately gave responsibility of Panipat Jagir to a person namely Abid, son of Sheikh Abu Wahib, the Mutsadddi of our native place (Panipat) and he became master of the lands and jagir. This Even the animal driven vehicles disappeared. In short, every thing is on down fall.

During the same time, after the death of Lutfullah Khan, as per the procedure, the whole wealth accrued during the Jagirdari of Lutfullah, was inititated to be confiscated. Shakir Khan gives a full description of the events led to the confiscation, his efforts to get it restored after paying Rs. One lac and fifty thousand rupees. In the description, he tells that a guard post (Chowki) was setup outside their Haveli and every room was sealed an inventory was prepared. He put the blame on his elder brothers, who despite their experiences did not try to save the wealth. He says had he been on the site, the process of confiscation would not have taken place. Even after his arrival in the city and continuous efforts to settle the issue with the concerned nobles, many of whom were his own relatives like family of Roshanud Daula and Imadul Mulk and his son who all had great praise and respect for their late father tried to
settle the issue by asking to pay huge bribes. Not only they but the emperor himself and Qudsia Begum too who wanted a huge share in the bribe. In this context, Shakir Khan even comments that the empror was not favourable to the Turanis. But he ignores the fact that many concerned nobles who were asking for bribe were themselves from his own Turani clan, even the co brother of Lutfullah Khan, Mazhar Ali Khan. In TS, Shakir Khan has included a Sanad from the royal court which testifies the payment of Rs. One lack and thirty thousand for the restoration of the Jagir of Luftullah Khan in the names of his off springs. But it was not restored and mean while the attacks and battle of Panipat amongst the Marhattas, centeral forces and on other Ahmad Shah Abdali and his alliance with Rohillas ensued. Shakir Khan provides gives full description of the battle field. He uses the term Zanjira, i.e. the central forces in the leadership of Marhattas created chain like stationing of the forces. For provision of wood to cover the trenches (Khandaq) seven large gardens around panipat, each having an area of 200 Bighas were uprooted. When wooden planks and logs were not sufficient, houses including the grand Havelis of the family of Ansaris and other groups, also of Shakir Khan's ancestors were demolished and razed to ground to take out the coverings for the trenches. But the war was in favour of Ahmad Shah Abdali and Marhattas and their alliance were badly routed and even had not chance to espcape. Shakir Khan, it seems was not present on the site, unlike Nadir Shah's one. His description is more on the basis of hearsays.

Ahmad Shah Abdali arrived at the capital.





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After ransacking of Panipat which describes as the total destruction and later on Havelis of his family at Kashmirit gate Shah Jahanabad, he moved to Benaras and then to Azimaabad. He also states that in the said voyage he could not took many of his family members and other helps who have been with his family for long. Shad Azimabadi in his auto biography, Shad ki Kahani Zhad ki zabani, speaks high of all those who migrated to Patna with those
professional and the colony in Patna became known as elite colony of Delhiites. Again the proverb PIDRAM SULTAN BOOD hovered around his mine. He or the writer of Tarikh e Muzaffari, another family member of Shakir Khan does not speak about any thing directly of the shift or decline. Shad either did not want to mention or didn't know that in reality, majority of them fled from Delhi after Ahmad Shah Abdali's loot of Delhi. Shad does not mention any such information. Their ancestors, including Shakir Khan joined services of East India Company. Tarikh e Shakir khani provides evidences in this regard too. He, like many other writers who had joined East India Company sources, addressed them with honorific title, Sahiban e Firangi, Sahiban Bahadur.

In some roznamchas of Shah Alam II and Akbar II, I found references to the sons of Shakir Ali Khan too. It is mentioned as the suspended Jagir Dar, Shakir Ali Khan.

In brief, this is a work which highlight many hidden facets of Post Aurangzeb court culture and role of the middle level elites. Though, it is a tremendous job to edit and publish this work. But nothing is impossible if some decides. All the best,, stay home and stay safe.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Presented as a special lecture for Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna.
    ${ }^{2}$ Prof. Hasan Askari introduced this ms of KB , see the collection of his articles published by Bihar Urdu Academy. Recently, Dr. Matin (Amrawati Univ.; earlier at DU, my student) edited the text of it and got Ph.D. 2018

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ See the introduction, Waqai-e-Asad Beg Qazvini, Ed. Prof. Chander Shekhar, NMM, New Delhi, 2018

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ Rekhta. Com has uploaded all his works.

[^3]:    ${ }^{5}$ In a separate section on dreams, he also speaks of his own dreams which helps him to interpret the then circumstances.

[^4]:    ${ }^{6}$ Anand Ram Mukhlis, explained the term in his Miratul Istelah.P. (in the edited text, KB Ms was a based copy)

[^5]:    ${ }^{7}$ A small two wheeled vehicle without springs drawn by two oxen, Platts, p. 191

[^6]:    ${ }^{8}$ On the death of every Jagirdar, the whole wealth of the deceased used to become the property of the royal exchequer. The value of the attached property used ot be pronounced to mark the importance of the Jagir.

[^7]:    ${ }^{9}$ He was too writer and excellent Munshi. His works include Tazkira e Mughaniayne Hindi, Munshaat, ruquate rasikh and a falnam e Hafiz.
    ${ }^{10}$ Fakhir 656, 569,654,628,629, 630
    Was guide to shah alam aftab in his potical compositions. 569

[^8]:    Had pupils both among hindus and muslims. Mohan lal anis \& Sital das mukhtar, Anis compiled Anis ul Ahibba which contain complete like sketch of Fakher Makin and other poets of his age630 (hadi) 149 (Marshall)
    As mirza mohd taq 649 mohd jafar khan raghib, s/o shakir khan was his disciple in poetry.

