

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

(Faculty of Arts) in the University of Edinburgh.

THE MUGHAL CONTRIBUTION TO PERSIAN
EPISTOLOGRAPHY,
From Bābur to Shāh Jahān
(932/1526 - 1068/1657-58).

By

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Edinburgh :

The Muir Institute ,

1958.



P R E F A C E

It is a significant fact in the history of the Persian language and literature that India has played as great a rôle in producing a mass of literature as her sister-country, Persia, the original home of that language. It is equally significant to note that, whereas our knowledge of the history of Persian literature produced in Persia is quite up-to-date, the great contribution of India is sinking into oblivion. Even though the private libraries of Indians contain works, ranging from the unique manuscripts down to the bazaar editions of the works of their own ancestors, the knowledge of the average Indian student covers only a few monographs and biographical works in Urdu or English on the poets and prose-writers of that country. The Shi'r al-'Ajam of Shibli Nu'mani, written in Urdu is the only critical study, but as the title indicates, it deals with the poets of Persia and includes only two poets of Indian origin, Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī and Faydī, to the exclusion of even Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salman, the Rūdagī of India. The only work in English which deals with the Persian Literature of Mughal India is, A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Bābur-Akbar, by Muhammad 'Abdu'l Ghanī. It is more descriptive than critical, and therefore, approaches the standard of the College text book, and as such it is very useful.

I am not aware of any published work in English which deals with the 'Ilm al-Inshā'', or more precisely, with Epistolary Composition in Persian, and that, so far as I could discover, has formed a systematic study of that art. But the present dissertation, it is submitted, is the first humble attempt in that direction. "The Mughal Contribution to Persian Epistolography, Bābur- Shāh Jahān", is as much an original topic, as it is the first of its kind to fill a long gap in the history of Persian literature produced in Mughal India. At the same time it forms a systematic study of the Secretarial Art, the development of Dār al-Inshā' and the long-felt discussion of the Sabk-i-Hindī or the Indian style

of Persian prose. Owing to the growing tendency to unearth materials from the original documents and State papers sunk into the dust of centuries, for the re-orientation of the knowledge of Muslim History in India, it becomes at the same time a more urgent task to examine those materials in the correct light. The main need is for a systematic study to ascertain the correct position, classification and denomination of the rescripts and epistles, original or copies. One often meets a Nishān, the Princely Order, introduced in the garb of a Royal Farman of the Emperor. It is, therefore, hoped that the present work may form a guiding link for a further study in that direction in India.

I feel much pleasure in offering my sincere thanks to my Supervisor for this study, Mr. L.P. Elwell-Sutton, Lecturer in Persian in the University of Edinburgh, but for whose valuable guidance and encouragement, this work could not have been undertaken. I am also thankful to Mr. Walsh, Lecturer in Turkish at the University of Edinburgh for answering my queries on the Turkish language. I owe much to my friend Mr. H.S. Khalfay, in this respect. Lastly, I have to express my thanks to the University of Bombay for granting me a scholarship to fulfil my long cherished desire to work on the Inshā' and the Munshis of India.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

I have adopted the following conventional system of transliteration :

ا : a , ā : i.e., <i>الف ممدوده</i>	_____	ش :	sh
ب :	_____	ص :	s
پ :	_____	ض :	d
ت :	_____	ط :	t
ث :	_____	ظ :	z
ج :	_____	ع :	'
چ :	_____	غ :	gh
ح :	_____	ف :	f
خ :	_____	ق :	q
د :	_____	ک :	k
ذ :	_____	گ :	g
ر :	_____	ل :	l
ز :	_____	م :	m
س :	_____	ن :	n

و : v or w as in khwūr-dād , or ū as in khūb , or u as in khauf. The Indian *واو مجهول* is : ō as in *fōta-dār* , *Lōdī* etc.

ه : h or i as in chi (*چہ*), or eh as in *daureh*, *khaneh* (Iranian pronunciation).

The obscure " ه " is not pronounced except in certain Arabic, Persian and Urdu words, however inconsistencies will be found. The usual transliteration of " ه " is a , as in *nāma* , but *siyāh* etc.

ی : y, as in *siyāh* , or ī as in *dīvān*. For alif-i-maqsūra is " ā " instead of the common " a ". The *پائے مجهول* is ē , as in *Shēr-Shāh* , or y as in *Rāy*.

THE SOURCES.

The sources for the present study can be divided into the following groups of materials

- (i) Munsha'ats: Collections of official documents, chancellery edicts, and non-official or private despatches.
 - (ii) Treatises and Manuals on the art of epistolography.
 - (iii) Original documents of the Mughal Chancellery and copies of the original documents found in manuscripts, and published collections with facsimile (including Records).
 - (iv) Contemporary histories and Dastūr al-'amals.
- (i) and (ii):

As the facts stand the formulation of rules and laying down of conventions for the epistolary art evolves from the unwritten principles reflected in the writing of the earliest masters of that art. The multiplication of the rules and conventions is a historical process.

- (1) 'Atabat al-Katabah of Mu'ayyid al-Daula Muntajab al-Dīn Badī' Atābeg al-Juvaynī, and (2) al-Tavassul ila-al-Tarassul (circa A.D. 1182-84) of Bahā' al-Dīn b. Mu'ayyid al-Baghdādī.

Muntajab was the secretary to Sultān Sanjar the Saljūq (A.H. 513-552), while Bahā' al-Dīn flourished under Tekish Khwārazm-Shāh (A.H. 568-96) and was the head of the Dīvān al-Inshā'. As the earliest collections of state papers and private epistles, they show the conventional literary style and the chancellery draughtsmanship of the periods of the Saljūqs and the rival dynasty the Khwārazmians. Interesting parallels in the edicts of both the periods and of other Muslim chancelleries after them, exhibit a literary persistence in the practice of epistolography which has its bearing on our period.

In this respect mention must be made of rich collections of the official and private correspondences covering almost the whole Muslim period from the time of the Saljūqs, for example (3) the Nuskha-yi-Jāmi'a-yi-murāsālāt (circa 1052/1642) (Br. Mus. Add 76, 88)

of Ev-oghli' Haydar ;(4) Khulāsat al-Inshā' (Bodl.I4I6) and (5)Per.D.84 (Bodl.).

(6) Faramin-i-Fārsī-yi-Mātinādārān (Persian edicts of 15th-16th centuries):

This collection of chancellery documents of the Turcomans and the Safavids , edited by A.D.Papazyan in Armenian and Russian and published by the Academy of Sciences Armenian S.S.R, Erevan,1956 ; contains a series of edicts relating to land-grants with immunities. This throws fresh light on the literary and technical draughtsmanship of the Mughal Chancellery and aids in making a comparative study of the edicts of our period with those of the above two from a close standpoint. This comparative study includes many other documents belonging to the Mongols, the Timurids and the Turcomans which are published in the learned magazines.

(ii)

(7) Tarassul-i-Nusriyya, (Br.Mus.Ms. Or.3322-ff.22a-57a); of Sharaf al-Dīn Fadl-Allāh al-Qazvīnī.

Inshā-writing in fact began with the Mongols and their successor dynasties. It was during that period that the most important manuals, the earliest ones that have survived, were compiled by professional Dabīrs and Munshīs. This small treatise, which was dedicated to the author's patron, Atābeg Nusrat al-Dīn (r. A.H.695-733) must have been owing to its originality, a popular text book and a chief source for the munshīs and authors. Identical extracts on the Ā'in-i-kitābat and Ā'in-i-'Ibārat from it are found particularly in the Inshā'i-Najm-i-Thānī (Br. Mus.Ms.Or.2,196) of Muhammad Najm-i-Thānī and the Munsha'āt-i-Ā'zam Khartali (in India)(Br.Mus.Ms.Or.2023). I have used only the Tarassul.

(8) Dastūr al-Kātib fī Ta'yīn al-Marātib, (Br.Mus.Ms. Or.3344).

One of the most important manuals, both for its historical value and the Secretarial art, is the above compendium of Muhammad b. Hindūshāh al-Nakhjuvānī called Shams al-Munshī. He was the son of Hindūshāh b. Sanjar b. 'Abd-Allāh Sahibī, the author of a biographical work called Tajārab al-Salaf (comp.A.H.724, pub.Tehran). Shams al-Munshī was

attached to the Dīvān-i-Inshā' from the prime of his life and wrote the present treatise during the reign of Shaykh Uvays Bahādur Khān (757-76/1356-74), the second prince of the Jalāyir dynasty. The Dastūr contains models in the Tauqī'at and the Muhāvarāt. I have utilised the Dastūr for a close analysis of the art of epistolography as cultivated during the Mughals.

(9) I'jāz-i-Khusravī or Rasā'il al-I'jāz, (Br. Mus. Add. I6, 84I).

No one can be a better judge on the Indian-Persian and the Sabk-i-Hindī than Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī the greatest poet of India. He is the author of the earliest surviving treatise compiled in India on Rhetoric and Inshā'. No doubt 'Awfī in his Javāmi' al-Hikāyat va Lavāmi' al-Rivāyat (Br. Mus. Ms. Add. I6, 862), one of the earliest works produced in India (circa 630/1232-33) devotes a chapter (xviii) on the Dabīrī similar to one in the Chahār Maqāla of Nizāmī 'Arūdī and the Qābūs-Nāma of Kaykā'ūs, but a regular compendium appeared only during the Khaljī reign.

(10) Manāzar al-Inshā', (Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 22, 706) of 'Imād al-Dīn Mahmūd Gāvān, commonly known as Khwāja Jahān or Sadr-i-Jahān (d. A. H. 886).

It is doubtful if there exists a more exhaustive, learned and critical treatise on Inshā' and Rhetoric than the Manāzar al-Inshā' (comp. A. H. 880)^{I.} A contemporary of the great scholars of the day, like Maulānā Jāmī, Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī and Sadr al-Dīn Ravāsī, the Khwāja was no less celebrated for his own erudition. He was the Vizier of the Bahmanī Kingdom of the Deccan and wrote letters on behalf of his masters and himself to foreign rulers and men of letters. These exemplary epistles he collected under the title Riyād al-Inshā' (pub. Hyderabad, 1948). The Dastūr-i-Shigarf (Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 2017) of Bhōpat Rāy, a tract on Inshā', is mainly based on the materials from the Manāzar. The author is no more than a servile copyist. The Riyād forms one of the sources of another useful treatise the Daqā'iq al-Inshā' (Edinb. Ms. NO. II5) of Ranjhōr Kāyesth. Both of them were compiled by Hindu Munshīs of the late Mughal period. At every step I have utilised the Manāzar in matters of rules and conventions of the art.

I. The Manāzar is described by Hājī Khalīfa (Vol. VI) and not Vol. V, as given by Rieu, which mistake is repeated by Ethé in the EIO., and Bodl. catalogues, pp. II32 and I348, res.

(II) Nāma-yi-Nāmī (EIO-2,055) of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr (comp. A. D. 1520-24).

Although the Timurid period can boast of having produced several treatises and munsha'āts, only a few of them seem promising in relevant material on our topic. I have consulted all the available works of that period but there has been rarely occasion to resort to them. However, the Sharaf-Nāma of Marvārīd (now available with a German translation and Introduction by Robert Roemer), the Inshā-i-Mu'īn al-Zamajī (EIO-2,982) and the Ṣahīfa-yi-Shāhī (Lithographed, Mirzapur 1260/1844) have occasionally provided parallels for the style of chancellery practices. But the most important of these is the Nāma-yi-Nāmī of Khwāndamīr who came to India in 935/1528 to join Bābur and later attached himself to Humāyūn. The Nāmī contains historical documents like the Sharaf-nāma. The Nāmī yields relevant materials for our purpose.

(iii)

The present dissertation deals with the Tauqī'āt and the Muhāvarāt in the first book, while the study on the Munshīs and their works forms the second book. The first part, as is evident, treats the classification, forms, style and language of the epistles of our period; this research is chiefly based on the contemporary sources. The second part shows my critical appreciation and study on the Inshā'works and the munsha'āts of the prescribed period. These works of twelve authors serve at the same time, as the chief source for the first book.

(I2) I.O.455I (Collection of miscellaneous documents in original).

I have referred to the above collection as Batāla(Panjab)Collection (I.O. 455I), since the majority of these Mughal Chancellery documents belong to that place; these documents relate to Madad-i-ma'āsh grants. One of them is the earliest document of the Mughal Chancellery that has come to light so far. On the whole they range from the time of Bābur to the fall of the regime.

(I3) Besides the single documents in the Br.Mus. (Or.II,697; and Or.2285), there are the copies of Famāns, Nishāns and Parvānas in manuscripts and published collections.

(14) Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 24,039.

This collection contains copies of Mughal documents relating to the English trade in India, with dates ranging from A.D. 1633-1712, from the reign of Shāh Jahān.

(15) Imperial Farmans (A.D. 1577-1805) (Facsimiles of original Farmāns, Nishāns, Hukms and Parvānas).

This is another rich collection of Mughal documents from the time of Akbar granted to His Holiness the Tikāyat Mahārāj, and his successors, for benevolent purposes. It has been translated into English, Hindi and Gujarati, and in all the three languages it is corrupt. Even the transcription of Persian terms and words illustrates the worst of the notorious Indian pronunciation. Nevertheless, the Imperial Farmāns supplement and support our knowledge of many documents which have not seen the light of the day.

Indian Historical Records Commission (From 1920-1956).

(16) The recent discovery of 7,000 documents of great historical importance, unearthed from the dust of centuries in India, shows the good fortune of that country in that respect. Besides the many single documents which appear in the learned magazines, the efforts of the Indian Historical Records Commission wheedled out quite a number of them from private hands and Museums. I have utilised fully the documents which appeared mostly verbatim or with descriptions, to reinforce my own classification.

(iv) Bābur-nāma.

(17) In the Chaghatāy Turkī Text (A.S. Beveridge, Gib. Memo. Ser.), the only documents in Persian are the Farmān announcing Bābur's renunciation of wine, and a Fath-nāma, both of which are found in the Bābur-nāma (Tūzuk-i-Bāburī or Wāqī'at-i-Bāburī) (Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 24,416), Persian translation by 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān. The Bābur-nāma provides other relevant material about Indian custom, language and the history of the preceding periods that have not been pointed out by any other students of Mughal history. I have chiefly resorted to the English translation of A.S. Beveridge.

(18) Bādshāh-nāma by 'Abd al-Hamīd Lāhaurī.

This covers a history of the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign and

contains the diplomatic correspondence, Farmāns and 'Ahd-nāmas of that Emperor, which are found in the Jāmi' al-Inshā' (Br.Mus.Ms.Or.I705). The 'Amal-i-Sālih (I9) by Muhammad Sālih Kanbūh contains several other Farmāns of that Emperor. Both the works are published. (Bibliotheca Indica).

The other contemporary histories and works include the (20) Akbar-nāma (Tr.,H. Beveridge ,BI); (21) Ā'in -i-Akbarī (Text and tr., by H. Blochmann and Jarret, BI); Muntakhab-al-Tawārīkh , by 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī (22) (Text, BI, tr., Lowe and Haig, Vols. ii and iii); and (23) Mir'āt-i-Ahmadī (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 33 and 34, Part i, and Suppl. Texts).

The Dastūr al-'amals:

The most valuable information can be gathered about the Mughal administration, Institutions and biographical sketches from the Ā'in-i-Akbarī of Abū'l-Fadl. The manuals on administration called commonly as the Dastūr al-'amals tend to supplement the Ā'in, and it is in them that a close sight of the Chancellery transaction is beheld. I have utilised the following three Dastūr al-'amals .

(24) Br.Mus.Ms. Or.I64I (Davābit-i-'Ālangīr); (25) Br.Mus.Mss. Add.6599 and Add.6598 (another copy of the same work).

(26) Nigār-nāma-yi-Munshī (Br.Mus.Ms.I735), by Malik-Zāda Munshī (circa A.H. 1085).

The Nigār is a less utilised source which contains biographical sketches of the famous Munshīs of different reigns, models of the Ministerial rescripts and authentic letters of the late Aurangzīb period. This manual yields much valuable information regarding the administrative orders of the Dīvānī.

(27) Br.Mus.Ms.Add.I, 6859 .

Dr. Rieu's description of this Ms. needs amendment . This does not consist solely of the 'Ārd-dāshts and letters of Khān-i-Jahān Sayyid Muzaffar Khān Bārha addressed to Shāh Jahān , but besides two Farmāns of that Emperor, there is found an interesting autobiography of a Hindu munshī Bālkrishan Barahman which throws a flood of light on the education, qualifications and the career of the Munshī class in Mughal India.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

I

Development of Dār al-Inshā' and Epistolary composition :

It is not without significance that the very first revelation made to the Prophet was an injunction to read^{I.} (and to write with the pen). The pen has without doubt played a very important rôle in propagating the teachings of Islam and especially in preserving the text of the Qur'an from corruption.

It was during the life time of the Prophet that there arose a pressing need to commit to writing the ' words of Allah'. Writing was a very special accomplishment and a rare novelty at that time. Among the Companions of the Prophet very few are reported to have been literate and these acted as amanuenses to him. Those who wrote down the revelation, such as ,Ubay bin Ka'b , Ibn Mas'ūd and Ziyād bin Thābit were called Kātib al-Wahy.^{2.}

In this period, the kātib's sole qualification seems to have been a knowledge of the art of writing. Later a knowledge of other languages became a further qualification.

Ziyād b. Thābit is reported to have acquired proficiency in Hebrew, according to a tradition, within a fortnight.^{3.} 'Alī , one of those members of the Quraysh tribe who could

write, is said to have been the first person to give advice on the quality of writing.^{4.}

' The noblest of all and verily the most essential is the art of writing', 'Alī once said when advising the Muslims to educate their children in that art. Some of the^{5.}

Companions who once acted as amanuenses rose to the Caliphate for example, 'Uthmān b.

'Affān and Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān. 'Above the office of kātib, there was nothing to

aspire to, save the Caliphate.'^{6.}

It was not until the rule of the second Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Khattāb that the office of a kātib gained political significance. The Caliph appointed for each governor of a

I. Qur'an. Chapt. xcvi I:4, Compare also chapt. lxxviii ("Consider the inkstand and the pen and what they write."").

2. Subh al-A'shā. al-Qalqashandī (Cairo) vol. i, pp. 3, 91.

3. Encyclopaedia of Islam. Art. Ziyad b. Thabit

4. A Survey of Persian Art. Oxf. 1939, vol. ii, p. 1710.

5. Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 76, 89, fol. 39b.

6. Subh. vol. i, p. 37.

province: a k̄atib, an elegant stylist and orator, whose duties were to act as a secretary and counsellor to the former ; such was Ziyād b. Samayyah to Abū Mūsā Ash'arī, the 'āmil of Basrah. ^{1.} It was also during his Caliphate that Persian influence first appeared in the form of the dīvān (public register), which was adopted by him for the distribution of spoils. ^{2.} The word dīvān later came to mean an official department and in India the officer of the dīvān himself (i.e. dīvān).

Dīvān al-Khātām :

There was very little need of diplomacy and state-craft during the period of the Orthodox Caliphs, but as the empire expanded the need for an organised machinery became pressing. One of the several dīvāns created by Mu'āwiyah, was the dīvān al-khātām, the department of the Royal Signet. A proper channel of communication between the capital at Damascus and the provinces was maintained on a regular basis through the above-mentioned state chancellery, where every order that issued from the Caliph was first copied in a register and the original then sealed and despatched. ^{3.}

The Umayyad period witnessed the development of epistolary composition and the art of writing. Abū Ghālib 'Abd al-Hamīd Yahya b. Sa'd, a pupil of Jabalah b. Sālim b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, the k̄atib to Hishām, was a distinguished stylist and a master of belles-lettres and all branches of sciences. As he was considered the first great k̄atib, his style became a model for future generations. He is also responsible, according to Ibn Khallikān, for having introduced in his composition the flowery style with complimentary eulogies. ^{4.} Attached as secretary to the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān II, Hamīd al-K̄atib flourished on the eve of the downfall of that house. The end of the Umayyad period was the beginning of the Kitābat. According to a favourite Arabic saying, "The art of epistolary composition began with 'Abd al-Hamīd and ended with Ibn al-'Amīd. ^{5.}

1. al-Fārūq (Urdu) Shibli Nu'mani, Cawnpore, 1899, Vol. ii, p. 25.

2. al-Fakhrī (on the system of Government) tr., C. E. J. Whitting, London, 1947, pp. 79-80.

3. The Orient under the Caliphs (Tr. of Von Kremer's Culturgeschichte des Orients), by Khuda Bakhsh, Calcutta, 1920, p. 193.

4. Wafāyātu'l-A'yān (Obituarries of eminent Men) Ibn-Khallikān, tr. by De Slane, Vol. ii, p. 173.

5. Manāzar al-Insha', Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 22, 706, fol. 48b.

بدأت الكتابة تعبد الحميد وختمت بابن العميد

'Amīd was the vizier of Rukn al-Daulah, the Būhid.

The arts of epistolary composition and calligraphy developed together. This is borne out by a study of the interaction of both arts, from their earliest development during the Umayyad period. During the period under review, epistolography was characterised by the development of several styles of writing employed in official correspondence. A script called Jalīl (mighty) came to be reserved for diplomatic correspondence, for which full scrolls were adopted. To distinguish between private and royal epistles, Walīd bin 'Abd al-Malik (A.D. 705-15/A.H. 86-96) had his missives inscribed on full scrolls in that bold hand, i.e. ^{I.} Jalīl.

Dīwān al-Tauqī' :

To move from Damascus to the splendid city of the Arabian Nights, Baghdād, the seat of the Abbasid Caliphate, is to pass from 'the period of Arabian nationalism to that of Persian ascendancy and cosmopolitan culture.' Persian influences active at the court of the Abbasids revived the grandeur and magnificence of the Sasanians. Even the organisation of the government was based largely on the lines of the Persian model. The vizier, the rules and laws governing whose office had been established by this time, stood in a close relationship to the Caliph. As such his office clearly comprehends that of k̄atib, who had hitherto acted as a counsellor (mushīr) and vizier, which title, however, he had not yet ^{2.} assumed. The vizier became the head of the k̄atibs, the officers attached to one or other of the dīwāns. In the state parlance a k̄atib (secretary) denoted a functionary of the Secretariat, ranging from clerks to the first departmental secretary, and in some cases ^{3.} the minister himself.

The office of correspondence was styled the dīwān al-tauqī' or the department of Imperial decrees. This dīwān, which handled official and diplomatic correspondence, ^{4.} continued in existence under various names at different periods. Under the Abbasids the dīwān al-tauqī', corresponding to the dīwān al-khātam of the Umayyads, conducted all official letters, which were composed and despatched after impressing the seal of the Caliph bearing a Qur'ānic legend. ^{5.}

1. A Survey of Persian Art. vol.ii, p.1710.

2. al-Fakhri. (tr.,) pp.146-47.

3. Javāmi' al-Hikāyat va Lavāmi' al-Rivāyat, Muhd. 'Awfi. (Br.Mus.Ms.) Add.16,862. fol.173a.

4. The Social Structure of Islam. Reuben Levy. Cambridge, 1957, p.327.

5. Von Kremer. p.235. (Tr.), (Khuda).

Kātib :

The chief secretary had the title of Kātib al-sirr(private secretary) and had under his control subordinate officials each with the title of Kātib al-inshā'. These made the first drafts of state papers and their principal duty was to draw up the decrees(Tauqī') of the Caliph in fluent language and elegant style, and issue them under the royal seal and motto of the Caliph. Copies of these were despatched to all the provincial governors, through the Barīd(postal service)¹.

This class of the secretaries of state, Von Kremer tells us, centralized and controlled the administration of the provinces and revenues of the empire.² Thus they wielded much political influence, since they shaped policy and controlled appointments and dismissals. A kātib of this rank and power would some time succeed a vizier, as happened with the Barmacid viziers, Yahyā(d.A.D.805) and his two sons Faḍl and Ja'far -all celebrated for the elegance of their style, literary talents and penmanship. It was under these three Kātibs that the art of epistolography reached its perfection.

The art of epistolary composition, therefore, was studied zealously by those who aspired to state service. It was also from this class of Ahl al-qalam, that the highest officials of the state were recruited.³ As a result, several manuals and treatises were compiled for the guidance and education of literary amateurs and prospective kātibs, such as Adab al-Kātib of Ibn Qutaybah (d.circa. A.D.828), al-Sūlī's work with the same title as Qutaybah's and Kitāb al-kuttāb of Ibn Durustavayhi.

A prospective kātib had to possess a knowledge of all manner of subjects. His range of intellectual attainments included the religious as well as mundane sciences. It was precisely the 'Ilm al-adab(Humanities), besides the Qur'ān and its associated subjects, that formed the back-bone of his education. The family and social status of a kātib were also taken into account.⁴ As regards his literary accomplishments he was required to write in a good Arabic style. To acquire a mastery of the language he had to study it in

1. Subh. Vol.i,p.93. Compare also Levy, Social Structure, p.327.

2. Von Kremer, Tr.(Khuda)p.193, Also, Levy Ibid.p.326.

3. Ency.Islam. Art. Kātib.

4. Subh. Vol.i,pp.65-66.

all its various aspects, such as grammar, prosody, rhetoric ('Ilm al-Balāgha), Adab and Inshā' (belles-lettres). A k̄atib equipped with all these faculties besides many others might then qualify for the vizierate.¹

One of the characteristic features of Arabic prose of the Abbasid period was the development of an ornate and grandiloquent style. The simple and terse style was replaced by rhymed prose and high-flown diction. The fact that much of the Qur'ān is written in rhymed prose, consecrated its use for all Muslims. It began to appear in public sermons (khutba) writings and in the epistolary compositions of official katibs, like Ibrāhīm bin Hilāl al-Sābī² (circa. A.D. 994).

Dīvān al-Inshā'

Another feature of the Abbasid era was the birth of Persian prose and poetry. With the rise of the national dynasties in Transoxiana and Persia, the slumbering Muse awoke with a vigour to sing the epic of the Persian Renaissance. Amongst the several independent dynasties that emerged from the low-ebb of the once ocean-like Empire of the Abbasids, mention must be made of the Samanids (A.D. 874-999) and the Ghaznavids (A.D. 976-1186).

With the rise of the Samanids, Persia found a new lease of life. Under their 'enlightened absolutism' the bureaucratic system of the government was fully developed. Amongst the several dīvāns recorded in the chronicles, the dīvān of the mainstay of State ('Amīd al-Mulk'), according to Barthold, is probably identical with the dīvān al-rasā'il or dīvān al-Inshā' (dīvān of the official documents); "the latter", as he tells us, "is mentioned very frequently by the historians, in some cases already in the Samanid period. In Bayhaqī the head of the "dīvān of documents" bears the title of Khawājah-i-'Amīd", and was one of the highest officials in the state".³

1. Subh. Vol. i. p. 65. vide also De Slane's. vol. ii. p. 174. 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Kātib's account.

2. Literary Hist. of the Arabs, Reynold A. Nicholson. Cambridge, 1930., pp. 327-28.

3. Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, Barthold., Gibb. Memo. Ser. 1928., p. 229-30.

Barthold has very aptly summed up the bureaucratic system of the government prevailing in the eastern Muslim kingdoms. " Throughout the whole system of the Muslim political organisation there runs like a red thread the division of all the organs of administration into two main categories, the dargāh (palace) and the dīvān (chancery)".¹ The distinction between the dargāh and the dīvān which existed in the administration of the Samanids, was maintained by other dynasties like the Ghaznavids and the Saljūqs, and through it spread to India during the Sultanate of Dihlī.

Dīvān-i-Risālat :

The principal civil departments of the chancery under the Ghaznavids were : the dīvān-i-vizārat (finance department), dīvān-i-'ard (military), dīvān-i-shughl-i-isrāf-i-mamlakat (secret service) and the dīvān-i-risālat.² The dīvān-i-risālat conducted the chief correspondence between the Caliphs, the Khāns of Turkestan and the petty rulers. It also issued all official documents and royal proclamations.³ This dīvān was under the charge of the dabīr-i-khāss (chief secretary). Because of his delicate duties involving secret information, he was a trustworthy official of advanced age and ripe experience.⁴

Dīvān al-Inshā'-va-al-Ṭuḡhrā :

The Saljūq administration retained the chief features of the Samanids, with the traditional division between the palace and the chancery. The vizier as the " key-stone " of the central government was head of the dīvāns, the chief of which were the dīvān al-zimām -al-Istīfā' and the dīvān al-Inshā'-va-al-Ṭuḡhrā, corresponding to the dīvān of official documents already described above.⁵

The principal duty of the holder of the office of Ṭuḡhrā'ī, was to inscribe the official documents in curved script (al-Khatt al-qaṣī)⁶ and to draw the ṭuḡhrā on them over the initial " bismillāh ".⁷ The duties of the Inshā' branch were of a more delicate nature than those the Ṭuḡhrā'ī branch.⁸

1. Barthold, p.227.

2. The Life and Times of Mahmūd of Ghazna, M.Nazim, Camb., 1931, p.130.

3. Tā'rikh-i-Mas'ūdī, Morley, Calcutta, 1862, p. 164. (Bayhaqī).

4. Nazim, op.cit. pp. 135-36.

5. Contribution to the Study of Seljuq Institutions (Thesis), Prof. A.K.S.Lambton, London University, 1939, p.56.

6. Ibid.

7. Compare De Slane, Vol.i, p.462. The account of Ḥasan b.'Alī al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī.

8. 'Atabat al-Katabah, ed. Muhammad Qazvini and 'Abbas Iqbal, Tehran, Shamsi 1329, p.49.

Dīvān-i-Inshā' (India):

Almost corresponding with the period that witnessed the rise of Chingīz Khān (d.A.D.1227) and the fall of the Kwārazmīāns, Muslim rule in India at that time was in full flower.

With the consolidation of the empire a regular hierarchy of state officials came into play as early as the time of Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iyal-Timish (607-33/1210-36), who succeeded Qutb al-Dīn I-bak (d.A.D.1210), the first Muslim ruler of Hindūstān.

The Turkish rulers brought with them the administrative system prevailing in their own land. Ghazna was the immediate source and model for the political administration and organistaion of the various departments. At the chancery were four ministers, some of them almost identical with those at Ghazna. 'The four pillars which supported the vault of the empire', described by Bughrā Khān in his advice to his son Mu'iz al-Dīn Kayqubād I. (d.1290), were the dīvān-i-vizārat (finance department), the head of which was the vizier; the dīvān-i-'ard (military); dīvān-i-risālat (ministry of appeals) and the dīvān-i-inshā', corresponding to the dīvān-i-risālat of the Ghaznavids. The head of the dīvān-i-inshā' was called dabīr al-mamālik or dabīr-i-khāss and bore the title Tāj al-mulk (the crown of the state) or 'Umdat al-mulk (pillar of the state)². He had a large secretarial staff of three hundred scribes³. The dabīr-i-khāss was the channel between the central government and the provincial governors with whom the most important correspondence was conducted. In the convocation of the darbār held every Tuesday, the petitions of the governors and the people made to the Sultān were submitted by the Vakīl-i-dār, who performed the secretarial function of the court. Every order emanating from the Sultān was conveyed through the Vakīl-i-dār to the confidential secretary (Katib al-sirr), who executed it forthwith⁴. The post of the dabīr-al-mamālik under Malik 'Izz al-Dīn, a son of A'lā Dabīr, gained much political

1. Baranī. p.153.

2. Ibid.p.337, Compare also, The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi., Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, Lahore, 1942, pp.84-86.

3. Subh. Vol.iv,p.92; Tr., Otto-Spies, An Arab Account Of India in the 14th Century; Stuttgart, 1936, p.68.

4. Ibid.p.96, Tr.,p.74.

importance during the reign of 'Alā'al-Dīn Khaljī' (695-715/I296-I316). But on his removal in the last days of that Sultān, the dīvān-i-inshā' lost its importance and after that time perhaps the dabīr al-mamālik waned gradually into insignificance. In Malik 'Ayn al-Mulk Multānī, the author of the Inshā'-i-Māhrū and other excellent works and a prominent figure in the Tughluq period, we find a dabīr who possessed the qualities attributed to the post by Nizāmī 'Arūdī in his Chahār Maqāla. During the period of anarchy that succeeded the ruthless incursion of Tīmūr, we do not hear of the division of functions or power. It was in the period of great administrative reforms of Shēr Shāh Sūr (946-952/I539-I545) that the dabīr again emerged as an important political figure. He was honoured with the privilege of reading out the royal farmāns to the nobles in the great Mosque. Any disobedience to the royal command was forthwith reported to the Emperor. Thus the dabīr, acting as a kind of State Security Officer, constituted a check upon the refractory bureaucracy.

The position of dabīr by this time was reduced to that of a mere political figure and he did not necessarily need to be a literary man. His only qualification seems to have been his ability to wield the sword more mightily than the pen. It was not until the time of Akbar (963-1014/I556-I605), the great Mughal Emperor, that the office of dabīr as an administrator was merged in the office of the dārūgha-yi-ghusl khāna, who acted as a private secretary to the Emperor in the private chamber; the dabīr's duties being divided among the dārūgha himself, the 'ard-i-mukarrar' and the musavvada-nivīs. As regards the literary aspect of the secretarial art, the munshīs showed themselves to be the true successors of the dabīrs.

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1. Baranī. p. 337.
 2. Ibid. pp. 336-337. Vide Inshā'-i-Māhrū JAS(Bengal) 1923.XIX-p.253, and Islamic Culture.vol.XVI.No.3.1942. The unique Ms. is preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivanow.No.338.)
 3. Mir'āt al-'Ālam. (EIO. I24) fol.320a.
 4. The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire. Ibn Hasan, Oxf, 1936. p.293.

DabīrII.

A dabir in Persian denoted a Kātib (secretary) par excellence; he had the same duty and enjoyed the same political importance as the kātib.

Even in the early days of the Sasanians, the knowledge of writing (dapīrih), was considered to be one of the accomplishments befitting a prince, and there existed men with the function of professional scribe (dapīr)^{I.} The art of letter-writing during that period had so much progressed as to have produced a treatise in Pahlavi known as "Khudā'ī-nāma". The word dabīr in its present form occurs in the earliest Persian works of prose and poetry as an equivalent word for the Kātib (who conducted in Arabic the official correspondence of the amīrs and the princes)^{2.}

Arabic has ever enjoyed its sanctity as a religious language amongst the Muslims. As long as Baghdad remained the metropolis of Muslim learning and culture, Arabic served as a vehicle of sciences, philosophy and to a certain extent of belles-lettres and diplomacy. Arabic, therefore, could not be dispensed with, not only because it was the basic language used in the education of those destined for diplomatic services, but still more because it was the language of the Qur'an and the Prophet. The Qur'an as the guiding factor to all knowledge and sciences (as is believed by Muslims) stimulated a study of various subjects such as grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, sīrah (biography), calligraphy and many other subjects.

The Holy Book and its associated subjects, therefore, formed the key-stone of a dabīr's education. "The extreme eloquence of the Qur'an lies in its conciseness of words and marvellous presentation of ideas", and with a profound knowledge of it ' with one verse a dabīr might discharge his obligation to a whole realm.' If he had

I. A Literary History Of Persia , E.G.Browne, 1902, Vol.,i,pp.261-62.

2. Tā'rikh-i-Tabarī (Bal'ami's Tr., 352/963); Navalkishore., Chapt.iv, p.764, Compare p.757, where the word dabīr stands for a stylist or an elegant writer. Compare also the Shāh-nāma , Tehran, 1311, Vol.iii, p.38:

فتخامه نوشتن کهنه و بجاؤس
 بفرمود تا پیش او شد و پیر
 : یاد در قرطاس و مشک و عیبیر

sagacious 'Ulamā' failed to tackle. Several viziers, before they rose to that office, held subordinate positions as dabīrs attached to the chancellery. For it was more often the power of the pen than the might of the sword that won the vizierate in Muslim politics.

The profession of dabīrī became a family heritage in the case of certain dabīrs. Ambitious students would travel to education centres to learn the art under some master in order to keep up the tradition of their ancestors.^{1.} Sometimes the ruler himself would be inclined to install the sons of dabīrs in the dīvān as a token of recognition of their services rendered by their ancestors in the past. After consultation with the head in the dīvān, if such candidates were found to possess the necessary qualifications, they were taken as unpaid probationers.^{2.} Training under some experienced dabīr was given to them and their duty was to copy out the rough draft of the official documents inscribed by their teacher-dabīrs.^{3.} When vacancies arose, in most cases by the transfer of dabīrs to the provinces, they got appointments as regular scribes. Promotion depended largely on their own efficiency and scholarship. Their salary would sometimes reach to a sum as much as seven thousand dirhams per month. In some cases lands were assigned to prominent scribes.^{4.} In India the chief secretary of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī was paid a sum equal to the income of a big town. This class of dabīrs lived in great affluence, in palatial mansions, with a large retinue of minstrels, cup-bearers and ghulāms.^{5.} They were big landlords and owned several villages and large estates. They were feared for their political powers, but for their elegance of style they were honoured and imitated.

Because they were considered as the master-minds and back-bone of the empire (khudāv-andān-i-fitnat va pushtibān-i-daulat), their services as dabīrs were directed to various ends in politics and literature. In them we find the fullest expression of Muslim

1. 'Atebat, pp. 2-3, compare also Bayhaqī, pp. 164-65.
2. Bayhaqī, p. 166, compare also Nazim, p. 143.
3. Bayhaqī, p. 168, cf. also, Lubāb al-Albāb, Per. Hist. Text, vol. IV, First Part, Lyden, Browne and Qazvini, p. 77-78.
4. Bayhaqī, p. 166, compare also al-Tavassul-ila-al-Tarassul, Ahmad Bahmenyar, Tehran, 1315/1936, p. 285.
5. Bayhaqī, pp. 166-67; compare also, Life and Conditions of the people of Hindūstān (1200-1550) Ashraf Kunwar Muhammad, pub. J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. I, 1935 (Letters), (pp. 103-355), p. 230, and Subh. Vol. IV, p. 94, Tr. p. 71.

'a knowledge of the religious sciences, had learnt the proverbial saying of the Arabs and the wise-words of the Persians' and had studied the Arabic and Persian classical literature in prose and poetry, he could then adorn his correspondence with quotations therefrom,

I.
displaying his scholarship and literary skill. As regards forming and improving his epistolary style, he was advised to study the munsha'āts of the masters of this art. Such works in Arabic included the correspondence of Ṣāhib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād (d. 386/995), al-Ṣabī (d. A.H. 384) and Qābūs b. Washmagīr, the rescripts of Bal'amī (d. A.H. 386), Ahmad Hasan al-Maymandī and Abū Nasr Kundūrī (A.H. 456), and the epistles of Muhammad 'Abduh, Sayyid al-Ru'asā (d. A.H. 383) and 'Abd al-Hamid al-Katib.

To appreciate fully and to cultivate in himself a style ornate with rhetorical embellishment, the dabir was recommended to study the famous works on maqāmah in Arabic and Persian. However, for letters in Persian, the employment of saj' was considered unfavourable. The language of such letters had not to be pure Persian. It had to be altogether elevated, mellifluous and metaphorical. His object should be expressed in sahl-i-muntani' in such a subtle way that it might be easy for him to write, but difficult for others to imitate.
4.
A good knowledge of calligraphy added to the excellencies of the secretarial art.
5.

Besides his personal character, social status and family lineage, a dabir's inherent qualities were of great asset to his career. A dabir of 'penetrating discernment, firm judgment, and who was quick in perception and possessed insight into the mysteries of the secretarial art' could then be able of appreciating the significance of allusions, solving baffling enigmas and answering tricky queries, which even the most

1. Chahār Maqāla., Text, Muhammad 'Abd, Wahhab Qazvini, 1327/1909, pp. 13-25, and Qābūs-nāma, E.J.W. Gibb, Memo. Ser. (New) 1951, XVIII, Rubeen Levy., pp. 119-124. Tr. Rubeen Levy, London, 1951, pp. 201- (A Mirror for Princes.) Comp. also Javami', ff. 173a-b.

2. Chahār. ibid.

3. Chahār. ibid., Qābūs. ibid.

4. Dastūr, ff. 312a, -b.

5. Ibid. ff. 176-18a, also Qābūs. ibid.

learning, scholarship and diplomacy. They wielded their pen almost in the whole realm of art and literature. To them we owe many useful works on grammar, prosody, rhetoric, history and, of course, in epistolography. Some of the collections of official documents and private letters (munsha'ats) of prominent secretaries came to be recognised as text books illustrating the art of epistolary composition.

III.

'Ilm al-Inshā'.

The 'Ilm al-Inshā' generally means epistolography, the art of drafting letters and documents. The term is also loosely applied to the writings of a refined-prose style. "The final aim of Inshā' is to acquire a knowledge of the virtues and faults (maḥāsin-va-ma'ā'ib) of prose composition, but the principal forms involved in the study of Inshā' are Khutab (sermons) and Rasā'il (epistles)." The Inshā' in this respect takes two forms (i) It is addressed to the general reader (without specifying any name) or (ii) it is addressed to some 'specific person'. In the first case it takes one of the following forms of composition:-

- (1) Khutab: sermons for Hajj, Friday and 'Īd prayers and marriage.
- (2) Khilāfat-nāma: a certificate of succession as the spiritual head granted to the Khalīfas (vicars) by the spiritual preceptor.
- (3) Manshūr: 'a patent granted by the king to show his favours to the ingenious masters of skill without specifying the names of the patentees' therein individually. But if it specifies the recipient it then belongs to the Rasā'il. The Rasā'il or more precisely the Tarassul therefore differs from the above genres, in that it is "always addressed to specific person or persons."

According to the rules of epistolography all epistles are classed into two main categories. (1) Tauqī'āt, which consists of the Amthila and Ahkām (sing. mithāl and hukm) and (2) Muhāvarāt. Khwāja Jahān Mahmūd Gāvan enumerates the following kinds of epistles

1. Manāẓar. ff. 4a, 7b-8a, 28a, and Dastūr-i-shigraḥ. Or. 2017. ff. 90b-91a.
2. Manāẓar. fol. 28a and Badā'i al-Inshā' (Lith. Delhi.) 1870. pp. 2-3.

belonging to both the classes: (1) Manshūr, (2) Farmān, (3) Fath-nāma, (4) 'Ahd-nāma, (5) Mithāl, (6) Maktūb, (7) Tahniyat-nāma, (8) Ta'ziyat-nāma, (9) Ruqa'a, and (10) 'Arīda.¹

All the epistles are classed into different grades on the bases of social status and relationship between the Kātib (writer) and the Maktūb-ilayhi (addressee), A Kātib is either superior or inferior to, or equal to the Maktūb-ilayhi. Khwāja Jahān explains the first point syllogistically. His premises are, if the Mursal (writer) is higher (A'lā) than the Mursal-ilayhi (addressee), he is either a king, or he is not. In the first case his missives are designated as Farmāns, Manshūrs, Fath-nāmas, 'Ahd-nāmas and the like. If he is not a king, then he may be a prince, a vizier, a noble or some higher official of the state. Such official rescripts as issued by them assume the name of a Mithāl.²

The Muhāvarāt stands out as a distinct category of epistles from the official orders, i.e. the Tauqī'āt. It consists of the non-official or private correspondence, divided into the Mufāvadāt and the Mukātabāt. The Mufāvadāt forms the correspondence of the privileged classes of the royalty, the ruling classes and the religious classes, either among their own members or addressed to the members of lower classes, but in all cases the Kātib holds a superior position or relation to the Maktūb-ilayhi. The Mukātabāt is a general term implying epistolary correspondence. It consists of letters exchanged between members of all classes, from a higher class to a lower class and vice-versa, or between equals of any one class. As such it is classified into three grades according to the relationship between the writer and the addressee. Letters from members of a higher class to a lower, are termed Ruqa'āt. If the Kātib is inferior to the Maktūb-ilayhi in social status or rank, such epistles as addressed by him form the Murāfa'āt. The Murāsalāt consists of friendly correspondence between equals of any class, for instance between two kings, two nobles, or two plebeians. Letters of congratulations and condolence are communications between equals, or from an Adnā

1. Manāzar, ff. 28a, 60b.

2. Ibid.

(inferior) to an A'lā (superior), but not vice versa. Every letter belonging to the Muhāvarāt is either a Khītibī, that is, it is addressed at the first instance to a person, (i.e. the Maktūb-ilahi), or is a Javābī, that is, a reply to his letter.^{1.}

Sabk-i-munshiyāna :

By the time of the Saljūqs and the Khwarazmīan, epistolography had reached such a degree of perfection that it had produced a number of munsha'āts by eminent dabīrs of the period, like Rashīd al-Dīn Vatvāt (d. 578/II82-83), his contemporary and saviour Muntajab al-Dīn Badī' Atābeg al-Juvaynī, Bahā' al-Dīn b. Mu'ayyid al-Baghdādī and 'Abd al-Wāsi' Jabalī (d. 555/II60).^{2.} Amongst the dabīrs these masters of the art may be considered as the first exponents of the Sabk-i-munshiyāna, a style rich with prolixity in phraseology and high-flown diction.^{3.} This period is characterised by the growing tendency of several writers to resort to an artificial style (sabk-i-fannī) in response to the influence of Arabic literature, especially of the Maqāmah, and their predilection for rhetorical embellishments. The graceful and unadorned style of Abū Nasr b. Mishkān (d. 431/I039) and his colleague and pupil Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. Husayn Bayhaqī (d. 470/I077-78), the dabīrs of the Ghaznavids, was discarded in favour of an elaborate and artificial style.

1. Manāzar, ff. 60a-b, Badā'i al-Inshā' (Litho.) pp. 2-3.

2. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-'Umarī, better known as Rashīd al-Dīn Vatvāt al-Kātib was the secretary, boon-companion and laureate of Atsiz Khwarazmshāh (d. 551/II56-7). A portion from his Persian Munsha'āt is described by V. Rosen (Les manuscrits persans de l'Institut des Langues Orientales, Petrograd, 1886, No. 26, pp. 146-60). This collection contains a number of documents from the 'Atabat and letters of Jabalī also. It is known as Munsha'āt-i-'ahd-i-Saljūqī va Khwarazmshāhain va avā'il-i-'ahd-i-Mughul.

The Ruqā'āt-i-'Abd al-Wāsi' Jabalī were apparently extant in India in the late 17th century (vide Daqā'iq al-Inshā', Edinb. Ms. Preface.)

3. I'jāz. ff. 20b, 24a-b, 254a.

4. Some of Mishkān's letters are included sporadically by Bayhaqī in his Tā'rikh-i-Mas'ūdī (vide Bayhaqī (Morley) p. 94, etc.) Bayhaqī says that his own epistles written to the Caliphs, Khāns of Turkestan and others were destroyed. (Ibid. p. 362.).

The simplicity and directness of the Qābūs-nāma (comp. A.D. 1082-83) and the Siyāsat-nāma (comp. 484/1091-92) did not appeal to these dilettanti; they were more enamoured of the rhymed prose (*musajja'*), which later became almost a fetish with the *munshīs*. According to Bahā'al-Dīn, Vatvāt is responsible for introducing the rhetorical and rhymed prose in response to Arabic style. The style of Bahā'al-Dīn itself betrays countless traces of his Arabic scholarship and learning, the display of which is a predominant element in his al-Tavassul ila-al-Tarassul.

One of the reasons for the development of grandiloquent and sonorous diction was to glorify the might and prowess of kings in the eyes of their rival rulers and petty princes. But to a certain extent the *dabīrs* wished to exhibit their own erudition and elegance of style in order to outdo the secretaries of the rival kingdoms.

It was during that brilliant period of Persian literature that the conventions and standards prevailing in official life were laid down in works like the Qābūs-nāma and the Chahār Maqāla of Nizāmī 'Arūdi of Samargand (comp. circa A.D. 1155), which treat of the secretarial art. There developed also the rules and techniques of the art of epistolary composition reflected in the writings of *dabīrs* like Muntajab and his contemporaries. The set forms of expression, the stylized language and the conventional formulae were dwelt upon as a time-honoured practice, although to *dabīrs* of Bahā'al-Dīn's taste, such literary hack-work fell short of their critical appreciation.

In all the epistles, private and official, the conventional epithets are carefully graded according to the social status and relationship existing between the writer himself and the addressee. Distinction of class was maintained and recognised as determining their relations with one another. The religious and social factors prevailing in the feudal Middle Age determined the conditions in life of the people, shaped their outlook on life and influenced their art and literature.

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1. al-Tavassul, p.9, compare also Sabk-shināsī, Muhd. Taqi Bahar (Malik al-Shu'arā'), Tehran, vol.ii, pp.248.
 2. 'Awfī informs us that Muntajab had compiled a treatise on the art of epistolary composition called Ruqyat al-Qalam, Vide. Iubāb, i, pp.78-80.
 3. al-Tavassul, pp.9-10, 325.

Viewed in this perspective, the pompous diction, the highly complimentary strings of epithets and the exuberant phraseology were more than the fashion of the day and a show of erudition. There was also the desire for glorification on the part of the sovereign himself that forced his adulators to paint him in resplendent colours.

Very few writers and dabīrs found it easy to break away from the rigid conventions of court literature. For very few, indeed, was it easy to write in an unaffected style. It was for this reason no doubt that, when Chingīz Khān, ignorant of the polished Persian language, ordered his secretary, who was once attached to the Khwarāzmshāhs, to write in simple and direct language, the latter could not do so. The unsophisticated Mongols did not like the elaborate and turgid titles, nor the rhetorical embellishments in their official correspondence. Perhaps their sword was too strong to need the support of their ^Imunshis' pen.

But it seems that their munshis, recruited from the conquered population, could not give up the traditional style of epistolary composition and not all of them could cultivate a simple style like the great vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Fadl-Allāh. The chancellery language remained essentially the same as it was prior to the Mongols. In one of his letters addressed to his son, advising him to guard the honour of the dabīrs, Rashīd al-Dīn's own metaphorical language reflects his opinion as to how a secretary should wield his pen. He writes, "The tip of the pen of the secretaries is the nightingale of the garden of eloquence (balāghat) and the 'undalīb on the twig of excellence (barā'at) they (dabīrs) ornament the visage of the kingdom and royal mandate (Manshūr) of the victory with the mole of eternity and the ²tughrā of purpose.

We certainly find a happy departure from the artificial style in some writers of the Mongol period, like Rashīd al-Dīn, Nasīr al-Dīn Baydāvi and the Hindūshāhs, while the ornate style itself had culminated in 'Atā Malik Juvaynī and Wassāf. As Shams al-Munshi,

I. Tarikh-i-Jahan-gushay of Juvayni, Tr. John Andrew Boyle, The History of the World-Conqueror, Manchester University Press, 1958, Vol. I, pp. 26-27, also compare Sabk. Vol. iii, pp. 168-69.

2. Mukatabat-i-Rashidi, (Rashidi), ed. Muhammad Shafi', Lahore, 1364/1945, pp. 85-86.

the author of the Dastūr al-Kātib observes, " The style of Vatvāt, Bahā' al-Dīn ,
Nur al-Dīn Munshī (al-Nasavī) and Radī al-Dīn Khashshāb had become antiquated and was no
I.
more suitable to the liking and trend of the people of his time."

Although Tīmūr encouraged a simple and direct style devoid of involved phraseology
for the composition of history, his own chronicler Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d.858/1454)
employed a florid style in the Zafar-nāma. 'Alī Yazdī was held in high estimation for his
Inshā' in his own country and India. According to Khwandamīr, the Mullā excelled in all the
2.
three kinds of Inshā' used in the composition of history, chancellery rescripts and epistles.

Under the Timurids the art of epistolary composition had reached its apogee, and such was
the affinity of this art among people in different walks of life that even calligraphists,
Ṣūfīs and the nobles combined with their talents the niceties of Inshā'-pardāzi.^{3.} The
period under review is equally rich in the works on Inshā'. The Sharaf-nāma of Shihāb al-Dīn
'Abd-Allāh Marvārīd, the Inshā'-i-Mu'in al-Zamajī, the Inshā'-i-Jāmī, the Nāma-yi-nāmī and
the Makhzan al-Inshā' of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī (d.A.H.910), exhibit the exquisite
specimens of the clerical style of the period employed in the chancellery and models of
private correspondences. The bombastic and diffuse style found a great exponent in Kāshifī.
The Makhzan has much in common with his Anvār-i-Suhaylī, while his Ṣahīfa-yi-shāhī contains
stocks of verses and complimentary epithets for the embellishment of epistles, which display
the tendency to literary artifices. The Inshā' of Mīram Siyāh Qazvīnī, with the takhallus Pīr
(still alive in A.H.957/1550-Humāyūn's reign) shows another redeeming feature of the style
4.
of the Timurid period, that of the rhymed prose.

No doubt the munsha'āts and the treatises of these munshīs and stylists were
looked upon as models for the art of letter-writing in India, but there evolved in the Indian
milieu in the course of time an indigenous style, the Sabk-i-Hindī in the Persian
language of India.

I. Dastūr. ff.3b-4a.

2. Nāmī. fol.49a, Nigār-nāma-yi-Munshī. Or. I735. fol.3b, and Or. I750 (Khulāṣat al-Inshā') ff. I58a

3. Bābur-nāma. (Bev.) vol. i. pp. 278, 271 etc.

4. Compare EIO. 206I. ff. I4b, I6a. His letters to Bābur and Humāyūn.

IV

Sabk-i-Hindī :

The consolidation of the Sultanate of Dihlī coincided with the rise of the Mongols in Turkestan. Waves of scholars, savants and Ṣūfīs infiltrated into India from the subjugated lands. The splendour of the courts of Khwarāzm and Khurāsān was transferred to Dihlī, Multān and Lakhnautī. The Sultān's court became " an asylum, refuge, resting place, and point of safety "^I.

Amongst the immigrants who finally adopted India as their home, most hailed from Transoxiana. With its scholars, excellent theologians, 'Ulamās and Imāms, ' which no country produced since the time of the Holy Prophet'²; Transoxiana exercised a preponderant influence on other Muslim lands. Under the auspices of Tūrānīs, Muslim learning and teachings flourished in India, as did the Persian language and literature.

In the preface to his Dīvān " the Ghurrat al-Kamāl ", Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī (651-752/1253-1325) holds the scholars of Hindūstān, particularly the Munshīs, in high esteem and notes some very interesting dialectal peculiarities of the Khurāsānīs and Sīstānīs. He says, " The learned men of Hindūstān, especially the immigrants who have settled down in Dihlī, surpass all other scholars in their erudition. (But) any Arab, Khurāsānī, Turk, Hindu or any other who comes to Indian cities like Dihlī, Multān and Lakhnautī, and not to places like Gujarāt, Mālawa or Deogīr, the abodes of Hindu idolatry, cannot change his tongue even if he spends his life there, and shall certainly speak according to the standard of his own country..... If a Hindu citizen or a villager continually converses and mixes with the inhabitants of Dihlī, yet there is imperfection in his Persian. A Khurāsānī, 'Iraqī, Shīrāzī or a Turk, however well-disposed he may be, always commits errors in Hindūī (Hindi) language even if he burns many a midnight candle

1. Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, W. Nassau Lees, Calcutta, 1864, p. 166; Tr., H. G. Raverty, London, 1881, Vol. i, p. 598-99.

2. Bābur-nāma (Bev.), Vol. i, p. 75.

But a Munshī born and brought up in the cities of Hindūstān, especially in Dihlī, without much practice can speak any language in its (correct) style and can even mould the prose and poetry (of that language) and adopt the style of any country he visits. And it has been proved by experience that several of our (munshīs) who never had the opportunity of visiting Arabia, have acquired eloquence in Arabic language.^{1.}

Persian, being the language of the Turkish ruling class, was learnt by all the Indians without the aid of any grammar for 'there had not yet been evolved any grammatical system' by the time of Amīr Khusrau. In fact, Khusrau maintains, there was no need to learn the rules of grammar of the Persian language, since every one knew the language from the banks of the Indus to the sea-shore. This Persian parlance enjoyed 'a uniformity of idiom throughout the length of four thousand parasangs, unlike the Hindūī tongue, which had no settled idiom and varied after every hundred miles and with every group of people.'^{2.}

Persian was written as it was pronounced, 'according to the standard of Transoxiana, the Persian of that country being similar to that of Hindūstān, and because Persian had lost its purity of idiom every where, except in that country.'^{3.} "The Kurāsānīs, for example, "observes Khusrau in his Ghurrat al-Kamāl, "pronounce 'Cha' as 'Chi' (چ) and some of them say 'Kajū' (کجو) instead of 'Kujā' (کجا), the correct pronunciation being denoted by the spelling. There are several other words, which they write correctly but pronounce differently." "Similarly," continues Khusrau, "people from Ādharbāyjan say, 'Karda-hun' and 'Karda-kun' for Karda and the Sīstānīs are prone to conclude their sentences with 'Hin' e.g. 'Gufta hin' and 'Rafta hin'."^{4.}

1. EIO, II87 (Kulliyāt-i-Khusrau) fol. I6Ib.-I62b., EIO. Ghurrat fol. I7a.-b.

2. Nuh-Sipihr., Amīr Khusrau, ed. D. Wahid Mirza, Oxford. 1950, Pref. pp. xxx-xxxii, Text p. I73.

3. Ghurrat. ibid.

4. Ibid., It is interesting to note that Indians even to the present day pronounce "چ" as 'Cha', "چنان", as 'Chunān'. However, Khusrau in his I'jāz pronounces chunān as chinān (as it is pronounced at present in Iran.) The chunān is the more correct pronunciation (i.e. chūn + ān = chunān, similarly chunīn ≠ chūn + īn). Compare Sabk, Vol. ii, p. I48.

Thus in view of the common features of the Persian tongue of both Transoxiana and Hindūstān, it was logical for the Indian writers to accept as immediate models the authors of Transoxiana. It was not, therefore, without significance that Vaṭvāt and Bahā'al-Dīn Baghdādī of the Khwarazmshāhiān were looked upon as literary preceptors, and their Munsha'ats as the standard text books on the art of epistolography. They were widely read and imitated by the munshīs, for the sake of their 'flow of style like the rippling waters of the Euphrates.' The traditional style of these masters, like a barge loaded with the rhetorical ornaments continued on one track under the Indian sun, for no other course had been yet discovered.¹

Khusrau in his I'jāz-i-Khusravī, one of the earliest treatises written in India on the art of epistolary composition and rhetoric, notices that although the old style had become too conventional to allow any innovation, there had been developing in the Indian milieu a new style of prose 'mixed with delightful artifices', the relish of which was almost unknown to the 'ice-cruncher' (yakh-shikanān) of Transoxiana and Khurāsān.² Khusrau himself attempted to introduce his own original style of epistolary composition, which as he calls it, was a medley (sik-bā) prepared with the flavour and spices of Ṭham and Khayāl to the exclusion of all other verbal tropes. This style, which he considers to be 'light as water',³ was according to him original and distinct from all the nine prose styles in vogue.⁴ The miracle performed by Khusrau in his epistles through a 'concealed revelation', reduced, in fact, his I'jāz to a mere magic of words and puns, and won him but a handful of followers like, Zuhuri, Munir, Tughra, Ni'mat Khan-i-'Ali and Mirza 'Abd al-Qadir Bidil.

1. I'jāz. ff. 24a and 254a.

2. Ibid. fol. 24a

3. Ibid. ff. 25a, 28b, 321a-b.

4. The following are the nine styles enumerated by Khusrau: (i) The style of the Mashā'ikh, divided into two categories according to the spiritual rank (a) men of 'resting' and 'stations', examples: Kashf al-Mahjūb of Saḥykh 'Alī 'Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujvīrī (d. 465/1072) and Sulūk al-Murīdīn; (b) Ṣufīs of "States", example: works of al-Ghazālī and 'Ayn al-Qudāt al-Hamadānī; (ii) of spiritual 'ulamā, example: Persian works of al-Ghazālī and translation of the Ihyā' (i.e. Kimīyāy-i-sa'ādat); (iii) of dabīrs, mixed with Arabic and Persian like the works of Bahā'al-Dīn and Kalīla-u-Dimna (tr., Naṣr-Allāh, AD. II 43-44); (iv) of the savants; (v) of orators; (vi) of teachers; (vii) of the common-folk; (viii) of the working class people, artisans etc. and (ix) of humorous writers, buffoons and clowns.

The indigenous style of prose "mixed with delightful artifices" which took its root during the age of Khusrau, blossomed in the hands of the newer generation of Indian writers and enjoyed its vernal days in the Indian Summer of the Mughal period. The old style of the masters came to be discarded gradually, because it was difficult to imitate such a style which was "a pass studded with nails". It did not, however entirely disappear for in every age some would follow in the footprints of Nasr-Allāh Munshī, Wassāf and others. The indigenous style, which we may call the Sabk-i-Hindī, owes its development to various historical, cultural and dialectal factors.

(i) The texture of the Inshā'ī style as woven by the masters, displays dominant elements of Arabic. Since the use of Arabic constructions, phrases and expressions was regarded as an important feature of the Inshā'ī style, it was incumbent on the munshīs to follow that conventional line of the masters. It, therefore, demanded a command of both Arabic and Persian and required the secretary's inventive genius 'to prepare unique perfumes by judiciously mixing the sandal of 'Ajam with the musk of Arabia'.⁴ To possess a profound knowledge of the Arabic classics, and to be able to appreciate the poetry of Abū Tammām, Abū-Furās, Mutanabbī and the prose works of Ṣabī, Utībī and the like, was the most requisite accomplishment.⁵

It seems that such a profound knowledge of Arabic in particular, and so high a standard could not be achieved by the Indian writers of the later period. Certainly the munshīs born and brought up in Dihlī distinguished themselves as linguists and acquired an eloquence in Arabic denied to the Arab themselves, but knowledge of Arabic in the case of most of the Indians (indigenous Muslims and converts) did not reach beyond the study of the Qur'ān as a religious discipline. For the Hindū'ī speaking Indians it was easier to adopt Persian because of its Sanskritic affinities, but Arabic was difficult to assimilate even with the aid of 'systematized grammar' (like the Kāfiya and the Shāfiya of Ibn al-Hājib d.A.D.1248). To acquire eloquence and elegance in the speaking and writing of the Arabic language was the achievement of only a section of Indians, like the 'ulamā, Sūfīs and jurists.

1. I'jāz. ff.24a, 321a.

3. Ibid. fol.82a.

5. Manāzar. fol.4a.

6. Nuh Sipihr, text, p.173, Compare also the celebrated rebuke of of 'Ālangīr to his teacher about the difficult assimilation of the Arabic language, recorded by Bernier; Vide Travels in the Moghul Empire, Constable O.M., London, pp.155-61.

2. Manāzar. fol.4a.

4. I'jāz. ff.20b, 24a, 26b.

This does not in any case imply a total inability of the Indians to learn Arabic, although it does suggest a lack of enthusiasm for it and consequently a dearth of literature produced by them in that language. The fact that the study of Arabic classics and the use of Arabicised Persian prose style had lost all its fascination for the writers of the later Sultanate period is amply borne out by the remark of Khawāja Jahan. He says, "Most of the people entertain a dislike for the quatrains of Ibn Yamin and the poetry of Mutanabbī, Abū-Furās, Zahīr and Abū-Tammām. The prose work of Ṣabī, ʿUtībī and the original similes of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, are looked upon as gibberish in the Arabic language, and the Arabicised diction of Kalīla-va-Dimna of Nasr-Allāh (Abū'l-Ma'ālī) and the elevated metaphors of Wassāf, as useless and profitless productions." I.

(ii)

But this was not all that brought about a decline in the old style, and consequently contributed to the development of Indian Style. The inner changes taking place in the Persian language of India were mainly responsible not only for the change in style of prose and poetry, but for the whole of Persian speech.

In the course of time that purity of idiom, of which Khusrau boasts, was lost to the Persian language of India. 'That Persian was written as it was pronounced according to the standard of Tūrān,' was pronounced differently from the standard of Persian of Persia (Western-Iran) and in the case of certain words was spelled differently too. This fact is amply borne out by the earliest dictionaries compiled by Indians, for instance the Ādāt al-Fudalā' compiled by Qādī Khān Badr Muhammad of Dihlī in 822/1419, and the Sharaf-nāma-yi-Ibrāhīmī or Farhang-i-Ibrāhīmī, by Ibrāhīm Qawām Farūqī, between A. D. 1428-1445. The last mentioned dictionary compiled to commemorate the name of Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Ahmad b. Yahyā Munyarī (d.782/1380-81), like the preceding one gives

I. Manāzar. fol. 4a.

occasionally Hindūī equivalents and Indian pronunciation of Persian words. This change in pronunciation and spelling becomes more distinct in the Majma'al-Furs-i-Surūrī of Muhammad Qāsim b. Hājī Muhammad of Kāshān, who came to India during the reign of Shāh Jahān and died there. The spelling and pronunciation of Surūrī are those of the standard Persian of Persia, and, therefore, differ from the Tūrānī Persian of the Indian lexicographers mentioned above. Since the dialectal peculiarities of Eastern-Persian were deposited on Indian soil with the waves of invaders and the exodus from Tūrān (Transoxiana, Eastern-Khurāsān and Afghānistān), they became an integral part of Indian Persian. To this inheritance was added in the course of time, the special characteristics of Indian dialects and vernaculars. Examples of the change in pronunciation are given by Khawāja Jahān in his learned treatise the Manāzar al-Inshā'.² H. Blochmann in his essay "Contributions to Persian lexicography" has collected a number of words and phrases peculiar to the Isti'māl-i-Hind as distinct from the Isti'māl-i-Furs.³ This change in spelling, form, meaning and construction or the Tasarrufāt is one of the reasons for the development of the Sabk-i-Hindī as a distinct style from that of Persia.

(iii)

Besides the Tasarrufāt, another aspect of the Indianisation of Persian was the accumulation of loan-words from the vernaculars due to the natural linguistic development of Persian in a foreign land amongst foreign people. Persian was the language of diplomacy and literature par excellence and of polite society. But as the social conditions of that time reveal, Hindi like Persian was equally the mother tongue of Indian Muslim families of foreign extraction. Indian Muslims, like Amir Khusrau, were even proud of their Hindūī tongue and spoke it more eloquently than other languages. By the time of Khusrau, this common tongue of every day talk had developed to the point where it was capable of being employed for literary purposes.⁵

1. Vide. Contribution to Persian Lexicography. H. Blochmann. J.A.S. Bengal. 1869. vol. XXVII. pt. I.

2. Manazar. ff. 40b-42a.

3. J.A.S. Ibid.

4. Compare Amir Khusrau :

5. Nuh Sipihr. p. xxxi. Text. p. 178.

شکر مصری ندام کز عرب گویم سخن : ترک ہندوستانیم در ہندوی گویم جواب

Although to introduce Hindi words into pure Persian was considered unpleasant, it was an unforced necessity with Khusrau, Barani, 'Afif and other writers, like the Sufis. The ready access to Hindi for homely expressions, terms and phrases was a natural process and more practicable than coining or neologism. In this respect the earliest dictionaries must have helped supplying ready-made loan-words. Neologism, the peculiar formation of composite words with Persian and Hindi, and analogous expressions in Persian were equally peculiar to the munshis of the Mughal period, and reached their acme in the composition of the Hindu Munshis.

(iv)

Persian became more Indianised when the Hindus took to the study of Persian, according to the common belief during the reign of Sikandar Lodi (895-915/1489-1510). A great majority of Hindu Munshis, all of whom flourished during the Mughal regime, enriched the Persian language with Indian vocabulary, homely metaphors and imageries drawn from the Hindu-Muslim beliefs.

(v)

Indianisation of Persian was one of many aspects of social development taking place between the two divergent societies of Hindus and Muslims. The great builders of the Indo-Muslim society were the Sufis and the Bhagats, who worked it out through a synthesis of Sufism and Vedanta. It was in the field of culture that the separately flowing life-currents of Hindus and Muslims were brought into a confluence that had its far reaching effect on Indian soil.

The Sufis, who with the foundation of Muslim rule in India had organised themselves into the then existing mystic orders (silsilas), made great contribution by bringing about a happy harmony in the various social groups. Their contribution to the social and cultural developments are equally glorious. They popularised the common tongue, Hindi; wrote mystical verses with uncommon combinations of Persian and Hindi, called "Rekhata"; and gave to the Persian language a mass of literature on Sufistic doctrine.

India can well boast of a number of collections of letters, called Maktūbāt, on Sufi doctrine and religious topics, written by the Mediaeval Indian Ṣūfīs, whereas Persia by that time possessed only the earliest Maktūbāt of al-Ghazālī and 'Ayn al-Qudāt Abū'l-Ma'ālī ² Miyānājī.

The style of Ṣūfīs is direct and devoid of rhetorical artifices. They write short sentences and employ saj' more often than not. The language is filled with Arabic and Persian quotations from the religious and Ṣūfī works. Analogous expressions of Hindi and Persian, include crude constructions such as "Chatr al-Sultān" ³ The ordinary sentences seem to be a painful translation from the Hindi in which they normally thought. Such expressions consequently found their way into the Persian composition of other writers.

I. The following are the extant collections: (i) Maktūbāt-i-Munyarī or 'Ajvāba-yi-Munyarī, (Bombay Uni.Cat.) Munyar a place in Bihar is always wrongely and sometimes barbarously pronounced as Munir, (vide: A Hist. Of Persian Lit. at the Mughal Court, 1930. p.10 and

Bābur-nāma, tr. Beveridge, vol. ii. p. 666). But compare the following verse by the author of the Sharaf-nāma-yi-Ibrāhīmī:

(Br. Mus. Add. 76, 78. ff. 3a-b)

که درو بدوین حق برترستی : سمعی بنی احمد میترکی
که خاک در روضه اش برتر است : معیث جهان سرور میتراست

(ii) Maktūbāt of 'Alī Hamadānī. (A. D. 1314-84) of the Kabīriya order and the author of the Dhakīrat al-Mulūk. (Br. Mus. Ms.) The lithographed edition (I327/1909) does not collate with the Br. Mus. Ms. Add. I6, 840.

(iii) Maktūbāt-i-Ḥusaynī (Gīsū-darāz) (1321-1422) of the Chishtī order. Vide cat. Tipoo Sultan Stewart. p. 37.

(iv) Bahr al-Ma'ānī, letters of Muḥammad b. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ja'far al-Makkī al-Ḥusaynī, a Khalīfa of the preceding Shaykh. Vide. EIO. Ms. I867.

(v) Maktūbāt-i-Ashrafī, letters of Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr al-Simmānī. Vide. Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 267.

(vi) Sahā'if al-Tarīqa, letters of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Nathu Jaumpurī (d. before A. H. 900), on ascetic life. Vide. Br. Mus. Ms. Add. I5, 846.

(vii) Maktūbāt-i-Quddūsiya, letters of Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangūhī (d. 944/1537) (Lithographed.). There are several other collections which do not seem to be extant but are mentioned in the hagiologies such as, Savāṭi 'al-Anvār (EIO. 654) and the Akhbār al-Akhyār of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq. (Printed).

2. Vide, Br. Mus. Ms. Add. I6, 823.

3. EIO. Ms. I873,

Maktūbāt-i-Quddusiyya. ff. 208a-b.

This Indianisation was complete when Persian succumbed to the influence of Indian customs and creeds, legends and mythology, romance and folk-lore. It was not only a change of form but a change in spirit and mood. Mysticism had captured the essentially pantheistic mind of Medieval India; this had its deep impact on intellectual activities. A swing to mysticism stimulated the writing of Sūfī works while at the same time causing a lack of enthusiasm for belles-lettres under the Sultanate period.

(vi) One of the reasons of the decadence of Persian after the close of the 14th century was the absence of any literary centre with a nucleus of scholars and writers of great merit. The fabric of Indian society was torn asunder and so was the Empire of Dihlī after it received a coup de grace at the hand of Timūr in A.D. 1398. The space of over a century was followed by a chronic anarchy, disruption and disputed succession. Dihlī stood like a silent witness of vanished dreams beholding the shadow play of Sultans coming after Sultans. Persian enjoyed the position of court language at the kingdoms of Mālawa, Gujarāt, Jainpūr, and the Deccan, but no work of any high merit was produced although writers contributed quantitatively to Persian literature. The flow of scholars from the literary centres of Persia and Transoxiana was stemmed, and scholars like Jāmī, Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī and Sadr al-Dīn Ravāsī (d.A.H. 871) could not be persuaded even by so eminent a person as Khwāja Jahan² to visit India 'to light the torch of guidance and raise the spiritual level of the people.

(vii) The Pathan rulers were unfavourably disposed towards Persian, and it is strange to note that most of the Afghan chiefs in spite of their close association with Persian, could not speak that language by the time of Bābur³. This age is characterised by the progress of Hindi language and literature. Hindi was recognised as a semi-official language under the Sūrs and the chancellery rescripts bore the transcription in the Devanāgarī script of the Persian contents, a practice which was said to have been introduced by the Lōdis⁴. The development of Hindi had thwarted the progress of the Persian language which in fact had attained that apogee after which all possibilities of progress were exhausted and decay was the next stage. Although Persian in India followed a definite tradition of the Turanian-Persian, it was Indian in spirit and in style, the Sabk-i-Hindī.

1. Compare Baranī, pp. 344-46.

2. Riyād al-Inshā', Hyderabad Deccan, 1948, pp. 14, 19, 152.

3. Bābur-nāma (Bev.) vol. ii, pp. 459-60.

4. O.C. Magazine, Lahore, May, 1933.

Chapter I.

Dār al-Inshā' and the Munshīs under the Mughals.

Bābur did not live to consolidate the empire which he founded in 932/1526, after the overthrow of the Lōdī dynasty, nor did his son Humāyūn's chequered career give him an opportunity to reconstruct the administrative machinery which had for years been on the verge of disorder and anarchy. Both of them carried on the prevalent administrative system. However, to a great measure the official nomenclature, administrative terminology and duties of the various functionaries were borrowed ready-made from Fārs, Khurāsān and Turkestan. From the pages of Bābur's Memoirs information can be gathered about the organisation of the military caste and civil administration as it existed under him. The list of the civil officials included a Chief Justice (Ṣadr al-ṣudūr), Viziers, Dīvāns, Parvānāchī, Muhrdār, Eshīk-āqāsī (master of the threshold); and some minor functionaries like the Kitābdār, Bukāvuls (tasters), Yasāvuls (ushers) and many others. These or similar officials existed under Humāyūn also.

Humāyūn classified the state machinery into four departments after the four elements, Ātashī, Ābī, Havā'ī and Khākī; corresponding to Military, Sherbat-khāna, Household and Agriculture respectively. Another innovation of his original mind was to divide the nobility and the officials into three classes. (1) Ahl-i-Daulat (officials of the State) consisted of the upper ruling class, the Emperor's relations, viziers and the nobility. (2) Ahl-i-Sa'adat (the Literati) included the scholars, 'ulāmā and munshīs, and among the Ashrāfs, the sayyids and the shaykhs. On the religious side there were the qādīs and the muftīs, while the other men of learning consisted of the philosophers, teachers and poets. (3) Ahl-i-Murād were those who possessed grace and elegance, or the minstrels, dancing girls and beauteous youths all catering for pleasure and lascivious sensuality.²

1. Compare Bābur-nāma (Bev.), Vol. ii, pp. 559-74. For corresponding officials under the Timurids, vide ibid, Vol. i, pp. 270-86, the Nāmī: طوبیة اعلی and A Civil and Military Review in Fars 881/1476, BSOAS, X-1940-42, by V. Minorsky.

2. Humāyūn-nāma, Khwandamīr, Elliot, Vol. V, pp. 119-20 and 123-24.

It was however, left to the administrative genius of Akbar to reconstruct and reorganise the state machinery. The model of Mughal institutions he left behind was retained by his successors. The entire organisation of the Mughal administration presented a net-work of several departments, with all of its threads in the hands of the Emperor, but the actual administration was carried on by four ministers at the Capital and well-equipped staff at the provincial centres which were almost miniatures of the Central government.

- (1). Dīvān-i-kull or the Dīvān-i-a'lā : The vizier, as the Dīvān-i-kull was called, had eclipsed the Vakīl (Prime Minister), which title remained only an honorary epithet. He was the head of the Exchequer and Finance. The Dīvān-i-khālīṣa (of the crownlands) and the Dīvān-i-tan (of salary or tankhwāh) assisted the Chief dīvān. Attached to that office were also the Mushrif (Chief accountant) and the Mustaufi (Auditor)^{I.}.
- (2). Mīr-Bakhshī: Also styled as Bakhshī al-mamālik, he was in charge of the Military department. He was the Paymaster General and Adjutant General of the army and the mansabdars. Several other Bakhshīs assisted him.
- (3). Mīr-i-samān: or Khān-i-samān: He was the administrator of the Royal Household and had several assistants, the Dīvān-i-buyūtāt, Mushrif, Mustaufī, Nāzir, Tahvīldār and the Darūghas.
- (4). Ṣadr: Variouslly called the Ṣadr al-sudūr, Ṣadr-i-kull, Ṣadr-i-jahān, he was the highest ecclesiastical Law-officer and Inquisitor and the head of the judiciary. For some time the office had unlimited authority in conferring Soyūrghāl in cash or land devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purpose. The Dīvān-i-sa'adat was an important assistant of the Ṣadr. All the provincial Ṣadrs and the Pargana Qādīs^{2.} came under his jurisdiction.

1. Ā'in., vol., i, (Bloch.), tr., pp.6

2. Ibid. p.281.

The history of dār al-inshā' is ignored in the account of Mughal rule in India. It is strange to note that the Ā'in-i-Akbarī, the chief source of our knowledge of the Mughal institutions, does not make the slightest reference to the working of the Chancellery bureau as a distinct and separate department under the Mīr Munshī or State secretary. This silence of the Ā'in echoes through all the Dastūr al-'amals, which normally tend to supplement the Ā'in in certain respects. The modern historians have likewise evaded an attempt to give even an outline of the dār al-inshā', and in most cases have neglected even to mention it with other institutions of the Mughal administration. The eminent historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar's brief account of the dār al-inshā' does not supply us with any details or relevant information, nor does he disclose his source.¹

As the facts stand, the stray references to the post of Mīr Munshī during the periods of Humāyūn and Akbar suggest that the dār al-inshā' must have existed from the earliest time of the Mughal rule. But it is from the time of Shāh Jahān that frequent mention is made of the dār al-inshā'. From a passing reference made to it in the Ḍavābit-i-'Ālangīrī it becomes evident that the bureau of correspondence was attached to the office of Bakshī al-mulk in accordance with the practice in the past (ba-dastūr-i-sābiq).² This fact becomes clear when the nature of civil service under the Mughal administration is fully visualised. Every servant of the government as a rule, had to be a commander maintaining a certain number of horsemen, which was a convenient means of fixing the salary and official status of every Mansabdār. All Mansabdārs belonged to the department of the Bakshī, who was the head of the military office and the Paymaster General. The

1. Ibn Hasan in his excellent work, The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, does not mention the dār al-inshā' at all. Compare also The Mughal Administration, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1924, p. 225.

2. Or. I 64 I, ff. 93b-94a.

civil officials consisting of ghost writers, clerks and writers in other capacities, all of them commonly called munshīs in India, came under the authority of the Bakhshī, at least for their salaries and payments. The department of the Bakhshī in this respect must have handled the administrative side of the secretariat only, for example, the recruitment to each department of the required number of munshīs, transfers and changes in their personnel, and posting to various duties. The orders of the posting of the Mansabdārs and the Vāqi'a-nivīs were connected with the office of the Bakhshī.¹

Mīr Munshī

The immediate official of the dār al-Inshā' was, however, the Mīr Munshī also called the dārūgha-yi-dār al-Inshā'. His position as the State secretary or State scribe in charge of the diplomatic and political correspondence of the Emperor, is quite obscure. It is doubtful whether he ever enjoyed that position in the face of the all-powerful dīvān, who had left no scope to the State secretary for his privileged duties. The Chancellery orders (Ahkām-i-dīvānī) relating to State affairs and revenue transactions (mu'amalat-i-mulki-va-mālī) were the chief concern of the dīvān, who drafted all Farmāns in his office or in private, with the help of the munshīs.² The Emperor entrusted him with the composition of the important royal missives, such as those addressed to the ruling princes (Fatāwān-i-sultānī) and the diplomatic correspondence conducted with foreign sovereigns (Murāsālāt).

The viziers of the Mughal Emperors were accomplished writers of Persian and Arabic, and were stylists of their time. It was one of the qualifications for the post of the dīvān that he ought to be, "pleasing in style clear in his writing, truthful, a man of integrity, condescending, zealous in his work."³ The dīvān, in this respect eclipsed the State scribe, who hitherto had enjoyed ministerial rank and was one of the traditional four pillars of the State.

1. Or. I64I, ff. I8a-20a.

2. Chahār Chaman (Br. Mus. Ms. Or. I892), ff. 87b-88a, 90a-b.

3. Ā'in, (Bloch.) tr., Vol. i, p. 6.

Again, the many instances of combination of the posts of Sadārat (justice) and munshī in one person make it more complex to delineate the features of the State scribe as he existed during the Mughal rule. Under Bābur Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī (d.940/1533-34), "The most exalted among sadrs of the human race", was entrusted on important occasions with the compilation of the Farmāns of religious significance and Fath-nāmas of political interest. He was assisted by the office-munshīs of the Emperor.¹ The Chancellery orders of land grants made for subsistence allowance and benevolent purposes (i.e. Soyūrghāl), bore his seal and endorsement, for in the capacity of a Sadr he was authorised to deal with such grants.² Instances of one person holding the combined posts of Sadr or Qādī and State scribe can be multiplied under the Mughal administration.³

Muhammad Asghar (d.983/1575-76), commonly known by his title Ashraf Khān, was well-versed in Inshā' and calligraphy. He entered the service of Humāyūn and received from him the title and post of Mīr Munshī. There is no account of his active service as the Mīr Munshī, either in the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī or in the Akbar-nāma. Under Akbar his career as a soldier in various military expeditions seems to discount his position as the Mīr Munshī, the title by which he is always remembered in the contemporary annals. But it is certain that he officiated in the duties of Mīr Munshī at any rate till the last year of his life. An original Farmān of the Emperor Akbar, dated 979/1572, issued under the Mīhrābī seal used for judicial transactions, bears his seal impression in the capacity of Mīr Munshī.⁴

The great Munshī Abū'l-Faḍl, Akbar's minister and friend, acted as State secretary to the Emperor, without officially holding that portfolio and title. He was appointed Dīvān of the province of Dihlī in 1585, and towards the middle of A.H.1000, beginning of 1592, he became one of the grandees of the Court, and remained as before, in immediate attendance on the Emperor. It was in his honorary capacity as Munshī-yi-hadrat that he wrote letters to the Kings of Persia, Tūrān and other foreign countries, and composed in

1. Bābur-nāma (Bev.), Vol.ii, pp.553,559.

2. Vide Illustration No.I.

3. Mīr'āt-i-Ahmadi, Part,i, pp.377-8, Compare also Nigār, fol.15b.

4. Vide IHRO-xxii, Oct., 1945, pp.33-35, "A Farmān of Emperor Akbar".

sonorous diction and high-flown language Fāramin-i-sultānī addressed to princes, amirs and the ruling powers of India. The Ahkām-i-dīvānī of Akbar's reign beginning from the 38th Regnal year, bear the seal impression or endorsement of 'Allāmī Fahhāmī Abū'l-Fadl'.^{I.}

Under Jahāngīr we do not come across the name of any prominent Munshī who might have enjoyed the position of a state scribe. The Emperor himself is known to the world of Persian Literature, through his Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī and royal missives compiled by him, as a writer of a simple style, with elegance and naïveté of expression. In most cases he wrote out himself the Farmāns and letters. Some of the original Farmāns of madad-i-ma'ash grants bear the seal impression of his famous Prime Minister and father-in-law, I'timād al-Dala,^{2.} and it is probable that, literary figure as he was, he might have been entrusted with drafting the Fāramin-i-sultānī and the diplomatic correspondence on important occasions.^{3.}

Shāh Jahān's reign witnessed the most brilliant galaxy of professional and non-professional munshis. The most renowned after Abū'l-Fadl is certainly Munshī Chandra Bhān Barahman. He was earlier attached to the dār al-inshā' and later deputed in the Imperial Exchequer in the section of Farmān. He worked as literary secretary to the Chief Dīvāns of Shāh Jahān, the most noteworthy being Afdal Khān, Islām Khān, Sa'd-Allāh Khān, and Ja'far Khān.^{4.} His position in all cases was that of the departmental secretary. During the later Mughal rule munshis holding that position are termed Mīr Munshī, a title suitable for Barahman, but which he never assumed.

'Allāmī Fahhāmī Afdal Khān started his career as a secretary and confidant of prince Khurram, who afterwards became the Emperor Shāh Jahān. He is designated as the "Chief of elegant writers (sar-āmad-i-munagqah-nivīsan)".^{5.} He conducted all the diplomatic correspondence of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, after he was appointed Dīvān-i-kull in the year 1038/1628-29. Besides the letters addressed to the Shāh of Iran and to the ruler of Balkh in the name of the Emperor, Afdal Khān drafted the Treaty ('Ahd-nāma) which took place between the Mughal Kingdom and that of Bijapur (Deccan) in A.H. 1045.

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- I. Imperial Farmans. Vide. NO. IV-A., also JRAS (Bomby), 1903, A Farmān of Akbar of the 40th year of his reign.
 2. Tuzuk., Per. text, ed., Syud Ahmud (Sayyid Ahmad), 'Aligarh. 1863, p. 192, Nuskha. fol. 218b, etc
 3. Vide IHRC. vol. XXVI-part, II, pp I-7.
 4. Chaman. ff. 60a-b, Munshā'at-i-Barahman (Edinb, No. 334). fol. 1b,
 5. Nigār. fol. 4a.

'Allāmi Fahhāmī Sa'd-Allāh Khān ranks with the most famous and efficient viziers of the Mughal dynasty. He is considered as second to Abū'l-Fadl in style, although in scholarship he was no less than his match. He knew all the current Muslim languages and wrote letters in Arabic and Persian to foreign sovereigns and Farmāns to local powers in subordinate alliance with the suzerain power. Barahman his protégé¹ and great admirer, assigns him a place higher than the learned men of 'Irāq and 'Ajām.²

In the Mughal administration, as we have seen, the Mīr Munshī never enjoyed a ministerial rank, although he remained the head of the dār al-inshā', which itself was a dependent bureau and not a ministry. His literary duties as state-scribe were performed by the dīvān, while his administrative duties as a personal secretary to the Emperor in immediate attendance on him were divided among the dārūgha-yi-ghusl-khāna (superintendent of the private chamber), the 'ard-i-mukarrar (examiner of petitions) and the munshīs present on duty called munshī-yi-hudūr-nivīs.³

Drafting of the Royal Missives in the Daulat Khāna-yi-Khāss:

All the Mughal Emperors with the exception of Akbar, were distinguished epistolary writers. Besides writing out their own personal letters they drafted the replies of important petitions ('arā'id), addressed to princes and grandees in their own favourable hand-writing (ba-khatt-i-navāzish). Sometimes to show their special favour towards chiefs and favourites, or in order to emphasise the importance of Farmāns, they added verses or autographs on top of the Farmāns composed by the 'Mercury-like munshīs ('utārid āthār).⁴

The Emperor, after a day's heavy business transacted in the public darbār, held in the daulat-khāna-yi-khāss-u-'amm, retired to the private chamber called variously the ghusl-khāna and the daulat-khāna-yi-khāss. In reply to petitions on important affairs, the Emperor drafted with his own hand the Farmāns in the private chamber. In the case of other matters submitted to him through the Vakīl (court-agent), vizier, or the clerks (i.e. 'ard-i-mukarrar), the Emperor dictated the replies to the eloquent scribes (dabīrān-i-balāghata'īn).

1. Vide Lahaurī. vol. ii. part, i, pp. 493, 530, 573, 596. Jāmi 'al-inshā', ff. I26b-I28b, I38b-I43b etc. also vide, IHRC. I95I, part-ii, pp., 74-77. Two farmāns of Shāh Jahān to the Rānā of Udaypur.

2. Chaman. ff. 56a

3. Lahaurī. vol. i., p. I42.

4. Ibid. also Chaman. ff., I5a-I6a.

who drafted them according to the ḥukm-i-mushāfaha (oral order). The Emperor himself went through the text and corrected mistakes, if any, in language or in sense.¹

The Farmāns were sometimes endorsed and sealed by the Princes also, and were recorded in their memoranda (risāla) kept by their Risāladārs. The dīvān, who in most cases drafted the rescripts relating to revenue transactions added the words "ma'rifat-i-khud" (through me) below the (endorsement) of the Princes. The Farmāns were then sent to the haram to be sealed by the particular seals kept in custody of the Empress.² In addition to the royal seal, the impression of the royal hand (panja) dipped with vermilion or saffron was also added as a great show of favour to the potentates. According to the European traveller Manucci, the panja was used in treaties and Qaul-nēmas as an assurance of peace, or other binding promises.³

Departmental Munshīs :

Writers proficient in the art of Inshā' were eagerly sought after as ghost writers, or private secretaries by the State, princes and nobles. They were called after the duty assigned or the department they were attached to, such as Farmān-nivīs, Vāqī'a-nivīs, and so on. The prefix munshī, a term for respect, was loosely applied to each writer, and in the office parlance the common form for addressing them was Munshījī.⁴ Munshīs were divided into different official and technical grades, which determined their promotion and literary status.

Munshī-yi-haqīqī :

A real munshī, also called Munshī-yi-aslī, is one who has distinguished himself in profound scholarship and learning, and acquired mastery over the art of Inshā' in all its branches. Such a munshī does not stand in need of munsha'ats of the classics for producing original phrases in Arabic, and creating rare idioms (ījād-i-lughāt-i-badī'). Khawāja Jahān points out that there exist very few munshīs of such distinction who deserve the title Munshī-i-haqīqī.⁵

1. Lāhaurī. Vol. I, pp. 145-48; Chaman, ff. 16a, 25a.
2. Compare the Ma'athir al-Umarā', Vol. ii, p. 639, Vol. i, pp. 270-71.
3. Śria Do Mogor, London, 1907, Vol. iii, pp. 231-32.; Lāhaurī, Vol. i, part, ii, p. 173.
4. The Hindi suffix " Jī " is a respectful term equivalent to the Arabic Sahib, in India. Bemier (Travels in the Moghul Empire, pp. 29, 152) records the Mughal Emperors addressing their nobles and others as "Babagy" and so on.
5. Manāzar, fol. 58a, Khulāsat (Or. I750) fol. II6b.

Munshī-yi-majāzī:

' A munshī who does not possess power and ability in elegance of composition, but has the skill of connecting a few choice phrases (fiqrāt) picked up from the composition of eloquent writers, in such a manner that the simplicity and vigour of the style (salāsat-va-matānat) is maintained in keeping with the loan-phrases.'^{1.}

Munshī-yi-tā'līfī, or Munshī-yi-maktūbī :

Through constant association with real munshīs, he has acquired a knowledge of the current idioms ('ibārat-i-musta'mala) and expresses himself correctly in his correspondence. He does not, however, possess the ability of maintaining the mood and standard of his style, even with the help of the borrowed stray phrases from others.^{2.}

Munshī-yi-ta'rīfī :

According to Khwāja Jahān a munshī belonging to the last grade is one who 'irrelevantly and disorderly intersperses his composition with stray borrowed idioms and sentences'. But it is his pleasing hand-writing that summons the observer to go through his epistles and therefore, he is also called a "Munshī-yi-tasvīrī".^{3.}

The literary distinctions of the munshīs played a great rôle in assigning them their departmental grade, on which depended much of their promotion and prospects. Officially they were divided into three grades.

(I) Munshī-yi-auval or the First departmental secretary.

He was the Munshī-yi-auval who did not require the assistance of his higher authorities in drafting the State papers and correspondence relating to mu'āmalāt-i-mulki-va-mālī, and carried out his duties quite independently, having regard to the rules and regulations of Inshā' of which he was a master.^{4.}

(2) Under secretary :

He was termed Munshī-yi-duvum, and worked under the guidance of the First departmental secretary, and followed the rules formulated by the learned munshīs for epistolary composition.^{5.}

1. Manāzar ., fol. 58a, Khulāsat. fol. II8b.

2. Manāzar. Ibid.

3. Manāzar . Ibid., Khulāsat., ff. II8b-II9a, and fol. II6b.

4. Khulāsat. fol. II6b.

5. Khulāsat. fol. II7a.

(3) Amanuensis:

The Munshī-yi-sivum acted as a ghost writer who wrote out the rescripts to the dictation of other munshīs and officials, or copied them from the original musavvada.

Thus promotion from the lowest grade of an ordinary copyist to the highest grade depended not so much on the efficiency and loyalty, as on proficiency in the art of Inshā'. Most of the viziers, who started their career in ordinary positions in the Imperial service or under some prince, rose to premiership through their scholarship and mastery over the art of epistolography. Chandra Bhān Barahman rose in the Imperial service from the post of a vāqī'a-nivīs-i-hudūr to the position of the First departmental secretary in the Imperial Exchequer.

Hindu Munshīs:

Prior to Muslim rule in Hindustan, Indian society based on the principles of discrimination, was divided into castes and sub-castes. The hierarchical cult of the Brahmans enjoyed exclusive rights, intellectual, social and religious. The Kshatriyas formed the feudal class, holding the lands as did their counterpart the Brahmans. To the Vaiśyas and the Sudras, representing the lower strata and consisting of peasantry, artisans, skilled labourers, traders and other professional workmen, ordinary human rights were denied. Education in the Muslim countries was open to all, while in India it was closed to all sections of people not belonging to the twice-born caste. Muslim rule in India brought about social, cultural, and in certain respects economic changes in the course of time. New progressive forces of religious movements and heresies, the mediaeval form of mass discontent, under the Muslim impact played a great rôle in destroying the Hindu order completely, bridging the impassable barriers, modifying castes. In the course of time the conception of India as a nation was made possible.

The Muslim invaders could not dispense with the conquered Hindus, on whom they depended for the supply of workmen, artisans and servants. Most of them found employment in the state departments and in local administration. It was in the revenue department of the state that the Sultans could find no substitutes for the Hindus, especially the Kayaths or

I. Compare Introduction to Elliot's History. 'Aligarh University, 1951, Muhd. Habib, pp. 38-39.

also cf. Ashtaf, (JAS-Bengal, 1935), pp. 107, 131.

2. Calcutta Review, 1817, l. i, p. 316, "A chapter from Mohammedan History".

the Kayesthas, known as the " writer caste ". When Bābur came to India, he found that the revenue department was manned by Hindus. ^{I.} The famous Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangūhī in an admonitory letter addressed to the Emperor drew his attention to this fact. Quite against the principles of tolerance and humanity—the tenets of the Sufis—the Shaykh wrote; " It behoves (the Emperor) not to assign a post on any account to any of the infidels, in the Muslim Chancery (dīvān-i-Islam) or in the dār al-salām (Muslim cities), and they should not be allowed to wield their pen in the offices (dar dafatir qalam na-zanand) or be appointed as administrators or revenue-gatherers (amir va 'amil na-bāshand)". ^{2.}

Under the Sultans although Persian was the court language of polite correspondence and conversation, the registers of all revenue accounts were kept in Hindi. ^{3.} Even the land grants documents issued from the Chancellery bore transcription in Devanāgarī script of the Persian text, a practice said to be prevalent during the time of the Lōdīs.

Under the natural forces of human civilisation, it is quite logical to believe that the Hindus did not escape the influence of the Persian language, as they and the Muslims could not but yield to the reacting influences of each others culture. The Hindus must have developed affinities with the language of the conquerors from the very beginning as did the latter themselves. But the genesis of this appeared only during the time of Sikandar Lōdī. They took so zealously to Persian studies from that time that by the time of Akbar a section of them was ready to carry out the order of Rāja Tōdar Mall, the Finance Minister of the Emperor Akbar, to the effect that all government accounts should hereafter (28th Regnal year) be written in Persian. ^{4.} The fact that the sudden switch over to Persian from Hindi was not productive of any serious inconvenience to the Hindu revenue officers, proves that they had acquired proficiency not only in the Persian language, but also in the office technology and the siyāq.

1. Bābur-nāma (Bev.), vol, ii, p. 518

2. Maktūbat-i-'Abd al-Quddūs. (EIO 1873), ff. 207b-208b.

3. Calcutta Review.

4. Ā'in., (Bloch.) tr., vol i pp.377

From the middle of the 17th century, the State departments, particularly the dār al-Inshā' and the Imperial Exchequer, were mostly filled by the Hindu munshīs and muḥarrirs. They rose to the highest office of dīvān, and later on held the posts of Mir Munshi or the Munshi al-mamalik.¹ In the time of Sikandar Lōdī there appeared the first Hindu Poet in Persian, Pandit Dōgar Mall, and the first Hindu Prose writer recorded in History was a Munshī, an author of a treatise on Inshā', attached to I'tibār Khān Khwāja-sarā under Jahāngīr. Munshī Harkam Dās Kanbūh Multānī is the first Hindu author of a treatise on Inshā' and perhaps the first Hindu Munshī so far known.²

As Arabic Literature owes much to the Shu'ubiyya so Indian Persian owes much to the Hindus. Their contribution to the literary output in Persian is no less prolific and splendid than that of the Muslims who, as they thought, had a better claim to mastery of their ancestral language. The growth of literature gained momentum from the time that Hindus applied themselves to the cultivation of prose and poetry. Certain fields hitherto unexplored or neglected found perspicacious investigators, chiefly Hindus. On the philological sciences they produced most excellent works, critical treatises on Persian language, and the most exhaustive lexicons, such as Bahār-i-'Ajam, Mustaliḥāt-i-Wārasta and Mir'at al-Istīlāḥ. Their Persian Grammars and Commentaries on idioms, phrases and poetical proverbs show their deep research, vast inquiry and literary accomplishments in the Persian language. The art of Inshā' was like an idol to them, to which they devoted themselves with great zeal and produced such a vast literature in that field that it is to be doubted whether Muslim munshīs have a better claim. They opened the history of their authorship with Inshā'-writing and ended it with that subject. Such was their affinity with that art, that since the 19th century, every educated Hindu has earned the title of Munshī, while even the ordinary Hindu clerks have been designated as Sahib-i-qalam.³

1. For example Anand Rām Mukhlīs, who was Mir Munshī to the Emperor Muḥd. Shah. (A.D. 1719-1748)

2. Bada'uni has preserved one verse of the Pandit. Muntakhab al-Tawāriḥ, text (BI) vol. i, p.323.

3. Vide. Contributions., Blochmann, and Mir'at al-istīlāḥ (Br.Mus.OrISI) under saḥib-i-qalam

The literary output produced by Hindus and Muslims alike represents in its totality the enduring monument of a national culture and one single civilization, rather than that of a people divided by the gulf of two different religions. It was the spirit of nationalism that synthesised Hindu Vedanta with Muslim Mysticism. Both of them dedicated themselves to the Muse in the shrine of Love, the mystical religion, which devotion is as much indigenous to both of them as it is Oriental. This eclecticism found expression in their prose and poetry. The Persian diction flowed in the direction of Hindu ways of thoughts in Muslim writing, while the Hindus opened new avenues of thought in their own minds under the Muslim impact. Every Hindu writer opens his book with the traditional Muslim form of invocation to God, with a sacramental declaration of His transcendental existence, and benediction on the Prophet and his Family. The constant employment of imageries and similes drawn from Muslim beliefs, the allegorical abstractions of religion and use of idioms such as "bar-lab-i-gōr", "vāsil-i-jahannam" all used by the Muslims, display the confluence of the two channels, hitherto running in different directions; at the same time it shows the impact of the Muslim rule on the Hindu mind.

Education of the munshīs:

Persian enjoyed the same position in Mughal India as did English during the British rule. During the early Muslim rule in India, it was the 'Latin of the Middle ages' the language of the litterateurs; but through the years it travelled from the threshold of the 'ulamā into the courts of the Rajputs and the Marathas also. Its recognition as the diplomatic language not only of the Mughal dynasty, but of all other ruling powers, strikes us most. The enlightened patronage of the Mughal Emperors stimulated a wide application to Persian studies by all from the literati to the merely literate. It was a compulsory language particularly for students preparing for careers in the Imperial service.

Maktab

On the whole the early education of the Hindus and the Muslims began in the maktab, run by the local educated families or some nobles, and in most cases the seminaries were annexed to the mosques. The teacher called Akhwund, usually a man of learning and excellences, imparted education to students of all caste and creed without discrimination.¹ The great tolerance of the Emperor Akbar, felt in other directions also, manifested itself in the furtherance of education of the Hindus. One of his many reforms in the system of education was that every student received his education according to his own religious beliefs and view of life.² He formulated new regulations and improved the system of education by introducing new changes in the modes of study and the curriculum. Abū'l-Fadl writes that "the regulations shed a new light on schools, and cast a bright lustre over Madrasas". He also remarks that 'all civilized nations had schools for the education of youths; but Hindūstān was famous particularly for its seminaries.'³

The young students were first taught to write the Persian alphabet, to trace their forms, accents and punctuation. Then followed after a few days, the combination of letters and learning by heart short pieces of prose and poetry of religious sentiments. Exercises in reading and writing enabled the students to acquire in a short time, a knowledge of letters; the meanings of words, the hemistich and the verse taught, and of the previous lesson known in India as "amūkhta". After an advanced training in reading and writing, they studied the prescribed curriculum which included the following subjects:- Ethics (akhlāq), arithmetic (hisāb), the notation peculiar to arithmetic (i.e., siyāq), agriculture (falāhat), history, mensuration (misahat), geometry, astronomy, physiognomy (raml), household economy (tadbīr-i-manzil), the rules of government (siyāsat-i-mudun), medicine, logic and the threefold division of sciences consisting of Ilāhī (divine),

1. Br. Mus. Ms. Add. I6, 859. The Autobiography of Bākrishan Barahman who flourished under the later period of Shah Jahan's reign. ff. 97a-99a. Vide also The Literary Progress of the Hindus under Muslim rule, by Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Isl. Cul. Vol. XIII-no. 4, Oct. 1939, 401-26.

2. Promotion of Learning in India during Mohammedan Rule (by Mohammedans), Narendra Nath Law, London, 1916, pp. 162, 171.

3. Ā'in, (Bloch.) tr., Vol. I, pp. 288-89, Compare Law., p. 161.

I.

Riyādi (pertaining to mathematics etc.) and the Tabi'i (physical sciences) . It will appear that the above curriculum covered most of the subjects falling under the heads of Ma'qūla or the traditional sciences, such as Theology, Hadith, and the Mangūla, consisting of geography and other exact sciences.

Madrassa education:

It was in the secondary education that a more advanced course was adopted and works of classical masters were studied in order to acquire proficiency in Persian composition and poetry. Much emphasis was laid on the manners of conversation (ādāb-i-muhāvarāt), and the students were instructed to attend to the words of elders (buzurgān)^{2.} and act accordingly. The most popular works studied by all- from kings to the ordinary literate persons- were the Būstān and Gulistān of Shaykh Sa'dī, the Akhlāq-i-Jalālī of Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī, the Akhlāq-i-Nāsiri of Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī. Amongst chronicles were included Habīb al-siyar, Raudat al-Safā, Raudat al-Salātīn, Tārikh-i-Guzīda, Tārikh-i-Tabarī, Zafar-nāma and the Akbar-nāma. Studies in poetry followed a wide course of works of the classical as well as the modern poets. (mutaqaddamīn and muta'akhkhirīn)^{3.}

The middle class students forced by the plight of poverty had to discontinue their studies after the secondary education, for that was a sufficient qualification to secure an employment on the clerical staff of the local daftars. The accountancy department attracted them most because in the profession of siyāq there were liberal salaries (naqd-i-kushayishī); while the art of a Munshī was a difficult task and an arduous ambition. A whole life was required to acquire proficiency in that art. Then only was it possible to please difficulty-loving temperaments (tab'-i-mushkil-pasand)^{4.}

1. Vide. Balkrishan , also Khulāsat (Or. I750), ff. II8a-b, I58a.

2. Chaman, fol. I05a.), and Balkrishan.

3. Balkrishan, and Chaman Ibid.

4. Ibid. Compare also Chahār Bāgh(EIO-2063), fol.7b, and Inshā-i-Bāqir, (EIO) I330, fol.364b.

To Babur and others Hindūstān was a convenient country where there was always a 'set ready and a fixed-caste (jāmi)' of workmen of every profession and trade, for any employment or work, to whom vocation and employment had descended as a family heirloom. I. A muharrir (accountant) was destined to be a muharrir not so much for his own volition, but to keep up the family tradition. Then there was that Oriental pessimism, mis-called Fatalism, that seemed to determine the course of a Mediaeval human life. These taboos frustrated the more ambitious students desirous of being called to a more promising or suitable career for which they had a proclivity. Any one who could break away from the shackles of family bondage in revolt against the inhibitions succeeded in achieving his goal. 2. Many munshīs in India, destined to be muharrir won laurels and earned a name in Inshā owing to their own indefatigable efforts, through profound study and devotion to that art. For one aspiring after that noble profession, a further graduation was necessary and in this respect the education followed a definite line and tradition prevalent among the Munshi families in India.

Graduation:

The course of studies forming the higher education may be termed the curriculum for the munshī-yi-majāzī. It required more or less a private tuition under the constant guidance of some worthy munshī. In most cases the Munshī families trained their own relatives as a father would do his son, either under his own direct care or through correspondence. In the case of one who could meet a learned munshī through good fortune, there developed between the pupil (shāgird) and the teacher (ustād) a parental affection and devotion, a notable characteristic of Oriental culture. The teacher would address the pupil in letters as farzand-i-ma'navī, and would treat him thus. And the disciple on his part would devote himself to the service of his preceptor with great zeal and enthusiasm. In his constant company he would take down every word that passed on the lips of the teacher, in a note book to be used later by him in his own composition and idiom. He would also imitate the style of famous munshīs and dabīrs and, like the munshī-yi-majāzī, would

I. Babur-nāma (Bev.), vol. ii. pp. 518.

2. Balkrishan.

I.
embellish his composition with loan-idioms from their works. Abū'l-Faḍl whose name has become a watchword and a household name, was the most widely imitated Munshī because his is a style "resplendent like the lustrous moon, compared with the candle-sticks of his predecessors."

Another profitable method of acquiring proficiency in style and diction was to transcribe manuscripts of excellent works, which helped not only in the cultivation of a good hand-writing but provided a means of living also. A calligraphic hand was looked upon as an additional qualification of a munshī, besides the beauty of style.^{2.}

A few years were spent in studying works on Persian literature and on diverse subjects such as, Sufism and the Knowledge of the Path (sulūk)^{3.} The teacher recommended the works of the masters to be studied under him and this included the famous text books of Inshā'. Amongst the munshā'ats which formed the main study were the Ruqa'āt-i-Jāmī, Badā'i al-Inshā', Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī or the Inshā-i-Abū'l-Faḍl, Sahīfa-yi-shahī and the Nāma-yi-nāmī.^{4.} A common practice of the munshīs was to compile or collect specimens of epistles of their own or others, as professed text books for the use of their sons and other students. Such published works were studied as standard books illustrating the art of Inshā'.^{5.}

For a student preparing for the candidature of employment in the service of some noble or the provincial dār al-inshā', it was incumbent upon him to make himself acquainted with the rules and regulations of the chancellery practices in literary style. Regulations such those relating to the proper epithets and titles to be used for each official of the State were promulgated through the Dastūr al-'amals. "The entire ingenuity (hadhāqat) of a

1. Inshā'-i-Bāqir Khān. fol. 353a-354b. Cf. also Bālkriṣhan. Ibid.

2. Chaman. fol. 105a.

3. Bālkriṣhan. Ibid.

4. Compare, Munshā'at al-Namākīn (EIO-2064) (infra). Vide also, Chaman, ibid, Bālkriṣhan, ff. 124t

5. The following munshā'ats and treatises were assiduously read and studied as standard books, during the later Mughal period. (i.e. II45/I732-33). (i) Ruqa'āt-i-'Abd al-Wāsi' Jabalī (d. 555/II60) (ii) Dastūr al-Kuttāb of Abū'l-Barakāt Nīshāpūrī, (iii) Riyāḍ al-Inshā' of Khwāja Jahān, (iv) Ruqa'āt-i-Jāmī, (v) Badā'i al-Inshā', (vi) Ruqa'āt-i-Qāsim Kāhī (d. 988/I580), (vii) Munshā'āt-i-Zuhūrī (i.e. Panj Ruqa'a-yi-Zuhūrī) (d. 1025/I616), (viii) Munshā'āt-i-Naṣīrāy Hamadānī (circa, 1015/I606) (ix) Ruqa'āt-i-Husaynī (d. 1044-46/I634-37) (x) Inshā'-i-Munīr, (xi) Munshā'āt-i-Barahman. (comp. circa, 1068/I657). Compare, Daqā'iq al-Inshā' (Edinb). ff. 2b-3a.

6. Khulāsat. ff. 117a-b.

munshī could manifest itself only when he had acquired mastery over determining (ta'yīn) the ranks of each person, and could present in the mode of his writing (namat-i-tahrīr) the titles and compliments (ad'īyat), in the manner (vad'yī) they are established and due (ma'hūd-va-mu'tād).¹

All the rules and conditions related to the art of epistolary composition, and the manners of writing and composing (ā'in-i-kitābat and ā'in-i-'ibārat) as formulated by the great exponents of the art, were thoroughly dwelt upon before a munshī could enter the service in that capacity.

Calligraphy and Siyāq were the additional qualifications of a candidate, because as Barahman says, 'there are few munshīs who are munshī-yi-siyāq-dān, while the number of siyāq-dān-i-munshī, is still fewer.² Education of this standard, prosecuted under the private tuition of a munshī, was a sufficient distinction to secure employment in the capacity of a secretary to some local noble or in the local daftar or provincial dār al-inshā'. But a very long and arduous way was still to be travelled before a munshī could really qualify himself to deserve the title of a munshī-yi-ḥaqīqī and find a place in the galaxy of the munshīs of the Imperial dār al-inshā' or as a secretary to a prince or to the Emperor.

1. Dastūr. ff. 3a, 3I2a.

2. Chaman. fol. IO5a.

Chapter II.

Classes of Epistles.T A U Q I ' A T.Section. I.Faramin-i-Sultani:

According to the Bada'i al-Insha', the Tauqi'at consists of the Ahkam and Amthila, the last being the official rescripts of the viziers and nobles of the State. I. It disappears during the Mughal period in favour of the Parvanachas, which is the official term for ministerial rescripts. The Ahkam used in this context of Royal and Chancellery orders is replaced by the Farman, which covers both categories of royal orders, i.e. personal orders of the Emperor and the chancellery orders. For the sake of convenience we call them (A) Faramin-i-sultani and (B) Ahkam-i-divani.

The distinction between the above two classes of royal orders are mainly based on the following technical and literary points.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (i) <u>Status of the recipient of the Farman.</u> | (ii) <u>Subject-matter of the Farman.</u> |
| (iii) <u>Official formalities.</u> | and (iv) <u>Literary draughtsmanship.</u> |

A. Faramin-i-sultani:

(i) This consists of the royal orders and royal missives in which the addressee is either a member of the royal family, a noble or official of the State, a feudatory or ruling prince under the vassalage of the Mughal dynasty, or any other individual of the State, except the privileged persons such as shufis and saintly-scholars, who receive and write Maktub from and to the Emperor.

(ii) The subject-matter is significantly of a political nature, or concerns State affairs or business, royal favours or privileges accorded to the recipient, or to the personal and private affairs of the Emperor.

I. During the period of the Sultans the amthila (sing. Mithal) were the official orders of the administrative agents (ashab-i-shughl) issued from the Divan-i-Insha' (I'jaz-i-Khusravi. fol. 44.b.) also Manazar. fol. 60a, 71a.



(iii) It was not put through the official routine save for minor formalities, and was in most cases drafted by the Emperor himself in the private chamber, or by his munshīs or viziers. The tughra and the royal seal, with the exceptions of a few edicts, are the inevitable features of the Faramin-i-sultānī.

(iv) The Faramin-i-sultānī does not indicate the preceding prototype in its literary draughtsmanship except in the choice of conventional Alqāb and Du'a. A Manshur belonging to the Faramin-i-sultānī differs as much from another of its counterpart in the general literary set-up as the Ahkām-i-dīvānī is closely adhered to the Chancellery draughtsmanship.

(B). Ahkām-i-Dīvānī:

(i) and (ii). This consists of the Farmans relating to the State affairs and Revenue transactions (mu'amaḷāt-i-mulki---va---mālī) and in this respect covers a large variety of royal orders of appointments to mansabs, tutorship of the princes, to the rank of Amīr al-Umarā', land grants in jāgīr with military service or without it and for benevolent purposes, like the Soyūrghāl grants and all other such matters coming within the purview of the Royal order initiating a Farmān of this nature. The Ahkām-i-dīvānī are directed to the officials of the State enjoining them to execute the royal order accordingly and to abide by it. Abū'l-Faḍl in the Ā'in-i-Akbarī under the general heading of Sanads, assigns to such Farmans the official term of Farmān-i-thabti, while a Farmān specifying a cash payment has been denominated as Barat^I. The Farmān-i-thabti assumes many other different names according to the nature of the royal order therein. The Farmān-i-thabti of the Mughal Chancellery corresponds to the Farmān-i-tughra, relating to the land grants, and Ahkām-i-tauqī' to appointments, of the period of the Sultanate.²

1. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., vol., I. pp. 269-73. (Ā'in. NO. II.)

2. Baranī. pp. 439, 470.

(iii) The Ahkām-i-dīvānī unlike its counterpart the Farāmīn-i-sultānī, passed in all cases, through the well-regulated office-routine and admitted much red tape. It contains on the verso a resume of the office-procedure, the seals and endorsements of the officials through which it passed. The "Dimn" explains the details of the procedure stage by stage. The tughra and the royal seal are the essential features of the Ahkām-i-dīvānī.

(iv) With only a few exceptions, the Ahkām-i-dīvānī in most cases show the administrative and literary persistence of the Mughal Chancellery. The rigid structure, stereotyped language and the conventional formulae and phrases exhibit a definite line followed by the Mughals in imitation of the earlier Muslim chancellery practices. It is doubtful if the Mughals borrowed any of the chancellery traditions from the Sultanate of Dīhlī, for a comparative study of the Mughal charts with those of the chancelleries outside India, Fārs and Khurāsān reveals striking similarities. In view of the fact that no regular document belonging to the Pre-Mughal period in India has so far come to light to enable us to make a comparative study, we can only form our opinion consequently in favour of the first assertion.

Varieties of the Farāmīn-i-sultānī:

- (i) Farman. (ii) Farman-i-bayādī. (iii) Fath-nāma. (iv) Qaul-nāma.
 (v) 'Ahd-nāma. (vi) Ahkām. (vii) Ramz. (viii) Ishara. (ix) Kalima.
 (x) Manshur.

(I) Farman. (a)

This is the most loosely applied term to every order and missive that issued from the Emperor or the Chancellery under the royal seal and tughra. Some of them are distinguished by the technical terms assigned to them, such as the Farmans of land grants for benevolent purposes are known by the official term Soyurghāl and specifically as Farman-i-madad-i-ma'ash and milk grants as the case may be. There remains nevertheless a few of them that still need be distinguished by special names, such as are the following kinds of Farmans.

A royal missive addressed to the feudatory or any private or official person is recorded simply as a Farmān. Such Farmāns may signify an order or refer to any political or personal affair of the Emperor. A Farmān of Shah Jahan despatched to the Governor of Gwalior, Sayyid Muzaffar Khan of Barha, proclaims the recovery of Qandahār following 'Ali Mardan Khan's defection, while another to the same enjoins him to carry out the royal mandate recorded therein accordingly, and thus it embodies the phrase, I.
 " hukm mī shuvad ". To Fadil Khan a noble of the court, the same Emperor wrote several Farmāns which form the subject of favour.

The Farmāns of this category (a) manifest varieties of literary forms, but a good many of them at least, have a definite preamble. The Alqab is spun out in high-flown rhyming titles and complimentary epithets, graded carefully in the Ism-i-tafdīl, ending with the proper name of the addressee, which is followed by an assurance of the royal favours, with a du'a or without it. A more intimate Farmān in fact does not have any definite preamble: Examples of the two varieties.

2.

(I) Akbar's Farmān to Rājī 'Ali Khan, the ruling prince of Khandes (Deccan)

امارت و ایالت پناه ارادت و عقیدت دستگاہ نقاوه و دو دمان عز و علا عناده خاندان مجده و اعلا زبده مخلصان سعادت کیش و خلاصه محنتقان صواب
 اندیش مورد الطاف پادشاهی مصدر آراف خیر خواهی وافر الصدق راسخ البرهان عمده ایل و دل راجی علی خان باصناف الطاف پادشاهی مستفید و تبشیر بوده بلند

(2) Shah Jahan's Farmāns to Fadil Khan :

(i)

چون کو کبّه جلا و جلال آن فرزند کونکب برج اجلال

(ii)

درین مدت آن فرزندار حمید همواره

3.

Another Farmān to the same recipient has a different beginning.

There is no specific cliché indicating a stereotyped ending, but an emphasis (ta'kid) on the royal command or a du'a commonly appears at the end. The Emperor speaks in the Imperative mood and the addressee is remembered in the third person singular

1. Add. I6,859. (Br. Mus. Ms.), ff., 29a-30b, I18a-I20b.

2. Inshā (A. F.) pp., 68-75, vide also p. 75 for similar example, and Lahauri, vol. 1, part, ii pp. 126-130, 130-135, Shah Jahan's Farmāns to the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda respt.

3. 'Amal-i-Salih. (BI), vol. III, pp. 303, 306-7, 308-II etc.

The usual Demonstrative Pronoun "Ān" enters into the Farmāns combined with the Compound Nouns taken from the Alqāb, for example, آن عدالت پناه, آن شوکت و سگاہ, and so on. Sometimes the Emperor addresses more intimately as "farzand-i-arjmand". We may suggest denominating them as Farmān-i-siyāsī.

Farmān(b):

Another variety of the Farmāns belonging to the above category are those which proclaim(i'lām) public ordinances and may be called as Farmān-i-'āmm. Such Farmāns are issued in the general interest of the subjects announcing a remission of tanghā or zakāt, abolition of the jizya (poll-tax) or the illegal perquisites. They are, as is understandable, directed to the officials of the State under threat of responsibility, to enforce the ordinances. The Farmān of Bābur announcing his renunciation of wine and remittance of the tanghā enjoins upon all, "whether they may be Turk, Tājik, 'Arab, Hindi, or Fārsī (Persian)", to adhere to the ordinances, and to act in compliance with the Farmān.^{2.}

Bābur's Farmān in question composed in the erudite style of Shaykh Zayn Khwāfī, stands higher than the one by the pen of Abū'l-Fadl on the abolition of Zakāt, in matters of convincing expressions and religious tone.^{3.}

(ii) Farmān-i-bayādī (fair-copies):

The Farmān issued directly by the Emperor without passing through the elaborate procedure and routine of the daftars, for urgent and important matters demanding an immediate execution, is known as Farmān-i-bayādī. It was sealed in a particular way and put in a golden cover preventing its confidential contents from being seen, and was despatched forthwith to the addressee by a trustworthy servant of the Court. Abū'l-Fadl says that the recipient of a Farmān-i-bayādī had to observe many respectful formalities such as, proceeding a proper distance to receive it and performing various acts of obeisance.^{4.}

I. Vide supra. p. 54.

2. Bābur-nāma (Bev.) vol. ii, pp. 553-56.

3. Inshā (A. F.) pp. 67-68.

4. Ā'in. (Bloch) tr., vol. I, pp. 274 (Ā'in. No. 13).

(iii) Fath-nāma:

As the title shows, it is a letter announcing a victory over an enemy or a conquest of a territory. It was a common practice to despatch accounts of the victory to all countries, clans, and retainers! ^{1.} Apparently its purpose was to commemorate the glorious occasion, sometimes reading it out to the public. The underlying political motive was to strike terror in the hearts of recalcitrant chiefs maturing aggressive plans. It was a practice of contemporary diplomacy to parade the royal prowess before the world through Fath-nāmas composed in grandiloquent style with lofty expressions. ^{2.}

As a rule the kings could not write Fath-nāmas to sovereigns of equal status, but the Maktub ^{3.} were used for that purpose. The Mughal Emperors' despatches to the rulers of Persia and Turān throw light on their shrewd diplomacy. Ostensibly purporting to open the door of friendliness through "Universal Peace" (sulh-i-kull), they are meant to celebrate the victories of the Emperors. ^{4.} In a murāsala addressed to the Shāh of Persia, Shāh Safī, the Emperor Shāh Jahān enumerates his political achievements in various conquests of territories in the Deccan, suppressing the formidable chiefs and the submission of the Deccan rulers. ^{5.}

It was the privilege of the kings only to despatch Fath-nāmas. If it was addressed to a noble of the Court or a provincial governor, it then as a rule assumes the name of a Farmān, as is called the one proclaiming the surrender of Qandahār following the defection of 'Alī Mardān Khān, addressed by Shāh Jahān to Sayyid Muzaffar Khān Bārha. The Field- ^{6.} Commanders instead, could despatch their accounts of victories in the form of 'Ard-dāshts. The series of 'Ard-dāshts submitted to the Emperor Shāh Jahān by Sayyid Muzaffar announce the latter's triumphs over the Bondēla Chief Prithī Rāj in several engagements about ^{7.} A.H. 1049. A casual reference made by Abū'l-Fadl in a letter to Khān-i-Khānān, suggests that ^{8.} the nobles also could despatch Fath-nāmas to the Capital.

1. Bābur-nāma (Bev.) vol. i, p. 319.

2. Compare Baranī, p. 361.

3. Compare Manāzar, fol. 61a.

4. Inshā (A. F.) Akbar's letters to the Shah of Persia and 'Abd-Allāh Khān, pp. 26-33, 4-II, respt.5. Lāhaurī, vol. I., part. ii, p. 257-66.6. Compare Manāzar, Ibid.

7. Add. I 6, 859., ff. I-25.

8. Inshā (A. F.) p. 118.

It demanded great diplomatic insight and literary skill to draft a Fath-nāma to produce the desired effect. The Fath-nāma of Bābur, following his victory over the pagan Raja Rānā Sāngā at Kānwa in A.H.933, composed in the Inshā' of Shaykh Zayn Khwāfī illustrates the model of his accomplished style and example of the Muslim chancellery practice. It is highly rhetorical and pompous. The predominant Figures of Speech are the Tajnis, Ṭham, Ghulūw (hyperbole) and the Qur'anic allusions (Talmīhāt) made to the "Asharah mubasharah" and to the defeat of "Abraha".^{I.}

(iv) Qaul-nāma and (v) 'Ahd-nāma:

A Qaul-nāma (Kaool-namah of the East India Company) is the unilateral executed engagement or a promise for a political purpose. Such Qaul-nāmas were very common during the period of the East India Company executed for the local Nabobs and Rajahs.

There are references to the Qaul-nāmas given by the Mughal Emperors to the ruling Princes. A Qaul-nāma in the form of a preliminary engagement seems to be instrumental to an 'Ahd-nāma. Before the counter-treaty was concluded between the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan and the vassal king 'Adil-Khan of Bijapur in the year A.H.1045, both the parties executed the terms of the Treaty, expressing their Qaul and 'Ahd formally, the former in his Farman identical with a kind of Qaul-nāma, and the latter in the form of an 'Arḍ-dāsht. The Farman of the Emperor prescribes the terms of the Treaty in several articles, and his Qaul and 'Ahd that in effect would be "as firm and solid as the rampart of Alexander". The Emperor calls his Farman as effective as the 'Ahd-nāma itself (to be included afterwards). It bore the royal signature and the impression of the royal panja. The Farman of the Emperor, in fact deserves to be called a Qaul-nāma.^{3.}

The counter-treaty ('Ahd-nāma) concluded in the year A.H.1046, between the Emperor and the ruler of Golconda Qutb Shāh, was preceded by a bond of fealty (Inqiyād-nāma) tendered by the former. It is identical with the preliminary 'Ahd-nāma (i.e. 'Arḍ-dāsht) executed by the ruler of Bijapur. Both the (counter) 'Ahd-nāmas finally concluded in the 9th year of Shah Jahan's reign are recorded in the Bādshāh-nāma of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī.^{4.}

1. Bābur-nāma (Persian) Br, Mus. Ms. Add. 24, 416, ff. 285a-91a. Cf. Pavet de Courteill's remark, "cette piece est redigee en langue persane et offre un modèle plus accomplis du style en usage dans les chancelleries orientales". (Bābur-nāma, Bev. vol. ii., pp. 559-Footnote-).

2. Inshā' (A. F.) p. 79, Add. I 6, 859, ff. 19b-20a.

3. Lāhaurī, vol. I., part. ii., pp. 167.

4. Ibid. pp. 178-80, and pp. 203-5, 210-II.

In the general set-up of literary form they resemble the several Farmāns(a) of the Emperor addressed to them on other occasions. They open with the titles (Alqāb) linked with the assurance of the royal favours. The Emperor then refers to their " choice of accepting the servitude and fealty ". He prescribes the terms of the Treaty with certain obligations imposed on the Vassals in their favour. The concluding parts of the 'Ahd-nāmas contain the explicit 'Ahd of the Emperor; who takes his oath calling God and His Apostle as witnesses to the conditions therein, and declares that until the time the Vassal Kings and their successors act in accordance with the conditions recorded in the 'Ahd-nāmas and do not violate them, no harm whatsoever, God willing, would be afflicted to their Kingdoms by the Emperor, his illustrious sons and the Grandeess, and nothing would be produced contrary to the 'Ahd transcribed on the Gold Tablet (lauh-i-tālā) which is in firmness only next to the " Preserved Tablet" (Lauh-i-mahfūz), and that the covenant and agreement (qaul-va-qarār) would stand firm like the "sadd-i-Sikandari" , generation after generation.'

A comparative study of the two Mughal 'Ahd-nāmas with those of the earliest Muslim chancelleries, stands out as inferior in literary as well as in legal draughtsmanship. They are plain to the extent of a mere despatch and not full of repeated oaths woven in every sentence as in the case of the 'Ahd-nāmas drafted by the earliest Munshis.^{I.}

(vi) Ahkām:

From the singular Hukm (the Hukum of Indian Pronunciation) an order as a token of "pluralis majestatis". The Ahkām-i-Shāh Jahānī is a collection of royal missives addressed to foreign sovereigns and nobles of the Mughal Court. The term is however uncertain.^{2.}

(vii) Ramz :

It denotes a short and secret note of the Emperor in his own hand.

(viii) Ishāra:

The Ramz and Ishāra are in fact short notes and points put down by the Emperor himself in his diary, or dictated to his Munshis to be used as materials for the official correspondence, afterwards.^{3.}

I. Compare Bayhaqī. p. 384., and al-Tavassul. pp. 138-44, also Tarassul-i-Nuṣriyya (Br. Mus. Ms. (Or. 3322.) ff. 46b-47a.

2. Vide. IHRC. Vol. XXI-Decm. 1944, pp. 30-32, "Letters of Shāh Jahān" (in the Ahkām-i-Shāh Jahān)

3. For example the Ramz-va-Ishārahāy-i-'Ālamgīr.

(ix) Kalima:

Similar to the preceding one, the Kalimāt which are the notes taken down by the Emperor chiefly relating to some public affairs in his own hand. They were later expanded into official orders.¹

(x) Manshūr:

'A diploma of approbation conferred on religious authorities such as, qādīs and muhtasibs, as a token of reverence accorded to them by the kings'.² The many instances of the grants of Manshūrs in the past, reveal that the term covers edicts of various nature such as diplomas of investiture conferred by the Caliphs on the Sultāns, and letters-patent to religious and administrative offices and in this case issued from the chancellery (Manāshīr-i-dīvānī).³

The Manshūr of the Mughals, like its counterpart the Farman, appears commonly as an honorary epithet. It is issued sometimes to identify a Farman and in other cases is qualified by another common term the Mithāl.⁴ There are other such honorary epithets as Tauqī and Yarlīgh which are used in this context. The last three have, however, definite positions in the chancelleries of other periods prior to the Mughals.⁵

Under the Mughals the Manshūr, however, signifies a specific term for a royal missive and a mandate in which the Mursal-ilayhi is a privileged person belonging to the royal family or the ruling class. It forms the subject of congratulations and condolence, favours and privileges, or private and official affairs. The royal missives of Shāh Jahān to his Princes are designated as Manshūr and Farman by the latter.⁶ Akbar's Manshūr to his favourite amīr, Khān-i-Khānān conveys the former's joy on receiving presents of pigeons from 'Abd-Allāh Khān Uzbek. Another Manshūr despatched to Hakīm Humām expresses his deep sorrow on the death of Humām's brother Hakīm Abū'l-Fath Gilānī. There is again, another Manshūr to Khān-i-Khānān on the death of Rāja Bīr Bar.⁷

1. For example the Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt of 'Ālamgīr (Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 26, 238).

2. Manāzar. fol. 28a.

3. Bayhaqī. p. 457; al-Tavassul. Part. I, pp. 12-110.

4. Lāhaurī. Vol. i, part. i, pp. 10-11, 141-42 etc.; Compare also Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīr, 'Azamgarh 1930, pp. 317, part ii., pp. 15, 17, 19, etc.

5. Compare Inshā'i-Māhrū (J. A. S. Bengal), 1923, Baranī., pp. 439, 470 etc. The Yarlīgh is frequently mentioned in Juvaynī.

6. Ruqa'āt. Ibid.

7. Inshā (A. F.), pp. 42, 47, 52.

Section II.

Ahkām-i-dīvānī:

The bureaucratic machinery at the Centre was a complicated net-work and the office routine admitted much red-tape, as under the contemporary Safavids. The elaborate procedure involved in drafting the various types of Chancellery orders has been described by Abū'l-Fadl in great detail.¹

Drafting of the Ahkām-i-dīvānī:

The Vāqi'a-nivīs at the Court recorded in his daily book of report (rūznāmacha) every doing and each word which passed on the tongue of the 'Shadow of God! This included multifarious affairs relating to the mu'āmalāt-i-mulki-va-mālī. The diary, having been checked every day by one of the officials at the Court, was submitted to the Emperor, who approved it. A separate copy of each order was made out by the clerks who signed it. This voucher, as it was called, was also signed by the parvānachī, the Mīr-i-'ard and by the official who had submitted the report to the Emperor. At this stage the report was termed Yād-dāsht (memorandum). An abridgment of the Yād-dāsht was then made out and was signed and sealed by the officials concerned. At this stage it was called a Ta'līqa. It was handed over to those who required it. It was sufficient for matters of daily routine and of minor importance to be executed when the document was at the stage of Yād-dāsht or Ta'līqa, for it did not require the royal seal.²

Farman-i-thabti:

But in the case of appointments to higher posts such as of Vakīl, Dīvān, Qādī, and for appointments to jāgīrs with military service (Jāgīr-i-tankhwhāh or dāgh-va-mahallī) or without it (bī-dāgh-va-mahallī), or for conferring Soyūrghāls, the order which was termed Farman-i-thabti, had to proceed further. Every order of this nature had to pass through the Dīvān, the Bakhshī, and the Ṣahib-i-taujīh (military accountant).³

Yarlīgh-i-dāgh:

For example in the case of a jāgīr grant with military service, conferred on a

1. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., Vol. i, pp. 268-9 (Ā'in No. 10).
2. Vide specimens of the Yād-dāshts in the Daftar-i-Dīvānī Va Māl-va-mulki (State Documents in the Daftar-i-Dīvānī of Hyderabad Deccan), 1357/1939.
3. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., Vol. i., pp. 270-71 (Ā'in No. 11).

Mansabdār in lieu of salaries (Jāgīr-i-tankhwāh), the candidate applied through some noble to the Emperor. The first document in this respect is the 'Ard-dāsht', and the reading it out by the Pīshkār called the Fard-i-su'vāl¹. After a Fard-i-haqīqat i.e., office statement about the candidate's name and place, had been prepared in the office of the Dīvān-i-tan, it was placed before the Dīvān-i-a'lā. The Dīvān-i-a'lā submitted it to the Emperor. If the Emperor ordered the grant of a jāgīr to the applicant, the Dīvān-i-a'lā endorsed the Haqīqat with the following words: "Incorporate with the report of the events"². The attested copy (Tasdīq) served then as a voucher for the relevant office, in this case the Dīvān-i-tan, to prepare a Siyāha-daul or an estimate of the candidate's salary fixed in accordance with the Dastūr al-'amal of the emoluments of Mansabdārs, and the name of the pargana (a fiscal unit) from which the grantee had to receive the amount. The Siyāha-daul was handed over to the Vāqi'a-nivīs to prepare the Yād-dāsht. After the Yād-dāsht reached the stage of Ta'līqa repeating the same procedure as described above, it was sent to the Bakhshī with whose office the grant was particularly concerned.³ He endorsed it either on the back or the corner of the draft with the words: "This is special; the estimate for the salary may be made out. The proper officers are to prepare the descriptive rolls". When the Dārūgha of the dāgh submitted the Dāgh-nāma, the Bakhshī issued a Sar-khatt, while the Ta'līqa was deposited in his office. On the basis of the Sar-khatt the Dīvān-i-a'lā prepared a report concerning the account of the salary due on it per mensem and per annum, and referred it to the Emperor. If the Emperor confirmed his previous order to confer a jāgīr on the candidate, the following words were written on the top of the report. "They are to write out a Ta'līqa-yi-tan (certificate of salary)". On the draft of the Ta'līqa-yi-tan, the Dīvān-i-a'lā endorsed the words "thabt numāyand"; it was then sealed by him, together with the Bakhshī and the accountant of the Dīvān when the Imperial Farmān was drafted outside. The draft thus completed was again signed by the Dīvān. The Ta'līqa-yi-tan

1. IHRG-xviii, 1942, Vide Jahāngīr's Farmān, p. 193.

2. Br.Mus.Ms.Add.6598, fol.172a.

3. Compare The Army Of the Indian Moghuls, William Irvine, London, 1903, pp.16-18.

as it was called at that stage was sent to the Ṣāhib-i-taujīh who inscribed the details of the Farmān(order) according to the draft made by the munshīs of the Dīvān. This draft being the real Farmān for the grant of a jāgīr was sealed and endorsed by all the officials concerned. The Royal Seal was put above the Tughrā on the top of the Farmān.¹

Barāt (A Draft):

A cheque certificate for cash payment to the workmen of the Royal Buyūtāt followed the same procedure of an ordinary Farmān. After the paper had been signed by the Nāzir, who endorsed with the words "naql girifta shud" (copy taken down), it was handed over to the Dīvān-i-buyūtāt. After it had passed through the hands of the Bakhshīs and the Dīvān; it was sealed and signed by the Khān-i-Sāmān. The usual sign of his Daftar was, "qalamī numāyand" (let them write it). The paper repeated the same procedure again before it reached the final stage.²

Soyūrghāl :

The general term used for the various grants and endowments during the time of the Mughals was the Mongol word Soyūrghāl. Such grants were made to religious persons and institutions for subvention to subsistence, either in cash or in the form of rent-free tenures of lands. Allowances paid in cash were termed Vazīfa, while the land assignments were classified into rent-free or A'ima grant, and Madad-i-ma'āsh or Milk. Such grants were intended to last for a life or for more lives than one or were hereditary and differed from other land holdings such as Tiyūl or the Jāgīr-i-tankhwāh, which were conferred for a specified period on Mansabdārs in lieu of their salaries. The authority for conferring such grants was invested in the office of the Chief Sadr. The procedure through which a Soyūrghāl for a land grant or Madad-i-ma'āsh (subsistence allowance) had to pass did not differ in details from the ordinary Farmāns. After the Ta'līqa was inspected, sealed and signed by the Mustaufī, it was handed over to the Dīvān-i-Sa'adat, who was the clerk and in charge of the finances of the office of the Sadr. After it was sealed by other auxiliary authorities it was sent to the Dīvān-i-kull for his seal and endorsement.³

1. A'in. (Bloch.) tr., Vol. i. pp. 273-74 (A in No. I2).

2. Ibid. p. 272. Compare also Add. 664I, ff. 150-95.

3. A'in. p. 278. (A'in No. I9).

Al-tamgha:

A word of foreign importation like the Soyūrhāl, it came to mean in India a grant under the red seal of the Emperor, or one to which red ink was applied. It was one of the Institutes of Chingīz Khān; Jahāngīr, the innovator of such grants in India, says that whenever his ancestors wished to bestow a Jāgīr in proprietary right, they used to stamp the grant with the Al-tamgha (or Āl-tamghā) seal. He ordered the place of the seal to be covered with gold-leaf when it was stamped with the said seal. Such land assignments were reserved for an officer who applied for a grant in his home village or pargana in which he was born. A grant of this kind was given in terms of the revenue (dām) of that particular pargana, in the guise of an In'am. It is also called an In'am-grant. Such orders like any other Farman-i-thabti had to pass through the office routine.

Farman-i-Rah-dari :

The Emperor in special cases issued in the form of a Farman to facilitate conveyance and free trade to the European travellers and traders, a permit (transit-visa), in the name of the governors (hukkām), Jāgīr-holders, revenue-collectors, road-watchmen and the road-guides. Like all other Ahkām-i-dīvānī, a Farman-i-rah-dari was put to the office procedure.

Section III.Form, Language and Style of the Farmāns :

In the following passage we make an attempt to delineate the principal features of the original or copied Mughal Farmāns with special reference to the Ahkām-i-dīvānī.

(a) (i) Sar-nāma, (ii) Tughra, (iii) Alqāb, (iv) Du'a and Thanā', (v) Khitāb (address), (vi) Tā'kid and Tahdīd. (b) Ta'zīm for the Farmān, (c) Language and Style.

(a) (i) Sar-nāma:

The Sacramental superscription, such as Huw al-Ghanī (He is Independent) , Huwa ,

1. Elliot .(Duāzdah Sāla-yi-Jahāngīr), Vol.6, p.p.287-88.

2. Vide Br.Mus.Or.2285. Two Āl-tamghā Farmāns in Original, dated II22/I710 and II51/I738 ;

IHRC-xviii-1942, an Āl-tamghā Farmān of Jahāngīr, pp.188-96.

3. Br.Mus.Ms. Add.24,039(Copies of Farmāns etc. A.D.1633-1712).

4. Compare Manazar al-Inshā. ff.76a-b.

Allāhu-Akbar and many other Benedictory formulae which figure at the top of the Farmāns and the Parvānāchas (or the Tauqī'āt) allude to the character of the order, craving the indulgence of its reader. Thus the formula Huw al-Fattāh, referring to one of the epithets of God makes it clear that the paper is a Fath-nāma. It is one of the rules of epistolography, as the great exponents of the art have laid down, to begin every epistle with one of the Names of Allah as a token of blessing and benediction. "But the most agreeable device is to conjoin the name "Huwa" with such epithets describing the divine attributes of God as may be in keeping with the subject of the text." Religion being the nerve centre of a Muslim's life, all his human activities, in which he seeks his identification with the Divine Being, gravitate towards it. Judged in this light the consecrated observance of prefixing God's name in the royal mandates tends to glorify the sovereign as one who is divine and God-like, sharing His attributes. Since he is the master of the world, 'this great market place' and the khudāwand on earth, he has the authority for dispensing lands and his possessions he owns from the Over-lord. Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar, the founder of the Dīn-i-Ilāhī made a deliberate attempt to assume Divine incarnation by promulgating in his orders and coins ambiguous designs and suspicious formulae such as Allāhu-Akbar (God is Great), or as the detractors construed it, "Akbar is Allāh" ; and Jalla Jalālahu, "Glorious is His glory". The formula Allāhu Akbar became almost the official motto of the Mughal Chancellery. The author of the Munsha'āt al-Namakīn, Qāsim Khān Namakīn, who served under Akbar, however says that it was for the sake of brevity that the above form was used. In conclusion it may be submitted that what the opening Sura Al-Fātihah is to the Qur'an, the sublime ideal of the Faith comprehending all the majestic glories of God, the superscription is to the royal mandates.

(ii) Tughrā :

The Tughrā which crowns the royal Farmāns was used as a visible symbol of the

1. Vide Mātinādārān; A Soyūrghāl Of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/I498) BSOAS; vol. IX, pp. 927-60; V. Minorsky; and Br. Mus. Or. 4935 (Safavid documents) where similar legends figure and compare, Manāẓar. fol. 74b; Tarassul-i-Nuṣriyya. fol. 24a.

2. Badā'ūnī. Vol. ii, p. 356.

3. Namakīn. fol. 3b.

king's majestic splendour. The name and the titles of the Emperor are drawn elaborately in an ornamental style of calligraphy in which the letters are interwoven and the uprights called " Alif-hāy-tughrā'i-sultānī " ' marshalled in a processional rythm'. Usually a Tughrā is designed in a square and drawn with vermilion (shanjarf) or liquid-gold (āb-i-talā). Khwāja Jahān says that the descendants of Chingīz Khān who ruled in 'Ajam substituted the Turkish formula " Sözümiz " meaning sukhun-i-mā (our word) for the tughrā in imitation (mutāba'at) of the latter.^{I.}

(iii) Alqāb (iv) Du'ā and Thanā':

Great formality was observed in the proper and suitable official titles to be used for the Royalty and particular persons. The honorary epithets and complimentary terms were chosen in close identification with the profession, rank and dignity of the addressee. Such was the glorification of the Mughal Emperors (and almost all the Muslim sovereigns and princes) that each of them was designated with interminable chains of supernatural application, divine titles and adulatory epithets. They were remembered by special posthumous titles each 'nestling and having his abode in the empyrean or paradise'. Thus Bābur was remembered as Firdaus-makānī ; Humāyūn ; Jannat-āshiyānī ; Akbar : 'Arsh-āshiyānī; Jahāngīr : Jannat-makānī; and Shāh Jahān : A'lā-hadrat Firdaus-āshiyānī , Sāhib-qirān-i-Thānī.

The official titles and complimentary epithets of each official of the State were fixed and entered in the Dastūr al-'amals. Some of the titles conferred on the 'highly favoured amīrs', as Bābur observes in his Memoirs, 'had a permanent stability in Hindūstān'; such as, Khān-i-Khānān and Khān-i-Jahān. During the rule of the Mughals, the title Khān was the most common of all that were conferred on the grandees of the Empire, down to the ordinary Manṣabdār of two hundred commands. Certainly it is the honorary epithet and the complimentary phraseology woven harmoniously into the texture of the titles that distinguish a Khān-i-Khānān from an ordinary Khān. Titles with the suffix Jang,

I. Manāzar. fol.75b.

2. Bābur-nāma (Bev.) Vol.ii, p.537.

as Firūz-Jang came to be used with Jahāngīr, while the Daula, so much popular with the Ghaznavids and the Būyids was instituted by Shāh Jahān. Sultān was the official appellation for the Mughal Princes, which seems to have replaced Mirzā, as the Bādshāhzādas were commonly styled.^{2.}

The Emperors in their Famāns addressed to the Princes, besides passing parental epithets such as, "Qurra(t)'-yi-bāsira-yi-daulat-va-iqbāl" (the coolness of the eye of Empire and prosperity), "Ghurra'-yi-nāsiya'-yi-'azamat-va-Jalāl" (the star (brightness) on the forehead of grandeur and glory), conferred titles such as Buland-Iqbāl (for Dārā Shikūh), Bādshāhzāda'-yi-Jahān-va-Jahāniyān (for Shujā') and the like. In the State papers the Princes are usually mentioned thus: "Nuvvāb-i-gudsi-alqāb, Jahān-bānī, Jahān-sitānī Shāhzāda'-yi-'ālam-i-'ālamīyān".

Similarly the highest officials and the nobles of the Court were all assigned high-flown titles and Nouns of comparison (Ism-i-tafdīl). Each was likened to a support or a prop (i'tidād) of the Vault on which rested the Empire. The Vizier variously called Jumlat al-Mulk or Jumdat al-Mulk Madār al-Mahāmm, being the centre of the important affairs, was accompanied with a retinue of rhyming adjectives such as :

(i) افاضت وافادت پناه اقبال واجلال دستگاه اعضا و السلطنة فرمان روائى واعتماد الخلافة كسور كشانى مجتهد خواقين سلطنت عظمتى (مشيد ارکان خلافت كبرى ناظم امور شهنشاهى منظم مهام بادشاهى دستور معظوم وزير اعظم نواب جمده الملكى مدار الملهاى علامى فهامى

(ii) For the Bakhshī al-Mulkī:

سيادت پناه اقبال واجلال دستگاه عمدة الملك ركن السلطنة العلية العلية مؤتمن الدولة الباهرة منظم امور شهنشاهى عايجاهى بخشى الملكى

The religious authorities and saintly scholars such as Qadīs, Ṣadrs and the Sayyids are mentioned with reverence and associated with them is a halo of veneration.

Compound Adjectives are used to qualify the said persons. For example:

Sharī'at-ma'āb (a Home of Mohammedan Law), Fadīlat-iktisāb (acquiring excellence) ;

Taqvā-shi'ār (clad in the inner garment of piety) ; Diyanat-dithār (wrapt in the upper garment of integrity) and the like.

1. Ā'in. (Bloch) tr., vol.i., pp.398-99.

2. Humāyūn-nāma (Gulbadan) Ed. A. S. Beveridge; Or. Tr. Fund. New Series; I; 1902, fol. 7a, tr. p. 90.

The Emperor is equally generous in the titles by which he addresses the vassal Kings in his Farmāns(a). In the Farmāns(a) and Manshūrs, the Thanā' usually ends with another epithet—a compound Arabic, as Mubāriz al-Dīn or Shujā'al-Dīn—which is followed by the proper name of the addressee and an assurance of the royal favours. The Du'ā as a precedent is omitted in the Farmāns of appointments and land grants, which is a feature of the Farmāns(a) and the Manshūrs. On the contrary in the Farmāns of Soyūrghāls a desire is expressed that the grantee should offer prayers' for the daily increasing fortunes' and 'the perpetuation of the August Empire.

(v) Khitāb :

The Mughal Chancellery adopted for its model the chancellery practice of Fārs and Khurāsān. The Ahkām-i-dīvānī of the Mughals bear striking similarity to those of the Mongols, Turcomans and the Timurids in close adherence to common idioms and forms of expression. The traditional form of the Farmān, the conventional phrases and formulae and the clerical style in vogue in those chancelleries were transplanted to India by Bābur and Humāyūn. They gained currency under them and became the standard language of the Mughal Chancellery during the subsequent rulers of that dynasty. It is in the Soyūrghāls of the Mughals that parallels in the set-up of terminology and harmony in tone, are noticeable to a greater degree. The complex procedure employed in the drafting described above followed the practice and pattern of the above chancelleries.

It was a traditional practice of the Muslim chancelleries that a farmān was addressed by the king to persons such as his brothers, sons, amīrs, hukkām, dārūghas, 'ummāl, mubāshirs of the matters of sultānī, mutasaddīs of the matters of dīvānī, a'yān (dignitaries), ashrāf (nobility), kadkhudās (village headmen), and the rest of the population, informing them of his decision, the purpose of the farmān (or the manshūr) and enjoining upon the officials concerned the execution of the royal command therein accordingly.

1. Wide supra.p. 54

2. Compare Matinādārān; and Minorsky A Soyūrghāl, p.955.

3. It is interesting to note the following parallels in a Manshūr of Alp Arsalān (Nuskha, ff.8a) and a Mithāl of Khwārazmīān (al-Tavassul-pp.73-4.):

- (i) سبیل کافہ اعیان حضرت دارکان دولت و مشہوران و مذکوران مملکت و عمل و روسای نواحی و سایر طبقات رعایای ولایت علی العوم ... الخ
- (ii) سبیل کافہ اعیان حضرت دارکان دولت و مشہوران و مذکوران مملکت و عمل و روسای نواحی و سایر طبقات رعایای ولایت علی العوم

Such Preambles of Address as appear in the Turcoman and Safavid documents figure in the I. Ahkām-i-dīvānī of the Mughals also, though less elaborate and carefully graded. From the time of Akbar the Ahkām-i-dīvānī record a slight departure from the conventional bonds of the chancellery practices. The monotonous tone of the stylized language of the chancellery, and the rigidity of the form of the Farmān gradually took new turns. As new conditions set in, a new office-terminology and clerical style evolved in the Indian milieu, only to be grafted on to the old ones. It is to be admitted at the same time that it was only a slight shifting here and there in the arrangement of the Arkān (to quote Khwāja Jahān) and such minor details which gave the Mughal documents a new colour and shape; on the whole it was a Persian miniature in Indian setting.

Except in a few Farmāns, such as Farmān-i-rāh-dārī, and Farmāns granted for certain privileges, the part which contains the Emperor's Address henceforth tends to occupy the middle of the text of a Farmān (belonging to the Ahkām-i-dīvānī), as was the practice of the earliest Muslim chancelleries, for instance of the Saljūqs and the Khwārazmīān.² It is usually linked with the Tā'kīd and Tahdīd. Such Farmāns do not have any definite openings, but in most cases they begin thus:

(i) - - - - - دین وقت فرمان عالیشان واجب الالذعان

(ii) - - - - - دین وقت حکم فرمودیم^{or,}

(iii) - - - - - چون بعضی مقدس رسید^{or,}

(vi) Tā'kīd and Tahdīd :

Most of the officials in the Imperial service were paid in terms of assignments of the revenue of a specified area, called jāgīr or tiyūl, conferred for a specified time in lieu of salary and with the counterpart of obligations imposed on the grantee. Farmāns of such assignments, although they stand in contrast to the Soyūrghāl

I. Vide Two Mughal Farmāns (Bābur and Humāyūn, not dated) quoted verbatim in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, May, 1933.

2. Vide: Br. Mus. Har. Roll, 43, A. 4. § copy of Jahāngīr's Farmān; and Add. 24, 039, copies of Farmāns etc. A. D. 1633-1712.; and Compare Nuskha, fol. 8a, etc and al-Tavasul, pp. 12-110.

which conferred "immunity", still embody certain common features in the form identical with the latter. The distinction was mainly of procedure. In both the cases the local officials under threat of responsibility were required to execute the royal command accordingly and recognise the legal possession as decreed. The Tā'kīd and Tahdīd assume the same tone in the Farmāns of both the categories.

A comparative study of all the Farmāns, particularly those of relating to Soyūrghāl, available in original and copies tell the story of the stereotyped practice of the Mughal Chancellery. These Farmāns of Madad-i-ma'āsh reflect the monotonous "refrain" of the office-jargon, and present such a monochromatic picture that each fits in one and the same rigid frame-work. To analyse one, therefore, is to cover all. The Tā'kīd and Tahdīd in the Soyūrghāl documents, as in the case of other Ahkām-i-dīvānī, for the sake of emphasis (tā'kīd) take the forms of tautological and synonymous expressions. The local officials of the present and future are enjoined :

- (i) To act according to what has been 'couched in writing' (ḥasb al-mastūr).
- (ii) They shall observe the continuance and maintenance (istimrār-va- istiqrār) of the most holy and exalted order of the Emperor.
- (iii) They shall not introduce into its disposition or prescribed rules (qavā'id) any changes or alterations (taghyīr va tabdīl).
- (iv) They shall not importune or molest (muzāḥim va muta'arrīd nashavand, or, muzāḥamat narasānand) or demand (mutālabatī nakunand) on any account of government taxes (mālvajihāt) and other demands (sā'ir-jihāt).
- (v) But consider them as being exempted in every respect (min-kulli-vujūh-mu'af va - musallam-va-marfū'al-qalam).
- (vi) And shall not present any draft for payment (havālat) of these taxes and imposts.
- (vii) They shall not hover around the land of the assignee (pīrāmūn nagardand).
- (viii) They shall not go beyond due limits of what has been ordered (az-farmūda-dar naguzarand).¹

1. Compare parallels in the edicts of Mātinādārān ; A Soyūrghāl (V. Minorsky) and A Mongol Farmān (Fermānī az ferāmīn-e-daureh-ye-Mughūl), Dānishkadeh-ye-Adabiyāt-e-Tabriz (Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Tabriz), No. I/v, A. H. 1332, pp. 40-47.

(ix) And consider it as obligation(dar 'uhda shināsand).

(x) They shall not request every year a new farmān or parvānacha(-mujaddad nata laband)^{I.}

It is to be noted that the Tahdīd does not mention any punishment as it appears
2.
in the charts of the Turcomans and the Safavids.

(b) Ta'zīm for the Farmān :

The Mughal Emperors' power as a ruler was 'absolute and indivisible'; his Court was as magnificent as heaven (asman-jāh), 'an asylum for men (khalā'iq-panāh)', and his every order was one 'to be obeyed by the world(jahān-mutā') and obligatory to be obeyed(vājib al-ittibā')'. Such were the conventional and time-honoured phrases with which every Imperial order began and 'received the honour of penetration(sharaf-i-nafādh)

Every Farmān of the Emperor commanded great reverence and respect from the recipient. Similarly letters to and from kings were presented after many formalities, obeisance and salutations made by the envoys in accordance with the customs and usages of respective countries. After the pīshkash was brought and respects were paid, the messenger had to stand a full arrow-shot off to make his obeisance and salutations according to the custom of Hindūstān. He was to make three genuflexions in accordance with the usage of Turān, before he advanced to present the letter brought from his master to the Mughal Emperor.^{3.}

In the case of a Farmān-i-bayādī, and other royal honours, the recipient had to proceed a proper distance outside the city to receive the messenger. Sometimes a vassal prince would receive the Farmān(a) or (Farmān-i-bayādī) in a mansion built for that purpose outside the capital, which was called "Farmān-barī or Farmān-bādī (the Persian "barī" changed into the Hindi "bādī", meaning an enclosure).^{4.} A more anxious or zealous vassal, in order to register his goodwill and obedience to his over-lord, would be willing to make a thousand salāms in his honour. In such case he was received by the Envoy of the Emperor, who would hold grand ceremonies and perform various rituals. The recipient, after

I. Vide Imperial Farmāns; JRAS(Bombay) 1903, and 1920, Farmāns of land-grants of Akbar and Jahāngīr; and infra pp. 83-84.

2. Compare Mātinādārān and A Soyūrghāl.

3. Bābur-nāma (Bev.) Vol. ii, pp. 640-41.

4. Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi, suppl. p. 22.

making obeisance from a distance to the throne, on which were placed the Royal Farmān and the sword as royal insignia to signify the presence of the Emperor and the khil'at from him, advanced bare-footed to make many respectful salāms. He stood there till the Emperor's envoy placed the Farmān on his hand and presented the robe of honour to him. He made several other salutations and obeisance as thanksgiving to the Emperor. After the ceremony was over, a convivial party was held in which betel-leaf (pān) and perfumes were served. At times a recipient would not only place the Farmān on his head, but would go as far as making sijda before it.

(c) Language and Style :

Khwāja Jahān, writing in the last quarter of the 15th century, in his Manāzar al-Inshā' deplores the impotent diction and unimpressive tone of the chancellery language of his time. He notes to his great displeasure a digression from the prescribed rules and form (dastūr-va-uslūb) of epistolary composition; and an unwarranted omission of certain Arkān, for instance Tahmīd (praise of God) and Salāt (benediction) in the Tauqī'āt, such as Farmāns, Manshūrs and Mithāls. In this context he mentions the Mithāls of the viziers, which contain a few sentences of compliments thrown at the Mursal-ilayhi, and after a short Du'ā, a jump is made to the royal command. Such Mithāls of his time, as he says, "stand out as inferior as against those of the viziers of the ancient rulers (masātir) and Sultāns, the dignified style and grandiose diction of which struck awe of the pomp and splendour of the viziers into the hearts of the 'ummāl and the ra'īyat." This degradation he attributes to Chingīz Khān, since whose time, 'as the manners of vizierate had gone astray from the old path (namat), the conventional form of composition also had dwindled into insignificance.'

Judging from the standard of Khwāja Jahān's estimate, and examining in the light of the established conventions and rules of epistolography, epistolary composition as practised under the Mughals would hardly present a true picture within the traditional

1. Latīfa-yi-Fayyādī. (R.A.S.Ms.) ff. 4a-4b. Such ceremonies were held by the Sultāns who received investitures from the Caliphs. (Bayhaqī, p. 353).

2. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., vol. i., p. 274.

3. Manāzar. ff. 71a-b.

frame-work. Omission of Arkān and Shurūt is frequently noticeable in the Tauqī'āt, while the language and style vary according to the nature of a document, its importance and expedition, and of course with the rank, social status and profession of the addressee.

' A proper composition (tarkībī-yi-lā'iq) and a superior disposition (tartībī-yi-fā'iq) ought to be brought in the thread of interpretation in order of the rank of each person

I.
ranging from a sultān to a plebeian.' The language and style of the royal orders ought to conform with the particularity (khusūsiyat), which the occasion calls for. That is, if the addressee (mukhātab) is eloquent, but is one who repudiates (munkir) the royal command, the language ought to be forceful to the extent of his disavowal (inkār). In the case of a block-headed (ghabī) addressee, who can not comprehend the delicacies of balāghat,
2.
the language ought to be downright.'

The Mughal Chancellery, it appears, had modulated its tone in language and style according to the temper of occasions. It assumes a high-flown language, sonorous diction and inflated style in the Manshūrs and Farmāns (a) to feudatories and subordinates (i.e. Faramīn-i-sultānī). On the whole the Faramīn-i-sultānī composed by the great Munshīs and Viziers of the Mughal Emperors, are verbose, ornate and figurative. In this respect 'the form of the composition (hilyat-i-'ibārat) is', what the exponents of the art desire to be, 'ornamented with the elegance of words and dignity of meaning (jāmīl al-lafz-va-jalīl al-ma'nā)'.

Since there was red-tape and tedious procedure through which most of the Ahkām-i-dīvānī passed, they followed a definite tradition of the chancellery. The Mughals could do little to add to the technical phraseology and formulae borrowed from outside India, except to effect a juxtaposition in their arrangement. The Ahkām-i-dīvānī of the Mughals, like those of the Turcomans and the Mongols stand out as inferior in language and style as against the Manāshīr-i-dīvānī of the early Muslim chancelleries.

I. Dastūr. fol. 312 b.

2. Manāzar. fol. IIb.

The erudite styles of Bahā'al-Dīn Baghdādī and Muntajab al-Dīn Badī' Atābeg al-Juvaynī attain to that standard of Inshā' which is expected in that art by great Munshīs. Their compositions are what Shams al-Munshī al-Nakhjuvānī desires to be " adduced with the verses of the Qur'an, Hadith, histories and annals (akhbār va āthār), proverbs, couplets, strange stories, wonderful fables, exhortations (mavā'iz), and instructions ".¹ Their writing reflects the religious temper of the age, the ethics of the official life and morals of society. Compared to this the Farmāns of the Mughals tend to assume a business like attitude in the guise of courtly style but under the mantle of vague threats and illusory promises of rewards. The language in the Soyūrghāl Farmāns almost in all cases is unctuous, sanctimonious, assuming divine actions. On the whole the style in the Ahkām-i-dīvānī is unimposing. The language of the Soyūrghāl Farmāns, for example was ambiguously worded sometimes.² In cases where a Farmān was met with subterfuge, the subsequent Farmāns on these occasions acquire a forceful style.³

The royal phraseology which echoed from the literary vanity and the scratching of the hired pen of the Munshīs, were strictly adhered to and jealously guarded by the Emperors. Even the highest nobles of the Empire could not dare to appropriate this prerogative, or presume to begin their Parwānas or epistles with the phrase, "By the miracle-working command", for 'they did not possess the power of performing miracles.'⁴ It was a royal prerogative and as such even those Mughal rulers who were no more than puppets-holding an empire stretching between their tottering throne and the river Junnā-could issue then " Farmān-i-'ālī-shān -vājib al-idh'ān ".

To illustrate fully the points discussed so far, I subjoin here (1) a Soyūrghāl of the Emperor Bābur being the earliest and the only extant document in original, and (2) a Farmān-i-thabṭī of Shāh Jahān, dated respectively A.H. 933 and 1038/1629.⁵

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1. Dastūr. ff. 3a-4b ; Manāzar. ff. 50a-b.
 2. A'in. (Bloch.) tr., Vol. i, p. 282.
 3. Compare Br. Mus. Add. 24, 039, Copies of Farmāns etc.
 4. Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī, part i, p. 190; and Sarkar, p. 141.
 5. (1) Batala Collection (I.O. 4551), (2) Br. Mus. Or. II, 697.

بوالعاشق

عالم
کمال

در بیان فضیلت طایفه اهل بیت



تالیف حضرت شیخ محمد باقر

تذکره و ملاحضات در فضیلت اهل بیت

جلال قاضی محمد باقر

در بیان فضیلت اهل بیت

در بیان فضیلت اهل بیت

در بیان فضیلت اهل بیت

A Soyūrghāl Of Zahir al-Dīn Muhammad Bābur.Sar-nāma: He is Independent.'Unvān : The Royal Order Of Zahir al-Dīn Muhammad Bābur, the Victor in the Holy-war. (a).Great Seal: (Inner Circle): Zahir al-Dīn Muhammad Bābur;(Outer Circle) Ibn-'Umar Shaykh ; Ibn-Sultān Abū Sa'id ; Ibn Muhammad Mirzā ;
Ibn-Mīrān Shāh ; Ibn- Amīr Tīmūr.

On this occasion the world-obeying royal order (and) obligatory to be obeyed received the honour of penetration (to the effect that) ^(b) ~~whereas~~, the village (Panjhir Gil Bidauri ?) from the Pargana (Vabala ? i.e. Batala), the revenue amount of which is a sum of five thousand copper Tankas ^(c), belong to Qādī Jalāl, the (acting Qādī) of the said Pargana in the manner of Soyūrghāl ^(d) (hereditary grant), having considered (this), they shall now consider it as belonging to him in the same manner. ^(e) And they shall neither molest nor oppose the aforesaid on any account of the Mālvajihāt and other Mutavajjahāt, nor they shall hinder or present a draft (on any account of these taxes and imposts). It behoves them to carry it out in conformity with this confirmation, and they shall not need every year a new Famān and Parvānacha. In this respect (lacuna).
Written : 13th Dhu'l-qa'da, 933 (A.H.).

I.

Verso : Several seals some of them are illegible.A Round Seal of "Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī" .Endorsement: " The Parvānacha of the highest priest of great Sadrs of the Islamic cities amongst men!"

القدر

ع	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل
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چون مسجدی است که در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

تقاضای زینت نمودن آن را فرمودند و در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

از طرف شرف مسجد است که در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است و در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

همه که در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است و در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

مسکوک است که در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است و در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

من است که در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است و در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

صرف نموده در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است و در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

آهسته آهسته در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است و در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

من است که در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است و در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است و در آنجا کتیبه‌ای کهنه بر دیوار است

A Farmān-i-thabṭī of Abū'l-Muzaffar Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Shāh Jahān.

Sar-nāma: God is Great.

Tughrā : The Royal Order of Abū'l-Muzaffar Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Shāh Jahān, the
I.
Victor in the Holy-war, the Lord of (happy) Conjunctions.II.

Square Seal:

Since it reached our holy view that Qādī Bāzīd(to whom) was assigned the qadiship of the Pargana Malānawah in the District Lukhnau of the Province Oudh ,has died;during this time the world-obeying order high as heaven, received the honour of issue and glory of bringing proof(to the effect) that the qadiship of the said Pargana ought to be attached to the aforesaid deceased's son Qādī Barkhwurdār,the Home of Mohammedan Law,the Gain of Excellence. So that having attended to and endeavoured (to fulfil) the requisites(of)².the said business like that which is proper ;in exterminating and settling dealings and differences, settling and deciding law-suits,contracting marriages with guardian and without guardian, distributing inheritances, drawing up legal sentences and decrees ; he shall not hold lawful deviating (even)a hair's point from the road of the Noble Shar' and orthodox Creed (Fiqh). And it is ordered also,that about a hundred ^(f) bighas of fallow-arable land³. exempted from the (Government) revenue^(g) from the said Pargana ought to be assigned to the above-mentioned (Qādī)in the guise of subvention to subsistence with effect from the beginning of Kharīf-i-Īlān-yīl(autumnal harvest of the sanke year) according to the contents. So that by spending and using

1. After Tīmūr this symbolic title, which by consequence came to mean as above, and whence arose the derivative meanings, "a Fortunate of Fortune " and a "Great Emperor "; passed to his descendents in India most of whom like Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān assumed it in their coins,royal signets and documents. (Vide,JAS-Bengal,Nov.1910,vi,No.10.pp. 574-79).

2. Compare the following parallels in (i)a Farmān of Jahāngīr (IHRC-xviii,1942),(ii) Br. Mus Or.II698; and I.O.455I(Farmāns of 'Ālangīr),where the usual phrase runs thus:

(i) بلوازم و مراسم آن خدمت نضار (ii) بلوازم و مراسم این امر
بلوازم و مراسم آن خدمت نضار
بلوازم و مراسم این امر

(iii) ; I am therefore,inclined to omit the Vav-i-'Aṭf(conjunctive)and read with Idāfat. Compare also the duties enumerated in the earliest letters-patent(Nuska.ff.6a-8a; I'jāz.(Printed).vol.ii,p.13; 'Atabat.pp.52,83.etc.
3. Compare Ā'in.(Bloch.)tr;vol.i,pp.278-80; "All soyurghal land should consist of one-half of tilled land and one-half of land capable of cultivation."

the income thereof, from season to season and year to year, he may be engaged in praying for the perpetuity of our eternity-allied Kingdom. It is incumbent on the present and future governors, tax-collectors, jāgīr-holders and krōriyān^I (of that locality) that, endeavouring (to observe) the continuance and maintenance of this most exalted-holy order, having measured the said land, settled (its) boundaries and left it into his possession, they shall by no means whatever permit any alterations or changes to (its disposition). And they shall not importune him on any account of (land-taxes such as,) Mālvajihāt and other imposts) Ikhrajāt^(h) such as, Qonalgha, pīshkash, jarībāna, dābitāna, muhassilāna, muhārāna, dārūghakāna, bigār, shikār, tax of five per-cent, fees of the headman, tax of two per-cent, fees of the ganūngō, cost of annual settlement after the ascertainment of the Chak² and repetition of the cultivation (in every season i.e. Kharīf and Rabī' ?), and all civil obligations and Government demands. In this respect they shall not request every year a new Farmān and Parvānacha. If he owns any land at any other place, they shall not take it into account. They shall not swerve or go beyond due limits from what has been ordered.

Written on the 15th of the month of Shahrivar, 2nd Ilāhī year (1038/1629).

Verso:

(Illustration No.2A).

T H E D I M M .

This contains the explanation of the Vāqi'a and the Yād-dāsht of the Vāqi'a at the different stages of the drafting of the present Farmān. The Resume of the Dimm appears on the Recto (Illustration No.2) as the text of the Farmān.

Seals: (i) Mūsavī Khān (d.1054/1644), the Ṣadr-i-kull.

(ii) Afdal Khān; (iii) Sādiq Khān (iv) Rāy Manōhar Dās, (other seals are illegible)

1. From Crore meaning 10 millions, Akbar divided his Empire in the year 1575-6, into blocks each yielding a crore dāms of revenue and the officer in charge of each such unit was called a krōrī. (Ā'in. Book I. Vol. I, p. 10.). The word crore appears in the Bābur-nāma and the Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī (Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 1999) fol. 64b.
2. It was one of the duties of the 'amal-guzār (tax-collector) to ascertain the correctness of the Chak-nāma. (Ā'in. Bloch. Text, Vol. i, p. 286-7, tr., Jarrett, p. 46-7.) Vide Chapt. III-Parvānachas infra.

Single points are as follow:-

(a) Ghāzī:

Bābur assumed the title Ghāzī after his glorious victory over the pagan Rāja Rānā Sāngā at Kānwah on 25th Jumāda.II.933, 29th March 1527 ; and it was written, as the Emperor says, amongst his royal titles. Our chart which is dated just after over four months proves to be the earliest Mughal document that has come down to us in original.

(b) Pargana :

In the Indian parlance a pargana means a division of a Sarkār or a fiscal union of a Sūba (province). In this context it appears in one of the earliest works written in Persian in India, the Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī of Jūzjānī (completed in A.H. 658/1259). Bābur, who can be designated as the first Mughal author in India, has used the words pargana and sarkārī in his Memoirs, where the usual plural of pargana being parganāt appears, formed by adding the termination "āt" in imitation of the regular feminine plural in Arabic.

(c) Tanka-yi-siyāh: This probably refers to copper coins, i.e. silver black.

(d) Soyūrghāl:

The Soyūrghāl from the Mongol "soyurkhal" meaning hereditary grant, certainly came to India in the wake of Bābur, and there is some reason to believe that it is its first documentary appearance in the present chart. It is to be pointed out here that before the Mughals, the equivalent terms for the Soyūrghāl were the Idrārāt, Milk, In'am-i-dēhā, In'am-i-zamīnā, Vazīfa and A'īma.

(e) Mālva-jihāt , Mutavajjahāt and (h) Ikhrājāt:

All the three terms appear in the documents of the Turcomans, the Timurids and the Safavids. The Ikhrājāt meaning " occasional expenses or various levies " is frequently mentioned in the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juvaynī.

1. Bābur-nāma (bev.) Vol.ii, p.574.

2. Ibid. Turki text, Vol.i.1905, Vide Index.

3. Ibid. (Eng.Tr.) Vol.ii, pp.521, 577 (Footnote).

4. Baranī, pp.558-59.

5. Compare Mātinādārān; A Soyūrghāl, V. Minorsky; Nāmī. ff.174a, 149a, Inshā-i-Mu'in al-Zamājī fol.35a, and The History of the World-Conqueror (Tr; John Andrew Boyle); Vol.ii, p.517 etc.

According to the Ā'in-i-Akbarī the tax imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed Māl, as was the regulation in Īrān and Tūrān. ' Imposts on manufactures of respectable kinds are called Jihāt, and the remainder Sā'ir-jihāt. Extra collections over and above the tax if taken by revenue office are Wujūhāt, otherwise they are termed Furū'āt.¹ Māl and Jihāt, appearing in combined form, simply mean land taxes and revenue charges.

The Mutavajjahāt does not appear in any other Mughal documents and seems to have been replaced by the more frequent terms the Sā'ir-jihāt and the 'Avāridāt. Though prior to Bābur or more precisely during his period the Mutavajjahāt is frequently met with in the Timurid documents. In the Nāma-yi-Nāmī it associates itself with the Mālva-jihāt as in our chart, and is followed sometimes by the term Dīvānī, i.e. Mutavajjahāt-i-dīvānī² (dues) or sometimes is preceded by other terms as Ikhrajāt and Takālīf.

Many imposts (Wujūhāt) were first abolished by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq in A.D. 1375 and later by Akbar and his successors.³ The list of such forbidden imposts under the heading, Abvāb-i-mamnū'a or Takālīf-i-mamnū'a appearing in the Mughal Farmāns or simply as "the imposts which the natives of Hindūstān include under the term Sā'ir-jihāt", includes most of the cesses enumerated in the Farmān of Shāh Jahān under the heading Ikhrajāt. The list of such illegal cesses and perquisites is preceded by Sā'ir-jihāt, or 'Avāridāt, or more often by Ikhrajāt.⁴ It is inferred thereby that Ikhrajāt meaning occasional expenses and disbursement or "various levies", denotes like the 'Avāridāt, the Sā'ir-jihāt of the Ā'in-i-Akbarī.⁵

Qonalgha or Qonalghā :

This Turkish word which appears in the Farmāns of the Mughals with mutilated spellings sometimes, has given rise to very interesting interpretations. It is included

1. Ā'in. Bloch. Text, II, pp. 294; Tr., Jarrett, vol. ii, pp. 57-58.

2. Nāmī. ff. I49a, I74a etc.

3. The Revenue Resources Of the Mughal Empire in India (From A.D. 1593-1707), Edward Thomas, London, 1871; pp. 6-7, Compare also Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi. pt. I, pp. 286-88 (Ālamgīr's Farmān).

4. Vide Imperial Farmāns and JRAS (Bombay) 1903, and 1920 (Farmāns of Akbar and Jahāngīr.).

5. The 'Avāridāt meaning "additional and extraordinary payments and duties", or "occasional taxes" appears in the Turcoman documents (Matinādārān and A Soyūrghāl, V. Minorsky) and in Juvaynī. Vide. Boyle, Tr. Vol. i., pp. 16, 30 etc.

in the Abvāb-i-mamnū'a remitted by Akbar and is coupled with another Turkish term Sāvārī in the Ā'in-i-Akbarī. The meaning of the latter is given by Jarrett as "simply a tax", while the former appears with a query mark in the text by Blochmann and has been left untranslated by Jarrett, who adds a note saying that he could not trace it. Shams al-'Ulama Dr. Modi writing in 1903 in his paper "Parsees at the Court of Akbar", has a doubtful reading of Qonalgha appearing in the Farmāns of Akbar, where it is not legible. After a research of nineteen years, he comes to pronounce his judgment on "Qonlaghe", which occurs this time in a Farmān of Jahāngīr. According to him "Qonlaghe" is a hybrid form, from "quin", meaning a slave", and the "laghe" may be the Indian word, known in Gujarati (his mother-tongue) as lagō, meaning tax", hence it means "a tax on each head of slave".^{2.}

The Qonalgha, which certainly came to India in the wake of Bābur like many other words of Chaghatāy Turkī, occurs twice in his Memoirs, under the year A.H. 935, coupled with Ulūfa. It has been translated (i) "daily allowance and lodging of envoys going backward and forward," and (ii) "allowance and lodging".^{3.} The Indian sense of this word as in the Farmāns of Indian Mughals is, "a diet obtained by officers from the ryots".^{4.} The author of a "Glossary of the Technical Terms used in the collection of revenue" says that, it means "an offering (nadhr) to the ruling suzerain, known in the common parlance as a vessel of large cake (avand-kulī), full of coagulated milk (jughrāt). It was a custom to take such victuals, when a landlord went to pay a visit to the ruler."^{5.}

Pīshkash: It was one of the imposts remitted by Akbar. According to Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi, the local officials used to exact from the villagers presents which in the local parlance of Gujarātī is called "kacharī".^{6.} In one of the Farmāns of Shāh Jahān it is called "Pīshkash-i-Sarkār".^{7.}

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1. Ā'in. Bloch. Text, Vol. i. p. 301, Tr., Jarrett, Vol. ii, p. 67 (Footnote).
 2. JRAS (Bombay) 1903 and 1920. (Foot note).
 3. Bābur-nāma (Bev.) Vol. ii, pp. 646 and 658.
 4. Islamic Culture (Hyderabad Deccan); Vol. xxi, NO. 4, Oct. 1947, Art. "Qonalgha", Maulavi Muhammad Shafī', pp. 390-93.
 5. Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 6603, III-fol. 40-84, (Vide under Qonalgha).
 6. Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi, Part. i, pp. 286-88.
 7. Imperial Farmāns, vide Document No. VI.

Jarībāna:

Jarīb was the former land measure, also the measuring instrument in yards, and bīgha was the name applied to jarīb during the time of Akbar.¹ The suffix "āna" of Persian is added to the Arabic Jarīb to denote the rate imposed for defraying the charges of measurement of land with jarīb.

Dābitāna: Fees paid to the assessors and measurers.

Muhassilāna: Fees of the Muhassil (tax-gatherer) paid in connection of revenue collection.

Muhrāna:

Like the Rusūm, customary perquisite under the Safavids, Muhrāna may have been the fees for sealing documents. It may also refer to the marriage-tax (Mahrāna) levied by Akbar as has been mentioned by Abū'l-Fadl. In the context of land grants, it in fact means the fee paid to the Qādī or the Ṣadr in charge of the "Soyūrghāl" and documents relating to it, for such papers were impressed with the seal of the Ṣadr or the Pargana

Qādī.² In the Glossory mentioned above, "muhrāna-yi-hākīm" has been included in the Abvāb (dākhil-i-abvāb ast).³

Dārūghakāna: It denotes the charges of the Superintendent of the locality, and is included in the Abvāb-i-mamnū'a.

Bīgar and Shikār:

These two rhyming words always appear together. They are not included in the illegal cesses abolished by Akbar, but come on the scene from the time of Jahāngīr.⁴ Bīgar⁵ has been read sometimes with additional dots as "paikar", meaning thereby "war duties". It means forced labour and is still current in India in that sense and has become a part of Urdu and other Vernaculars. Since it does not appear in the lists of the Abvābs of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq and that of Akbar, and neither the Ā'in nor the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī throw

1. Ā'in. Bloch. Text, II, p. 296-7, Tr. Jarrett, p. 61.

2. Compare Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., vol. i, pp. 277-78.; and Add. 6603, fol. 80a. Vide also infra (ch. III).

3. Add. 6603. Ibid.

4. JRAS (Bombay) 1920, Document NO. I.

5. Islamic Culture XII/I, Jan., 1938, p. 68.

any light, it may be safely presumed that Bīgar must have entered India some time in the wake of the Mughals from its land Turkestan. Juvaynī describes a kind of forced labour called "bīgar-i-nafsī" in which the wife of a man in his absence performed the duty in person in his stead.¹ Shikār signifies a princely hunting organised in the form of a battue called Qamargha, for which thousands of beaters were employed to drive in the game.² It in this case may refer to such obligations on the part of the beneficiary or his servant.

(f) Bīgha:

The Hindi word Bīgha means an ordinary unit of land measurement, prevalent in India even to this day subject to local variation. The method of measuring land during the time of the Sultanate was by Bisva (from the Hindi Vīs, meaning twenty). A Bisva, used by Baranī in this respect, constitutes the 20th part of a Mughal Bīgha, which according to Abū'l-Fadl "is a quantity of land 60 gaz long by 60 gaz broad". The Shāh Jahānī Bīgha was equivalent to two to three present-day bīghas.⁴

(g) Jam':

It is interesting to note that Indians and Afghans vocalise monosyllabic words of Arabic with an unnecessary vowel substituted for a Sukun or the medial consonant, creating thereby a syllable. Thus the Jam' ending in two consonants becomes bisyllabic, i.e. Jama', and as such is always spelled like this in other languages of India. This peculiarity of Indian vocalisation did not escape the critical notice of Bābur, who observes that Hindūstānīs pronounce the " b " in Anbah (mango) as though no vowel followed it, and sometimes they drop the vowel in certain words such as they say Khabr for Khabar.⁵

In India Jama' carries three specialised meanings in the office jargon, (i) a receipt side of a cash as opposed to Kharch or expenditure side; (ii) demand, or (iii) Valuation, according to the context used in the revenue administration.⁶

1. Juvaynī, text, part I. p. 22, Tr., Boyle, p. 31. (Vol. I.)

2. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr; Vol. i, pp. 292-97 (Ā'in. NO. 27); Compare also Juvaynī, Tr., Vol. I, pp. 27-28.

3. Baranī. pp. 287-88.

4. Ā'in. Book III, Bloch, Text, Vol. I. p. 296, Tr., Vol. ii, p. 62, Cf. Islamic Culture, XII/I, 1938, pp. 61-75.

5. Bābur-nāma (bev.) Vol. ii, pp. 503 and 484, Vol. i, p. 380. Compare also " Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian ", by Bogdanov, J.A.S (Bengal), Vol. xxvi (New Series), 1930 (pp. 1-123),

6. Moreland. Vide Appendices A & H, pp. 212 and 278.

Chapter III.

Classes Of Epistles (Contd.).T A U Q I'Ā T.Section I. Parvānāchas.

The Parvānācha of the Mughal period is a substitute for the Amthila of the early Muslim chancelleries (amthila-yi-dīvānī)^{I.} It is the official term for the rescripts of the Ministers, Grandees of the Mughal Empire and the higher officials at the Capital and the Provinces. The Parvānācha is, in force a 'little Farmān (farmāncha).

Abū'l-Faḍl says that a Parvānācha differs from a Farmān only in two respects. Firstly, it does not require the Royal Seal and secondly, it is inscribed in the Tughrā character, but the two first lines are not abbreviated. During the early period of the Mughal Dynasty the Parvānācha was used especially for the stipulated salaries of the Bēgams and Princes, for the stipends of the vazīfa-holders under the care of the Dīvān-i-Sa'adat, and for the fixed salaries of certain employees. The Parvānās which Bābur wrote with his own hand^{2.} evidently covered a large variety of orders. It, later, however, came to be issued for all such orders which did not require a Farmān, but practically, the Parvānācha tends to support and supplement all the royal orders of the Aḥkāṁ-i-dīvānī.^{3.}

The following details emerge from a study of the Parvānāchas. They are issued in the first case (A) in accordance with a previous order of the Emperor (ba-mūjab-i-farmān, or muvāfiq-i-farmān); or (B) by royal order (ḥasb al-hukm, or ba-hukm-i-jahān-mutā'), and lastly (C) in accordance with a counter-order of the Ministers (ḥasb al-amr), and in this respect issued by the subordinate officials. There are again the Departmental Papers of each Ministry and the subordinate Offices in the provinces and districts, issued at the discretion of the departmental officials. They (D) deal with departmental transactions and routine business.

To the category (A) belong those Parvānāchas which form the Asnād (sing. Sanad) of the Ministers confirming orders in the Aḥkāṁ-i-dīvānī of the Emperor. There are references

I. Compare Baranī. pp. 559-60.

2. Ā'īn. (Bloch.), tr., vol. i, p. 273, (Ā'īn. NO. II).

3. Bābur-nāma (Bev.), vol. ii, p. 650.

to Parvānāchas preceding the Fāmāns in certain cases, but in practice they are issued in due course and almost immediately afterwards to confirm a royal order.¹ Since their purpose is to confirm and verify a royal order, we may designate them as Asnād-i-Ahkām-i-dīvānī (sing. Sanad-i-Ahkām-i-dīvānī). The category (B) forms the Ministerial rescripts conveying the orders of the Emperor in the personal capacity of some Minister. They are explicitly called as Hasb al-hukms. The last category (C) comprises Parvānāchas issued by the subordinates to confirm, support and execute the royal orders, or the Hasb al-hukm orders, or again, in compliance with the orders of their superiors (Hasb al-amr). Such Hasb al-amr orders, as we may call them, form the rescripts of the provincial and district officials, and in many cases are the last link in the chain of royal orders (Fāmāns). The departmental papers may be called Kāghadhāt-i-daftari (D). They include the personal orders of the Ministers commonly termed Parvānajāt.

The Parvānāchas similar to the Ahkām-i-dīvānī bear the Dimn, which contains the particulars of the order and explains the details of the official procedure at different stages of the Vāqi'a, the Yād-dāsht of the Vāqi'a, and the Fard-i-haqīqat, as the case may be, prepared in that regard. The procedure appears to be less elaborate than in the case of the Ahkām-i-dīvānī. Every Parvānācha is directed to the subordinate officials concerned.

(A) Asnād-i-Ahkām-i-dīvānī :

The term Sanad, according to the definition given in the Ā'in-i-Akbarī, has a very wide application.² In practice it signifies a confirmation and verification of a previous order of land-grant, appointment and commission, any privilege or immunity accorded to the recipient. It may denote a patent, permit, deed, decree, or more precisely, a written authority to enjoy a grant of any nature. The bulk of the Asnād of our period shows that, they, mostly relate to matters of land-grants and appointments.

Asnād of Land-grants:

The many instances of confirmations and renewals of the Fāmāns of land-grants in Soyūrgāl or Tiyūl without military service (bī-dāgh-u-mahallī), notwithstanding the explicit

1. Nigār. fol. 107b.

2. Ā'in. (Bloch). tr., Vol. i, p. 273, (Ā'in. NO. II).

command of the Emperor therein, that the officials under threat of responsibility," shall not request every year a new farmān or parvānacha", shows that the Farmāns in many cases

1. were falsified. There arose also occasions when a change in sovereignty, or the personnel of the local officials, forced the grant-holders of land in Soyūrghāl, to produce their title-deeds for inspection to the provincial Šadr, or to the Emperor himself in

2. person. In actual practice subsequent Sanads came into force for verification of previous documents quite frequently. A study of the collections of documents relating to particular families in India, yields interesting details of renewals, confirmations and verifications 3. in Farmāns and Sanads, sometimes under the same ruling Emperor, or otherwise.

The fact that the Farmān of land-grant was not a de facto royal order in the first instance, is proved by the subsidiary orders of the Princes (i.e. Nishāns), Grandees or the Ministers following in the wake of the original Farmān. It is that auxiliary order that signifies an order de jure, and puts the Farmān into force. In the case of renewals of land-grants in Madad-i-ma'āsh, the same Emperor might issue another Farmān to that effect, 4. as is shown in the two Farmāns of Akbar of the 40th and 48th years of his reign; but for immediate confirmation of a grant made in the Farmān, the most convenient instruments were the Sanads of the Šadr-i-šudūr and of the Dīvān-i-a'lā (vizier). As the facts stand these two Sanads go hand-in-hand and initiate other subsequent Sanads issued by the provincial Šadrs and the Dīvāns.

(i) Sanad-i-Sadārat-al-'āliya:

The first link in the land-grants of all nature, whether, Madad-i-ma'āsh, A'īma, Al-tanghā, Jāgīr without military service, or Zamīndārī, was without exception the Chief Šadr, whose seal impression is on every Farmān. He, had, however, special authority in matters of land-grants in Soyūrghāl, and his confirmatory order was the most requisite.

1. Compare Manucci's narrative of the falsifications of Farmāns and asbelocums (Ḥasb al-ḥukms) Vol. II, pp. 380-86.

2. Ā'in. (Bloch.), tr., vol. i., pp. 278-79, (Ā'in. NO. 19), also Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī, part, I, p. 335.

3. Compare the Batala Collection, Imperial Farmans, JRAS (Bombay) 1903, and 1920, Farmans of Akbar and Jahāngīr granted to a Parsee family of Surat, IHRC-XXVI-1949, part, ii, pp. I-7, to an old family of Šūfī saints of Bihar, IHRC-XVIII-part, ii, 1951-pp, I-7, to another family of Bihar, IHRC-XVIII-Decm. 1942, pp. 188-94, to a family in Bengal, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad (Deccan), No. XII/I, 1938, pp. 61-75, to another family in Bengal etc.

4. JRAS (Bombay) 1903, Document Nos. I & 2.

The Sanad issued under the seal impressions of the Şadr-i-şudūr and other auxiliary authorities in favour of the grantee confirming the land-grant for subvention to subsistence in the preceding Farmān, is called Sanad-i-Şadārt-al-'āliya.^{1.}

(ii) Sanad-i-imārat, Hukm, Hukm-nāma, or Parvāna-yi-dargāhī:

Under one of these titles appears the Sanad of the Vakīl (Prime Minister), or the Vizier or any other dignitary of the State, which purports to support and confirm a preceding Farmān or a Sanad (of the Chief Şadr) pertaining to Soyūrghāl or royal privileges.^{2.} From a Hukm of Khān-i-Khānān dated IOI2/I603, confirming the grant made in the Farmān of Akbar of the 48th year of his reign, it appears that, it was made out in conformity with the permission (parvānagī) of the Chief Şadr.^{3.}

Such Hukms, Hukm-nāmas or Parvānas, in practice were issued by the authorities at the Capital and the provinces on subsequent occasions to verify and settle previous grants to the descendants or beneficiaries of the original grantee, and in all cases on the authority of the previous deeds.^{4.}

(iii) Sanad-i-hukkāmī:

To continue the story of the fresh grant made to the recipient of the Farmān, the Sanad-i-şadārat-i-'āliya and the Hukm obtained at the Capital, we may turn now to the subsequent stages in the execution of the royal order. The recipient of these documents had now to bring the provincial administrative machinery into motion. The Hukm of Khān-i-Khānān refers to another Sanad to be granted by the district Dīvānī to the recipient, in due course. Such a Sanad drawn in favour of the recipient is known as Sanad-i-hukkāmī. If the grantee had already obtained another required Sanad from the provincial or the district Şadr, the matter was referred to the officials of the specified pargana, whither the grant was made. Otherwise, the pargana officials were instructed in the Sanad-i-hukkāmī to cause him to execute a Muchalkā to the effect that he would obtain the same within the prescribed period from the office of the Şadr-i-sarkār (i.e. district Şadr).^{5.}

1. Vide Batala., dated II Ilāhī year (Jahāngīr) confirming a grant made in the Farmān of that Emperor, dated Isfandyār, IO Ilāhī year, also vide Illustration NO.3.

2. Vide, JRAS (Bombay) ibid, Document No.3, (Hukm of Khān-i-Khānān), IHRC-XXVI, part.ii, 1949, a Hukm-nāma of Khān-i-Jahān dated, A.H.983, confirming a Farmān of Akbar. etc. Compare also Nigār. ff. II7a-b, II7b-II8a, IO6a-b.

3. JRAS. Ibid.

4. Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi. part. i., p. 319.

5. Nigār. ff. II7b-II8a, Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi. p. 319.

(iv) Sanad-i-Sadr-i-sūba and Sanad-i-Sadr-i-sarkār :

In all cases of land-grants in Madad-i-ma'āsh, whether conferred without a counterpart of obligations, or with the obligations such as to discharge the duties of a Qādī, the recipient of all the above Sanads had to apply to the provincial or the district Sadr to confirm, and hence to execute the grant in his favour.¹ The Sanad-i-Sadr-i-sarkār repeats the same order contained in all the documents and by virtue of which, the pargana officials proceed with the matter.

(v) Chak-nāma :

The recipient is now in the specified locality with all the auxiliary documents to deal with the pargana officials such as the Qādī, the Shiqdār, and those directed in the documents in his possession. The documents evidently do not specify the position of the land of which the grant-holder had to take possession. This fact is significant of all the grants in Soyūrghāl, except the Āl-tamghā in which the grant is made in terms of a revenue (dām) of a certain pargana. The same applies to a grant in Tiyūl (bī-dāgh-u-mahallī) made in terms of the income of the holding.²

It was the duty of the local officials to find out a suitable plot available for that purpose. It might take years to find out the land and settle its details. Since as a rule all Soyūrghāl lands consisted of some portion of tilled and some of arable land, it was not therefore, always possible to hold the land in one contiguous plot.³

The district and the pargana officials, the Qādī, Dīvān, Dēsā'ī (village head), Muqaddim, and the cultivators measured the land accordingly, with the prevalent yard (gaz-i-ilāhī, in most cases) and settled the boundaries showing from every side the corners where it would abut on the lands of others or Government possessions. Every minute detail was registered in a chart with statistics and descriptions of growing and adjoining things and places, which later was sealed by the Qādī and the official surveyors, and signed by

1. Nigār. ff. II7a-b.

2. Vide Br. Mus. Or. 2285, two Āl-tamghā grants, and compare Inshā'ī-Harkam (Balfour) pp. 52-54, Nigār, ff. II8-II9b.

3. JRAS (Bombay) 1920, Vol. xxv-7I, VII, p. 46I. A Chak-nāma dated A. H. 1031 came to be settled in consequence of the Farman of Jahāngīr dated A. H. 1025. Vide also Illustration NO. 5.

the witnesses. The chart called the Chak-nāma of the land was entrusted to the grant-holder, so that it forms a legal document for proof (hujjat bāshad), should a necessity arise to present it in the court. It was the duty of the revenue-collector to ascertain the correctness of the Chak-nāma,

(vi) Tashīha (a):

The fact that the tenure of such rent-free grants was only 'during pleasure' of the Emperor and his successors, is well attested by a study of the confirmatory documents coming into force even in the life time of the original grantor, i.e. the Emperor. The grant-holders were exposed to vexations, by the revenue officials of the locality, the Mansabdārs (holding jāgīrs in lieu of salaries), and even were encroached upon by unprincipled persons. Occasional inspection of the title-deeds by the Ṣadr and the revenue collectors was the order of the day. Those who could produce their documents had their grants ratified, otherwise fresh Sanads from the provincial or the district Ṣadr could only reinstate them in their possessions. The ratification document is called variously Tashīha, Tashīh or Tashīha-nāma.

A Tashīha was originally drawn up by the Ṣadr-i-ṣudūr on the authority of the previous Sanads including that of the Provincial Governor. The last mentioned might in case grant his Hukm-nāma in accordance with the Sanads of the former authorities and confirm and settle the grant after the verification and confirmation of the local Qādī.

(vii) Tashīha (b), or Sanad-i-haiy-va-qā'imī:

Whereas the Tashīha (a) is issued whenever occasion demanded to verify a grant, it also appears to originate under different conditions. It is when the original grantee died, that his descendants had to lay down their claim of the title. The fact that the Soyūrghāl grants in land were hereditary, is proved by the renewals of them in fresh Farmāns or Sanads by the subsequent rulers and authorities drawn in favour of the beneficiaries.

1. JRAS. Ibid. Vide Document No.3.

2. Ā'in. (Bloch. text,) vol.i., p.287, Tr., Jarrett vol.ii., p.47.

3. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr, vol.i., pp.278-80., Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi, part, I, p.319, 335.

4. Nigār. ff.95a-b.

5. Islamic Culture. (supra), also Vide Illustration Nos 4&5.

6. IHRC. XXVI-Decm. 1949, part.ii. pp.I-7 (Hukm-nāma).

A drastic reduction in the terms of the area is frequently noticeable. The practice in force shows that the same procedure more or less followed in this case also.

Akbar had ordered that every heir claiming his bonafides should apply to the His Majesty in person. The district Šadr might recommend the applicant's case in his Tajvīz I.
2. submitted to the Central Office. After an inquiry made from the residents of that locality, by the local officials in regard to the identity, the facts of his title (istihqāq) and worthiness (ahliyat) and when it became evident that he, alive, living, possessing and occupying is the same person, and that he did not have any other means of livelihood from any other source, the matter was referred to the relevant offices. If a fresh Farmān came into force, otherwise on the authority of earlier Sanads, the Šadr-i-šudūr confirmed the original grant in the favour of the heir. The Sanad because of its relevant contents may be termed as Sanad-i-haiy-va-qā'imī. 3.

On the authority of the fresh Sanad the Dīvān-i-a'lā issued a Parvāna in the form of the previous Sanad, that is the Sanad-i-imārat or Sanad-i-dargāhī to that effect. 4.

(viii) Mahdar-nāma :

Before the matter was finally settled in favour of the heir, in view of some dispute that might crop up in regard to his title, the Jāgīr-dār of the pargana (nuvvāb) executed a document attested by the Qādī and other witnesses to bear testimony to the confirmed possession of the old grant in the favour of the recipient of the relevant documents. It was just like a public recognition of the possession by the heir thereof.

For the purpose of ascertaining the extent of the old possession, the local officials with the help of the cultivators, civilians and other community members examined, measured and ascertained the ground. The details were recorded in the form of a Mahdar-nāma which was attested by the seal of the Qādī and signed by the witnesses. 5.

1. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., vol. i., pp. 278-80.

2. Batala Collection. A Parvāna confirming a grant made in the Farmān of Akbar, dated A.H. 979, by the Vizier of Shāh Jahān (dated, 16 Ilāhī year.) It is again confirmed and verified under 'Alamgīr by his Šadr (dated, 23rd year of the reign.)

3. Ibid, vide also Illustration NO. 4.

4. Ibid. (A Parvāna)

5. JRAS (Bombay) 1903, vide Document No. 4.

(ix) Sanad-i-Jāgīr :

A grant of Jāgīr without military service differs from the Jāgīr with military service (i.e. Yarlīgh-i-dāgh) and the Soyūrghāl in certain respects. Contrary to the view expressed by H. Blochmann that the holder of a jāgīr without military service (bī-dāgh-u-mahallī) had nothing to do with the collection of government taxes of the parganas, there is documentary evidence that such a grant constitutes counterpart of obligations on the part of the grantee.¹ It was the duty of the grantee of a jāgīr of this nature, or a Zamīndārī, or even in the case of a Madad-i-ma'āsh grant to a Qādī, that they, "having attended to fulfil the requisites of the said business as is proper, shall not fail to observe minutely vigilance and attention (hazm-va-ihtiyāt)", in the discharge of the duties.²

The holder of the jāgīr was ordered in the Farman of the Emperor and the subsequent Sanads, evidently in this case of the Dīvān-i-a'lā, to collect the revenue to be transmitted to the royal treasury. The Sanad-i-jāgīr directs the pargana officials, the Chaudharies, Qānūngōs, and the cultivators to acknowledge the grantee's authority in matters of government taxes and fees of the Dīvānī.³

In this line we can multiply other Sanads confirming and describing the counterpart of obligations of the Jāgīr-grants in terms of the income by way of Zamīndārī, Chaudharā'ī and Nagar-sēthī (headman-ship).⁴ In cases, as is understandable, if the grant involves obligations to the Imperial Exchequer and revenue, the Dīvānī was the proper office to issue the Sanad, but in the case of all Madad-i-ma'āsh grants with a counterpart of obligations, it was the Sadr who was the sole authority.⁵

Asnād-i-Khidmāt :

All appointments to higher posts at the Capital and provinces (for example to the post of a Nāzim or the provincial governor), were made by the Emperor himself in the Farman-i-thabṭī; whereas all other appointments to district and pargana posts were made

1. Compare Blochmann's view in the Ā'īn, (Bloch.) Tr., Vol. i, p. 271 (footnote).
2. Compare, Batāla Collection, a Parvāna of Lashkar Khān holding a jāgīr in the province of Multān (under Shāh Jahān); for references compare Harkam, pp. 42-44, etc. Vide (supra) Illustration NO. 2, and IHRC-xviii-1942, pp. 188- , for Jahāngīr's Āl-tamghā Farman.
3. Nigār. ff. II8a-II9b, IO6a-b; Harkam, Nos. V- Farman-i-jāgīr and II, Sanad-i-jāgīr.
4. IHRC- op. cit., also IHRC-xxi, Oct. 1945, pp. 53-56, a Nishān of A'zam b. 'Ālangīr, confirming a grant (Sanad) of a village by way of In'am with the duties of Nagar-sēthī.
5. Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi, Suppl. (tr.) p. 149.

by the Ministers in their respective departments, but with the approval of the Dīvān-i-a'lā, in the Hasb al-hukm letters-patent, the post of the pargana Qādī originated only in the Farman-i-thabti.^{1.} The appointment was later confirmed by the Ṣadr-i-ṣudūr in his confirmatory order called simply a Parvāna or Sanad, in accordance with the Farman.^{2.}

(B) Hasb al-hukm:

The Hasb al-hukm orders of the Ministers cover a large variety of State and administrative matters, along with those which the Emperor desired to be conveyed through them. The Dīvān-i-a'lā evidently had to deal with orders of more importance and sometimes of political significance, following in the wake of the Farmans of the Emperor, for the sake of emphasis to the additional injunctions.^{3.}

(i) Asnad-i-khidmāt (of Hasb al-hukms):

The letters-patent appointing officials to posts in the provinces and districts and which did not require a Farman of the Emperor, but his verbal order (hukm-i-mushāfaha), issued from the Dīvān's office (Dīvānī) are known as Asnad-i-khidmāt (sing. Sanad-i-khidmat).

The Hasb al-hukms followed the same principles in procedure as the Ahkām-i-dīvānī, but less elaborately. For instance for appointment to provincial posts, a Fard-i-haqiqat (statement of facts) was prepared (in the office of the Dīvān-i-tan) in that respect, which was later reported by the Dīvān-i-a'lā to the Emperor for his approval. The Sanad-i-khidmat was then issued from the office of the Dīvān-i-khālisa.^{4.}

Dastakāt:

A Dastak has various forms of documents relating to State and administrative orders. In the departmental transactions, a Dastak is known after the topic it purports to deal with, such as Dastak-i-dagh, Dastak-i-chauki and so on. Such departmental dastakāt do not signify more than a permit, a voucher or a certificate issued by the respective Ministries, and belong in other cases to the Kāghadhāt-i-daftari

1. Vide Illustration No.2, and compare Or.I842,ff.99a-b, IOIa.

2.Nigar. ff.I06a-b; Vide IHRC-XXVIII-partii,pp.I-7, and Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī, supp.p.I49

3.Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī,part i,pp.247,283.

4.Br.Mus.Ms.Add.65,99, ff.I52b-53a ; Farhand-i-Kārdānī(Edinb.),ff.38b-39a.

(ii) Dastakāt-i-khidmāt:

Certain appointments to minor posts in the parganas and the Ministries were made by the Hasb al-hukm-letters -patent called the Dastakāt-i-khidmāt. The Dīvānī, for instance, issued the Dastakāt-i-khidmāt for the posts of Dārūghas, Tahvildārs and Mushrif¹. The Bakhshī al-mamālik and the Khān-i-Sāmān likewise dealt with their own departmental appointments. In each case the written order of the vizier was necessary.²

The Dastakāt-i-Khidmāt issued from the Dīvānī to the provincial and local officials in the name of the "clerks of the important affairs (mutasaddiyan -i-muhimmāt)", tend to illustrate administrative orders proclaiming (i'lām) the new appointment made in accordance with the "world-obeying order (of the Emperor)" in favour of the appointee, so that he 'having attended to the requisites and conditions (lavāzim -va-marāsīm) of the said office with uprightness and integrity, shall not fail to observe minutely matters of attention and vigilance'. The local officials are likewise enjoined both in the Asnād-i-khidmāt and the Dastakāt-i-khidmāt 'to strengthen the hand of the coming before (dast-i-tasaddī) in the performance of affairs related (umūr-i-muḍāfa) to his post. They shall consider it an extreme command (tā'kid-i-nihāyat)³.

(iii) Dastak-i-Rah-dārī:

Besides the authorised officials at the Court, the Office of the Dīvāns, was, as it seems, the only Consulat d'etat de permis, to issue a permit by royal order to any servant of the State proceeding on a journey on official business or State mission. It is issued in the names of the officials of every territory through which the bearer had to pass, and records the name and nature of the business. It opens generally with the preamble of address to the 'Commissioners of the jāgīr-holders, land-lords (zamīndārān), watchmen (chaukidārān), road-guides (rah-dārān), highway-patrols (guzar-bānān)', and those concerned. They are enjoined 'to conduct the bearer safely through their territories, to escort him on dangerous places, and should by no means whatsoever abandon him (mu'aṭṭal)

1. Inshā-i-Harkam (Balfour text), p. 176, Farhang-i-kārdānī, ff. 38b-39a.

2. Or. I64I, ff. 23a-24b. Add. 6, 598, ff. I89a. Compare also Nigār, ff. I77b-I85a.

3. Nigār, ff. I0Ia-I04a, II7b-I85a, Or. I842, ff. I0Ia-II3a, etc.

and if, God forbid, should any mishap befall him in any one's boundaries, he shall be held to account for it. Let them consider it the command (qadaghan) to that effect.^{I.}

(C) Hasb al-amr:

The orders issued by superiors, either in accordance with a Farman, or Hasb al-hukm, or again directly from them at their discretion for which the Emperor's sanction was not necessary, find expression in the rescripts of the provincial and district officials. It refers in this respect to the authorities and the superiors' orders, it purports to proceed with, convey or execute. In most cases they are issued in accordance with the 'amr-i-jalil al-qadr (the counter-order of the high in dignity)', or 'amr-i-'ali' of the Vizier, or their own immediate superiors. They cover in this respect all orders issued from the Capital in the name of the "Clerks of important affairs" of the jagir, pargana, and the sarkar.^{2.}

In the case of the land-grants, the Sanad-i-hukkami, the Sanad-i-Sadr-i-sarkar and the Parvana of the provincial governors or the local jagirdars, form the link in the chain of the Farman, the Sanad-i-dargahi, and the Sanad-i-Sadarat-al-'aliya. Similarly on the authority of the Asnad-i-khidmat and the Dastakat-i-khidmat issued from the "Daftar-i-mu'allā", the provincial Divanī issued its own letters-patent repeating the same orders verbatim to the appointee and those enjoined in the Superiors' orders (i.e., the Ministers). Such Asnad-i-khidmat and the Dastakat-i-khidmat of the provincial or the district officials. are not confirmatory orders, but they only tend to proclaim to the local officials in particular and the public in general the order from the Capital.^{3.}

The provincial officials could make appointments in the parganas for local posts, only when their recommendations (Tajviz) submitted to the Divan-i-a'la, were approved.^{4.}

1. Insha'-i-Harkam (Balfour Text), Vide Chapt. on Dastaks. Zubdat al-insha' (EIO-2065) ff. 12a
2. Nigar. ff. I06a-II8a, etc.
3. Ibid. ff. I88a-b, IIIa-b, etc.
4. Mir'at-i-Ahmadi. Supp. p. I54.

(D) Kāghadhāt-i-Ḍaftarī:

The Mughal rule has been described as a 'paper government'. The enormous transit of the routine papers to and from departments and servants of the State, shows the volume of business transacted. This is borne out also by the highly developed office-terminology borrowed from outside India in some cases, to which India still adheres closely. Most of the departmental papers do not signify more than receipts, vouchers, certificates or statements and reports of office accounts. Every rescript, though issued independent of the Emperor's immediate sanction, professed to be On His Majesty's Service.

(I) Kāghadhāt-i-daftari of the Dīvānī:

Every order from a superior officer or a noble assumes the common term of a Parvāna. They are to be distinguished and classified only with the help of the definite cliché, which applied to each specifies it. Besides the Ḥasb al-ḥukm orders, the Dīvāns and other Ministers dealt with those orders which did not necessarily require the royal sanction, or were in accordance with the precedents evolved through the former royal orders and sanctions.

(i) Parvānajāt-i-mālī:

They relate to departmental transactions of the Exchequer and Revenue, but generally to administrative orders issued in accordance with the requests or reply of the 'Ummāls. They concern in most cases the complaints (istighātha) from the cultivators, regular salaries (tankhwāh-i-mavājib) of the servants (ahl-i-khidmat), cash salaries of the Bādshāhzādas (tankhwāh-i-naqdī) in terms of income of certain parganas assigned to them,
I.
and other fiscal and revenue matters.

(ii) Dastakāt-i-daftari:

Under this heading come all other Dastakāt issued from the Dīvānī in the name of the provincial and local officials, concerning the Exchequer, and tankhwāh of the Mutasaddis
2.
of the Treasuries.

I. Add. 6, 598, ff. I38b-I39a, I43b, Or. I64I. ff. 27a, 3Ib-33a, 86b-87a.

2. Ibid. Zubdat al-Inshā'. ff. IOa, IIb, I2a.

There are other Nuskhajāt-i-dīvānī, or the records of certificates and office statements which deal with the revenue account, and for that reason do not belong to Inshā, but to Muḥāsabāt.

(2) Kāghadhāt-i-daftari of the Bakhshīs:

The nature of the State business transacted in the office of the Bakhshī al-mamālik and his assistant Bakhshīs, shows that the Department had the control over the entire service of the Empire. Every order (Farmān-i-thabti) passed through his office, and most of the grants and appointments, such as jāgīr with military service (Yarligh-i-dāgh) and manṣabs were particularly concerned with that office.

The Bakhshī al-mamālik made appointments for the provinces by issuing Dastakāt-i-khidmāt for the posts of the Amin, Dārūgha, Mushrif and Chaukī-nivīs of the mounting guard, branding and verification (dāgh-va-tashiha). The provincial Bakhshī attached to the Nāzim combined the duty of the Vāqī'-nivīs also, and sent regularly the news-letters (akhbārāt) to the headquarters. The other routine papers issued from the office of the Bakhshīs concern the recruiting of the army, postings of the Manṣabdārs at the Court (ḥadir-rikāb), and on duty elsewhere (ta'ināt), guard-mounting (chaukī) at the palaces, salaries of the Manṣabdārs and other business coming under the domain of that department. The functioning of the Bakhshīs' offices in regard to the papers dealt with, can be best appreciated if compared with the first steps of the first entry of a Manṣabdār in the Imperial Service.

(i) Dastak-i-dāgh:

The Manṣabdārs were paid either in cash (nagd), or in Jāgīr-i-tankhwāh, i.e. jāgīr in lieu of salaries (dāgh-va-mahallī). In the first case the ḥaqīqat of the jāgīr was certified by the Dīvān-i-a'lā, while in the second instance it was the Bakhshī who issued the certificate, i.e. Tasdiq. The Tasdiq repeated the stages of the Yād-dāsht and the Ta'liqa. It was sent to his office for inspection. It seems that the office then

1. Ibn Hasan, p.225-26.

2. Mir'āt-i-Aḥmādī. Supp.p.152, Or.I64I. ff.18a.

3. Vide supra Chapter III- Section II.

issued a permit, Dastak-i-dāgh, for the branding and drawing up of the descriptive rolls, after the Ta'liqa was inspected by the Bakhshī.^{1.}

(ii) Chihra-nāma:

The descriptive rolls of the Mansabdārs and their horses, with the details of personal appearance and peculiar marks (khāl-va-khatt) were drawn up by the Chihra-nivīsan before the Emperor on the appointed day. The duty of the Amīn was to compare the descriptions. The descriptive roll was then countersigned by the officers in charge, and the amount of their salaries entered in the Chihra-nāma. After it was certified by the Emperor, it was signed by the Vāqi'a-nivīs, the Mīr-i-'ard and the Commandar of the guard.^{2.}

(iii) Dāgh-nāma:

On the authority of the certified Chihra-nāma, the pārūgha-yi-dāgh branded the horses and the signs were described in the descriptive roll.^{3.}

(iv) Sar-khatt :

On the day of the muster when the horses were branded, the Bakhshī took the Ta'liqa and issued a Sar-khatt specifying the amount of the monthly salary of the Mansabdār.^{4.}

(v) Tashīha :

On the day of the muster prescribed for the Mansabdārs of both the categories, those paid in cash or in jāgīr, the periodical verification of their Tābinān (contingent) was compulsory. The muster-certificate, verifying the horses, arms and armours maintained by them, is known as Tashīha. It was signed by the Dīvān and the Bakhshī.^{5.}

(vi) Dastak-i-ta'inātī :

The order for posting a Mansabdār with his troops under the command of some other higher Mansabdār or to some place, was issued in the name of the Mansabdār enjoining on him to pay the due obedience.^{6.}

(vii) Dastak-i-chaukī :

The Chaukī is a Hindi word which means the mounting of a guard. The army at the

1. Or. I.64I. fol. 18a, 20a., Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr. vol. i., p. 271.

2. Ā'in. pp. 265, 59, Compare, Daftar-i-Dīvānī (Mal-va-Mulki) State-documents of Shāh Jahān's reign. (Hyderabad), pp. 279, 280.

3. Ā'in. pp. 259, 265.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. pp. 259-60, Or. I.64I. ff. 18a-19a.

6. Inshā-i-Harkam (Balfour text) pp. 180-82.

Capital had four divisions and seven parts, each of which was stationed for one day in attendance about the palace . The office of the Bakhshī issued the order in accordance therewith, called Dastak-i-chaukī^{I.}

(viii) Dastak-i-mahalla:

An order issued for periodical mustering.

(ix) Saqat-nāma:

A certificate from the Inspector explaining the casualty of the horse of a Mansabdār or an Ahadī.

(x) Rukhsat-nāma :

A permit of casual leave.

(xi) Bimārī-nāma:

A medical certificate.

(xii) Bartarafī-nāma:

A certificate of discharge.

(xiii) Fautī-nāma:

The document stating the death of an employee in the army either on account of a natural death, or on active service, or in action. In the first case, half-pay and in the second, full-pay was disbursed as a rule to the heir who produced a Vārith-nāma (certificate of heirship) attested by the Qādī.^{2.}

The following papers were required from the provincial offices and individual employees in the army:

(i) Tasdīqāt-i-hādīrī:

A document certifying those serving in the provinces (ta'īnāt).

(ii) Muchalkā: A written bond executed by a newly recruited Mansabdār (nau-sar-afraz) to the effect that he would get the horses of his retainers branded within the prescribed period.^{3.}

I. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., vol. i, pp. 267-68 (Ā'in. NO. 9) All these details (i-xiii, and i,) are taken from the Br. Mus. Mss. (Dastūr al-'amals).

2. Compare Irvine. p. 27.

3. Vide Selected Documents. pp. 4-20, No. 4.

(iii) Tamassuk-i-dāminī:

A security bond executed by the Manṣabdār who held a Jāgīr-i-tankhwāh, to the effect that he would have his retainer's horses branded within the prescribed period, failing that he would be liable to the payment of the penalty of Chauthā'ī^I.

(3) Kāghadhāt-i-daftarī of the Khān-i-Sāmān :

The Khān-i-Sāmān was technically the Comptroller of the Royal Household, Director General of the Kārkhānajāt, and the Minister for public works, trade and industry. All appointments to the posts at the Capital and provinces were made by him at his own discretion, except for the higher offices which required the Hasb al-hukm orders.

Dastakāt and Parvānas:

The permits and orders issued from his office relate to departmental transactions and State affairs. The following papers were either issued from his office or requisitioned from the provincial offices. They relate to the Royal cattle.

(i) Dastak-i-an'am, (ii) Dastak-i-dāgh, (iii) Dāgh-nāma and (iv) Tashīha (same as in the case of the Bakhshīs.)

He also issued permits (v) allowing the nobles of the State for temporary lodging in government houses, replying to the inquiries made by the provincial Buyūtāt and so forth.

The following papers were requisitioned from the employees such as the skilled artisans.

(i) Tasdiqāt-i-hādīrī (attestations of the attendance) of the Dārūghas.

(ii) 'Ard-dāshts from the Kārkhānajāt.

(iii) Tamassuk-i-māl-dāminī, bonds for money security from the menials (shāgīrd-pīsha).

(iv) Chihra-nāma of the menials.

(v) Qubūd, a receipt (for the article given from the Kārkhānajāt).

I. Selected Documents. p.5. Chauthā'ī (from the Marathi Chauth) is a kind of deduction made especially from the pay of the Manṣabdārs who held jāgīrs in the Deccan and amounted to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total estimate income of the Manṣabdārs. (Ibid. p.19).

2. Br. Mus. Ms. (Dastūr al-'amal). Or. I6I4. ff. 21a-23a,

(4) Qabālat-i-Shar'īya of (a) the Maḥkama-yi-Shar'īya, and (b) Maḥkama-yi-'Adālat.

(a) The dignity of the Chief Ṣadrs of the Mughals dwindled into insignificance. The Ṣadr-i-Jahān of the period of the Sultanate was the head of the Ecclesiastical and Judiciary departments and had unlimited authority in matters of grants, variously called as, Idrārāt, Milk, Vazīfa, Madad-i-ma'ash, In'am, and Vaqf, to learned men and for benevolent purposes. The Emperor Akbar curtailed the authority of the Ṣadr-i-kull in Soyūrghāl grants, who henceforth had to consult the Dīvān. His duties as the Chief Justice to try criminal and civil cases, and the duties of Qādī al-quḍāt of the Sultante and other Muslim periods such as, Imāmat, Khitābat, and Ihtisāb and supervision of enforcement of religious law as described in the old Manshūrs; was delegated to a separate office of the Qādī al-quḍāt. Nevertheless, for appointments to the posts of Qādīs, Muhtasibs, Ṣadrs, Mutavallīs for charitable foundations, Imāms and Mu'adhhdhins for the mosques in the provinces, districts and parganas, it was the Chief Ṣadr who issued Sanads as confirmatory orders. Similarly as the head of the Ecclesiastical department and as the Royal almoner, it was he who supervised, confirmed and verified all grants in Soyūrghāl, by issuing Sanads and Parvānas.

The provincial and district Ṣadrs were likewise delegated with powers for issuing and checking title-deeds of the Qādīs, Khatībīs, Mutavallīs, Imāms and Mu'adhhdhins, and for issuing Parvānas, Barāts (cheques) for the stipends and daily allowances of the 'ulamā and other needy persons.

(b) Professors and learned men in law were generally appointed to the office of the Chief Justice. He was consulted by the Emperor on controversial and important religious matters. He composed Khutba in eloquent Inshā' to be read in the name of the Emperor as a token of validity to his succession. In the provinces and the districts he was represented

1. Compare Baranī, pp. 379, 558-59.

2. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., vol. i, pp. 278-85.

3. Nuskha. (Br. Mus. Ms.) ff. 6a-8a etc. al-Tavassul, pp. 46-56, 56-75, 107 etc.

4. Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi, part. i, p. 248, 340.

5. Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi. Suppl. p. 149. Cf. IHRC-XIX, 1942, pp. 15-20 (Sixteen Persian Documents.)

6. Vide supra, and Cf. Mir'at. Ibid.

7. Mir'āt. Suppl. p. 149, part, i, p. 319.

8. Mir'āt. part. i, p. 248.

by the Qādīs, who were assisted by other officials such as, the Dārūghe-yi-'adālat, Muftīs,^{1.} and Mīr-i-'adls. Since there was no Ṣadr in the pargana, the local Qādī officiated in that capacity also in the matters of land-grants in Soyūrghāl. His attestation was necessary for the final settlement of Madad-i-ma'āsh papers, such as the Chak-nāma and Maḥdar-nāma. In case of a partition of the land, it was he who attested the Qismat-nāma.^{2.} Similarly the Vārith-nāma was certified by him.

His other duties as described in the letters-patent, included 'settling affairs, deciding law-suits and disputes, contracting marriages with a guardian and without it, distributing inheritances, drawing up of legal sentences and decrees according to the Cannon Law.' The residents of the locality were directed to consider him as the custodian of Law and absolute judge, to whom they referred in all religious and civil transactions.^{3.}

We can enumerate the following papers issued from the Maḥkama-yi-'adālat:

(i) Sukūk and Sijillāt : Legal sentences and decrees.

(ii) Dastak-i-'adālat:

A summon issued in the name of the defendant in a law-suit (muddā' ilayhi).^{4.}

(iii) Nirakh-nāma :

Price bulletin of the current rates of market prices was attested by the pargana Qādī and sent to the Capital.^{5.}

The following Qabālat-i-Shar'iya were drawn up by the Qādī.

(iv) Nikāh-nāma : a marriage settlement, and all other cognate papers in the case of annulment, such as, (v) Talāq-nāma, (vi) Mahr-nāma, and (vii) Hiba-nāma.

Most of the civil contracts were made in his presence and required his attestation, such as, (viii) Vathīqāt or Khatt (sale and purchase deeds) and other undertakings.

Similarly, most of the sureties, bonds and securities (ix) (Tamassukāt) were executed before him and required his seal impression and signature.^{6.}

1. Br. Mus. Ms. Add. I. 6, 859. ff. 43, 61a-62a, Mīr'āt-i-Aḥmaḍī. part, i. pp. 257-58, Suppl. p. I49.

2. JRS (Bombay) 1920 (ibid). Document. II.

3. Vide Illustration. NO. 2. Cf. IHRC-xxxii, 1956, part, I, pp. 33-35, and Batala Collections for the Farmāns of 'Alangīr. Compare also a Farmān of 'Alangīr Br. Mus. Or. II 698 for qadiship.

4. Inshā'i-Harkam (Balf. text), p. 178.

5. IHRC- op. cit.

6. Harkam. chapt. vi-Qabālat-i-Shar'iya, Namakin. Chapt. vii, ff. 354a-82a, Inshā'i-'Iyār-i-Danish. (EIO-2066) ff. 76b-81a. etc.

Section II.

Language, Style and Forms of the Parvānāchas :

The Parvānāchas of the Mughal Chancellery are the little miniatures of the Farmāns, but with greater relevant details in the contents. Hastily scribbled in the cursive and swift Shikasta style more often than not, they exhibit a picture of technically less elaborate draughtsmanship and visual grandeur. That inevitable dedicatory superscription (sar-nāma) without exception heads the documents, but the royal prerogatives, the Tughrā and the Royal Seal, do not appear in the Parvānāchas. The seals of the officials find place usually in the right hand margin of the charts.

In the case of Sanads of land-grants in Soyūrghāl, particularly in the Tashīhas and other subsequent documents purporting to verify a grant made by a former Emperor, besides the references made to the original orders with relative extracts from the text, the right hand margin below the Sar-nāma, records a reference to the ruling Emperor under whose reign the grant is being verified, in its relative form, for instance, Jahāngīri, Shāh-Jahānī and so on. This we may call the 'Unvān (or, 'Invān) of the order. As a reference to the original grantor, i.e. the preceding ruler, his post-mortem title figures instead, such as, Jannat-makānī points to Jahāngīr, the original grantor. This is a significant feature of the Farmāns and Nishāns also, indicative of the fact that the Mughal Chancellery kept an up-to-date Official Records.

The "Dimn" appearing in the Sanads of the Soyūrghāls contain the details of the land apportioned to the grantee, his children or the beneficiaries as the case may be, in terms of bīghas and recorded against their names in the Siyāq figures. Such details provide important materials for the students of Sociology and Economics to form an estimate of the social and economic conditions and the joint-family system of Mughal India.

The Parvānas of the Ministers in the literary form follow the previous prototype of the Farmāns with slight juxtapositions of the Chancellery phrases. After the pattern of Ahkām-i-dīvānī of the chancelleries in Fārs and Khurāsān, they usually open in the

Preamble of Address to the " present and future Commissioners of the Krōriān and Jāgīrdārān", and other officials, proclaiming (i'lām) the order recorded therein. In the administrative Parvānas the addressee is remembered with his proper Alqāb with the assurance of the royal favour or with salutation (salām). It is interesting to note the usual adjective "Mutī' al-Islām" (obedient to Islām, i.e, Muslims) used for the Hindus. The Alqāb are usually followed by the phrase "i'lām-ān-ki", or "inhāy-ān-ki". The I'lām in the sense of a public proclamation such as about military march, or a court summons, appears also in old treatises of the Inshā' Parvānas containing the phrase i'lām are some time explicitly known by that term. Other Parvānachas, particularly the Dastakāt-i-khidmāt and Hasb alamr orders open in the simple Conjunction "Chūn":

Example :

..... چون حسب الامر جلیل القدر

The Tā'kid is dwelt upon in the rigid line of the Farmāns with the hackneyed jargons, which seem to have become a convention of the chancelleries.

The Asnād-i-ahkāmī (A) embody almost a résumé of the contents repeating Ipsissima verba of the Farmāns which they verify, confirm or support. For example the Sanad-i-Sadārat al-'āliya and the Sanad-i-Imārat (Hukm) address the officials proclaiming the grant made in terms of certain bighas of fallow-arable land in the specified locality in accordance with the Farmān of the Emperor issued on such and such date in favour of the grantee and his children if any, according to the particulars, with effect from the commencement of either of the seasons (i.e. Kharīf or Rabī') counted according to the Turkish Year-Cycle. It behoves them to measure the land mentioned from a proper place and having made the lines of demarcation, put him in possession of it. So that having spent the income thereof, he should without any interference, with repose of mind engage himself in offering prayers for the perpetuation of the eternity-allied Kingdom (of His Majesty). The Tā'kid declares the immunity of the grantee from government taxes and the customary levies, it does not however, enumerate them in items. The officials are enjoined 'not to go

1. Compare Harkarn. Chapt. III-Parvānas .NO. IV, Zubdat al-insha. ff. IOb-IIa.

2. Compare Dastūr. ff. 85b, 86a, 89a, etc. I'jāz. fol. 45a.

3. Dastūr al-'amal-i-Khālīṣay' Sharīfa. (Edinb.) Vide under I'lām.

beyond limits of what has been ordered and that they shall not need every year a new farmān or parvānacha.'¹

Henceforth every subsequent document proceeding with the order would repeat verbatim the contents of the previous documents and as is understandable, it does not end only with the final document, the Chak-nāma, but the contents are repeated in the Tashīhas also with the relevant alterations.

The Tashīhas of both the categories (a and b) differ only slightly from the original documents, but they contain definite clichés, which are aids to distinguishing this category of Sanads from the earlier ones. 'The officials are informed of the old possession fixed as Madad-i-ma'ash, as having been settled and fixed (again) in the same manner as per details contained in the "Dimm" in favour of the recipient of the Farmān and Sanads ! They are enjoined that " they shall not introduce any alterations or changes into the prescribed rules relating thereto, by no means whatever permit ", and " they shall leave the said land to the said person, whole and complete", and " they shall necessarily consider it a complete injunction (tā'kīd-i-tamām lāzim dārand)."^{I.}

There appears a significant formula in this category of Sanads, which incidently alludes to the beliefs and social custom of Mughal India. 'The land is consigned once again in the usual manner to the beneficiary (or grantee), as a sacrifice over the auspicious heads of the Shāh-zādas or the Bādshāh-zādas, or even the slaves of His Majesty,² to guard the Empire from evil fortune. It runs thus:

بصدق فرق مبارک (شاهزادگان یا بندگان) اعلیٰ حضرت

The part which contains the confirmatory order is always strongly worded with tautological expressions.

Example:

بدستور سابق لبط و قبض و لقرف حسب الضمن مقرر و مسلم داشته

Similarly in the Sanads confirming an appointment made in the Farmān (i.e. Farmān-i-thabtī) of the Emperor, the contents are repeated ipsissima verba. This practice

I. Vide Illustration Nos, 4 & 5.

2. For references compare, Nigar. ff. II7a-b, and JRAS (Bombay) 1920, Document. II.

is followed in the Asnād-i-khidmāt and the Dastakāt-i-khidmāt of the Ministers, the texts of which are resumed not only in the counter-orders of the subordinates, but in the Muchalkās also, executed by the appointees before they took charge of their posts.

Example: ^{I.} منکہ فلان ساکن فلان ام برضا و رعیت خود قبول نموده اقرار صحیح و اعتراف شرعی می نمایم خدمت مذکورہ را بدیانت

(Repeats the duties enumerated in the letters-patent) ^{وامانت و راستی و درستی بتقدم سازید}

The Tamassukāt-i-dāminī have also the same prototype forms and begin with the phrase:

از قرار تاریخ آنکہ غرض ازین نوشته آنکہ من کہ ام قبول نمودم کہ

The undertaking purports to be a Sanad so that in future (thānī' al-hāl) it should serve as a proof (hujjat bāshad).^{2.}

A Maḥḍar-nāma does not issue forth necessarily from an official, but it is a summary of evidence with public attestation in which a wronged person in a land dispute calls for the support of the public. The person asks and summons evidence (su'vāl mī-kunād va istishhād mī-khwāhad) from the residents in general and the noble Sayyids and Mashā'ikh in particular.^{3.}

The Kāghadhāt-i-daftari have various forms and technical expressions. The Dastakāt however, have definite beginning as, " دستک باسوم ". As a rule " all Qabālas, Sijillāt and other legal documents ought to be strongly worded and composed in an elaborate language interspersed with Arabic quotations and sentences".^{4.} Compared with the models of the Qabālas and Tamassukāt of our period, the extant documents of the later period of the Mughal Empire that have come down to us, display a rigidity in expression and legal form, which incidently has survived in the present-day legal forms in Urdu.^{5.} The deeds such as Bay'-nāma and Khatt-i-farūkht show a historical persistence in literary draughtsmanship, which seems to be as old as the Persian Inshā'.^{6.}

1. Add. 65, 99. ff. I87a-I90b. etc.

2. Selected Documents. No. 5.

3. Harkam. pp. I84-86, and JRAS (Bombay), 1920-Documents. NO. III.

4. Daqā'iq al-Inshā' (Edinb.) ff. 4b-6b.

5. Compare, Dastūr al-'adālat. Maulavi Qadi Muḥd. Bashir al-Din Siddiqi (Urdu), Meerut, 1932 (index), also a Nikāh-nāma in original of the marriage settlement of the last Mughal Emperor Bahādur Shāh with Zīnat Mahall. (India Office Library).

6. Compare Some Early Documents in Persian, by V. Minorsky, JRAS (Gr. Br.) 1942, pp. I81-94.

The other important features of the Qabālat and the Vathīqāt are the dates, places and witnesses (shāhid-va-guvāh) recorded therein. Every such document is executed in writing by way of a Sanad, so that should the occasion demand, it might serve as a proof ('ind al-hājat hujjat bāshad). They are drawn up in matter-of-fact style and with redundant expressions. Another interesting feature of the Qabālas of our period is that they seem to embody a direct translation from Arabic as is apparent from the arrangement of periods.

Example:

بموجب تحریر این سطور آنکه منکد فلان ام اقرار کردم و اعتراف نمودم شد بلاکراه و بلاجهیر
فروختم حویلی خود به بیع شریف بدست فلان به بهای مبلغ کنذا اگر کسی دعوی کند در شرع
شریف مسموع باطل گردد...

Section III.

Princely Orders:-

N I S H Ā N and H U K M.

In theory the Tauqī'āt, consisting of the Ahkām and the Amthila corresponding to the Farmāns and the Parvānāchas of the Mughals respectively, does not include the Princely orders, the Nishāns and the Hukm. A Nishān is the order or a missive of a Prince, Princess, or the sons of the Princes (Bādshāhzādas). A Hukm is a precise order from the Royal Consort or the Queen Mother.

(A) Nishān:

A Nishān has much in common with a Farmān and a Parvānācha. In the first case it resembles a Farmān in technical and literary forms and deals with all the orders of the Ahkām-i-dīvānī. In the second case, like the Parvānāchas of the Ministers, a Nishān is issued in accordance with a Farmān or by royal order conveying the Emperor's command. In this respect like the Sanads of the land-grants and appointments, it tends to confirm or verify a grant in the Farmān of the Emperor. In theory however, it differs from both the

I. Inshā-i-'Iyar-i-Dānish. ff.79a-b,80a, etc.

categories of the Tauqī'āt. It ranks only next to the Farmān but higher than the Parvāna-chas as the addressee in the Nishān may be any servant of the State, a Minister, a Noble of the Empire or even the vassal kings and the feudatories of the Mughal dynasty, save the Emperor, members of the royal blood, and foreign sovereigns.

From the study of the Nishāns we can delineate the following principal features.

(a) Sacramental Superscription:

Prior to the period of Akbar, the common dedicatory formula as it appears in the extant Farmān of Bābur and a Nishān of his son Mirzā'Askarī, is the Huw al-Ghanī, a special feature of the Soyūrghāl of that period. It was later substituted by the Allāhu Akbar. From the time of Shah Jahān the Bismillāh frequently figures in the Chancellery documents.

(b) Royal Tughrā of the Emperor:

Since it purports to proclaim a royal order by no less an authority than the Prince or the heir-apparent, it is distinguished by having all the royal emblems. In most cases the Tughrā gives the name and titles of the Emperor, but the phrase "Ba-farmān-i-"^{3.} is sometimes noticeable.

(c) Princely Tughrā :

Below the Royal Tughrā figures the Tughrā of the Prince containing the name, titles and the 'Unvān, "Nishān-i-'ālī-shān -i- Sultān...." It implies that the royal order is issued under the insignia (nishān) of the Prince.

(d) The two first lines are made short to distinguish it with the Parvānacha of the Ministers.

(e) Subject-matter:

It concerns in most cases State affairs, Soyūrghāl grants, and privileges such as are conferred on the European travellers and traders, and facilitating free transit and conduct in the territory (Nishān-i-rāh-dārī). It follows a Farmān in most cases as an

1. Vide. Cat. R. A. S. Bengal. Ms. No. 374. (Majmū'a-yi-Maktūbāt) fol. 84, a Nishān of the Prince Aurangzīb to the King of Bijapur.

2. Vide Illustration. NO. I., compare also IHRC-Decm., 1939, Appendix, a Nishān of Mirzā 'Askarī, dated 945/1539, Item-no. 3.

3. Vide Imperial Farmans. Document No. XIII.

I.

auxiliary document and as a confirmatory order (Sanad).

There are many pit-falls in the study of the Nishāns, the strikingly similar visible features, the very tone of the Farmān which echoes through it, have confused many a students in ascertaining its right position. It has been wrongly designated as "Royal Farmen", a term of more than one interpretation. It contains however, certain guiding formulae, such as, "Amr-i-rafi'al-qadr", "Hukm-i-jalil al-qadr", and "Amr-i-'ālī", which make it stand out from a Farmān. Another interesting characteristic of the Nishān is the assurance of the royal favour, "'ināyat-i-shāhāna", or "'ināyat-i-sultānī", to the addressee, which features in the Mufāvadāt and Ruq'āt of our period also, in which the addressee is lower than the Kātib. In the last mentioned it assumes the tone of the Duā. This allusion 'to be honoured with the royal favours', shows the temper of the age and the position of the Emperor.

The Nishāns have the same beginning as the Farmān(a), opening with the Alqāb, and, as in the Parvānāchas, with the Preamble of the Address in the name of the "Mutasaddiyān-i-muhimmāt". The Ta'kid follows the same stereotyped phrases which are so conspicuous in all the Mughal Chancellery rescripts of all categories. A Nishān, if it purports to confirm or emphasise a royal order, almost repeats the contents verbatim of the Farmāns. Even if it issued as a fresh order for instance for a grant in Madad-i-ma'āsh, it is a miniature of the Farmāns of that category. Like all other Ahkām-i-dīvānī, the Nishāns contain the relevant extracts from the Office Records, the details of the several stages in the drafting, and other auxiliary seals of the officers, on the verso.

(B) Hukm:

Like the Nishān, which appears in the Timurid period with different connotations as royal order, a diploma, or a permit for transit, the Hukm for the order of the Consort is in all probability of foreign importation.

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- I. Add. 2, 4039, Copies of Farmāns and Nishāns etc. (A.D. 1633-1712), IHRC-xxvi, 1949, pp. I-7, par 2.
2. Compare IHRC-xviii, pp. 236-45, Mughal Farmans in Peshawar, Imperial Farmans, Documents Nos VIII, XI, XII, XIII, (Nishāns of Dārā Shikūh) etc.
3. Op. cit.
4. IHRC-1942, and 1949, pp. I-7.
5. Vide Nishāns in the Sharaf-nāma of Marvārīd (Roemer). Mātinādārān. vide, document No. 3, where a Hukm is titled "Farmān-i-Malika Begim Khātūn", but compare the text, "in hukm-i-yarligh nafadh yaft", and "in hukm-i-Humāyūn dar qalam āmad".

A Hukm as the order of the Queen Mother such as was Hamīda Bānū Bēgam, the Consort of Humāyūn and mother of Akbar, and Maryam Zamānī, the Empress of Akbar and mother of Jahāngīr, has wrongly been designated as a Farmān. A Hukm, it seems was the privileged order, not only of the Consorts (present Queen Mothers), but any favoured person with any kind of relationship with the Royal family, such as was Khān-i-Khānān with Akbar, who could not as a rule issue a Nishān, had the honour of issuing a Hukm.^{2.}

A Hukm of Hamīda Bānū Bēgam dated 10th Ramadān 989/ 8th Oct. 1581, follows a Farmān of his son, the Emperor Akbar, dated Ṣafar, 989/ March 1581, and emphasises the Royal order according to which the officials were ordered to permit the grantee of a land in Madad-i-ma'āsh to use the domain lands for his cattle to graze in. In technical and literary draughtsmanship it resembles the Farmān of the Emperor, although it does not contain the tughrā, but the two first lines are made short. The seal impression of the Bēgam is interesting to note, in that it contains the name of her father, viz, "Hamīda Bānū Bēgam bint-i-'Alī Akbar"^{3.}

Another Hukm that of Maryam Zamānī, with the title Valī Ni'mat Bēgam (d. 1032/1622) is issued in compliance with the request of one of those born in the family (Khāna-zād) and well-wisher (khayr-khwāh) who had been wronged by the Zamīndār of the pargana in which the complainant held a jāgīr. It enjoins the official whose name does not appear on account of the lacuna, but who certainly was the Qādī (or the Ṣadr of the district)⁴ to do what is needful according to what has been ordered (ḥasb al-ḥukm 'amal namūda) and considering it an absolute injunction (tā'kīd-i-tamām)^{4.}

We can form our study on the basis of these two Hukms which have come to light so far. The Mughal ladies holding higher position in the seraglio and as favourites of the Emperor, were authorised to deal with grants of Soyūrghāl in land or cash in the case of

1. IHRC-viii, Nov. 1925, (Facsimile), Imperial Farmans. Document No. III.

2. Vide Imperial Farmans. Document No. IIIA, and JRAS (Bombay) - Document No. 3.

3. Imperial Farmans Document No. III.

4. IHRC op. cit.

females. In this respect Hājī Kūka the foster sister of Akbar enjoyed an authority under Jahāngīr almost equal to the Ṣadr-i-ṣudūr in that respect. Her seal impression was necessary for attestation and confirmation of such grants. Similarly Jahān Ārā, the favourite daughter of the Emperor Shāh Jahān dealt with the Madad-i-ma'āsh grants and issued Nishāns for that purpose. Bābur speaks of his favourite wife, Māham Bēgam's command as Farmān which she issued for various orders.

In cases involving the interest of the Crown property (Khālisa-yi-sharīfa) or of a personal servant, it was left to the elderly ladies of the Haram to take actions and issue Hukms to that effect, as it was the practice under the Turcomans, relating to matters of "Khāssa'yī-sharīfa".

1. Vide Illustration No.3.

2. A Nishān of Jahān Ārā dated 1051/1641 preserved in the Calcutta Museum. Vide IHRO-xxix, part, i, 1953. (Items).

3. Bābur-nāma (Bev.) vol. ii, p. 650, etc.

4. Compare Mātinādārān .op.cit.

S A N A D - I - S A D Ā R A T A L - ' Ā L I Y A .I.
(Illustration No. 3)God is Great.

The proclamation (which is directed) to the agents of the present and future Krōriyān and Jāgīr-holders of the Pargana Batāla² of the District of Lāhaur (is to the effect) that about sixty bīghas of cultivated and fallow lands (granted) to the chaste lady, the wife of Shaykh Qutb with her children in the guise of the Madad-i-ma'āsh, in accordance with the Royal Mandate of high degree, dated 7 Khwurdād, 13 Ilāhī Year, has been fixed (by me) (with effect) from the spring harvest of the horse year (Rabī'-i-Yūnt-yīl). It behoves them that having measured the said lands from a proper place and settled its boundaries, to leave the aforesaid in the possession thereof, they shall by no means whatsoever encroach upon (it) and shall leave (her) unmolested, so that having spent the income thereof, she may, with repose of mind, engage herself in offering prayers for the August Empire. Having considered exempted and withdrawn their pen (from taxes) in this respect, they shall not demand every year a new Farman and Parvānacha. And if at any other place (she owns any land they shall not take it into account).^(a)

Seals : (i) With the gracious kindness of the Šadr of the ocean and the continent, Sayyid Ahmad Haqq,^(b) by order of the Emperor Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr, the son of the Emperor Akbar (1023).

(ii) Hājī Kūka.^(c)

(iii) Šābir 'Alī, the disciple of the Emperor Jahāngīr (1025).

1. Batala Collection (I.O.455I).

2. Vide Illustration No.4, where it explicitly reads "Batāla".

از کتاب

طالع و تقابل

حرف

آنچه است تا حکیم در آن درک و ادراک و استنباط برسد

چنین بودی که حضرت لایق است از آنکه در آن

در وجه و فاعل تمامه و مقید که شرح قطب مغرب

حرف و فاعل و مقید و هم شرح است برابر آن

از آنکه در آن در آن مقدم است بر این لایق و حرف



باید که در هر طرف او را که است در آن

حرف و مقید و فاعل و هم شرح است برابر آن

T A S H I H A (b)

O R

S A N A D - I - H A I Y - V A - Q A ' I M I

I.

(Illustration No.4).

Sar-nāma:God is Great.Placed in Paradise, i.e. Jahāngīr.' Unvān:The Shadow of God, the Lord of(Happy) Conjunction. May God

2.

perpetuate his Kingdom and Empire.

The proclamation (which is directed) to the agents of the present and future Jāgīr - holders and Krōrīs of the Pargana Batala of the District of the Panjab (is to the effect) that whereas, in accordance with the Royal Mandate of high degree of His Majesty (i.e. Jahāngīr), dated 7 khwurdād, 13 Ilāhī Year, sixty bīghas of land from the said Pargana is fixed in the guise of the Madad-i-ma'āsh of the chaste lady, the wife of Shaykh Qutb: At this time, it (has) become evident from the attestation of the people of (that) locality that the aforesaid (lady), alive, resident, and in occupation and possession, is the same person; therefore, by way of sacrifice over the auspicious head of the slaves of His Majesty, the ----- (illegible) of Solomon, the Jamshīd in Grandeur (and) Power, the said land is hereby confirmed and settled in its old place, as previously, in its entirety and under the (same) possession, in accordance with the particulars on the back. It behoves them to leave the aforesaid land once again in her possession, and to allow absolutely and by any means whatsoever, no alteration or change in it, so that having spent the income thereof on her subsistence, she may remain engaged in offering prayers for the perpetuity of the August Empire (of His Majesty).

Written on the date 4th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 14th year of the Auspicious

Accession, corresponding to A.H. 1050. (Seal : The "Slave" Sayyid Ma'sūm).

I. Batala Collection (I.O.455I).

2. Vide Illustration. The سلطان is an obvious mistake for the سلطنة. Such orthographic errors are very common in the documents of the above collection, for example, " محمد الاول " and so on.

T A S H I H A (a)

I.

(Illustration No.5).

Whereas Shaykh Gadā'ī, (d) the son of Shaykh Rājū Sāhib, clad in (the inner garment of piety " taqvā "), the sign of rectitude, is living in seclusion and (is blessed) with many children and has no means of livelihood from any source: Therefore, in accordance with his worth, (as) a sacrifice (from over the auspicious) head (of His Majesty), we have settled for the subsistence of the aforesaid, as of old, twenty-five bīghas and fourteen bisvas of cultivated and fallow lands, as detailed below. It behoves the (officials) of the Pargana Sandēla (Lakhnau District), the Shiqdār, the accountants, the Pargana-headmen, the Qānūngōs and the Village-headmen, having measured the said land and settled its boundaries, to leave the afore-named in the possession thereof, from the beginning of the autumn harvest of ' the crocodile year ' (Lūī-yīl), the year 988 (A.H.) so that having spent (the income thereof) on his subsistence, he may, with repose of mind, eagerly attend to offering prayers for the perpetuity of the August Empire. They shall consider it, in this respect, an obligatory command and shall not molest (him) on any account whatsoever.

(In siyāq notation :)(Total :) 25 bīghas, 14 bisvas

Cultivated	Fallow
15 <u>bīghas</u> , 14 <u>bisvas</u>	10 <u>bīghas</u>

(Seal: Illegible)

(From) the suburb of the village Sandēla,(From) the village Shāhpūr, alias

in all :

' Idūpūr :Cultivated: 10 bīghasCultivated: 5 bīghas, 14 bisvas.(Total:) 10 bīghasFallow: 10 bīghas.(Total : 15 bīghas, 14 bisvas.)Written on the date 15th of the month of Shauvāl, 988 (A.H.) (Akbar).

Single Pointst are as follow:

(a) One can easily catch up the missing phrase: " والرود على دگر زمین داشته باشد آنرا اعتبار نکنند ".

(b) Sayyid Ahmad Haqq:

I.
The histories mention only two Şadrs under Jahāngīr, (i) Mīrān Şadr-i-Jahān and (ii) Mūsavī Khān (d. 1054/1644) whose date of appointment is not known, but who rose to the high office of Şadr-i-kull some time after the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign and held it till the 16th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.² Mīrān Şadr-i-Jahān who lived to an advanced age (120 years) is last mentioned by Jahāngīr in his Tūzuk in the narrative of the 10th year of his reign corresponding to A.H.1024 as coming from his native place to wait upon the Emperor.³

There is another document (a Sanad-i-Şadārat al-'āliya) in the Batāla collection (I.O.455I), issued under the seal impression of Sayyid Ahmad Haqq dated II, 11th year of Jahāngīr's reign. The seal impressions of the Şadr and Şābir 'Alī read 1023 and 1025 respectively in that document also as in our chart. It may be that Sayyid Ahmad Haqq performed the duties of the Şadr-i-sudūr from some time A.H.1023 till the appointment of Mūsavī Khān. The present chart at any rate fills a gap in the history of the Şadrs under that Emperor.

(c) Hājī Kūka :

She was the foster sister of Akbar. Under Jahāngīr she was entrusted by that Emperor to present deserving ladies grants in Soyūrghāl.⁴ The presence of the seal impression of Hājī Kūka on the present chart which confirms a grant of land in favour of a lady presents documentary evidence.

(d) Shaykh Gadā'ī:

He cannot be identified with the famous Şadr of Akbar, Shaykh Gadā'ī, son of Shaykh Jamāl-i-Kanbūh, who died according to Badā'ūnī in A.H.976.⁵

1. Compare Ibn Hasan. p.287.

2. Ma'āthir al-Umarā', Vol.ii, pp.326-27; Vide also Illustration NO.2a (Farman dated: 1038/1629).

3. Tūzuk, Tr., Rogers, Vol.i.p.293.

4. Ibid.p.46.

5. Badā'ūnī, Text, Vol.3,p.76.

Chapter IV.

Classes Of Epistles (contd.)M U H Ā V A R Ā T.Section I.Classification :

The intellectual and cultural achievements of any age are closely interwoven with their social counterpart. " The red thread of division of all the organs of administration into the dargāh and the dīvān which runs through the whole system of Muslim political organisation', runs through the literature of that age also. Epistolary composition, more than any other literature mirrors the social system and relationship between individuals. The epistolary literature of the Mughal period therefore, should be judged in its proper setting .

The organisation of Mughal society may be broadly described as consisting of, (I) the Emperor and the Royal Family, (2) the Ruling classes or the Nobility, (3) the Religious classes and (4) Muslim and Hindu masses. The last three classes correspond to the attempted division of the State officials by the Emperor Humāyūn into, (i) Ahl-i-daulat, (ii) Ahl-i-sa'adat , and (iii) Ahl-i-murād.¹

The Mughal rulers like other Muslim monarchs claimed the Divine Right of Kingship. He was the 'Shadow of God (sāya-yi-Khudā)' on earth, the "Imān-i-'Ādil" or the spiritual leader of the nation, and the "Insān-i-kāmil" (perfect man)². The Emperor was thus the godhead and paragon of all religious and cultural values, while the rest of the population, all the chiefs (sardārān) and the haughty ones (gardan-kashān) had girded up the loins of life (miyān-i-jān) with the girdle of servitude (kamar-i-bendagī) before him.³ Royal majesty and power reinforced by religious dogmatism erected an unbridgeable barrier between his subjects and the Vice-regent of God on earth.

The great variety of epistles classified according to the relationship between the Kātib and the Maktūb-ilayhi reveals the many distinctions maintained and recognised

1. Compare Ashraf, J.A.S. (Bengal), Life and Conditions of the People of Hindūstān (1200-1550) pp. 170-95.

2. Lāhaurī, Vol. i, part, ii, p. 174; Ā'in, (Bloch.) tr., vol. i, pp. 3, 5.

3. Inshā' (A.F.) p. 23.

in the Mughal regime. The elaborate distinctions adopted in epistolary nomenclature might seem to be a counterpart of the hierarchical composition of Mughal society. On close examination however, the system of nomenclature is far looser than appears at first glance. Many of the terms are used synonymously—often indeed, as complimentary phrases—so that it is often impossible to determine the precise significance of any one particular term.

We can however, enumerate the following epistles as they appear in our period, belonging to the Mufāvādāt or the correspondence exchanged between the members of the privileged classes, or addressed to members of the lower classes and in this case, as is understandable, the addressee is always inferior to the Kātib.

(A) Mufāvādāt :

(i) Shuqqa, (ii) Raqam, (iii) Ahkāma, (iv) Khitāb, (v) Kitāb, (vi) Mukhātaba, (vii) Mulātafa, (viii) Mufāvada, (ix) Ṣahīfa, (x) Mushrafa, (xi) Sharīfa, (xii) Mu'ātafa.

As the facts stand, most of these terms simply denote a letter and do not specify any definite position, and as such, except those which have distinct connotations, all are used by members of any class as honorific epithets to designate a letter (khitābī) from a superior, equal or even an inferior in replying thereto (javābī). It was only a show of great politeness that such respectable terms expressive of favour, regard, and affection were dwelt upon. They are without exception qualified by adjectives and nouns such as, vālā garāmī, qudsiya, sharīf, navāzish, iltifāt, 'ināyat, latīfa, sāmī, nāmī, and with a host of others of the like. These adjectives and qualifying terms sometimes are aids to ascertaining the positions of some of them. For example the inferiors identify the letters from their superiors as equal to 'mandates and diplomas' by designating them as Manshūr, Mithāl and Tauqī'. It is the adjective or the noun which precedes or follows it, that determines the position of some of them; for example in the case of a Nāma, when it is prefaced by 'ināyat, navāzish, iltifāt, it then implies superiority; if preceded by niyāz, inferiority. Again, most of the names of the letters enumerated above, appear in the Murāsālāt or the friendly correspondence, and as such they are briefly discussed under that heading. The following

seem to have definite positions as belonging to the Mufāvadāt and in which the Kātib is superior to the Maktūb-ilay-hi.

(i) Shuqqa:

This term signifies a short piece of royal missive addressed to some noble of the Court in the Emperor's own hand and under his own personal seal or signature. A Shuqqa differs from an ordinary Farman in its technical as well as literary forms and like the latter does not bear the impression of the Great Seal (muhr-i-kalān) and the tughra, the essential features of a Farman.¹ The Shuqqahāt-i-'Ālangīrī is a collection of such missives of the Emperor Aurangzīb 'Ālangīr.

(ii) Raqam :

2.

This is a letter from a noble to any subordinate.

(iii) Ahkāma :

Any letter addressed by a religious authority such as a Sadr is, out of respect,³ termed an Ahkāma.

(iv) Khitāb, (v) Kitāb, (vii) Mukhātāba, (viii) Mufāvada.

All of them are used sparingly as honorific epithets and sometimes together only for the sake of Saj', for example : مخاوضه نامی و خطاب گرامی, کتاب نامی و خطاب گرامی, and مخاوضه اعلیٰ و مخاطبه اعلیٰ. Nevertheless, a Khitāb appearing with the Kitāb has a definite connotation, applied to a royal missive addressed to a foreign sovereign, such as that of Akbar to the Shāh of Persia and the ruler of Tūrān. But in other cases, it denotes a letter from a superior to an inferior.⁴ The Mukhātāba, Mufāvada and the Mukātāba appear as rhyming terms identical with one another and denote letters from superiors to inferiors. Again, they have been used to qualify letters from friends, but in all cases they belong to the correspondence of the privileged classes.⁵

1. Vide Mir'āt al-Istīlāh, fol. I44 and Br.Mus.Ms. Add.6603, (under Shuqqa).

2. Compare Badā'i al-Inshā', p.25; and Mir'āt al-Istīlāh (vide under Raqam). Under the contemporary Safavids a Raqam signifies a general term even for the king's oral orders and the one issued by the Grand-Vizier. (Tadhkirat al-Mulūk, p.203).

3. Badā'i al-Inshā' p.28.

4. Compare Inshā' (A.F.) pp.4,26; and Badā'i. pp.15,24,31 etc.

5. Compare Latifa-yi-Fayyādi (RAS) ff.21b,28a,35a-38a, etc.; Inshā'-i-Bāqir Khān (EIO-I535) ff.353a.

(vii) Mulātafa and (xii) Mu'ātafa :

They are used as identical terms for letters expressive of favours from the superiors, but again they appear to denote friendly correspondence. They essentially belong to the correspondence of the privileged classes.^{1.}

(x) Mushrafa and (xi) Sharīfa :

They are used as qualifying terms for letters from the Nobility.^{2.}

(ix) Sahīfa :

In most cases it is employed as an honorific epithet, but it definitely implies letters from respected persons like the parents, teachers, Murshids and the Sufi-novices (Mustarshids), or religious persons. The Mushaf, a variant of Sahīfa appears in that sense during the period of the Sultanate.^{3.} The Sahīfa belongs to the Murāsālāt also.

(B) Mukātabāt :

The Mukātabāt meaning technically epistolary correspondence, should not be confused with the Makātīb (sing. Maktūb) or the friendly correspondence between equals, which term corresponds to (a) the Murāsālāt below, as one of the classes of the Mukātabāt (i.e. Muhāvarāt), the other two being (b) the Ruqa'āt and (c) the Murafa'āt.

(a) Murāsālāt :

The friendly correspondence between equals, has been defined as Kitābat-i-yārāna or Murāsālāt-i-ma'navī (spiritual communication). At this stage we may point out that Khawāja Jahān in his learned treatise the Manāzar al-Inshā', elaborates the definition of equals by assigning three grades to it, basing his distinctions on mutual relationship and personal affection between the Kātīb and the Maktūb-ilayhi. The Maktūb (pl. Makātīb) of Khawāja Jahān identical with the Murāsālāt of the Badā'i al-Inshā' of our period, forms the correspondence amongst the following three grades of people. (I) 'The Kings write Maktūb to grandees and nobles (akābir-va-ashraf) who, although they do not rank with them in material power or riches, but claim reverence from them'. Letters communicated between saintly-scholars, Sūfīs and Mashā'ikh and the kings form also the class of Maktūb.' 'The grandees',

1. Laṭīfa. fol. 35a; Inshā'-i-Khānazād Khan (Br. Mus. Ms. Or. I410) fol. 59a, Bāqir. ff. 353a-54a, etc.

2. Badā'i. p. 20 etc.

3. Compare I' jāz. fol. 67a:

مصنفي که مخدومی فرستاد ... ; and vide Khānazād. fol. 66b; Namākīn, Preface.

continues Khwāja Jahān " themselves write to and receive Maktūb from persons(2) of proved loyalty, who in turn have earned the genuine confidence (asālat-i-mu'tabara) of their patrons, or (3) they are written to those who are looked upon like fathers (hukm-i-atābak dārand), such as close associates, or old family servants".^{I.}

Belonging to the first category, we may mention the correspondence exchanged between the Mughal Noble, Bāqir Khān Najm-i-Thānī and the rulers of Gōlconda, and between the Emperor Bābur and the saintly scholar, Sayyid Nūr Bakhsh.

We can enumerate the following kinds of friendly correspondence of the Mughal period, and as it will appear most of the terms are overlapping, uncertain and synonymous.

(i) Murāsala, (ii) Rasāla, (iii) Raqīma, (iv) Namīqa, (v) Anīqa, (vi) Kitābatī, (vii) Matāya, (viii) Mutāyaba, (ix) Maktūb, (x) Nāma, (xi) Khatt, (xii) Da'vatī.

(i) Murāsala :

The Murāsala appears in the sense of epistolary correspondence. It is also designated as a royal missive addressed to a foreign sovereign, for instance the Murāsala of Shāh Jahān to the ruler of Tūrān.^{2.}

(ii) Rasāla :

This term appears generally in its plural form the Rasā'il to signify a treatise on the art of epistolary composition or a munsha'at. Its application is however uncertain, but it may mean a letter from the Shurafā' to the Emperor,^{3.} and in this case it is identical with the Maktūb of Khwāja Jahān. The Rusul-i-rasā'il is the frequent phrase used for epistolary correspondence.

(iii) Raqīma :

This is a letter exchanged between equals of any class, for example between kings, such as Akbar addressing the ruler of Tūrān, and Chandra Bhān Barahman his friends.^{4.}

I. Manāzar, fol.60b ; and Inshā-i-Mu'in al-Zamajī, fol.77b

2. Lāhaurī, Vol.i, part i, pp.234.

3. Compare Inshā(A.F.) p. 36.

4. Ibid.pp.4,II ; Munsha'at-i-Barahman, ff.30a-35a, etc.

(vi) Namīqa and (v) Anīqa :

Belonging to the same family of Ishtiqaq, they signify letters exchanged between equals, and in this respect have definite positions. Sometimes they are used to qualify

each other, such as, بنیفته اینقه گرامی. The Namīqa of our period is sometimes associated with the Qabālāt-i-Shar'īya for instance, Namīqa-yi-Nikāh and Namīqa-yi-vafā and so

forth, and in this respect it refers to writing only. The usual synonymous term associated with both of them is the Raqīma, for example : اینقه رقمه کریمه.

(vii) Matāya :

This term stands for an epistle conveying a message.

(viii) Mutāyaba :

It simply means a letter compiled in a jocular style and facetious mood. Such Mutāyabāt are found in the Rasā'il al-I'jāz of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavi and the Munsha'at-al-Namakīn of our period, which reflect the sense of humour of those periods.

(vi) Kitābatī :

This term denotes simply a letter addressed to a friend, but more precisely exchanged between kings.³

(ix) Maktūb (x) Nāma, (xi) Khatt :

The Maktūb does not need any further elucidation save that, it has a varying connotation applied to epistolary correspondence particularly of a Sūfī. The Khatt and the Nāma have a very wide application in the general sense of a letter. They, added to various substantives, denote particular documents, like the Chihra-nāma, Dāgh-nāma, Ta'ziyat-nāma, Sar-khatt and so on. The Nāma in the connotation of a royal missive and a chancellery order (nāma-yi-dīvānī) appears in the earliest Persian works, the Shāh-nāma of Firdausī, the Tārīkh-i-Sīstān and the Qābūs-nāma.⁴

1. Bāqir, ff. 349a, 350-353 etc.

2. Munsha'at al-Namakīn, ff. 254a, Qabālāt-i-Shar'īya.

3. Vide Nuskha, ff. 218-19 etc.

4. Compare Shāh-nāma (Tehran, 1311), vol. iii, p. 38:

Tārīkh-i-Sīstān, Ed. Muhammad Taqi Bahar (Malik al-Shu'arā), Tehran, Shamsī, 1314, p. 209.

بنیفته نامه لجاوش شاه : جهان چو سز بود از ان روزگاه

(xii) Da'vatī:

This is a friendly communication between equals of any class, although it literally means a petition and in this respect may refer to a letter from an inferior to his superior.

(b) Ruqa'at :

A Ruqa'a meaning a short epistle or note is of uncertain application. Khwāja Jahān defines it as a communication between all classes of people. He does not however, ascertain its position and says that a Ruqa'a from a superior to an inferior or vice versa, or between equals is warranted (jā'iz).² During the period of the Mughals, the Ruqa'a seems to be the most widely exchanged epistle between all classes of people. Belonging to our period there are several collections of Ruqa'at such as, the Ruqa'at-i-Abū'l-Fadl, the Chahār Bāgh or the Ruqa'at of Hakīm Abū'l-Fath Gilānī, the Ruqa'at-i-Qāsim Kāhī, the Ruqa'at-i-Munīr and the Ruqa'at-i-'Abd al-Latīf.

(c) Murafa'at :

The Murafa'at precisely forms the petitions submitted by the servants of the State to their superior officials and nobles, relating to mu'āmalāt-i-mulki-va-mālī. Every such petition takes one of the following terms: (i) 'Ard-dāsht', (ii) 'Arīda', (iii) 'Ardī', (iv) 'Vājib al-'ard'.

(i) 'Ard-dāsht':

This usually refers to a petition (i.e. letter) submitted to the Emperor by any person from a prince to a plebeian save those privileged ones who wrote Maktūb. The Ruling Princes of India under the vassalage of the Mughal dynasty, could only write 'Ard-dāshts' to the Emperor. As a matter of fact, every letter whether private or official addressed to the Emperor is termed as an 'Ard-dāsht', even if it tends to be a congratulatory letter or of condolence.³ The 'Ard-dāsht' in this form appears in the earliest epistles, such as of Nizām al-Mulk Tūsī's 'Ard-dāsht' to his master Jalāl al-Dīn Malak Shāh.⁴

(ii) 'Arīda' and (iii) 'Ardī' refer to epistles from the employees to their patrons (i.e. Nobles).

(iv) 'Vājib al-'ard': This is an administrative epistle addressed to the Superior official.⁵

1. Badā'i. p. 25, Ruqa'im-i-Kara'im (Edinb.) ff. 30a-35a etc.

2. Menāzar. fol. 60b.

3. Baqir. ff. 364a. Baqir Khān's 'Ard-dāsht' to Nūr Jahān on the death of Jahāngīr.

4. Nuskha. ff. 5b-

5. Add. 16, 859. ff. 38b-39a.

Section II.

Language and Style :

The purpose of an epistle is to open a cause i.e. Mudda'ā. The mudda'ā is the nucleus round which is woven the pattern of feelings and literary texture. In the Muhāvarāt the mudda'ā forms a variety of topics that could be brought within the purview of epistolary composition.

The political missives of the Mughal Emperors do not differ from their Farmāns (a) to the petty rulers and feudatories, in so far as their magniloquent tone and mighty expression is concerned. Intended to overawe their rival kings, the diplomatic epistles are essentially inflated, euphuistic and couched in a sonorous diction. It is difficult to delineate the various features of the Emperors' correspondence with the foreign sovereigns, but they have a common mudda'ā and definite openings in the praise of God or a figurative preamble in the Inshā-i-Bahāriya like the Tashbīb in the Qasīda, upholding the importance of diplomatic relations through the channel of correspondence. Humāyūn's missives very few though they are in number and found almost in every collection of letters, invariably begin with the simple Preposition, " بعد از " in the Praise of God or with a Du'ā. They are, however, comparatively terse and show a simplicity of style and a naïvete of expression. The one addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp appealing for a shelter, from the " gloomy and narrow Sindh ", strikes us more with the retiring and pensive mood and the feeling of defeatism of that Emperor:

Examples :-

- (i) Humāyūn to Shāh Tahmāsp : بعد از وظیفه دعا و اخلاص که شیوه مرضیه اصحاب اختصاص است
- (ii) Humāyūn to the King of Gujarāt : بعد از مهربان شکر و سپاس الهی جلت و علا و پس از تشیید مابنی شاخوانی حضرت سالت پناه
- (iii) Akbar to 'Abd-Allah Khān Uzbek : استشمام گلدسته بهارستان یکا دلی و یگانگی و اطلاع کارنامه انکارستان ... که آراسته خلفندان بوستان الهی ...
- (iv) Jahāngīr to Shāh 'Abbās. II. I. سپاس معرا از طلب حد و قیاس و تالش مبر از آلائش تشییه والتبائن
 یگانه معبود سیراد و خور است

I. Vide. Nuskha, fol. I04b; Bodl. Per.D.84, fol.256a; 85a; Inshā'(A.F.) p.17, Raqā'im-Karā'im, (Edinb).ff.44b-46b etc., for all these letters.

(v) Shāh Jahān's letters drafted by his Viziers, differ slightly from those of his predecessors in that they begin in most cases with an adverbial clause, "تا", followed by the usual trains of the Alqāb with rhyming synonyms and ending with the Du'ā in the Optative or Benedictory form, "باد".

I.
Example:

سارشات ملک بدایع نگار - و نجات خامه مشکبار در اظهار روال بطردستی و ولا ... عطر افزای محفل صفت و اتحاد باشد

Like the Ruqa'at, the Mufāvadāt, forming the correspondence of the Privileged classes among themselves, are exchanged between equals also. In this case the form of the Mufāvadāt may vary with the writer and again with his particular style and mode of address. When the Mursal-ilayhi is inferior, as it is generally in this class of epistles, it stands out distinctly due to certain epistolary phraseology. (i) The Alqāb properly employed in keeping with the status of the addressee ends with the (ii) assurance of favour as in Chancellery edicts ; (iii) the Khitāb is in the Third Person Singular or in the Imperative Mood of the Second Person.²

- (i) سیادت و سعادت آداب عقیدت و حقیقت انتساب امیر قوام الدین مرتضیٰ بشیر لایف توجبات اخضام
یافته بلند
- (ii) آچنان کوشش نامی که هر چه فایده دانی در فرستادن آن تسایل نمائی
معتد خاص صادق العقیدت خواجه بعنایت و التفات امیدوار بوده بلند
- (iii)

It is to be pointed out here that such Mufāvadāt differ with the Parvānas only in matters of the Mudda'a' which in the last case is strictly official or administrative.

The position of the Ruqa'at of our period is uncertain for it stands on the same level as the Mufāvadāt and the Murāsālāt. A Ruqa'a is a short epistle and embodies three Rukn (pl. Arkān) as the component parts, (i) Du'ā, (ii) I'lām-i-hāl (informing of the state) and (iii) Du'ā-i-ikhtitām or the ending expression of wish and blessing.³ The Ruqa'at of most of the Munshīs and others of our period exemplify exquisite specimens of succinct style and controlled expression in a colloquial tone, in which the murāsala attains to a mukālama. Each thought is expressed in the minimum of words but full of meaning or what the munshīs call " qalīl al-mudda'a va Kathīr al-ma'āni,"⁴ (قلیل الدعاء و کثیر المعانی).

1. Lāhaurī, Vol.i, part i, pp.234, Vol.ii, pp.572.

2. Inshā'(A.F.) pp.214-15 ; Inshā'-i-Tarab al-Ṣubyan (EIO-2066), fol.57a.

3. Manāzar, fol.71b, and ff.76b-77a.

4. Dastūr al-Ṣubyan (Add.9697), ff.19a-b.

To this category belong the Ruqa'at of Abū'l-Faḍl, Abū'l-Faḥr Gīlānī and of Chandra Bhaṅ Barahman. The style of Abū'l-Faḥr at time approaches the rare Sahl-i-mumtani'. The Ruqa'at of 'Urfī Shīrāzī found sporadically in many collections exhibit his prolixity and rhetorical indulgence. Though he writes in the standard Persian of his country and like Abū'l-Faḍl has an artful hand in coining fresh compounds like, شهر بندر زنج, شهرستان لاهوت, چشمه سارنیا, زنجوار چشمه سارنیا; but his similes and metaphors fall short of appreciation.

Examples :

(i) اطفال اعمال حسنه که انتظار تولدشان در رحم پلاک کرده (ii) ارباب موثرات عالم علوی که حامله نطفه سواخ وزانیده الفعال حوادث اند

The Murāsālāt of our period are the best specimens of literary craftsmanship and euphuism. The rhetorical and ornate prose found full expression in the Inshā', and is most skilfully represented in the friendly correspondence. Inshā'-pardāzī began with Abū'l-Faḍl and during the reign of Shāh Jahān it became a fetish with the munshīs and others. For a group of munshīs Abū'l-Faḍl was a beau ideal. A literary resurrection later appeared on the literary scene in the group of dilettanti for whom the hitherto obscure Amīr Khusrau was the master of style. Abū'l-Barakāt Munīr of Shāh Jahān's reign rediscovered from Khusrau and his follower Zuhūrī, the forgotten literary artifices of Īhām, Majāz-i-mursal and Khayāl.

The Murāfa'at is the most distinct branch of epistolary composition. It shows a literary persistence from the early period of Persian Inshā', and has undergone very little change in the draughtsmanship, as did the class barriers. The choicest of words expressive of humility and meakness like, murīd, fidvī, kamtārīn, ghulam, faqīr and so on, at the same time display some of the engaging traits of the Oriental character. The epistolary phrases are rigidly adhered to in the 'Ard-dāshts and the 'Arīdas. Every petition submitted to the Emperor more or less assumes one of the following forms.

(i) کترین مریدان فلان که حلقه بندگی در گوش و غاشیه عبودیت بردوش دارد زمین خدمت بلب ادب بوسیده بعد از وظائف و ادای کورنش و تسلیم بموقف عرض باریا و ننگان بارگاه خلافت و البتادگان درگاه سلطنت خدیو سکندر می رساند

1. Kulliyāt-i-'Urfī (Edinb) ff. 331a-b, 342a-b, 347b, 323a-b (Ruqa'at and Maktūbs).

2. Khulāsat al-Inshā' (Bod. Ms.) ff. 127b-28a, 357a-b and Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 7689. ff. 121b-22b etc.

- (i) عرضداشت کزترین غلامان فلان ... زره وار بوقف عرض ایستادهای پایه سریر خلافت ... می رساند
- (ii) عرضداشت کزترین مریدان فدوی ... بعد از تقدیم سجده و تسلیات غلامی زره مثال بوقف عرض بارانندگان پایه سریر عرض
نظر مصیری رساند -

The phrases, " بوقف عرض " and " می رساند ", constantly figure in all petitions and even in letters from a son to the father.

- (i) بوقف عرض حضرت مخدومی مخدوم الانامی قبله گاهی مد ظله العالی میرساند
- (ii) بنده عبدالحمن لوازم عبودیت و تسلیات بجا آورده بوقف عرض نواب مستطاب کیوان وقار خداوندی قبله گاهی میرساند

The Du'ā as a precedent ends in the Benedictive form according to the dignity of the addressee. For the Emperor the usual form is a prayer for the perpetuity of the Empire.

- (i) آفتاب خلافت و جهانداری تابان و درخشان باد
- (ii) ظل سلطنت و خلافت ابدالدین خلد و مویده باد

Except the Algāb and the complimentary epithets of the addressee, no proper name of his is ever mentioned, nor as a rule does the 'Unvān' figure in the case of an 'Arḍ-dasht to the Emperor for, " he does not stand in need of any introduction!"² The petitioner speaks himself in the Third Person Singular (واحد غائب) and the Khitāb to the addressee is in the Third Person Plural and with the simple Demonstrative Pronoun " Ān ", qualified by adjectives. The adjectives used for the Emperor and the Princes such as, (the cynosure of the Faith and the world), قبله عالم و دنیا; قبله دین و دنیا; قبله عالم و دنیا and قبله دین و دنیا ^{رسالیان} and نواب قدسی انان جهانانی بادشاهان smack of sanctity and contain the idea of the Universality of Kingship.

From Amīr Khusrau to Abū'l-Faḍl the Persian language and style took many new turns. On the eve of the Mughal era Persian had exhausted all possibilities of further progress in quality. Bābur's short reign and Humāyūn's chequered career could do little to add to the existing conditions of the Persian language and literature, but they are, no doubt responsible for arresting a further decay in the language. On the

1. Compare Inshā' (A.F.) pp. 84; 86 and Harkam Chapter IV.

2. Tarassul-i-Nusriyya. ff. 23b-24a.

other hand new avenues lay open for the development of the Language and Literature in the succeeding periods of the Mughal Emperors. With Bābur and Humāyūn came fresh currents of words and official technology in Persian and Turki from linguistic springs. The Indian-Persian which had hitherto received a strong influx of vocabulary from the vernaculars grew more rich and fertile.

No wonder that Bābur in spite of his unequivocal criticism of India, which for him was ' a country of few charms', succumbed to her all-pervading influences. Besides freely using a host of Hindi words in his Autobiography, there is that " Macoronic " verse with an uncommon combination of Turki and Urdu, the first hemistich of which being in pure Urdu Verb:

مجانہ ہوا کج ہوس مانگ و موتی
فقر اھیگا بس بولغوسی پانی و روتی

" I have no desire for carol and pearls,

I.

For faqir (poor people) water and bread is enough."

The few authors who came in the wake of Bābur and Humāyūn from the literary centres of Persia like, Shaykh Zayn Khwāfi, Hakim Yūsof of Harāt and Khwādamir represent the style of the later Timurid period. The Shaykh and the Hakim like their other compatriot Shāh Tāhir al-Husaynī ^{2.} (d.A.H.952) are highly erudite and figurative in their Inshas. The style of the Shaykh in his Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburi and the official documents, the Farmān and the Fath-nāma which he composed for the Emperor Bābur, is essentially rhetorical and pompous. The long-winded quotations suggestively drawn from the Qur'ān and the interminable rhyming synonyms all stand in striking contrast with the simple but uncouth style of the Indian writers of the later Sultanate period, like Barani, 'Afif, Yahyā b. Ahmad Sirhindi and others. Bābur who himself cultivated a naïve and downright style in his Chaghatay Turki ^{3.} and advised his son Humāyūn to write his letters unaffectedly, admires

1. JIAS (Bengal. 1913. IV-plate XVII-p.21. Divan-i-Babur Padishah edited by E.D. Ross. also 1910 number)
2. Vide. Br.Mus. Harl. 499. The Inshā-i-Tāhir of the EIO does not appear, as the internal evidence shows, to belong to that author. He flourished in the Deccan under Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar.
3. Compare Shaykh Zayn. Br.Mus.Or.1999 (Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburi) ff.96b. He admires the epistolary composition of Bābur (in Turki) as : " ایراد آن مکتوب احسن از انشاء "

I.
the high-flown style of his Sadr al-sudur. In a letter to Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, the founder of the sect Nur-Bakhshī, the Emperor deplors the literary style of the writers of his time who according to him are the 'slaves of artifices and tropes.'^{2.} Babur's letter in question, itself exemplifies the abstruse and inflated style of his time, and seems to be from the pen of the Shaykh.

With Akbar we enter the most brilliant period of Persian literature. Under his enlightened patronage and policy, Persian and Hindi came closer to each other as did the Hindus and Muslims. His liberal patronage attracted a host of poets and scholars from the literary centres of Persia, who were soon influenced by the new trends developing in the Persian prose and poetry of India.^{3.} It is interesting to note that only a few could escape the influence of the Sabk-i-Hindī, but at the same time the foreign influence infiltrated into the standard idioms of the Persian language. One however meets frequently Hindi words and imagery drawn from the Indian milieu in the prose and poetry of these sojourners.^{4.} The fresh currents of foreign idioms nevertheless could not stay the growth of the Indian style; on the other hand, as 'Ali Quli Salim from Persia says, "Henna does not develop its colour until it comes to India."^{5.}

The stock of Turki words and terms brought in the preceding periods, had become familiar and almost naturalised by the time of Akbar. The translation of the Babur-nāma by 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i-Khanān into Persian retaining a number of Turki words untranslated proves this fact in certain respects.^{6.} The flow of the Turki words was becoming stemmed and by the time of the succeeding periods there does not seem to be any new contribution of that language to the Indian-Persian. It is also noteworthy that Akbar's great interest in the ancient Persian books expressed in his causing the words of Zand and Pazand to find place for the first time in the dictionary which Mir Jamal-Din Husayn Injū compiled and dedicated later to Jahāngīr.^{7.}

1. Bābur-nāma. (Bev). vol. ii. p. 624-27 and p. 553.

2. Bod. Per. D. 84. ff. I47a-b.

3. Badā'unī. Text. vol. iii. pp. 170-390

4. Vide infra (Book II) and 'Urfī's Qasīdas with the opening verses:

5. Shi'r al-Ajam. vol. iii. p. 10. (Urdu) *منیت در ایران زمین سامان تحصیل کمال، تا نیاید سوی هندستان حجاز گین نشد*

6. Compare Beveridge Turki Text. pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

7. Blochmann's Contributions.

مرحوم ابی شاد ایام از بهر شباب

منیت در ایران زمین سامان تحصیل کمال، تا نیاید سوی هندستان حجاز گین نشد

It was during that splendid period of Persian art and literature that the greatest Munshī of India, Abū'l Faḍl laid down the foundation of a new style in the Inshā', which is so far unsurpassed. A literary innovator, with a host of followers of his own, his style is unique by itself and does not stand comparison with any other Munshī of any age. His predilection for the Isti'māl-i-Hind, and his peculiar formations of phrases and novel compounds give the stamp of a new mint to his Inshā'.

Insha-writing attained a wide popularity under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. The Hindus took zealously to that art and to the vocation of munshī-garī. They enriched the language with their own ways of thought and homely idioms. On the other hand, a new current of foreign vocabulary issued forth, but this time from overseas. The visits of the European travellers, traders and missionaries became more frequent from the time of Akbar, but the importation of foreign words appears mainly in the chancellery documents from the time of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. The chancellery issues relating to the English trade contain not only words from that language, such as "kiptān"(captain); (knight); "Angrēz"(English); "Yōrup"(Europe), but a host of associated words from the provincial vernaculars of India. Such words as enumerated below are from Gujarati, the language of the coastal region: "Mahājan"(banker) with its plural in Persian, "Mahājanān"; "Beopārī" and "Beopāriyān"(merchants) and the like.^{I.}

The period of Shāh Jahān is characterised in the development of Inshā' for many reasons. The language had lost not only that purity of idiom, which in fact had become a tale of the past, but it suffered a great deal on account of the new generation of the munshīs. On the one hand, a literary controversy over the current idiom was developing amongst the Iranians and Indians; on the other hand, the Indian scholars were askance at the mushroom-like growth of the Munshīs, mostly from amongst the Hindus. The pretensions of the Iranians to literary superiority were checkmated by Indian scholars, such as

I. Compare Br.Mus. Add.24,039 (official documents relating to English trade, A.D.1633-1712). Also cf. Br.Mus. Harl.Roll 43,A.4. A copy of Jahāngīr's Farnān dated 1028/1619 and Sloane 4090,ff.25; Shāh Jahān's Farnān dated 1047/1637.

P A R T T W O.

Authors and their Works on I N S H Ā'

- I. Badā'i al-Inshā', (Comp. A.H.940),
Hakīm Muhammad Yūsuf of Herāt (Humayūn).
2. Chahār Bāgh, (Ed. after 997/1589),
Hakīm Masīh al-Dīn Abū'l-Fath Gīlānī (Akbar).
3. Munsha'at al-Namakīn, (Comp. 1006/1598),
Mīr Abū'l-Qāsim Khān Namakīn (Akbar).
4. Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī, (Ed. 1015/1606-7),
5. Ruqa'at-i-Abū'l-Fadl, (Ed. 1035/1625-26),
'Allāmī Fahhāmī Abū'l-Fadl (Akbar).
6. Latīfa-yi-Fayyādī, (Ed. 1035/1625-26),
Abū'l-Fayd Faydī or Fayyādī (Akbar).
7. Inshā'i-Tarab al-Subyān, (Comp. A.H. 1037),
8. Inshā'i-'Iyār-i-Dēnish, (Comp. circa ditto),
Hakīm Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad 'Abd-Allāh (Jahāngīr).
9. Inshā'i-Khānazād Khān, (Comp. Not known),
Amān-Allāh Khānazād Khān Fīrūz Jang, Amānī (Jahāngīr).
10. Inshā'i-Bāqir Khān, (Not known),
Bāqir Khān Najm-i-Thānī, Bāqir (Jahāngīr).
11. Zubdat al-Inshā' (Comp. 1027/1618),
Anonymous. (Jahāngīr).
12. Inshā'i-Harkam, (Comp. between 1034-35 and 1045-46)
Harkam Dās Mathurā Dās Kanbūh (Jahāngīr-Shāh Jahān).
13. Inshā'i-Munīr, (Comp. A. H. 1050),
14. Nau-Bāvah, (Comp. A. H. 1051),
Mullā Abū'l-Barakāt Munīr Lāhaurī (Shāh Jahān).
15. Munsha'at-i-Barahman, (Comp. circa 1067-8/1657-8)?
Munshī Chandar Bhān Barahman. (Shāh Jahān).

B A D Ā' I al-I N S H Ā'.The Author:(Humāyūn).

It is with the Badā'i al-Inshā' that the history of Persian epistolography of the Mughal period begins. Yūsuf b. Muhammad of Harāt, with the poetical title of Yūsufī, is identical with the physician and maulānā of that name who flourished under Bābur and Humāyūn. He is the author of several works in prose and poetry, chiefly on medicaments and hygiene. The best known are the Favā'id al-Akhyār, compiled in A.H. 913, a panegyric titled Qasīda-fī-Hifz al-Siḥat dedicated to Bābur in A.H. 937, the Tibb-i-Yūsufī or Jāmi' al-Favā'id. The last mentioned is a commentary on his own earlier work the 'Ilm al-Amrād, a versified treatise on therapeutics. The Riyād al-Adviya, another treatise of his on the properties of medicinal herbs, was compiled for and dedicated to the Emperor Humāyūn in A.H. 946. The present manual on epistolary composition, the author undertook to compile for the training of his son, Rafī' al-Dīn Husayn, 'the pupil of his eye' and other students, in A.H. 940, which is conveyed by the following chronogram, obtained by doubling the numerical value of its title :

این نامه کز دست فنّ انشا بنظام : کرده خروش بدائع الانشا نام
تکرار کنی چو نام او را یک بار : شک نیست که ره بری بهال تمام

An Estimate of Hakīm Yūsuf :

It is a noteworthy fact even in present day India, that Hikmat is considered a highly learned profession, the study of which involves a profound knowledge of many other subjects and languages. Hakīm Yūsuf was the product of the cultural Renaissance of Central Asia, and the emblem of the age like his many other contemporaries, the Emperor Bābur, Shaykh Zayn Khwāfī and Tahir al-Husaynī. His erudite style, abstruse language and Arabicised diction interlarded with outlandish vocabulary and technical terms from other sciences such as, Astronomy, Philosophy and Logic, speak of the profound learning of the Hakīm.

I. Vide, Rieu, pp. 529 and 564 ; and Br. Mus. Cat. of Persian Printed Books, p. 734 (Riyād. Add. I7, 955-fol. 79-I74; Jāmi' Add. 23, 560-fol. 262-64. Haji Khalifa mentions only the Jāmi' (Vide: Vol. ii, p. 564.).

Description:

The book opens with the conventional Muslim form with the Praise of ' the Creator of the Pen', ' Who is Scribe of mature Wisdom, and Who granted His Apostle the luminous diploma of Fasāhat and Balāghat, with the honour of a bright tughrā inscribed on it.' The author then describes the two main branches of epistles, the Tauqī'āt (i.e. Ahkām-va-Amthila) and the Muhāvarāt, which consists of the Mukātabāt and Mufāvadāt. The Muhāvarāt is divided into three classes of epistles according to the social status of the correspondents, and consists of the Ruqa'āt, Murāsālāt and Murāfa'āt.

The Badā'i contains specimens of the Muhāvarāt only, for persons of all ranks and of every walk of life, and for all emergencies and occasions. At the end of the book appear stocks of phrases and formulae suitable for use in letters on diverse topics.

Manuscripts of the Badā'i are very numerous, and it has been lithographed in Delhi in A.D. 1870. I have used the lithographed copy.

Language and Style:

A. As has been pointed out above, the Hakīm is extremely erudite and prolix, his style is musajja' and his language is metaphorical. The most redeeming feature of his diction is the dominant element of Arabic vocabulary to which he clings even to the complete exclusion of more common and current Persian equivalents. For example for the Persian "مهربانی" (kindness or favour), he uses the following Arabic equivalents :

اشفاق; تطف; عواطف; الطاف; رافت; عاطفت

Similarly instead of using "روشن" and "روشنی", the author has an exhaustive list of the following Arabic words:

مبین; متجلی; مجلی; جبر; جالیاً; متجلیاً; بیضاً; ضیاً; صفا; زہراء; غراء;
علم و کشف; مینر; باہر; زواہر; وضوح; واضح; یاج; شائع; فائح; سامع.

B. He does not refrain from employing words of outlandish origin, such as:

حطام (trash); اسباب (bubbling); مبخت (excited); بجرا (earth); نیساق (she-camel).

I. Vide Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 5, 629-ff. I44a-I79a (A Glossary of Badā'i al-Inshā').

C. Mutarādifāt and Takrār are very numerous, and this tendency of the author to repeat the same thought in different garbs of synonyms and tautological expressions, leads his language to verbosity and diffuseness.

D. Although the Hakīm usually writes with grammatical purity according to the rules of Syntax, one meets irregularities in the order of Mubtada' and Khabar. Sometimes for the sake of brevity he omits the Predicate altogether, which is noticeable in the old writers also.

(i) p.92. دل رطاقتِ شکیبائی و تحملِ نینت و جان را در این مسئله مشکل مجالِ تفکر و مامل منی -

E. The most glaring peculiarity of his rhymed prose is noticeable in the parenthetical clauses ending with a Predicate in a verse or a hemistich:

(i) p.22. روایح الطاف دوست پروری و فواج اعطاف مرحمت گستری اعنی مفاوضه امیر عادل اعظم
بچون بقای امانی موجب کامرانی و چون نقد زندگانی سرمایه شادمانی بدیت - رسید و دیده ام از نور او منور شد

(ii) p.24. مشور دولت ابدی و طغری سعادت سرمدی یعنی مثال بی مثال حضرت امیر اعظم ملاذ اکابر عالم
باآثار الطاف تربیت و انواع اعطاف تقویت مصرع رسید و خادم دیرینه را مشرف ساخت

Single Points are as follow:

F. Excessive use of Arabic Participles in the form of Mutarādifāt:

ظرایف لطایف محبت آثار که عبارتند از مکاتیب جناب سیادت شعار منقذی رفیع مجتبی منبع ... مشحون بلطف عبارت مقرون
بحسن اشعارات از مطالعه آن عبارات مستوی بر ذائق معانی ... منطوی بر حقائق روحانی ... الخ

G. His Knowledge of Philosophy and Logic: قضایا ، قضیه منعکس ، فروع و اصول

H. Compare the following Astronomical Terms and phrases:

تقویم ، زینج ، زانچه ، قطب سپهر ثبات ، الطالع من مطالع الاقبال ، تقاویم الکلمات ، مطلع اتحاد ، طلوع کواکب اتصال

I. Use of Ishtiqāq (etymology):-

علاج معراج ، ناسک مناسک دین تویم سالک مراد متقیم ، منطوق آن مثال جلالین ناظق ، فیاض فیوض ، عاقد معاهد

J. Examples of Saj' مواد تا تیدربانی و میامن توفیقات سبحانی پیام دولت شاهزاده جهان ، مظفر انوار عدل و احسان

نور دیده سلطنت کبری چیراغ دوده خلافت عظمی گوهر درج جهان بانی اختر برج صاحبقرانی مزین سر سلطنت قاهره قواعد تربیت بهره

The Author:

The Chahār Bāgh is a collection of the Ruqa'at of Hakīm Masih al-Din Abū'l-Fath, son of Maulānā 'Abd al-Razzāq, a learned scholar of Gīlān. The Hakīm is well-known for his many-sided activities and as an enlightened patron of literature, a profound scholar and an intimate friend of the Emperor Akbar. He came to India with his two distinguished brothers, Hakīm Humām (d. A.H. 1004) and Hakīm Nur al-Din Muḥammad, a poet with the takhallus Qarā'ī, in the 20th year (A.H. 983) to take service under the aforesaid Emperor. Hakīm Abū'l-Fath rose to higher favours and acquired ascendancy over the Emperor due to his exceedingly winning manners and intellect. His influence over the Emperor has been mentioned by Badā'ūnī, as one of the chief reasons of Akbar's abjurement of Islam. He was appointed Ṣadr of Bengal in the 24th year, a post which his father had held for years in his native place.²

The authorities speak very highly of the Hakīm's profound study of classical literature, his vast attainments in the field of current knowledge and of his literary acumen. He is responsible for creating an intellectual atmosphere for the poets in India and introducing new trends in qasida-writing. His was the most promising patronage that attracted every emigré from the Vilāyat (Persia) and a good many like Khwāja Husayn Sanā'ī, Mirzā Qulī, Mullā Hayātī Gīlānī, Mullā 'Urfī Shīrāzī and other candidates (musta'iddān) had joined his service.³ His literary circle included amongst the most outstanding votaries of the pen, Shaykh Faydī, the poet-laureate of Akbar and his brother the great Munshī Abū'l-Fadl.⁴

It was not only his illustrious patronage that made him the subject of panegyrics by the poets of the day, but his own poetic taste was of a higher order and

1. Badā'ūnī (Ranking. Tr. vol. II. p. 211). Also Ma'āthir al-Umarā': vol. I, p. 107-110 (Tr.)

2. Ibid.

3. Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī (BI) 1927, vol. 3, i-pp. 293, 3, ii, p. 845.

4. Ch. Ba. SOAS. Ms. No. 445I. ff. 21b, 15a.

his literary acumen which gave incentive to his encomiasts. Especially 'Urfī, his chief protégé, more than any one immortalised his master's name through his forceful qasīdas in imitation of Khāqānī and Anvarī. In one of the panegyrics composed in his praise, with the opening line : پہرہ پرداز جہان رخت کش چون بہ عمل : the poet admires the critical

appreciation of the Hakīm thus :

شعرا زونیک و گریب تو ز باش دلی شرح این باتو غلط جز تو بر ملامت و ہنسی

Tr. How good or bad his verses may read,
Thou knowest his tongue, (his poetic deed),
To explain it thou, is to err it more,
To carry it another (patron's door),
As though to idols, 'tis to read.

In a Ruqa'a to Khān-i-Khānān, the Hakīm once indirectly referred to his own efforts in raising the standard of poetry in India by opening new vistas to the poets. "The panegyrics which the friends composed there (in Persia) became worn-out for the poets here (in India) Mullā 'Urfī and Mullā Hayatī have improved considerably."

His death has been recorded in history as an important event of the age and many poets such as Sarfī Savajī, Mullā Talib Safāhānī and no less a poet than Faydī composed elegies and chronograms. He died on the 19th Shawwāl 997, (A.D. 1589). No one could have mourned his death more than 'Urfī, who never turned his face to another door till the Hakīm was alive. In a qasīda in praise of his new patron Khān-i-Khānān he could not suppress his deep grief:

خدا یگانا حال دلم تو می دانی : چگویمت کہ دلم چون زخم گران آمد

Thou knowest Oh Master, my heart's sorrow-deep,
What should I tell thee, how heavy 'tis with grief.

An Estimate of the Author:

From the pages of the Chahār Bagh we can form an estimate of the Hakīm's erudition in diverse sciences, his turning to Sufī contemplation and the study of Ethics, his philosophy of life and above all his judgement on his own literary style. He had devoted

1. Vide : Qasā'id-i-'Urfī (Lith.) Lucknow.
2. Shi'ḥ al-'Ajam. (Urdu). Vol. iii, p. II-12. (The Ruqa'a in question is not found in the two Mss. (EIO and SOAS) available to me.

himself to the study of Sūfī works so assiduously, that he could not turn his attention I. to other studies, save that of Ethics, and that too once a week or so. He seems to have made a profound study of the Ihyā' and Kimyāy-i-Sa'adat of al-Ghazzālī, the philosophical treatises of Afdal al-Dīn Kāshānī (d. circa A.H. 707), the poetical works of Hakīm Sanā'ī, Nizāmī of Ganja, Sa'dī and Hafiz.² Of the last mentioned he was greatly enamoured, and quotes extensively from him.

The Akhlāq-i-Jalālī and Akhlāq-i-Nāsirī were the most widely read works on ethics during the Mughal régime, and the Hakīm allows us to estimate his profound knowledge of the "Four Virtues" (Fadā'il-i-arba'a i.e. Sakhāvat, Shujā'at, 'Iffat and 'Ismat). He makes it incumbent upon himself to recommend strongly to his correspondents to devote themselves to the study of ethics, to make the best use of time, to attend to the words of the virtuous and to acquire a knowledge of the vices of the soul.³

His deep knowledge of Persian poetry is well attested by his in extense quotations from the classical works, and the suggestive insertion of some of the verses to suit the occasion and the mood, seems to be his own composition. Though he stimulated a great deal of poetic activities amongst his protégés and friends, he speaks in unfavourable terms about the art itself, "It is to be cultivated a little," he wrote to his brother Humam, "For it is the disease of the soul."⁴ He is said to have entertained a profound contempt for old Persian poets, particularly the qasida-writers like Khāqanī and Anvarī, the last he called by a diminutive Anvariak.⁵

The pages of his Munsha'at betray his great interest in Philosophy and Logic, and an account of the old and modern philosophers entitled Khulāsat al-Hayāt, was compiled by Mullā Ahmad Tattavī for the Hakīm.⁶ The frequent quotations from the Qur'an

1. EIO. Ms. (Chahār Bāgh) fol. 9b.

2. Ibid. ff. 2a, 15b, 17a, 26b, 27a, etc.

3. Ibid. ff. 1b, 6b, 9b, 27a, etc.

4. Ibid. fol. 21a.

5. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., Vol. i., p. 469.

6. Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 1904-III, ff. 121-129.

and his predilection for Arabic phrases, exhibit his vast attainments in that language. Of his own principal subject, medicine, he makes extensive use for similes, metaphors and imagery. Every sentence from his Ruqa'at constitutes the figure Mura'at al-Nazir, deriving correlative terms from that science.

Description:

The Ruqa'at are addressed to his friends, superiors, subordinates and a major portion to his brother Humam. They include Miran Sadr-i-Jahan Mufti (d. 1020), who went with Humam in the embassy to the court of 'Abd Allah Khan Uzbek in the 31st year of Akbar's reign; ¹Mir Sharif Amuli, the head of the Nuqtaviyya sect in India, and author of a treatise, the Tarashshuh-i-Zuhur; ²Mir Jamal al-Din Husayn, probably Inju, who was earlier in the service of Akbar and later served Jahangir under whose name he compiled the famous Persian dictionary, the Farhang-i-Jahangiri; ³Qadi Nur Allah (Shustari), perhaps the one introduced to Akbar by the Hakim; ⁴Asaf Khan Ja'far Beg (d. A.H. 1021), who earlier acted in different capacities and rose to vakilship under Jahangir and was one of the best poets of the period, the author of a mathnavi styled Nur-Nama; ⁵Khwaja Shams al-Din Khwafi (d. A.H. 1008) the divan-i-kull under Akbar, who committed the body of the Hakim by the order of the Emperor to Hasan Abdal, and buried it there in a vault which the Khwaja had made for himself. And there are many others whose names do not appear in the two available copies of the present work (EIO-2063 and SOAS No. 44551).

Though Abu'l-Fath died, according to best authorities on the 19th Shawwal 997, there appear dates after that, Dhu'l-hajja 997; 999 and even 1007 (in the EIO), and similarly in the other copy of the Chahar Bagh.

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1. A'in (Bloch) tr., vol. i. p. 522. Also Insha' (A. F.) pp. 11-17. (Letter to 'Abd Allah Khan Uzbek.)
 2. Bad'uni. II. p. 245 (Ranking).
 3. A'in (Bloch) tr., vol. i. pp. 499-501.
 4. Ibid, p. 615.
 5. Ibid, p. 453. Ma'athir al-Umara' vol. i. p. 285.
 6. A'in (Bloch.) tr., vol. i, p. 469; Insha' (A. F.) pp. 52-55.

Most of the letters are despatched from Lahore, and the one dated 996(A.H.) (EIO. fol.13b) is explicitly directed to Bukhārā, but almost all of them which are addressed to Humām and to Ṣadr-i-Jahān Muftī, as the internal evidence shows, were despatched thither. The EIO.Ms. has two curious insertions made at a later period ; the one mentions the Ḥakīm's improvising a qit'a extemporaneously at the death of Faḥ-Allāh Shīrāzī (d. 997/1589). It is dated 5th Rajab, 996 (fol.15a) and says that the Ḥakīm died after nineteen days later. Thus again the above date is a mistake for 997, but at the same time the date of his death according to the insertion in question falls in Rajab instead of the above-mentioned date. Another insertion by the pen of one Qādī Ḥusayn, frequently mentioned in the Ruqa'at appears between folios 22a-23b and is found in the other copy also, but in a Ruqa'a dated wrongly Muharram 999 (ff.25a).

The epithets : مرحوم و منقول : in the EIO. Ms. insertion clearly shows that it is due to a later addition made after the death of the Ḥakīm by Qādī Ḥusayn, who presumably edited the Ruqa'at also after his death. The later view is supported by a superscription in the same copy at the beginning running thus " Written by the meaning-painting pen (raqamzad-yi- qalam-i- ma'na-nigar) of Ḥakīm Abū'l-Faḥ Gilānī , may God illuminate his grave". The SOAS copy forms a larger collection but it is more defective in spelling than the other copy. The colophon of the EIO.Ms. mentions that the text is defective, both in the beginning and at the end.

A short preamble speaks of the object of the creation of four gardens of the world for man to behold the spectacle of this wonderful workshop. There is a group of people who are anxious to possess all they can lay their hands on, giving no thoughts to comprehending the elegance of the workshop ; but there is another group who intend to acquire knowledge of God and the subtleties of the workshop of creation. God is pleased with such people, and they with God.

The Ḥakīm then says, that he borrows his 'vocabulary and meanings from the afflicted hearts of the lovers, with the intention of scattering them on the highway of love, which by its perfect appearance (kamāl-i-zuhūr) does not need any elucidation'.

It is submitted that the preamble appears to be only a part of the first Ruqa'a addressed to Ḥakīm Rumān, at least in the SOAS copy.

Language and Style :

We can best reproduce the views of the Ḥakīm on his own style. He regrets his destitute fortune for not having 'any share from the manufactory of destiny to be able to express the meanings of his affection and love in pleasing manner. To wield the pen by hovering around the current phrases in order to write a few words about a remote object, does not possess the aptitude for removing the sorrow from the heart, or augmenting the joy.' 'To seal the lips and retire in silence, God forbid, if it ever entered the narrow pass of ambition of the lovers.'¹ These were the thoughts that held up his ambitions for practising the art of letter-writing. It was only after he had waged war against his infidel spirit for fifteen years, he came into agreement with it, rendering him able to open the door of correspondence, for he was certain of the fact that 'it is easier not to be a munshī'.²

'Since he has to express his object and deep sentiments of the heart to his friends, the best he could do, is 'to put down on the surface of paper whatever approaches his tongue from his mind.' 'However, to wield the pen thus, writing extemporaneously in a pleasing manner, is not the task of every disturbed mind (ashufta-dimāgh) like him.'³ 'He does not grapple with his mind in order to create subtleties, nor does his mind soar high enough in imagination to capture ornaments of style ; but remaining content with the current phrases, he expresses his object in plain (pūch) Persian'.⁴ In reply to a Ruqa'a from Āsaf Khān, he admits his inability to send him one to

1. EIO. ff.2b.

2. Ibid. ff.7b, SOAS. ff.7b-8a.

3. EIO. fol.7b, SOAS. ff.7b-8b, 19a.

4. EIO. fol.7b.

to equal his Ruqa'a. With such limited vocabulary as he has, ' how long would he have to go begging at the door of Mulla Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, for single phrases from his composition, and to knock at the portals of Shaykh of Ganja (Nizami), for every verse from his mathnavis.^{I.}

No one can be a better judge of his style than the Hakim himself, who receives uncontested support of opinion from his readers. Like his contemporary Faydi, he is the first to turn the soil suitable for the growth of plain and direct style. Compared with Khwaja Jahan his own compatriot, who is erudite and difficult to understand for the average student, and his contemporary Abu'l-Fadl, who is rhetorical and grandiose, the style of the Hakim approaches to mukalama. At times, when in the grip of sentimentality he speaks with such personal intimacy, that seems as if he is busy in a serious conversation with his Mukhatab:

A. Examples: 2. (I) مشتاق را تهیید کردن (کذا) این مقدمات چه کار که چنین میکنم و چنان میکنم نفس چنان میگویی (و) من چنان میگویی ...
سرقلم شکسته بودم و دهن دوات لبسته و معالجه در دست گرفت و شنید را بصدل خاموش دانسته (داشته)
(2) و سادگیهای محبت را بر شیوه دانهای رسوم و عادات ترجیح کرده با خود میگفتم کیت کین ساعت زبانه را بفتار آورده بناگاه با قبول از مهب محبت وزید

B. Some of his Ruqa'at are rich with pithy and worldly-wise sayings. When he speaks of the futility of life, or passes on a serious contemplation like a mystic, he plunges into a retiring mood. His unctuous tone in such passages reminds one of the style of the Sufis. The short sentences in the forms of a colloquy resemble the style of the Gulistan.^{3.} Example.

امروز چون آن همت نداری که دست از دنیا بداری و یکباره بجهود خود روی آری
همان) به که تا آمدن آن از دوان اسرار نهانی سر این راز باشا و بیگانه در میان نیاری دست از معالجه بداری -

The above extract illustrates besides his rare indulgence in rhyming prose, the figure of Tajnis-i-khatt i.e. ' بداری ' نداری

1. EIO. Ms. ff. I7a-b. SOAS. ff. I2b-I3a.

2. SOAS. ff. 7b-8a. and 4b.

3. SOAS. fol. 3b.

C. The Munāzara (Strife-poem) between two objects has been a favourite theme with the classical poets. The following extract will appear a short paraphrase in prose of such a Munāzara.

عقل گفت چه افاد مگر ز خیر تا خیر از بار (ر) سنج (ر) تا سنج (ر) برگرفتند روح گفت زوچ قیامت آوردند زبان حال میگفت نه این است و آن

D. The Emperor Akbar seems to have had a great liking for his plain ('Arī) and direct style. Once ordered to draft a Farman, he did it so well that it did not only elicit the admiration from the Emperor, who exclaimed "khūb nivishta ast"; but it was accepted, with the rejection of the one composed by Abū'l-Fadl on the same subject.

Single Points are as follow :

E. His Knowledge of Philosophy and Ethics :

- (i) نفس ناطقه (Reason); (ii) جوهر (Essence); (iii) مقدمات عقلیه (Theoretical Premises); (iv) قیاس (Syllogism); (v) تخیلات (Imagination); (vi) فضائل اربعه (Four Virtues).

Medicine:

- (i) مسهلات مصلح مزاج (a purgative wholesome for temperament); (ii) تریاق اکسیر محبت (the antidote of the elixir of love).

F. He uses very frequently the following Arabic Compounds, mostly current in medical parlance: (i) رجوع الزوال (returning to decline); and similarly, (ii) سرح الزوال (iii) مکون الزوال

G. Though he writes grammatically pure sentences, but Syntactical inconsistencies are apparent, such as when he addresses the correspondent in the Isn-i-Tafdil, i.e.

Īshān for Shumā, he does not hold fast to it throughout. Similarly in a Ruqa'a to Mīr Jamāl al-Dīn Husayn, he addresses him intimately as Thou : فهمیدی ، والنستی ، فرام آوری ; and again switches over to Shumā, as از شما دریغ دارم اگر شمارا بجهت مصالح دنیا می آورند از آن دیده و نهمیده باشی

H. Like most of the authors of the period, the Hakīm writes in idiomatic style and in the course of his composition, he quotes poetical proverbs, pithy sayings from others and of his own : Examples :-

- (i) بازار جوهریان معنی را شکستن (To break the market of the jewellers of meaning, i.e. to cause to lower the prices or market value.) (ii) پای بدامن کشیدن

I. SOAS.fol.I8a. Compare Asadi's Strife-poems between Night and Day. (Browne, A Literary History Of Persia. Vol.II, (1920) pp.149-50.

2. SOAS.ff.22b-23a.

3. EIO.ff.I4a, 6a-7a etc.

(To refrain from); (iii) عرق شرم بر جبین آوردن (To put to shame or to be ashamed of); (iv) آهن سرد کوفتن (To beat in the air).

The following are some of the famous poetical proverbs:

(i) چو حاجت بمشاطه روی زیبارا ; (ii) تو بکجم خواراضی شو ; (iii) دور نه بخردش پیش قاضی شو
 Compare Gulistan : حاجت مشاطه نیست روی دلارام را ; (iii) بمانم که بودم بده ساگلی ; بمان دیو با من بدلاگلی

His own sayings and novelty of expression :

(i) قاتل خود دیت قیتل است (The killer himself is a sufficient ransom money for the slain). (ii) دیوانه هر که میشود امروز عاقلست (A criticism on the time : The time is such that whosoever becomes mad is a sensible fellow.).

I.

The age of Akbar is notable for the construction of metaphorical phrases and fresh compounds, and amongst the exponents we can quote 'Urfī and Abū'l-Fadl as having shown great skill in coining new expressions to be used later by their successors. Abū'l-Fath's compounds are not novel since they are common phrases.

(i) عشرت سرای جاودانی ; (ii) نگشای حوصله ; (iii) نگشای خاطر

(j) He derives his imagery from the subject of his profession, and among the Figures of Speech the Murā'at al-Nazīr predominates more: (i)

اینماط خاطر فسرده دلان را مفرح مخزون از شفاخانه طبع کتبه دال روان کرده بودند و در ظلمت شب انده پیر نیفا نموده اند مال جبروت شمشیر قضا و قدر را بکلمات طیبات

(II) Similes and Metaphors:

(i) مریم قلم گوهر شکم (The Mary-like pen with pearl-like belly); (ii) چشم امیدوار چون گوش روزه دار براندگ است
 (The hopeful eye attentive like the ears of the observers of fasts (in the Ramadān) to the call for prayers (in the evening to break the fast).)

(III) Tham:

درین بازار ارزانی سراسر سودا است (Sauda: bargain; Sauda':madness.)

(IV) Talmih(Allusion):

- (i) سکنند محروم خضر سیراب; (ii) معجزه عیسی; (iii) دختر عمران; (iv) یدینیا.

K.

The diction of the Ruqa'at, except for the predominant Arabic elements, is in the pure Persian of Persia, and only a few words of Turkish and Hindi have come out from the pen of the Hakim.

(i) Ilghar : (Expedition):

This word is found in Abu'l-Fadl and other authors of the period very frequently. The Yalghar is the Indian form meaning a forceful attack.

(ii) Jirgā : (جرگہ): (Jerge or Cherge)

The Nerge meaning a row or "an encircling movement as in the battue", appears in Juvaynī frequently. In the common parlance in India, the Jargā (جرگا) is used to denote a group of robbers.

(iii) Kahārān: (کہاران): Palanquin-bearers. (The Hindi word for a palanquin is Dolī:
2. and appears in the Akbar-nāma.(iv) Morchhal : (مورچھل):

The Morchhal apparently a compound word from the Hindi Mor (a peacock) and Chhal, a variant from Jhalnā (چھنا) to fan, and thus meaning a fan of peacock's feathers used for driving away flies, in India and used especially for the Sultans and the Emperors, as it appears from the works of those periods.

1. Vide: Tr. (Boyle) Vol. i, p. 28; Vol. ii, pp. 554, 613 etc.

2. Akbar-nama. Vol. iii, p. 610.

MUNSHA'ĀT AL-NAMAKĪN.The Author:

(Akbar).

The Munsha'at al-Namakīn, which is described by Ethe as, " A large Inshā or detailed work on letter-writing in all its private and official forms, together with an elaborate treatise on the proper composition of prayers and invocations for all emergencies, illustrated throughout by numerous specimens," is in fact a curious collection with a major portion of authentic documents, most of which are of great historical interest.

Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim Khān Namakīn was a Husaynī Sayyid of Harāt, who was earlier in the service of Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm, brother of Akbar, and then served subsequently under Akbar and Jahāngīr. Under Akbar he distinguished himself and on account of his meritorious services was appointed the governor of Bhakkar in the 43rd year of the reign. He later received a fiyūl in Gujarāt (Panjab), or more precisely according to the letters-patent drawn up in his favour to that effect and subjoined by him in the present work, in a village (mahāl) of the Sarkār Bhakkar. Under Jahāngīr who raised his rank and appointed him again to Bhakkar, he settled down there in A.H. 1015.

Description:

The EIO.Ms., the only one as yet known, is dated Jumāda. I, 1012/ 1603, only a few years after its compilation, and was collated several times with the authors own copy in the same year. The work was completed on the 23rd of Sha'bān A.H. 1006, March 31, 1598, in the 44th year of Akbar's reign to whom it is dedicated as a token of blessing and benediction (tabarruk-va-tayammun).

In the preface to his work, Namakīn says, with the usual pretensions made by the authors of works on Inshā' of our period, that it was in compliance with the request of his friends that he collected ample materials for the present work. He gleaned his materials from numerous sources, but avoids disclosing them, contenting himself with

1. EIO-2064. (Ethe) pp. 1141-42. (Ethe evidently allows the author to remain unidentified). ff. 26b,

2. Ā'in. (Bloch.) tr., Vol. i, pp. 525-27, Ma'āthir al-Umarā'. Vol. ii, pp. 508-II.

saying that it was from some munsha'ats of the masters, mandates and State papers, to which he added also letters addressed to him by his friends.

The book contains models in all the branches of Inshā' in the Tauqī'āt and the Muhāvarāt. It is divided into eight chapters and a Khātima. Each chapter contains several Fasls.

- I. The first chapter traces the mythical origin of Kitābat and epistolary style which is followed by the manners of writing (ādāb-i-kitābat).
- II. On drafting royal mandates and diplomas (farāmīn-va-manāshīr).
- III. On the salutations, complimentary epithets, verses, and different kinds of epistles (sahā'if and makātīb). This chapter forms the Mufāvadāt or the correspondence of the privileged classes.
- IV. On the Murāfa'āt or letters addressed to superiors by the inferiors.
- V. On friendly correspondence, i.e. Murāsālāt or Mukātabāt. The correspondents are the Spiritual preceptors, novices, teachers, pupils and members of the family.
- VI. Letters of condolence and congratulations. (ta'ziyat-nāmas and tahniyat-nāmas).
- VII. On civil contracts and legal deeds (Qabālāt-i-Shar'īya, i.e. Tamassukāt and Sijillāt).
- VIII. Ruqā'āt on diverse topics, including Mutāyabāt (pleasantries).

The Khātima is devoted to religious topics, on prayers, sermons (khutba), and such other subjects which are beyond the scope of Inshā' proper.

Characteristics:

The first chapter which deals with the origin of Inshā' is taken wholly from the Nāma-yi-Nāmī of Khwandamīr, which is one of the chief sources of Namākīn. Khwandamīr mentions Hāfiz-i-Ābrū and Kamāl-al-Dīn Amīr Husayn Yazdī, on whose authority he describes the "Avā'il", in the use of the pen by the Prophet Enoch (Idrīs) and the introduction of sacramental superscriptions by Bahman bin Isfandiyār Kayānī, for the first time; and Namākīn follows him almost verbatim.

I. Compare Nāmī. ff.2b-5a, and Namākīn. ff.2b-3b.

The chapter on the royal edicts has a curious collection of authentic and historical documents most of them warranted by contemporary histories and events. The author seems to have gleaned his materials from the official records of the Mughal Government, the Tā'rikh-i-Humāyūn of Bāyazīd Bayāt (comp. I000/I59I-2), Nāma-yi-Nāmī, and from some parts of the Akbar-nāma (comp. I004/I596).

The first Farmān is the copy of the famous order of Shāh Tahmāsp to Muhammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn, governor of Khurāsān informing him about Humāyūn's visit to Persia (A.D. I544), and enjoining him to accord a sumptuous reception and conveyance to the court. The present Farmān appears in several collections of letters, and histories, such as Akbar-nāma and Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī, but both of which have copied from Bāyazīd who was the first to make an exact copy of it, when it was produced on 20th Rajab, I000, by Mīr Mirdād Juvaynī, the Dārūgha of the Records.^{I.}

Single Points are as follow:-

- A. A Farmān (fol.4b) in Fasl II, though it appears to be fictitious, is a pseudo-historical document, in that it relates to the campaigns against the Afghans in the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn (Firdaus-makānī and Jannat-āshiyānī).
- B. The Manshūrs in Fasl III (ff. I3b-) are modelled closely on the Manshūrs and Farmāns drafted by Abū'l-Faḍl contained in the Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī (i.e. Inshā-i-Abū'l-Faḍl)
- C. Fasl IV contains specimens of Fath-nāmas, which chiefly relate to Akbar's victories over Chitōr in A.D. I568, and the Mānkōt fortress (ff. I7a-2Ia). The letters-patent (ff. 26a-b) is in all probability a copy of the Farmān of Akbar granting our author the jāgīr in the Sarkār of Bhakkar with the administration of the Fort of that district (in the 43rd-44th year of Akbar's reign.)
- D. Most of the diplomas and letters-patent are exact copies of those from the Nāma-yi-Nāmī. Our author, as if to show that he is not a servile copyist, makes frequent alterations in the synonyms, but at times he transcribes with all fidelity.

I. Vide Akbar-nāma. Vol. i, p. 418 (foot note), also p. 432. It is also found in the following collections: Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 4678; Br. Mus. Sloane 4093 etc.

Examples: (i) Nāma-yi-Nāmī (fol. I6Tb) A Nishān to the post of vizierate :

فہرست فرامین کامکاری و عنوان مناشیر نامداری حمد و ثنا مالک الملکی است کہ در دیوان سخن قلمبندار...

Namakīn (fol. 36b):

فہرست فرامین کامکاری و عنوان مناشیر نامداری سپاس و تسائش بادشاہی راسنواوار است کہ در دیوان کثیر الوضآن سخن قلمبندار... الخ

(ii) Nāmī (fol. I65b):

انشاء فرامین سرکار بادشاہی و اعلیٰ مناشیر روزگار شہنشاہی... کہ خامہ مشکین شمامہ اش
بتحریر کلمات بلاغت آیات رقم نسخ بر توفیق خوشنویان اقطار جہان کشیدہ باشد... و چون مولانا غیاث الدین...

Namakīn (fol. 54a):

انشاء فرامین سرکار بادشاہی و اعلیٰ مناشیر روزگار شہنشاہی... کہ خامہ مشکین شمامہ اش
بتحریر کلمات بلاغت آیات رقم نسخ بر توفیق خوشنویان اقطار جہان کشیدہ باشد... و چون مولانا فیض الدین...

E. Many other examples which can be multiplied prove that Namakīn has utilised the Nāma-yi-Nāmī extensively, besides actually copying from this source. It is also probable that he had at his disposal all the famous works on Inshā' produced during the Timurid period, such as the Sharaf-nāma of Marvārīd and the Ṣahīfa-yi-Shāhī of Kāshifī. The contents in chapter III. support our statement.

(i) The stock of prayers, complimentary adjectives and the verses are all taken from the Ṣahīfa-yi-Shāhī. Compare Ṣahīfa, p.44, and Namakīn, ff.284a, for the following couplet.

ای عبارات تو توضیحات منہاج دوا : وز اشارات تو کلیات قانون شرفا

F. He seems to have had access to the State papers and documents in private hands. He has subjoined letters addressed to the Emperor Akbar by Shāh 'Abbās I. (ff. I00a, IIIb.) Most of the letters have beginnings identical with those contained in other collections forming part of the correspondence of Akbar and the Shāh of Persia. Most of these letters are identical with those collected by Ev-oghli' Haydar in his Majma' al-Inshā'.

G. A petition ('Ard-dāsht) to Akbar addressed by Khān-i-Khānān (ff. II2b-II4a) in reply

I. Compare also the letters patent for appointment to the qadiship of Dihlī, (Nāmī; ff. I7Ia, and ff. I62b, another diploma, and Namakīn: ff. 36b, 60b, and 5Ib, 52a, 53a etc.

2. Ṣahīfa-yi-Shāhī, printed Mirzapur, I260/I844; pp. 6, I2, etc., and Namakīn. ff. 79b, I49a, etc.

to Akbar's Farmān for appointment to tutorship (i.e. Farmān-i-thabṭī) perhaps to Prince Salīm in the 28th year of the reign. There are several other 'Ard-dāshts also perhaps by Khān-i-Khānān to the Emperor (ff.II8b etc.)

H. The chapters V. Murāsālāt (ff.318-40), VI. Letters of congratulations and condolence (ff.337-54) and VIII. Ruqa'āt (ff.382a), are mainly based on the Badā'i al-Inshā' of Hakīm Yūsuf. Not only that the topics of the epistles are identical with those in the Badā'i, but major parts have the very same wording as that work. The following comparison will suffice to support our statement.

Badā'i. (Lith. pp. III-II2):

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ تَوَقَّى الْمَلِكُ مِنْ تَشَاءٍ مِنْ مَنظُورٍ دَوْلَتِ اَبَدِي رَوِي مَنُودِ وَفُخْوَايِ بَشَارَتِ اِنْ اَلْاَرْضِ
بِرِشَا عِبَادِي الصَّالِحِينَ بِرِ مَنصَّةِ اِقْبَالِ سِرْمَدِي حَلُوهِ فَرْمُودِ اَز عَوْنِ ...

Namakīn: (ff. I05a-b):

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ تَوَقَّى الْمَلِكُ مِنْ تَشَاءٍ مِنْ مَنظُورٍ دَوْلَتِ اَبَدِي رَوِي مَنُودِ وَفُخْوَايِ بَشَارَتِ اِنْ اَلْاَرْضِ
بِرِشَا عِبَادِي الصَّالِحِينَ بِرِ مَنصَّةِ اِقْبَالِ سِرْمَدِي حَلُوهِ فَرْمُودِ اَز عَوْنِ ...

The author certainly has used other works on Inshā' and a rigorous research will show that his only contribution is the voluminous collection into which have strayed and are preserved documents and extracts from such other works which do not seem to be extant now. The above chapters form also that part in all probability, of the materials based on the authentic letters which the author received from his friends.

I. One can safely ascribe the materials forming the chapter VII - on drawing up the legal documents and Qabālāt - to different pens. Incidentally the Namā-yi-Nāmī is perhaps the first treatise on Inshā' which deals with the civil contracts to some extent. Our author who knows the tricks of epistolary composition offers the old wine in new bottles. It is to be pointed out that the Munsha'āt al-Namakīn itself is the first treatise of the Mughal period which contains models of the Qabālāt-i-Shar'iya. His association

with the Sadr of Bhakkar, Shaykh Ma'rūf^{I.} and with Qādī Ja'far Muftī and Maulānā Isnā'il (both the last mentioned being responsible for collating the present work) would have us believe in the easy access of the author to such documents.

Conclusion :

It is more difficult to indicate in the voluminous work (ff.412), the actual portion by the pen of our author, than to trace and examine his sources of materials. One may value the rigorous research and profound erudition of the author in that, but as he himself professes his debt to vast collections on Inshā' in the preamble, the latter is the only portion by the actual pen of the author ; he obviously did not contribute anything original to his work.

Since the present work is the contemporary copy, it throws side-lights on other aspects of learning and culture in Mughal India, such as calligraphy ; how widely were studied the Nāma-yi-Nāmī, the Badā'i al-Inshā' of Hakīm Yūsufī, the Sahīfa-yi-Shāhī of Mullā Vā'iz Husayn Kāshifī and the like, and with what eagerness people copied and preserved their own personal letters and State documents. Works on epistolary composition were admired by all and imitated by the munshīs who were stimulated to compile such treatises on that art.

In conclusion it may be said that the Munsha'at al-Namakīn, like the Munsha'at-i-Salātīn of Ferīdūn-bey (d.991/1583) and the Nuskha-yi-Jāmi'a-yi-Murāsālāt of Ev-oghli' Haydar (circa 1052/1642), is a valuable collection which may throw light on the hitherto obscure comers of history. The Munsha'at al-Namakīn has never been utilised by any modern author of Mughal history.

I. Ā'in. (Bloch), tr., Vol. i, p. 525.

I N S H A - I - A B U ' L - F A D L .The Shaykh Mubarak Family:

(Akbar).

What Amīr Khusrau is to Persian poetry as the greatest poet of India, Abū'l-Fadl is to Persian prose, the greatest Munshī of that country. " In the great clime of Hindūstān, after Abū'l-Fadl there appeared no other Munshī of such acuteness of thought and ingenuity of intellect (jaudat-i-dhihn) as he was"¹. "He was the leader of the accomplished elite and the forerunner of the men of learning and excellence". "In the art of Inshā', he laid a new foundation and raised the dignity of speech to the zenith of the celestial throne (auj-i-kursī) and rendered the works of the classical masters obliterated."² Sa'd-Allāh Khān, the great Vizier of Shāh Jahān, a distinguished scholar and stylish writer though he was, in private assemblies and conversation (mutārahāt), used to exclaim, " Howmuch soever I ran in the spaciousness of the art of epistolary composition (farākhnāy-fann-i-Inshā') I could never succeed in catching up with that son of the Shaykh."³

The Shaykh Mubarak family with the two illustrious sons, Shaykh Abū'l-Fayd (d. 1004/1595) well known under the poetical sobriquet Faydī or Fayyādī, and Abū'l-Fadl (mur. 1011/1602), rose to high dignity in the face of rivals at the Court of Akbar. In the literary attainments, distinguished scholarship and intellectual superiority, the Shaykhs formed the most brilliant galaxy of that period. It is in the field of social-religious philosophy that they left the most enduring landmarks in the history of India.

Abū'l-Fadl and his brother Faydī are branded with severe charges by the bigoted mullās and pharisaical casuists, and almost by every Muslim writer of narrow views, for their cosmopolitan views, liberal religious philosophy and for leading Akbar away from Islam and to apostacy. Abū'l-Fadl himself says, " The worshippers of God who seek the truth, give him the name of Abū'l-Vahdat (the father of Unity, i.e. unity of God) and account him a unique savant of the Supreme Giver Wisdom proclaims him

1. Nigār, ff. 4a-b.

2. Khulāsāt al-Inshā' (Br. Mus.), ff. 158b-59a ; compare also Abū'l-Fadl, (Inshā') pp. 284-85.

3. Nigār, Ibid.

Abū'l-Fitrat (the father of sagacity) and considers him a choice specimen of that house. In the writings of the Vulgar herd some attribute worldliness to him and hold him to be one of those plunged into the whirlpool, while others regard him as given to apostasy..^{I.}

Truly indeed, remarks the author of the Ma'āthir al-Umarā', ~~some~~ others in whom justice prevails such as with mystical outlook consider him a pantheist.^{2.} Abū'l-Fadl was essentially a Ṣūfī of a high order, who dedicated his life to the mystical search for truth, and 'fettered his vagrant heart to the words of that group'. While young, he felt a strong desire "to drink at the fountain of the savants of all climes", and as the hostile Badā'ūnī reports Abū'l-Fadl once said, "I wish to wander for a few days in the vale of infidelity for sport".^{3.}

The policy of toleration and peace with all (sulh-i-kull) which he enunciated and fought for by his pen, led Akbar to build up the most glorious society of mixed races that was truly Indian and national. The universality of the conviction and the perfect toleration of Abū'l-Fadl prevades his works. He says that 'he plays the backgammon of enmity with himself and with others the chess of friendship'.^{4.} A paragon of all virtues, he was the microcosm of his age, the very incarnation of the pantheistic beliefs prevailing in the religious climate of the sixteenth century.

Born in the conflicts of time, Abū'l-Fadl betrays countless traces of the inner conflicts of his mind and spirit. "'Tis the heart or the enemy of my soul, since Abū'l-Fadl by fate is a receptacle of contradictions, what am I to tell him"^{5.} Elsewhere he says in his Inshā', "It is for some time, since my mind is grappling with my disposition, that I have fallen a prey to the distress of the sons of the age, neither have I strength to escape nor courage to abstain".^{6.} To appreciate his works it is almost necessary to understand him in this perspective.

1. Ā'in, Vol.iii, Jarrett, pp.450-51.

2. Ma'āthir. Vol.i, pp.124-25.

3. Badā'ūnī. Text, Vol.ii, p.262., Compare also Inshā'(A.F.)pp.230,242,243 etc.

4. Inshā'(A.F.), p.232.

5. Ibid.p.225.

6. Ibid.p.235, also compare, pp.223,225 etc.

An Estimate of Abū'l-Faḍl:

Abū'l-Faḍl's crowning achievements in Persian Literature are monumental. Though he is the doyen of court historians, has far too often been accused of the 'adoring prostration of his pen', and being 'a professed rhetorician', by those who judge the history of that period as a detached subject from literature and rhetoric. There are others who compare his Inshā' in the Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī, as 'paralleled in the West only by the decadence of taste, soaring in prose to the vicious affectation of poetry, and in poetry sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose'. Blochmann and Elliot have given a fair and significant answer to the first accusation admiring 'his love of truth and encomium for a true hero that was Akbar', and that 'his style ought to be judged by Oriental standards'. We can recall Blochmann once more who has critically valued the merits of Abū'l-Faḍl's style objectively in these words." It is almost useless to add to this encomium bestowed on Abu'l-Faḍl's style. 'Abdu'llah, king of Bukhārā, said that he was more afraid of Abū'l-Faḍl's pen than of Akbar's arrow. Everywhere in India he is known as "the great Munshī". His letters are studied in all Madrasas, and though a beginner may find them difficult and perplexing, they are perfect models. But a great familiarity, not only with the Persian language, but also with Abū'l-Faḍl's style, is required to make the reading of any one of his works a pleasure. His composition stands unique, and though everywhere studied, he cannot be, and has not been, imitated.

As against the 'decadence of taste in Persian prose and poetry', we may point out that the Mughal era has been happily termed the "Indian summer" of Persian Literature, with special reference to Akbar's period. The age under review, on the other hand is characteristic of the development of a fresh style in poetry known as the Shīva-yi-Hindī, as distinct from the Shīva-yi-'Irāqī, or the Old School. It was Hakīm Abū'l-Faḍl Gilānī who, according to the Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī, is responsible for giving a new lease of life to Persian poetry in India by laying down the foundation of Tāzā-gū'ī (freshness in speech).

1. Jarrett, Ā'in, Vol. ii, p. v. Compare also Smith's Akbar (pp. 415-16), Prof. Browne has ably answered to Vincent Smith's harsh judgement on Persian poetry (Persian Literature in Modern Times, p. 249).
2. Elliot, Vol. 6, p. 7-8, Bloch. Ā'in, Vol. i, Preface and Biography of Abū'l-Faḍl.
3. Ā'in, (Bloch.) tr. Vol. i, Biography, pp. li-lii.
4. Browne, Ibid. pp. 163-68, Compare also Sabk, Vol. iii, pp. 290-96.
5. Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī (BI) Vol. 3, ii, pp. 847-48.

The new School of Indian poetry found many adherents among Indians and Persians like, Faydi, 'Urfi Shirāzī, Nazirī Nīshāpurī, Sā'ib Tabrizī and Ghanī Kāshmirī. It was under the Mughals that Persian poetry entered a new epoch in India, after Amīr Khusrau of Dihlī.^{I.}

Abū'l-Fadl is, indeed a wonderful Munshī and a conscious literary rebel, who was no slave of the master-stylists but a master himself. He turned the soil in Inshā' for the first time by cultivating a new style of his own, and fertilised a whole generation of writers and munshīs. The lasting influence of his Inshā'-pardāzī may be seen in the Urdu epistolary composition of the early period of its development.

The Style of Abū'l-Fadl :

Abū'l-Fadl discarded the old style of the masters, who according to him have a 'single tongue (zabān-i-yaktā'ī) and a common form'. Their followers, those 'smitten with self-high-opinion (rah-zada-yi-pindār)' and 'plundered by imitation (ghārat-karday-i-taqlīd)' show off the same second-hand form (tarz-i-dast-farsūda). The whole design (basīj) of their Inshā' is embroidered with words to which the meaning is subordinated. The Saj' and interminable periods are valued as the stock of Fasāhat, and the same oft-quoted verses of the poets embellish their prose. They depend on Verbal Tropes and Figures of Speech and prefer Iqtibās (quotation), Barā'at-i-Istihlāl, Talmīh (allusion), and enigmatical (ta'miya) and hyperbolical expressions (itra'). They consider the Verbal beauties (muhsanāt-i-Badī'ī) as the source of dignified composition, but do not value the excellencies of Balāghat and glories of meaning.^{2.} To Abū'l-Fadl's ideals of literature, the 'Ilm al-Balāgha, with its two branches, the 'Ilm al-Ma'ānī (Science of Signification) and the 'Ilm al-Bayān (Art of Exposition) with the exclusion of the third, the 'Ilm al-Badī', or the art of Euphuism, was not the only basis of the structure of Speech. His profound contempt for the poetry of Khāqānī, 'the poor of the world (mustamand-i-dunyā)'; Anvarī, 'the son of the father of encomium (Ibn-i-Abū'l-Madīh)', and Kamāl ismā'īl, who is likened to 'women fond of ornaments', and his great admiration for the Sūfī works,

I. Badā'unī., Text, Vol. ii, p. 396.

2. Inshā' (A. F.), pp. 283-84.

'the pearl-finder of the Speech of Tajrīd', invoked him 'to speak of the external and spiritual domains resplendent with Truth'. He therefore, 'desired to hold his hand back from the merchandise of the market-place' and the 'banquet of the brethren of form'.^{I.} The Sūfī trend of thought, is the guiding thread of Abū'l-Fadl's style in all his works.

These views expressed by him in his Inshā' help us to form our judgement on his style, which is (i) Original or Tahqīqī, as contrasted with the Taqlīdī (imitative), (ii) eloquent or Balīgh in which the meaning and words are balanced and the representation of ideas is governed by the 'Ilm al-Bayān', and (iii) it displays the emotional intensity and sentimental implications of his Sūfī search for Truth.

As the Muslim writers begin their works with the Name of Allah according to the traditional Muslim form, the followers of Abū'l-Fadl invoke him as the literary prophet in accordance with the epistolary conventions. They find his style wrought with literary miracles, with fresh and novel compounds, grand diction and mighty expression and such subtle ideas expressed in succinct words, which need an elaborate commentary. His diction is pure Persian (i.e. Dari) and his words are so appropriately and eloquently used that it has been said of his prose that he put into it the Khamsa of Nizāmī of Ganja.^{2.}

(I) MUKĀTABĀT-I-'ALLĀMĪ.

The first collection of his epistles is popularly known in India as the Inshā'-i-Abū'l-Fadl or Mukātabāt-i-Abū'l-Fadl and has been lithographed under the former title in Calcutta, A.D. 1810, in Lucknow, A.H. 1262 and 1280. The proper title appears in the chronogram as the Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī. This collection was made by 'Abd al-Samad, son of Afdal Muhammad, who was a nephew and son-in-law of Abū'l-Fadl, and is the author of Akhbār al-Asfiyā', a small hagiology, Anīs al-Churabā' another treatise on Sufism (comp. 1011-1015/1602-7) and of some mathnavīs.^{3.} The present collection was begun after the death of Abū'l-Fadl in A.H. 1011/1602 and was completed in 1015/1606-7.

I. Inshā' (A.F.) pp. 245-48.

2. Compare Ma'āthir al-Umarā', Vol. i, pp. 117-128, and Sabk. Vol. iii, p. 290.

3. Vide EIO-64I, ff. 74- ; Rieu, iii, p. 1087a; and EIO-1880, ff. 1-54; Bodl. Majmū'a, ff. 182b-185a (mathnavīs).

One of the most widely studied works on Inshā' even to the present day in the Universities for higher education, it found place in every private library of the ^{I.} munshīs, which proves at the same time the existence of numerous manuscripts. Many glossaries were also compiled such as, Farhang-i-Inshā'-i-Abū'l-Faḍl and the Basāṭin al-Iughat, the latter containing also a commentary on the different passages and rare terms found in the Inshā'.^{2.}

Description:

The Inshā' is divided into three Daftars, but originally it seems to have four. 3.

(i) Letters of Akbar addressed to foreign sovereigns, and his Farmāns and Manshūrs to the nobles and ruling princes of India.

(ii) Private epistles or more correctly the Mufāvadāt and the 'Arḍ-dāshts of the author.

(iii) Exordia, critical reviews on poetical and Ṣūfī works, and short prose pieces. It contains a commentary in the beginning, on the Qur'ānic Surat al-Fath, which Abū'l-Faḍl had presented to his patron, and a learned essay on calligraphy, found in the Ā'in-i-Akbarī also.

(II)

RUQA'ĀT-I-ABŪ'L-FADL.

This is the second collection of Abū'l-Faḍl's short epistles, which contains also several 'Arīdas of the Shaykh, though the collection is popularly known to consist of the first mentioned only. In the published edition (Calcutta, I238/I822-23) there appear names of the addressees quite frequently, such as, Hakīm Humām (d.A.H.1004), Hakīm Abū'l-Fath Gilānī, Khwāja Hasan Sanā'ī (d.A.H.1000) and Mullā Hayātī. Most of the Ruqa'āt are apparently addressed to his brother Fayḍī. However, in some manuscripts such names of the addressees appear only rarely.

This collection was made by another nephew of his, Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad son of Hakīm Shams al-Dīn 'Alī Qurayshī, popularly known as Hakīm 'Ayn al-Mulk Shīrāzī, in the same year in which he had made another collection, the Latīfa-yi-Fayyādi.

1. Compare Add.I6,859, ff.I24b-I25a.

2. Vide (i) EIO-349I, (ii) RAS(Bengal)Ivanow, Ms.No.355.

3. Blochmann, Ā'in, Vol.i, Biography, pp.liii-liv.

Language and Style:

The fact that Abū'l-Fadl had a command over his pen is proved by the different styles, he has employed in history, fiction, and epistolography, in accordance with the demands of the subject-matter. In the Akbar-Nāma, the style is grand and full of verbiage, while the 'Iyār-i-Dānish, a new version of the famous Kalīla-va-Dimna, displays a simple and unadorned style, for, as he himself says, the style of Nasr-Allāh Mustaufī and Mualānā Vā'iz Husayn Kāshifī abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words.^I Even the style and expression in the three Daftars vary from one another, while the Ruqa'āt materially differs from the Mukātabāt or the Inshā' in the epistolary style.

In the contents of the first Daftar, we find Abū'l-Fadl a finished diplomatist, who guards and elevates the honour of his master in the eyes of the foreign rulers and refractory chiefs, with a decided political flavour and statesmanlike expressions of vague threats and a patronizing tone. The language is forceful and the style is ornate, and the preambles of several missives illustrate some of the best specimens of paraphrased Tashbīb of the qasīdas in the Inshā'-i-Bahāriya.

The second Daftar shows a more controlled style and the author speaks with emotional intensity and a personal touch, and assumes the tone of a scholar and a Sūfī. The third Daftar contains the masterpieces of elegant composition and gem-like thoughts and splendid compounds.

In the Ruqa'āt the style is conversational and euphuistic. Strangely enough he indulges in the artful devices of tropes like the munshīs whom he criticises severely for such figurative embellishments. Though he writes impromptu (irtijāl) or what the Indians call, Qalam-bardāshta, in his Ruqa'āt, he seems to take pleasure in Īhām and Khayāl and at times in the calligraphic devices of puns. Hindi words are frequently met with in the Ruqa'āt.

Single Points are as follow:

A. Beautiful Expressions :

(i) An expression of deep sincerity (Inshā', p.139):

حقیقت کار آلت است که صیغہ قلم و ضمیر کاغذ و ہرزہ درائی زبان عسری را در بارگاہ محبت گزار نیست

(ii) For the world (p.170):

این مقام دنیای بیوفای دوست کش دشمن نواز سرائیت گذشتی و گذاشتی و منزلت سپردنی و پروا خستی -

(iii) An expression of grief (p.169):

من در دامن صورت و معنی و من بیمار ظاهر و باطن و من غمخیزه بیرون و درون را کجا سحر حرف زده
مانده است اما شب گذشته که خاطر در سگلاخ شد اند صوری و معنوی آبلہ پایود -

(iv) On the death of Faydī (pp.241-42):

عشرت را سر بہ دیوار آمد و نقش فرزندگی از لوح روزگار سترده شد اگر آن بیروز داشتی کہ با آسمان در آویختی و نیز فلانہ اور
افواجی آنگاہ آسودگی کہ ناپود این کہ نہ خیمہ از ہم بگنجت می دیوندر روز و شب را کہ ستردن راحت است و آلبتہ محنت است از ہم گلبانہ می

(v) Self-criticism. (p.227):

ناموس کہ در میان خواجہ تناس عالم و قبحہ روزگار مشترک است و بہترین اسباب بزرگی بزرگان پست است و دین کہ عصای
کوران کوی راستی و درستی است در کار سازی صاحب و پادشاہ ولی نعمت خود شمار کرده ... چنین پانمان خواہشتم +

B. Compounds:-

Abū'l-Faḍl with every stroke of his pen creates a new adjectival compound, sometimes qualified by another adjective :

- (i) خمولستان باطن ; (ii) زینجاوار ; (iii) شورستان ضمیر ; (iv) سرگشته وادی خمول ;
(v) دست آویز سخن ; (vi) کوہ بنیان چشم اندیشہ ; (vii) دریا کشان نشہ لب ; (viii) جہلتان عالم معقول ; (ix) مرہم بند روزگار خستگان

C Compare the following expressions used for the " world " . Such compounds and adjectival phrases are very common. They also constitute some time the Figure تتبیق الصفات :-

- (i) مرگستان کیرنگی و برگ ریزد ستاری ; (ii) تجہ رعنای جہان ; (iii) عبدہ آباد عالم ; (iv) خوابستان بنو دکان عقلت ;
(v) کمنہ صنیہ ; (vi) کارستان ; (vii) سینجی سرای

D. Compare the following examples of figure antithesis:-

- (i) بالغان بابالغ , (ii) ناصح خوش گویا ; (iii) مردہ دلان زندہ تن ; (iv) بہن سالان نوریدہ ; (v) پیر نصرت جوان سیرت

E. Such compounds and expressions are also common in the Ruqa'at:

- (i) کشور آباد شکیب ; (ii) غازہ سپرہ احوال پریشانی ; (iii) جامع المفارقین المشاقان ; (iv) خزایہ نشین مفارقت
(v) لواخانہ غم ; (vi) محرور الملازمت ; (vii) ساحل تسکین ; (viii) وسعت آباد خلق ; (ix) دیونہ معنوی

F. Another interesting feature of Abū'l-Fadl's composition is the number of peculiar formations and constructions. They are used to indicate Intensive Adjectives, Diminutive Nouns and Abstract Nouns:

- (Inshā) (i) کم تجربگی ; (ii) آزمانگی ; (iii) ملاحظگی ; (iv) تنگ حوصلگی ;
(v) کنجش حوصلگی (for sparrow-like capacity); (vi) سختی for سختی ; (vii) پیدائش
for پیدائی ; (viii) اہربانی بہرہ بانگی ; (ix) علمک ; (x) ناقصک ; (xi) ہندوتانیت ; (xii) بی حوصلگانہ

G. Arabic constructions, Participles and Adverbial phrases are very common. Sometimes peculiar formations of Persian words are made according to the rules of Arabic Grammar:

- (i) افغانہ علامتہ instead of افغانان ملاپین ; (ii) اشتراک for ترکان ; (iii)
مشخص و معین و مدلل و مبرہن است ; (iv) اثباتاً و نفیاً و وجوداً و عدلاً

H. Such Arabic Past Participles constitute tautological and synonymous expressions.

I. Outlandish and foreign vocabulary, including Hindi words associated with Persian:

- شیلان ; لواج ; الوجاج ; شطری ; کعبت ;

کلترہ : kalpatra : foolish saying, perhaps is a Hindi word. چھپر بردار : Chhapar-

bardār : Chhapar in Hindi means a roof. کجاوول ; Kajkōl i.e., Kashkōl (a begger's cup).

اچکھ : Uchakka : (thug) ; جھروکھ : Jharōka (It is very common in all the Mughal works):

(It means a balcony).

I. اشتراک with its plural in the Arabic form is found in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī also. (Vide: Text (Lees) p.26 etc.)

J. Use of consecutive Idafats, the Fakk-i-Idafats and Conjunctions :

- (i) مثنوی و معین و بلبل و بزمین (iv) مطرح مطامن ایام ایام (iii) مشاب و مطامع و تناع و ملاس و ساسر لند و حنوظ ; بفضائل شمائل و فواصل جلال ;
 (v) ابوالدیج بجا بنده (vi) پنرک صورت و معنی که عیسوی دم او مردگان را بجا و پند زندگی و بخشید .

K. Figures of Speech :

(i) The following example illustrates the Figure Laff-va-Nashr :

این همه جهانگیری و فرمان روالی و تیغ گذاری و کشور کشائی برای بجا آوردن گیر و دار شانی و سرکردن کار بار پاسبانی است نه گرد آوردن بگنجهای زرد و سیم و آراستن تخت و درهیم -

(ii) Tajnīs (Homonymies) of various kinds :

خلوة و جلوة ; غرق عرق ; کرات و مرآت ; لالقه و فالقه ; لطفه و لطفه ; غلیب و غلیب ; خواهی و خواهی ; کلفت الفت ; Khatt: etc.

In this connection the following examples of " visual puns " may also be quoted from the Inshā' and the Ruqa'at.

- (i) بفضائل شمائل و فواصل جلال ; (ii) ملا و کلال ; (iii) خورا فرور نوروز ; (iv) خزنیه مینه بی کینه

They also constitute Alliteration.

(v) امید که سبب او از آسبب خزان مضمون و عر او از صر صد روان مامور باشد و انگور او از زمستان رنجور نه شود و انار او از نار
بالتان محفوظ و لغزک او لغزش باد شمال نه بندد و بادام او مدام تر باشد و انجیر او لبشیر بهشت تربیت یابد و قوت او قوت
ناسوت گردد و ترنج اوبی رنج و نارنج او از سموم نارنج باشد و گل چنبه او از چنجه نیز مردگی خلاص یابد.....

Ihām :

(i) چشم است که چشم مدعیان لبته گردد i.e. (i) hope, (ii) eye.

(ii) شوریده بختان... که در دریای شور درآمده سر لشور انگیزی بر آورده اند

Murā'at al-Nazīr:

The preamble of a Manshūr (Inshā' pp. 47-48) illustrates a good example of the Inshā'-i-

Bahāriya, with Metaphors, Similes and the Murā'at al-Nazīr:

درین ایام نجسته آغاز... که او اضرحت و ادامل بهار است... کوس نوروزی طغنه عالم آرای و جهان افروزی در گنبد دوار زلفه... جنبش صبا جانهای آرمیده را
سلسله حلیان شوق آمده... باد بهاری روح نباتی در قالب صیانت نوباهه های عالم آب و گل دمیده و اسراذاری پای نوزیدگان لشکر بهار را از گرده شمت و شو آورده....

L A T Ī F A - Y I - F A Y Y Ā D Ī .An Estimate of Faydī:

(Akbar).

According to the considered opinion, after Amīr Khusrau, Muslim India has seen no greater poet than Faydī. Even the bigoted Badā'ūnī praises him for his learning in the sciences, such as poetry, riddles, prosody, rhyme, history, philology, medicine and epistolary composition.¹ He is the unrivalled author of IOI books. The best known, besides his poetical works, are the two works in Arabic which he composed in the ṣan'at-i-muhmala (without the use of dotted letters) to display his mastery over that language and lexicographical abilities. They are the Savāti'al-Ilhām, a commentary to the Qur'an, and the Mavarid al-Kilam, on ethics. The famous Sūfī-Shaykh of the period, 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlavī admires Faydī's literary merits, the graceful ease of his style and the eloquence of his periods.²

Description:

The munsha'at of Faydī known under the title, the Latīfa-yi-Fayyādī, was compiled by his nephew and disciple (tilmīdh), Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad 'Abd-Allāh, in the year 1035/1625-26. In the preamble of the book, the editor says that whereas his very reverend uncle Abū'l-Fadl arranged the Markiz al-Advār, which Faydī composed as a replica to the Makhzan al-Asrār of Nizāmī Ganjavī, there were other prose and epistolary compositions which were scattered in the nook of concealment and corner of obscurity, like him' (i.e. Nūr al-Dīn), which were later collected by him. These, which he collected included the Munājāt of Abū'l-Fadl and some of the Ruqa'at of Shaykh Abū'l-Khayr, a younger son of Shaykh Mubārak. He corroborates the above statement in his own work, which I have referred to as his Diary, in an 'Arīda to his patron Khānazād Khān.³

Manuscripts of the Latīfa are numerous, but the one belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society (G.B) NO. 347 (Morley No. 226), which I have used, seems to be the only perfect copy available here. The fact that it contains the three Mantūqas of which the editor speaks

1. Badā'ūnī. Text, Vol. iii, p. 299.

2. Elliot. Vol. 6, p. 490; compare also Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Vol. ii, pp. 716-18.

3. Vide Infra Inshā'i-Nūr al-Dīn.

I.

in the preamble and which are wanting in other copies, proves the said copy to be a rare one if not unique. The first Mantūqa consists of the Munājāt a very rare work, which Blochmann also notices in the Biography of Abū'l-Fadl appended to the Ā'in-i-Akbarī. The second Mantūqa contains the Ruqa'āt of Abū'l-Khayr (Ruqa'āt-i-Latā'if-i-Khayr al-Anāmī). The third Mantūqa contains miscellaneous letters addressed to Faydī by his father Shaykh Mubāarak Nāgōrī (ff. 57b-59a), Abū'l-Fadl (ff. 59a-60b), the same as are found in the Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī, Hakīm 'Ayn al-Mulk (ff. 60b-61b), Hakīm Humām from Tūrān (ff. 61b) and Zuhūrī, the famous poet and prose writer at the court of the 'Adilshāhīs in the Deccan (ff. 61b-62a).²

The book is divided into the following five Latīfas :

1. 'Ard-dāshts to the Emperor Akbar (ff. 3b-18b).
2. Mufāvadāt to the Ashraf, 'Ulamā' and 'Urafā' (ff. 18b-33a).
3. Mufāvadāt to the Hakemā'-i-mu'āsir (contemporary physicians) (ff. 33a-40b).
4. Mulātafāt (i.e. friendly correspondence) to the Umarā' and Ahibba' (ff. 40b-45a).
5. The Raqā'im or epistles addressed to the elderly relatives (Niyāg) and kinsfolk (ff. 45a-47a).

Some of the famous addressees are the following:

- (i) Maulānā 'abd al-Latīf, a Munshī to the 'Adilshāhī King; (ii) Hakīm Humām on the death of his brother Hakīm Abū'l-Fath Gilānī; (iii) Hakīm 'Ayn al-Mulk; (iv) Rājī 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Khāndēs; (v) Shaykh Mubāarak, his father; (vi) Abū'l-Fadl; (vii) Shaykh Afdal Qādirī, the father of Shaykh 'Abd al-Samad, the editor of the Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī; (viii) Ma'sūm of Bhakkar, the author of the Tā'rīkh-i-Ma'sūmī; (ix) Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq; (x) Zuhūrī.

Language and Style:

That Tāza-gū'ī, which marks an epoch of originality in the Persian Literature of India, owes much to Abū'l-Fadl and Faydī. The last mentioned is the first who

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1. Compare the Mss. EIO-I479; Br.Mus. Egerton, 695 and Bodl. 2703.
 2. The Khulāsat al-Inshā' (Bodl. I416) contains some these letters, Mubāarak-ff. 218b, Humām ff. 73a etc.

introduced a plain style (sāda-nigārī) in epistolary composition, and has a rival in the period only in Abū'l-Fath Gilānī.¹

The styles of both the Shaykh brothers differ from each other only in that, Abū'l-Fadl speaks in the tone of a Ṣūfī and writes with the pen of a scholarly Munshī, while Faydī is essentially a literary man in his epistles. Faydī writes in a simple and succinct style and rarely encumbers his composition with elaborate figurative language and high-flown diction. Although synonyms with Arabic Past Participles abound in as is the case with other writers with a profound knowledge of Arabic, one hardly meets a dry phraseology. In the loftiness of ideas he has an equal share with his brother but expresses them in a low tone but in beautiful exposition. He writes admirable Persian suitable for correspondence, and this feature far too often shadows the style of his brother. Unlike Abū'l-Fadl, our author is very cordial and friendly in his Mufāvadāt and only rarely gives vent to his melancholy and retiring mood, which echoes from every word of Abū'l-Fadl. He shows great intimacy in addressing even to the Emperor simply as "عالم نیا" and, "شکسته نوازا"; to Zuhūrī as, "حضرت مولوی" and to another friend as, "حضرت نواب". Sometimes he omits the Alqāb altogether. In the letters to the learned men, he shows great regard to them and employs complimentary epithets in Arabic and quotes verses and phrases in that language. Besides the numerous examples of verses of his own composition and of others, with which he embellishes his epistles, there are a few letters entirely versified or Manzūm. Most of the letters deal with literary discussions and contain information about his own poetical and prose works.

The 'Ard-dāshts which appear in the English grab in Elliot's History under the title the "Waki'at-i-Shaikh Faizi", as remarked by the translator "are of a gossiping, familiar character...²" They certainly do not contain, to the regret of the translator, anything of importance for the political relations of the time, but their utility for the social and literary conditions of the Deccan, from whither they were despatched to the

1. Shi'r al-'Ajam. Vol.iii, p.67.

2. Elliot, Vol.6, pp.147.

Emperor, is beyond question. The author is in the mood of a traveller who does not omit to report anything which attracts his attention and observation. The poets such as Zuhūrī and Malik Qumī, the Ḥakīms and learned men he met, the geographical conditions, the fauna and flora, and again his own loneliness where " the wall is the only confident, and the door, the only one in harmony with him ", all are linked unsystematically in his narrative. The 'Ard-dāshts remind us Bābur's account of Hindūstān in his Memoirs, but Faydī, unlike the Emperor, is very superficial and elusive and does not hold fast to the threads of his narrative. He is more of a conversationalist who says what he has to say without giving second thoughts, in that excitement of a traveller. In the 'Ard-dāshts, Faydī breaks away from the bondage of conventional phraseology and the rigid beginnings of the Murāfa'at, but the intense feeling of humility prevails throughout in the usual phrase: "ذره وار خاک کردار معروض می دارم".

The one (ff. I4a-I6b) in which he recommends the case of Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, who had been in disgrace at the Court, was so much admired by the Emperor that he ordered Abū'l-Fadl to embody that 'Ard-dāsht in the Akbar-Nāma, in order that it might serve as a model of a petition.^{I.}

Single Points are as follow:

A. The following is one of the best examples of his style, in which he derives his imagery from a symposium between the dust of his feet raised by his setting forth towards the friend, and the pupil of the eye longing to behold the vision of the friend. The "mardum-i-chashm" is compared with the "dīda-bān-i-safīna-yi-rūh" (the sentinel of the vassal of spirit), the blackness of which is like the veil of Ka'ba, and as the nector is found only in darkness, there are trays of light (i.e. tears) placed in the nocturnal-chamber of the darkness of the eye, which are to be sacrificed on the day of vision. (ff. 42b-43a).

هر قدمی که در شاهراه سعادت میگذارم خاکراه (خاک راه) که با سربوی دو جهانی دعوی تو امانی کند از زمین بر میخیزد و میگوید

ای ذره سرگردان یچ میدانی که من تعظیم تو بر خواسته ام که تو احرام آستان مقبلت لبسته که سعادت منطقه بند اوست

واقبال آرزو مند او دل که کار فرمای بدنت ببالا خانه دیده اشاره میکند که با مردم چشم که دیده بان سیفنه روح است

سبحانه و سبحابه (همچو ابه ؟) باشی خاک گران بار بدل خطاب میکند که انجا پرده نشینان طمانی سنگنای ساخته اند و من جوهر

نور اینم عقل کامل مرا صیقل زدای ستاره می داند آسمان آینه روی آفتاب مینخواند مرا بنجاک راه افتاده

مبین! در افتادگی من هزار سر بلندی است و گذرگاه دولت افتاده ام که قاصدان اقبال ازین راه میگذرند جز اهلل

عزت تکیه گاه کنم و جز فرق عظمت خواب جای نسازم بتیمیم (به تیمیم من) بوضوی (و) خضره الیاس شرف دارد که بر چشمه آب بقا که بر نیت عبده

شکر ساخته بند مردم چشم جواب میگوید ای خاک اینهمه گرامی کن و ز ظاهر صورت من مبین عبار خاطر مشوش سفید روی من در عیاشی
تمسکین است نمیدانی لباس کعبه سیاه می باشد آجیوه (آب حیات) در زانگی است (و) در شبتان ظلمت من طبقهای نور زنده اند که در روز دیدارشان کنم +

B. Another example of a metaphorical exposition extolling the greatness of his motherland Hindūstān (ff.20a-b):

جمعیت آباد سواد اعظم هندوستان میامن سعادت و برکات جود و رافت بجدلیت که قواضل مال سفت اقلیم

اینجا بار میکشایند و سفایس امانی از سفت دریا اینجاساز مام می سپارند +

C. To Zuhūrī expressing his sincere desire for looking forward to seeing him (ff.20b-21a):

حضرت مولوی از اشتیاق شما سوختم چون یاد شما میکنم دود از نهاد بر می آید یارب امکان ملاقات است یا نه بچار

نوشتند که میخواهم جوگی شده بیایم خاطر گل گل شگفت کاشکی بساید و سخن پوست کنده میگویم لاف نمیزنم بآمدن شما می ارزم

D. The following illustrates the examples of Saj' and Omate style (ff.21a-b):

مجت نامه کلمه آمیز (و) شکایت ریز که رقم پذیر شده بود شبنم مرآت را تا زبانه اخلاص زد (و) شوق محصور (را) نشاء

سازه بخشید نبت خواب آلود را بیدار ساخت تو صبر آرمیده محمل غمیت است استعداد را مستعد استقبال کرد و قصه کوتاه هر چه دین

باب گفته شود قطره ایست از دریا +

E. An example of the Inshā-i-Bahāriya with the dominating trope of the Mura'at-al-Nazīr (ff.31b).

چین چین ریاحین سلام و شقایق و عارفیق کاروان شاهراه شمال و صبا چشتمه چشمه زلال شوق سلسال و لادو محبت انار منال صفت و صفانود
(سبیل)

F. Figures of Speech:

(i) Isti'ara (fol.20a):

کان صحاح از صیت طنطنه جلایل صفات عالیہ

(ii) The mind is metaphorically spoken as the place of drinking and the mirror, (fol.20a).

صیر الہام پذیر کہ منہل فیوض الہی و سبحیل حقائق الاشیاء است

(iii) Tansīq al-Sifāt : The qualities of Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī are enumerated thus in the 'Ard-dasht to the Emperor: (ff.14a-16b).

ازین ہمہ فضائل بہ نبی طمعی و قناعت کم تردد نمودن و راستی و درستی و ادب و نامرادی و شکستگی و گزندگی و
نبی یقینی و ترک اکثر موم تعلید و درستی اخلاص و عقیدت بدرگاہ بادشاہی موصوفت +

(iv) Muzdaviij: Examples of the rhymed sentences are scarcely found, but in the course of a sentence the author brings in several other rhyming words, phrases and compounds. Such specimens however, abound in Abū'l-Fadl.

(a) ff.32b. ... در حوائی تبتکہ پتین و منگدہ فتن نشدہ و عمان دیدہ ... (b) fol.40a: قدوم برکات لزوم فرین منظوم ایکیسات کہ بہار بندہ تسانست

(v) Ishtiqāq and Tadādd (fol.31a): امید کہ از سفر و حضر و قرب و بعد محفوظ حفظ

G. The peculiar use of Niyāg (fol.2b) for the Singular and sometimes for the Plural, instead of the Niyāgān (sing. Niyā') appears in Abū'l-Fadl also. However, the one in question is from the pen of Nūr al-Dīn (in the preamble).

Hindi words are very numerous in the 'Ard-dashts:

(i) Bīda (بیرہ): A chew of betel-leaf offered to the guest in India. This word frequently appears in Amīr Khusrau. (ii) Buva-jiu (بوا جیو): Mother. (iii) Barsāt (برسات): The rainy season in India. (iv) Jōgiyān (sing. Jōgī): Hindu ascetic. (This word is also used by Shaykh Zayn Khwāfī in the Wāqi'at-i-Bāburī. Vide: Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 1999-fol. 18b).

I N S H Ā - I - N Ū R A L - D Ī N M U H A M M A D .

The Author:

(Jahāngīr).

Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad 'Abd-Allāh is known to the literary world as the editor of the epistles of his uncles Faydī and Abū'l-Fadl, and the author of several prose works. He was the son of Hakīm 'Ayn al-Mulk Shīrāzī (d. 27th Dhu'l-hajja 1003), who traced his descent on the mother's side to the philosopher Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī. Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī who for some time was associated with the Hakīm as his friend, speaks very highly of his learning and distinction in the treatment of ophthalmia. He quotes his verses which the Hakīm wrote under the nom-de-plume Davā'ī.¹

Nūr al-Dīn does not seem to have found any place in the histories, and is known only from the stray references from his pen in his literary output. A short piece of prose work described by Dr. Rieu as a "collection of letters and short prose composition",² is in fact a Diary of Nūr al-Dīn and contains only four 'Arīdas addressed to his patron Amān-Allāh Khānazād Khān Fīrūz Jang, which throws some light on the hitherto hidden corners of his career.

Diary:

He wrote his diary during his stay in Bengal (at Dhāka or Jahāngīr-nagar) where he seems to have gone in A.H. 1025, and stayed there at any rate till the early part of A.H. 1035. It was during his stay there that the "feelings of his heart strutted on the surface of paper with the help of pen through ink".³ During his sojourn there, he must have come closer to his patron Khānazād Khān who held the governorship of Bengal in the 20th year of Jahāngīr's reign (1034/1625-26), but was soon recalled to the Court after his father's bold seizure of the person of the Emperor in A.D. 1626. We next see our author in Lahore on the eve of the 'Īd al-Adhā in A.H. 1036. Between the period 1035 after he left Bengal, and 1036, he apparently was separated from his patron which fact is proved by

1. Badā'ūnī. Text, Vol. iii, pp. 164 and 230.

2. Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 18, 882, I, ff. 1-14.

3. Ibid. ff. 2b, 7b, 9b, 10a.

the first despatch, incidently not dated, in which he wrote to the Khān, how busy he was having retired to the "nook of obscurity (zāviya-yi-khumūl) and hermitage of disappointment (sauma'a-yi-nākāmī)", working on the scattered manuscripts of his uncles, Faydī, Abū'l-Fadl and Abū'l-Khayr, and that he had collected the letters of Faydī and styled the collection Latīfa-yi-Fayyādī, which expresses the date of its arrangement i.e. A.H. 1035/1625-26.^{1.} It was during the same year that Nūr al-Dīn transcribed extracts from the Bābur-nāma (in Turki).^{2.}

The Khān at that time was in Lahore ; thither he marched (nahdat) to Kashmir, as one of the despatches shows.^{3.} It seems that Nūr al-Dīn went to Lahore to join his patron (still in Kashmir) some time at the end of A.H. 1036. In the last two despatches dated the 17th and 19th Ṣafar 1037, and the last being communicated from Lahore (to Kashmir) after a few months of his arrival there, he writes to the Khān "What should I write to thee of the crowd of griefs full of separation (muhājarat-āgīn), how long (will I remain) a captive of the pangs of separation and restless in the snare of expectation".^{4.} What happened to our author in Lahore we cannot possibly know, but we find the Khān reaching the Capital from Lahore to attend Shāh Jahān in the beginning of his reign (1037-38/1628-29) and soon to take the charge of the governorship of Malawa.^{5.}

It was some time in A.H. 1037 in the reign of Jahāngīr that our author had to his credit his first regular compilation the Inshā-i-Tarab al-Subyān. The word "غزل" in the following chronogram conveys the date:

بدور شاه نورالدین جهانگیر : شد این نامه بنوک کلک تحریر
 بتاریخش چو دل پیش خرد تافت : واری مستوی اندر غزل یافت

In the same year he had collected the Ruqa'at-i-Abū'l-Fadl. A more fruitful literary and contemplative career blossomed forth in the life of Nūr al-Dīn. The Inshā-i-'Iyār-i-Dānish almost identical with the preceding treatise on Inshā, must have been composed by

1. Diary. ff. I2a-b.

2. Bābur-nāma (Bev.) Eng. Tr. Vol. i, p. xli.

3. Diary. fol. I3a, Compare also Ma'āthir al-Umarā' Vol. i, p. 214.

4. Dairy. ff. I4a-b.

5. Ma'āthir. Ibid.

him during that period. Next year A.H.1038/ A.D.1628-29, he compiled a description of drugs styled Alfāz-i-Adviya, and dedicated to the Emperor Shāh Jahān¹. After a lapse of more than a decade, in 1050/1640-41, our author keeping alive the family tradition, produces his long-cherished work the Qistās al-Itibā', a glossary of Arabic and Persian technical terms in medicine. He refers to his project in his Diary that 'since most of the medical terms found in the works on medicine are difficult to understand because of their being foreign importations from Greek, Arabic, Turkī and (even) Hindi (ie. Sanskrit), he collected his material after research on the terminology of medicine and investigations from the intelligent physicians². His only contribution to the Sūfī learning is the small treatise Marātib al-Wujūd, on the terminology of sufism and in the doctrine of Tauhīd (Unitarianism), collected and compiled by him for the guidance of the travellers on the path of Sūfī knowledge³.

The dates of his birth and death are not known, but he obviously lived to an advanced age like most of the Sūfīs of the Middle Ages. He must have been sufficiently grown up to be able to study under his uncle⁴, Faydī, who died shortly after Hakīm 'Ayn al-Mulk on 10 Safar 1004, 15th Oct. 1595.

Language and Style:

A son of a learned doctor and a pupil of Faydī, Nūr al-Dīn found a congenial atmosphere for his literary and contemplative temperament. The glorious achievements of his uncles in learning and belles-lettres gave incentive to the nephew to keep burning the torch of knowledge in the family and make the best of the splendid heirloom. How deeply he was carried away by the influences of that "sovereign of wisdom, Faydī", and "the most excellent of the learned men, Abū'l-Fadl". With the last mentioned he was more infatuated. It was on his thoughts that he dwells in his writing which echoes the very retiring mood of Abū'l-Fadl who was more of a Sūfī than a man of the world. Nūr al-Dīn was by no means a learned man himself of his age.

1. EIO-2325, ff.127b-128a. Vide also Bodl. Nos. I603 and I604, lithographed in Delhi and Madras in A.H.1265.

2. Diary. fol. IIA. Vide Cat. W. Pertsch. Berlin, pp. 587-88.

3. EIO-1924, 15-ff. 257b-266b and 182a-83b.

4. Compare Latīfa. fol. 2b.

His investigation into the medical terminology from the Greek, Arabic, Latin, Spanish, Hebrew, Syriac, Berber, Turkish, Persian and Sanskrit, may be beyond the normal capacity of a human being to become such a distinguished linguist, but there is no doubt that he had a proclivity for linguistics. During his sojourn in Bengal he had picked up the Bengali language and a list of words he has subjoined in the Diary. He must have had sufficient knowledge of Turki to enable him to make an extract from the Bābur-nāma. He could not have escaped the increasing influence of Hindi which by that time had developed in Urdu (during the reign of Shāh Jahān). Of Arabic he shows glimpses of his deep learning, by quoting verses from the Qur'ān and indulging in Arabic compounds. The very fact that he ventured to touch upon the controversial topic of the age, the doctrine of Vahdat, at a time of conflicts which had witnessed the mystical height of nationalism under the eclectic Akbar, and the narrow and orthodox doctrine of the Vahdat al-Shuhūd expounded by Shaykh Mujaddid -i-Alif-i-Thānī (b. A.H.971) in refutation of the Vahdat al-Wujūd of Ibn al-'Arabī, shows that Nūr al-Dīn had drunk deep at the fountain of Sūfī knowledge.

Possibly inherited from his Shīrāzī father, Nūr al-Dīn's style in Persian betrays traces of the influence of Abū'l-Fadl. He had before him the model of a master stylist whose name had become a watchword and Nūr al-Dīn attempts to follow closely his uncle. Though he had no fascination for poetry, as he says in his Diary, he seems to have studied the works of the old and contemporary masters. Khayyām and Hāfiz were his favourites and 'Urfi's sober qasīdas fascinated his imagination most. He frequently quotes from his uncle Faydī's mathnavīs, and his Nal-Daman appears to have attracted him most. His style on the whole differs in every prose work. In the Marātib al-Wujūd he is more of a Sūfī than a literary man, in the Inshā' he indulges in epistolary tricks of style and secretarial jargon and it is more laboured than his authentic 'Arīdas. In his Diary he is precise and moralizing and writes short sentences as they occurred to his mind. Though he lists Bengali words which he had picked up, nowhere does he yield to the influence of that language, nor to the Hindi in his other works.

(I). I N S H Ā' I - T A R A B - A L - S U B Y Ā N .

I.

In the EIO.Ms. it is called the Inshā-i-Tarab al-Sabbān, which is apparently a mistake of the copyist, but the correct title of this treatise appears in the Royal Asiatic Society (G.B.) Ms. No.232, which is described simply as " A collection of letters on various subjects." The Tarab contains forms of letters in the Muhāvarāt only, or more precisely in the (i) Mufāvadāt ;(ii) Murāsalāt and (iii) Murāfa'āt. Although no classification appears to be by the author himself in both the copies, the specimens as they come in follow closely the pattern of the Badā'i al-Inshā' of Ḥakīm Yūsufī. They are both Javābī and Khiṭābī.

(i) Mufāvadāt: Models of letters belonging to the nobility, intelligensia and the Ashrafī.

(ii) Murāsalāt: The correspondents are friends and family members. The author frequently quotes verses expressive of his feelings of friendship and affection. Most of these verses appear in his other treatise and the Diary also.

(iii) Murāfa'āt: Only a few forms of 'Ard-dāshts beginning with the usual conventional phrase :

عرضداشت کترین فلان بموقف عرض باریادگان حضرت می رساند

(2). I N S H Ā' - I - ' I Y Ā R - I - D Ā N I S H .

What occurred to the mind of Nūr al-Dīn to give his other treatise the title 'Iyār-i-Dānish, was perhaps the 'Iyār-i-Dānish of his uncle, Abū'l-Faḍl . The present work is modelled on the official correspondence (Tauqī'āt) and contains at the end forms of civil contracts and legal documents.

Like its preceding counterpart, the present treatise also opens with the Praise of God and Benediction on the Prophet. The author then says that, since a few needy ones " prone to felicity (sa'adat-kīsh)" and "thinking in love (mahabbat-andīsh) expressed their sincere desire to him to compile the necessary letters (mufāvadātī)", the result was the present work which deals with both Mukhātaba and Mujāvaba.

Only a cursory perusal of preambles in both would attract the attention of the

reader to the almost identical statements in the slightly different garb of phrases and synonyms:

(i) Tarab (EIO.Ms. ff. 46b-47a ; R.A.S. (G.B), ff. Ib-2a).

چنین گوید بنده احترام العباد نور محمد که چون بعضی حاجتمندان سعادت کیش و محبت اندیش نیایش اخلاص شعار و تمنای
 اخفاص آثار بجلوه ظهور آمدند مفاوضاتی که ضرور است آنرا مسوده می باید نمود (کنای)

(ii) 'Iyār (EIO.Ms. fol. 60b).

چنین گوید فقیر حقیر نور محمد که حمدان (so in the text) سعادت کیش و محبت پیوندان دولت اندیش تمنای اخلاص شعار و
 نیایش نیایش اخفاص آثار بجلوه ظهور آمده مفاوضه که ضرور است آنرا مسوده نمود (کنای)

Strangely enough all the three copies of the above two treatises are in the same hand. The fact that both the works have identical preambles, suggests that the copyist perhaps considered them as two separate treatises under different titles. This is strengthened by the continuity of style, language and contents.

Single Points are as follow :

A. The titles and complimentary epithets at the beginning of each form are disgustingly long and tautological. He overdoes this in the section of Farmāns and Mufāvadāt. In the choice of the adjectival phrases and the set-up of the Alqāb, he makes use of the Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī. Compare the following example ('Iyār, ff. 62b-63a):^{I.}

عمده الملک رکن السلطنت العالمیه مؤتمن الدوله العلیه مقرب الحضرت السلطانیة اعتضاد الممالک العظمی اعتماد الخلافت

الکبری ... دو دمان عز و علا عضاده خاندان خدیو و اعلا (اعتقاد) زبده مقرران درگاه سلاله محرمان بخواخواه قدوه خوانین

بمسند مکان عمده امرای سعادت نشان انجمن آرای صریح بادشاهی باریک بین و دقایق آگاهی عمده ادبکشی مجلس خاص

پیش قدم دانش و اخلاص فقهتد طراز معنی افزونی نکته پیوند بساط همزبانی و هم نشینی دقیقه بات (؟ دقیقه سنج سر) سر اسر (کنای)
 سلطانی رمز شناس عالم مزاج دانی حلقه دایره (... به) سر دفتر انجمن و سخن پردازان و افرا اعتماد دو) کامل الاعتقاد. نمان

I. Compare Inshā (A. F.), pp. 42-43, 47 etc.

B. The usual endings in the letters in both the treatises are the auspicious marks: " بالنون ", and " والصاد "; a common practice with Khawāja Jahān, who usually marks the endings of letters in the Riyād al-Inshā', with the above two letters which open the two Qur'anic chapters.

C. A popular beginning with the Mughals as well as their contemporary Safavids, in their letters is in the Inshā'-i-Bahāriya. They qualify the letter received by them, or the time when it reached (Rukn-i-iblagh) metaphorically, displaying one of the engaging traits of their national character. Compare the following example (Tarab, fol. 49b):

لینہات گلشن مصادقت و اخلاص و فوجت چمن مخالفت اختصاص یعنی رواج طہرین و فواج دلاویز نہتہش عزای کیاولی

D. Saj'. Although the Alqāb and the long trains of complimentary epithets constitute examples of the rhymed prose, but Nūr al-Dīn seems to do so more often:

(i) Tarab:

شماٹم بہارستان دولت و اقبال و نسایم باغستان جاہ و جلال مہوارہ

(ii) 'Iyar:

رالطہ ابتہاج زندگانی مایہ مسرت جسمانی راحت بخش جاودانی
شجاعان شیرافکن (و) مبارزان لشکر شکن

(iii) To Khānazād Khān:

گر قہار ابوہ غم دوری و پای بند... بہجوری مستہام نورالدین محمد بعد از اجرائی نیران اشکانت و ضاعت کلمہ چند نفس لامری

E. Like Abū'l-Fadl, he does not proceed further without repeating a word with another synonym :

(i) معطر و مطہب ; (ii) متقا و مطاوعت ; (iii) منوط و مربوط ; (iv) واضح و لایح .

F. Constructions :

Most of the compounds are drawn on the lines of Abū'l-Fadl who excels all

in this art.

- (i) غشاوه غفلت; (ii) مهاجرت آگین; (iii) باغستان; (iv) نکته پیوند; (v) محبت پیوند; (vi) بهارستان.

G. Expressions:

Repetition of the same word is the most redeeming feature of his style.

- (i) جهان جهان دعوات; (ii) نوع نوع خوشدلی; (iii) عالم عالم خوردنی; (iv) عالم عالم تحیات.

H. The only crude combination of Persian and Arabic which I have come across is the حسب النوشته (Tarab, fol. 55a).

I. Figures Of Speech:

- (i) Ishtiqāq : The use of etymological words is not infrequent in his writing .

حفظ حفظ ; واهب مواهب .

- (ii) Metaphor :

صیغہ منیر کہ آئینہ سکندر است

The style of Nūr al-Dīn in his Inshā' works does not show any originality and presents a picture of the rigid structure of the Inshā' style of that period. However, he ranks high amongst his own contemporary Munshīs.

I N S H Ā - I - K H Ā N A Z Ā D K H Ā N .The Author:

(Jahāngīr)

Amān-Allāh, with the title Khānazād Khān Fīrūz Jang who is better known as Khān Zaman with the nom de plume of Amānī, was the son of the famous general Mahābat Khān. Both the son and the father distinguished themselves for their military services during reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Khānazād Khān, unlike his father, occupies a very prominent place in the literary world for his intellectual explorations which are more meritorious than his military exploits. He is the author of a Dīvān, which according to the Tadhkira-yi-Nasīrābādī is of a high degree of taste.¹ He wrote a history of all the princes of the Earth and a tract styled as Ganj-i-bād-āvard on agriculture. In medicine he compiled a treatise known as the Umma'l-'Illāj, on purgatives. The Ruqa'āt-i-Husayn is the collection of his correspondence with the famous Shaykhs and Sūfīs of his day and deals distinctly with Sūfī and religious questions. He compiled a voluminous dictionary of the Persian and Arabic languages called the Chahār-'Unsur-i-Dānish. The Inshā-i-Khānazād Khān, which forms the present topic was written by him on the art of letter-writing with models selected from his own correspondence.² Khānazād Khān died according to the Ma'āthir al-Umarā' in 1047/1637.

An Estimate of the Author:

Khānazād Khān does not seem to have attracted the attention of the connoisseurs as a stylist in prose. However, he has been praised for his wisdom, poetic talent and erudition. He, as his literary output shows, had diverse interests in many fields. Much may be credited to his association with his protégé, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad; for example his turn of mind for Sūfī contemplation, medicine and Inshā'. He was very fond of associating with ascetics and dervishes and carried on correspondence with them to quench his thirst for the Truth. Among the many letters to the Sūfīs which appear in his Ruqa'āt, there is one addressed to Dervīsh Bābā Salīm, perhaps the famous saint for whom Akbar had the

1. Tadhkira-yi-Nasīrābādī. (Bodl) ff.61a-b, 63b-64a.

2. The Ma'āthir al-Umarā'; Vol.i, pp.212-218, mentions the three first works of his. Vide Bodl.NO.1095, for Chahār-'Unsur-i-Dānish; 'Umma'l-'Ilāj, litho. Campore, 1873; Ruqa'āt, printed, Calcutta, litho. Lucknow A.H.1269; and the Inshā', Br.Mus.Ms.Or.1410-II-ff.52-102.

greatest regard. In his Inshā', like the Emperor Bābur, and Faydī in his Latīfa, Khānazād Khān shows great interest in the fauna and flora of the country and speaks of the fruits and vegetables of the places he visited. This may well lead one to account for his interest in the virgin topic of agriculture, which least attracted the attention of the Mughal Indian writers. Khānazād Khān's deep knowledge of the Arabic language and the religious sciences is apparent from his style particularly in the Ruqa'āt. His great fascination for the poetical works of the masters of the past and the modern poets, such as 'Urfī is equally marked in the Inshā'. Nūr al-Dīn tells us in his Diary that his patron once presented him with a well-transcribed Dīvān of 'Urfī, and it may be that the Khān had a soft corner in his heart for the Shī'a poets of the day, for like that poet our author seems to have a profound regard for the House of 'Alī.^{I.} Similarly 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān had also caught his imagination, and now and then he quotes the following matla' from one of his most quoted Ghazals.^{2.}

شمار شوق ندانتمه ام که تا چند است
جزا یقدر که دلم سخت آرزو ندانست

Description :-

The Inshā'-i-Khānazād Khān is divided into the following four Fasls.

(1) 'Arā'id-va-Mukātabāt : This part contains some of his 'Ard-dāshts, as they are more correctly designated in the actual text, addressed apparently to Jahāngīr. They are drawn in the conventional form and the tone sometimes tends to extreme humility. The Emperor is addressed with the following epithets which are more current in the Sūfī parlance and appear frequently in the Sūfī Maktūbāt: قبله مرادات و مرشد کامل سلامت ; روشن ضمیر ;

پیر و تنگبر و قبله دین و بنیاد سلامت , and so on. The Mukātabāt forms the class of the Mufāvadāt addressed to his equals of the noble class.

(2) Ruqa'āt: Although in the preceding portion there are several epistles designated as Ruqa'āt, this part again covers several of them. It contains very few of them.

(3) Havāshī : Marginal notes. (4) Miscellaneous notes.

I. Compare ff.97a, 101b, etc. Compare Diary, fol.8a.

2. This Ghazal is found in the Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī, Vol.2, p.551.

Language and Style:

It will not be unjustifiable to remark that Khānazād Khān and Nūr al-Dīn have much in common in their styles. Both of them write in a Persian which approaches the standard of those who hailed from the literary centres of Persia. At the same time their styles differ to a striking degree from those of some of the Indian writers -for example, the author of the Zubdat al-Inshā' and Munshī Harkam Dās Kanbūh. Writers who are distinguished in Arabic display their knowledge of the same profusely in their compositions, to quote only Hakīm Yūsuf, Abū'l-Fadl, Faydī and Bāqir Khān. Besides the numerous quotations in Arabic, they reinforce the edifice of their grand style with the ponderous phrases, and words from that language. The most common uses are the Verbal Nouns and Active Participles. Compare the following examples in the Inshā'.

- A. Masdars in Arabic: ارتیاج ; استیلاى ; مخالصت ; القار .
 B. Sifāt-i-Fā'ilī-va-Maf'wūlī : مکتوب مرغوب ; مرتب مؤلف ; مقبوض ; متفرق ; متضمن .
 C. Another characteristic of the style of Khānazād Khān is the frequent use of Arabic compounds:

رجح القهقري ; بين الجانبين ; دائم الاوقات ; بعد اليوم ; كثير البهت ; جامع العقول ; عدم الشمال ; عجالة الوقت .

Single Points are as follow:

D. The language of the Khān is very metaphorical and figurative and at times attains to Itnāb. He derives imageries mostly from oceans and in this respect fresh compounds and constructions appear which are associated with the ocean.

(i) fol.75b: طغیان عمان جبراین که کشتی امید وصال را ختمه ختمه از هم جدا ساخته و طوفان امتداد بهجران دریای وجود را

در تلاطم آورده و فزونی سستی را بگرداب فنا داد امید کمازین گرداب بزور بادبان توجه آن قدوة المجین بساحل مقصود سلامت رسیده +

(ii) fol.70b: مستغرقان دریای مجوری را مگر خضر توفیق رسنمون وصال گشته از وادی هجران بزرهاند و سفینه مراد را به نسیم شرطه

سعادت بساحل مقصود رساند -

E. Examples of other Compounds and Constructions :

بادیه بکیران ; لاله های خودروی کوهستانی ; خلوت نشینان شبستان خاطر ; گم شدگان بادیه مهجوری ; سفینه مراد ;
 کشور مهاجرت ; پامیردی صبر و شکیبائی ; مهباط الانوار ;
 (This appears in the Ruqa'at of Abū'l-Fadl also).

F. Use of consecutive Idāfats with multiplied adjectives for the sake of Saj' :

سراج مزاج و باج ; مکتوب مرغوب نادرا لاسلوب ; جان من روح مجسم من میرزائی من

G. Repetitions and use of synonymous words (Takarār and Mutarādifat) :

خاطر حزن گل گل شگفت ; اگر مویزبان و عضو عضو بیانی شود ; بمطالعه آن جهان جهان او عالم عالم شادمانی رود یاد

H. Figures of Speech :

(i) Metaphors (Kināyat-va-Isti'ārat) (ff.63a-b):

(i) دل اگر خود را بزبان خامه و بی از عده زبان درازی او منی توانی برآمد بلکه خون دوات را چندان بر صفحه کاغذ نوای افشاند
 که ریش و دشت کربلا گردد و پس این کس چه دراز و فراق نشسته و مزکب سک گشته مشق حزن میکند... ازین وادی گزشته و قفل صبر
 را بر صندوق سینه زود شروع در مدعا نمی نماید...

(ii) Similes (fol.70b):

مکتوبی که الفاظ مجیش چون کرشمه شکر لبان خورا نگیرد و معانی غریبش چون مژده وصل خوابان راحت آمیز حلقه اش
 دام دهبی خاص و عام و فوظه اش دام جان بی آرام ، رقصش چون عصای موسی در سواد اعجاز نیفای نماید و الفاظ جان پرورش چون نقش عسوی...

(iii) Ishtiqāq:

به تعبیر انامل شریف مشرف گشته ; رقیه کریمه و بنیقه ایقه ; شوق و اشتیاق این مخلص مشتاق ساخته

(iv) Husn al-Ta'līl (Beauty of actiology):

(i) fol.56b: گنگ و جمن خروشان و گریان در مفاصت حضرت پای لوس قلعه را بخوشدلی آنکه یک وقت سعادت
 وجود اشرف اقدس مشرف بوده میگذرند حتی بنارس و بیتخانها و عمارت آن که در بلاد هند نظیر ندارد... در بی ضربت

I. The following are the only two peculiar formations which I have come across in the

Inshā': (i) حضمانگی, for حضومت (dispute, animosity) It appears in the Kalila -va-Dimna of Abū'l-Ma'ālī, in the form of دشمنانگی. (Cf. Sabk. Vol.ii, p.265); (ii) بی حوصلگی.

I N S H Ā' I- B Ā Q I R K H Ā N.(Jahāngīr)The Author:

Bāqir Khān Najm-i-Thānī, better known as Bāqir Khān, with the poetical sur-name of Bāqir is identical with the Bāqir Khān frequently mentioned in the Tūzuk by Jahāngīr, and corroborated by the Ma'āthir al-Umarā'. According to the last mentioned source he belonged to the family of Yār Ahmad Najm-i-Thānī, a noble from Iṣfahān who was in the service of Shāh Ismā'īl and was once sent to help the Emperor I. Babur.

Bāqir Khān came to India some time during the last days of Akbar, whose death he records in the preface to his small collection of epistles. He served Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān with distinction and held in succession the governorships of Orissa, Gujarāt and Allahābād. He died in 1047/1637.

An Estimate of Bāqir Khān:

As a poet, Bāqir Khān occupies a place in the biographical work, the Safīna'-yi-Khwūshgū. The Ma'āthir al-Umarā' briefly remarks about his skill in calligraphy, prose and poetry. He seems to be almost unknown to the literary world as an author of several small works in prose on diverse subjects.

Like many other from his country, highly educated and trained at the literary centres of Persia in the current arts and belles-lettres, Bāqir Khān stands on the same level in the field of scholarship and learning. He had a profound knowledge of the Scriptures and the Arabic language, and it is possible that he had learnt, if not the whole, at least the major part of the Qur'ān by heart. His deep scholarship in political and ethical wisdom, is attested by the essay, the Mau'īza-yi-Jahāngīrī, composed in A.H. 1021/1612-13. In the art of riddle, one of the most cultivated literary hobbies of that period, he composed a Qit'a' explaining briefly a Sūfī

I. Ma'āthir. vol.i.pp.385-88.

2. EIO. 1535, ff. 354b.

I.

question inspired by a vision of the Fifth Imām in his dream. His own expressed view on the Inshā' and style of epistolary composition, shows that the author had studied the subject profoundly and with a critical approach. To this art he contributed, a few epistles and khutbas.

Description:

Among the few epistles, there are two 'Ard-dāshts, one addressed to Shah Jahān on his accession to the throne, and the other to the Empress Nūr Jahān, whose sister's daughter the author had married, expressing deep sorrow on the death of Jahāngīr. Instances of epistles i.e. 'Ard-dāsht, addressed by the nobles of the Court to the female members of the Royal Household are scarcely found. There are a few Maktūbs addressed to the King of Golconda, Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh and the succeeding King 'Abd-Allāh Qutb Shāh. With the former he seems to have had close friendly ties, obviously because of the common creed, the Shi'a, for our author gives numerous reference to his orthodox Shi'a beliefs.^{2.} The rest of the epistles are the Mufavadat, in reply to friendly correspondence, that is the Mufavada, Mulatafa and Anīqa.

Language and Style:

Bāqir Khān does not show any originality of style in the Inshā; and seems to be a strict follower of the master Munshīs and Mutarassilān. In a letter to a friend he severely criticises his style, which was so overloaded with involved phraseology and use of outlandish words and phrases that it became a 'veil of words (tutuq-i-alfāz) that concealed the beautiful faces of the sentences and meanings'. He advises him 'not to fall in the pit-fall (hāviya) of meaningless and obscure sentences, to render the discovery of this a by no means an easy task. He should write whatever the mind produces with the exclusion of phrases not in use like the old calender (taqvīm-i-pārīna)! ' He then warns him by saying that 'it is not easy to

I. EIO. ff. 335a, 341b.

2. Ibid. ff.341b, 348a, 354b, etc.

be a munshī and the journey from the wilderness of Istifā' to the border of Inshā' is boundless and infinite. It is incumbent on any one aspiring after acquiring proficiency in Inshā' to get training under a master and after he has worked hard he must only then set his foot on the carpet of that art'. 'He himself', continues Bāqir Khān, 'In spite of the fact that, had the ability of separating a pearl from a shell, puts aside his own comprehension, and whatever the masters write, paints on the canvas of his mind with the blood of eyes (i.e. studies them) and buys the stocks from them at the cost of a thousand soul'.^{I.}

The fact that Bāqir Khān imitates the style of the masters of the art, is borne out by his own statement above. He is one of those highly educated Munshīs, who were attracted by the enchanting style of Abū'l-Fadl; and this is not an insignificant fact in the history of Inshā' of Mughal India. It is in matters of diction that he presents an identical picture of the master pattern. Bāqir Khān is essentially a rhetorician and composed several of the epistles merely to show his mastery of the euphuistic style. The one characteristic feature of his style is the artifice of Barā'at-i-istihlāl, in which he makes it incumbent upon himself to maintain the relevancy of the subject-matter from the beginning of the letter, by using suggestive phrases and terms to identify the addressee. The tendency of a great number of Munshīs of our period is to indulge in this sophisticated style only to show their erudition and knowledge of rhetoric.

Compare the following examples in which the author disposes of his knowledge of Hikmat, since the addressee is a Hakīm, called Sayyid Ahmad. (ff. 357b).

(i) مفرح دکشای و روح افزای اعز ماده الحیوة جان مشتاقان و نوش دل آرزومندان ... مطالعه و مشاهدہ آن در

تقویت دل و دماغ کار جوارش و بنج (بنج) اگر دو و مار گزیده فراق را خاصیت تریاق فاروق بخندید بوی اینک بادہ مهاجر

(ii) To a friend parading his knowledge of Rhetorics and Prosody (ff. 357b-58a):

بهره آرای قواعد حسن تعلیل زینت افزای رجوع و عکس و تبدل مرکز دائرہ اوزان محیطہ فاصلہ اجزای میزان مبین ... عروص ...

(iii) His knowledge of Philosophy :

حکمت کاملہ فیاض علی الاطلاق حقایق بسیطہ و مرکب اجزای کانیات را از جواهر مقدسہ نورانیہ و اجسام مغلیہ ہیولانیہ ... مجہول و جعل بسیط جواهر و اعراض ...

Single Points are as follow:

B. The use of Arabic Past Participle and Verbal Nouns:

مذکور و مقصود ; مشحون بجواهر عبارات و معلول فقرات غزبات ; معطوف ; تضاعف و تضاعف

C. Saj' : Examples of rhymed prose with the Figure Muzdaviij, and synonymous expressions are very numerous :

(i) بعد از تمهید و تشدید قواعد صداقت و اخلاص و پس از تاکید و تاسیس مبانی موت و اختتام مکشوف رای عالم آرای مشهور
خیز هر منیر میگردد اند ...

(ii) بدائع افکار طبع قدسی آثار و غرایب معانی وحی کردار سواخ عینی و معارف لاری

D. An example of metaphorical language (fol. 364a):

همانا نسیم این خبر و وحشت اثر چمن رسانیده که غنچه بادل پر خون قبای ارغوانی چاک زده و نیوفرا با جگر بر در و جامه نیلی کرده
سنبلی و نغشته پریشانی و گوگوار و مرغان خوش الحان باناله و زار اند لاله باداغ دل دم ساز و دیده نگر از حیرت باز است :

E. Note the following example in which the author combines the Qur'anic verses (from the Sūrat al-Rahmān) with Persian sentences. This artifice resembles the Poetical Figure, al-Mulamma' (ff. 358a-b):

اشر معانی بکبرش بصف لعل الیمضت الش قبلم ولا جان موصوف و ابکار فکرش به حور مقصورات فی الخیام
معروف و در و خطبه منظومه صرح البحرین یلقین و مورد یختر جم منہما اللؤلؤ والمرجان گردیده

F. Compare the following expression (fol. 353b) with Abū'l-Fadl (Inshā' p. 104):

Bāqir Khān:

کلمه چند منیانه که اشرف بطا اشتیاق لبریز و از تبین لواج افتراق مالامال شد .

Abū'l-Fadl:

کشور مراسلات که عبارت از شرح آداب دعا و بطا اسباب اشتیاق و تقصیل مناسج اخلاص تبین لواج افتراق است مالامال نبود .

ZUBDAT AL-INSHĀ'

(Jahāngīr)

The Zubdat al-Inshā' is a small collection (ff. 12) of epistolary forms compiled by an anonymous author during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr. The date of its compilation is expressed in the following poetically defective chronogram:

(I027/I618)

درین ایام کین انشاء زبده : نوشتم زبده الانشاء پند گیر
 ز دل پریدم از سانش بجایین : چه باید گفت بازی حسب تدبیر
 خود لقا کرنا بخشش بر آرم : بیدر شاه نورالدین جهانگیر
 خدایا بر سر خلق جهانیش : نگه داری که هم پیر است هم میر

There is hardly any literary or useful feature of the treatise which deserves if at all, any recognition as a work on the art, or a text book for the instruction of students, which the author professes to be his intention. Compiled in a very haphazard way, the worse feature of it is the desperately bad transcription of the India Office Manuscript (EIO-2065), the only available copy. A great deal of negligence and ignorance on the part of the copyist, who could not at any rate have been the author himself, but some layman, contribute to the glaring mistakes in the spelling and the syntax, for example : قرت العین for الواله پهران ; فتح آباد for فخا باد ; قضا for قاصا ; والده for والیده ; قره العین, and so on. However, the author himself, who appears to be an indigenous man of poor learning with an inadequate knowledge of the Persian language, and whose mother tongue seems to have been Hindi, cannot still be forgiven for blunders from his own pen. Besides the syntactical errors, some of which he shares with the copyist, there is evidence of his ignorance of the simple rules of Epistolography. No date of transcription is recorded but the type of paper used is significant of an earlier period. An Inshā' of the same title is mentioned in J. Aumer.^{I.}

The book opens with the usual benedictory dedication to God and His Prophet, followed by a sharp criticism on the munshīs of his period and the retrograde system of education. He says, how the parents coax teachers in the Maktabs to get their children trained

I. Die Persischen Handschriften Der K. Hof Hund Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen, 1866, p. 125, ff. 1-25.

in a considerably short time in the art of letter-writing, to enable the latter to be of some help in their business and profession. It is interesting to note how unjustly our poorly-equipped author speaks of the munshīs, of their shallow boast of perfection in the art of epistolary composition. He calls them ignorant (ablahān) and block-head (bu'l-havasān), but all the invectives in fact can be appropriately applied to him.

Description:

The book does not contain chapters nor is it divided specifically into the different classes of epistles.

1. The first is modelled on a petition addressed to the Emperor Jahāngīr. Although it begins with the usual cliché of a petition : " 'Ard-dāsht-i-kamtārīn-i-murīdān-i-shāh---", it is wrongly entitled as a Nāma to that Emperor. Against the rule of Epistolography,^{I.} the author mentions the proper name of the Emperor, "Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr", in the text of the petition.

2. Two specimens of Farmāns (Ahkām-i-dīvānī) incomplete in matter but similar to the Chancellery practice are recorded.

3. The Muhāvarāt contains Murāsālāt. The correspondents are parents, relatives, teachers, pupils, murshids, disciples and various friends. Addressed to fictitious persons, the usual Noun to denote the addressee is the Hindi word "Jiyū" which is so favourite a pet-name with the Mughals used for their relatives by them. Several letters which purport to be about domestic affairs throw interesting side-lights on the social and economic conditions of the Middle classes. The letters frequently end with the auspicious letters of al-Sād and al-Nūn.

4. There are some forms of the Parvānāchas, several of which are Ḥasb al-ḥukm and I'lām. They adhere closely to the Chancellery documents.

5. At the end are models of a Chihra-nāma, a Qabd al-Wusūl, a Barāt, a Khatt-i-Qard,

I. Compare Tarassul-i-Nuṣriyya, ff.23b-24a. Vide also p.123 (supra).

and a Dastak. The last four are dated fictitiously, at least two of them as 1056 and 1066, after the reign of Jahāngīr.

Language and Style:

A. As it has been pointed out, that the compiler himself like the katib, seems to have been a layman poorly educated in the Persian language, bereft of all elegance in composition and devoid of all literary delicacies. His sole qualification appears to be an acquaintance with the reading and writing of that language, which so many of his fellow-countrymen possessed at this time. His ignorance of the simple rules of the Inshā' and grammar is appalling. He does not employ the correct terms - to him and 'Ard-dasht is a Nāma, and a Nāma an 'Arīda from a friend (ff. 2b, 6b.). The very Qita' quoted above reveals his futile attempt to improvise it according to the rules of Prosody. Allowing for the negligent omission of a letter or more on the part of the copyist, the hemistichs do not conform to the metre which is Hajaz-i- Mahdhūf ie, مفاعیلن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن.

B. The most glaring errors of his scattered throughout the present work, are his inconsistencies in the Syntax where two different Predicates in different tenses are used for one Subject or a Personal Pronoun:

(i) (ff. 2a, 5a-5b, 6b, 10a) قرضداران سابق سلام آزاری رسانند و پیشتر کذا گفتلوس قرض نمید

(ii) پیش از این مردم وضاحت اشهب بلاغت ... دو انیده اند عبارات بلغات اشکال آسان گردانیده است

(iii) جمع دارند and فرستاده بودید

C. Conjunctions are omitted rendering the periods disconnected and disturbed. This may be due to the copyist. (Vide the above example No. i) (ff. 4b-5a, 2a-b, etc).

(ii) ایجاب بنده دردمندول پراکنده کذا) بعد از سلام خیریت انجام آنکه در اینجا خیر و صلاح است ... الخ

D. The word "Mablagh" denoting an amount is always followed by a redundant "Adad".

مبلغ پنجاه عدد روپیه

E. The Transitive Verb, " Rāh rāndan " meaning to drive or expel or even to move off, has been used in the sense of traversing a distance, instead of the Rāh-burdan or Raftan:

(ff. 5a-5b) در ۵ روز از اکبر آباد بمقام تپنہ رسیدم و از انجاش با سبب بالغرم تمام چیل کرده راہ راندہ فوجا باد گزشتہ آیدیم

F. The Arabic suffix " hu " (ہ) has been used for a Third Person Singular Feminine:

(i) ff. 5a-5b) مادر کہ اسمہ معلوم است ; (ii) حضرت جدہ جیو کہ اسمہ معلوم است

G. The most striking feature of the work is the constant use of Hindi words and at times the sentences seem to be direct translation from that language. The following exemplifies an analogous expression of Hindi (modern Urdu), used in the present day letters in that language:

(ff. 5a-5b) بعد از سلام خیریت انجام آنکہ در اینجا خیر و صلاح است خیریت ایشان بمعہ خوش آن می باید دیگر حقیقت حال
و کیفیات اوقات اینجائی
بعد از سلام واضح ہو کہ یہاں پر سب خیریت ہے اور میں تمہاری اور رشتہ داروں کی خیریت کا نیک طلبگار ہوں دیگر احوال یہ ہے کہ
 (Urdu)

(Tr. of the above passage):

" After conveying my salutation, I write to inform you that everything is all right here and I wish you the same and to your relatives. Other affairs are as follow....."

H. The forms of Address in some letters are purely in Hindi with Persian epithets.

Māma-jiyū : for mother ; Būbū-jiyū : for the elder sister; Bhāy'ī-kalān : Elder brother ; Bhābī-kalān : elder sister-in-law.

As a concluding remark we may say that the author does not deserve to rank with even the lowest grade of the munshīs.

I N S H Ā'-I- H A R K A R N.The Author:

(Jahāngīr - Shāh Jahān).

Harkam Dās son of Mathurā Das, a Kanbūh by caste and a native of Multān, is the first regular Hindu author of a Persian work. The details of his biography are wanting and nothing more is known about him, except that he was attached for a long time as a secretary to Nuvvāb I'tibār Khān Khwāja-sarā, a confidant of the Emperor Jahāngīr. The Nuvvāb is frequently mentioned in the chronicles and the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī with regard to his meritorious services rendered to that Emperor, from whom he received, besides many honours, the governorship of Akbarābād (Agra), some time in the 17th Regnal year of the reign (A.H. 1031-32). He died about two years later, some time in 1034-35.^{1.}

Harkam compiled the present work after the death of his master, as he remembers him with such epithets as, "ghufrān-panāh" (one who has taken refuge in divine forgiveness) and "ridvān-dastghāh". The date of its compilation is nowhere recorded. The book contains fictitious models of epistolary composition, but as is natural, the author could not detach himself from his environment and age. There is some circumstantial evidence that leads one to ascribe the date of its composition to the early period of Shāh Jahān's reign. One of the Nāmas in the first chapter deals with a topic which forms the subject-matter of the historically well-known Farman of Shāh Jahān addressed to the ruler of Gōlconda enjoining upon him to put down the offensive Shī'a practices and to stop the reading of the Khutba in the name of the Shāh of Persia.^{2.} This Nāma of the Inshā'-i-Harkam is quoted verbatim in the little known history of the Deccan, called the "Muntakhab-i-Tā'rikh-i-Bahrī", where it is designated as the "Farman-i-Bādshāh-i-Sāhib-qirān Shāh Jahān to the Rulers (hukkām) of the Deccan".^{3.} It may be that the author of the aforesaid history copied it from the Inshā' mistaking it for an authentic document, since the actual Farman subjoined in the Bādshāh-nāma of Lāhaurī materially differs from the Nāma in the Inshā' and hence from the Bahrī also.

1. Ma'āthir al-Umarā', Vol. i, pp. 704-5.

2. Lāhaurī. Vol. i, part, ii, pp. 130-33.

3. R. A. S. Ms. (G. B.). No. 78, ff. 61a-b.

The Farmān in question was despatched in the 9th Regnal year of Shāh Jahān's reign (1045-46/1635-36)^I. The relevant passage in the Inshā' runs thus :

در ملک بجا پور و کلندرہ و براکنگر و تاجدکنارہ و دریا خطبہ و سکہ و درعہ شہ جہانی جاری نمایند +

In the sixth chapter of the book, he refers on several occasions to the, "روپیہ شاہجہانی", although he gives fictitious dates to most of the forms.

The author in the short preamble says that he undertook the compilation of the present work at the suggestion of some of his friends, while he was enjoying their company at Mathurā, where it seems he had retired after the death of his master. It was argued by his friends that he had spent the whole of his life in the pursuit of the art of Inshā' and ought to write some thing by way of remembrance (yādgārī) to be used as a text book by the students of that art.

That Rāja Tōder Mal's reform introducing Persian into the account department caused a dissemination of Persian studies amongst the co-religionists is proved by the authorship of the present manual being undertaken by a Hindu Munshī in the subsequent period. It must also be pointed out that the Inshā'-i-Harkarn is more useful as a treatise than the works of the preceding periods, in so far as it illustrates closely the office draughtsmanship as practised in the Mughal Chancellery. A comparative study of the specimens given in the book with the authentic documents of the same category, shows that the author must have transcribed them from the Office Records accessible to him or from the originals in private hands. The models of the Farmāns and the Parvānas belonging to the Ahkām-i-dīvānī, illustrated by the author bear close resemblance to the original documents available to us. It also shows the literary persistence of the forms and formulae, which essentially follow the stereotyped draughtsmanship of the Chancellery papers, mastered by every munshī.

The utility of the present work can be judged by the fact that it heads the earliest series of works translated into English from Persian manuscripts, during the East India Company's regime, to provide the prospective foreign diplomatists with a

I. The date of its compilation as A.H. 1031-32, given by Sayyid 'Abd-Allah in his Adabiyāt-i-Fārsī mān Hinduwōn kā Hissā (Urdu), p.72, is wrong at any rate, since it was compiled after A.H. 1034-35. The Paris Mss. (E. Blochet, Cat. des Mss. persan, ii) is entitled "ارشاد الطالبین".

knowledge of the clerical style, correspondence and drafting of legal and civil documents. It was edited and printed for the East India Company by Francis Balfour, with the Persian text and English translation, in the year A.D. 1781, at Calcutta, under the title "The Forms of Harkam".

In the preface to his translation the author says that his translation is, "literal as far as consistent with the preservation of the sense". Had it not been for the discrepancies in his translation, so often met, it could have boasted of being a successful rendering of a work in a language so foreign to an European in a country, where hitherto there had been no centre of Persian learning. One cannot however pass without noticing the European barbarous pronunciation of Persian words noteworthy in abundance throughout. Manuscripts of the Inshā-i-Harkam are very numerous. It was lithographed at Lahore in A.H. 1286/ A.D. 1869, and again 1288/1871.

Description :

The book contains seven chapters as described below:-

- (1) Royal missives exchanged between kings on various topics, diplomatic relations through peace (Sulh), threats of war, warning etc.
 - (2) Farmāns: This contains specimens of the Ahkām-i-dīvānī, such as letters-patent to the posts of qādī, governor, kūtva, grant of a jāgīr with the counterpart of obligations, soyūrghāl, and a farmān-i-rāh-dārī.
 - (3) Parvānāchas : The Ministerial rescripts ie. Parvānas consisting of the Asnād-i-khidmāt (letters-patent), administrative orders, confirmatory orders (Sanads) and Hasb al-hukm orders.
 - (4) 'Ard-dāshts and 'Arīdas.
 - (5) Murāsālāt : Letters exchanged between equals, relatives and friends.
 - (6) Forms of civil contracts, and legal documents, for example , sale-deeds, bonds and certificates.
 - (7) Dastaks issued by royal order (Hasb al-hukm) and by the officials concerning
-

departmental transactions, and models of a saqat-nāma, maḥdar-nāma, and other certificates. At the end a stock of the forms of address is provided under the caption Sar-nāma.

Language and Style :

The book opens with the traditional Muslim form, with sacramental dedicatory formulae appearing at the top "Huw al-auval-Huw al-ākhir" and followed by the Praise of God and Benediction to His Apostle. The author with the conventional expression of humility, introduces himself as the most infirm of the slaves of God (Tbād-Allāh), and requests at the close of the preamble the learned of the time to cover with the mantle of generosity (dhayl-i-karam), and strike off with the pen of correction (qalam-i-islāh) the errors in his writing.

In the first chapter, illustrating specimens of diplomatic and political correspondence, the author has an opportunity to display the originality of his style. Since such epistles do not essentially follow any prototype or recognised draughtsmanship, the author gives a free play to his imagination and imageries. The king is likened to a royal falcon of swift flight (shāhbāz-i-tīz--parvāz), and the negligence on the part of the hostile king is compared to a hare's sleep.

For compiling such a treatise intended to illustrate the art with great fidelity to the time-honoured practice, it was inevitable for the author to consult standard text books of his time. Whosoever came, became spell-bound by the magic of the style of Abū'l-Fadl, who as the guiding star for the munshīs beckons them to his direction and track, and Harkam is no exception. A Munshī-yi-majāzī as Harkam was, he had not the ability to imitate the style of that great Munshī, but picks up the ideas, idioms and phrases from the Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī, and grafts on to his own composition successfully. He chooses for his topic, the letters written by Abū'l-Fadl on behalf of Akbar to foreign sovereigns, twists the periods of Abū'l-Fadl and with juxtapositions expresses the same thoughts contained in the Mukātabāt.

Examples:A.(i) The idea of sovereignty and shepherding the subjects:

Harkam (p.6): در رعایت احوال رعایا و برآیا که بدایع و دایع خالق اند بجان کوشند و خورر سی مظلومان و مظلومان ... بواجبی نمایند

Abū'l-Fadl (pp. 12, 13, 22, 31): کافه خلایق و جمهور بر آیا که بدایع و دایع حضرت صمدیت اند ... جهد بلیغ نمایند

(ii) The show of strength:

Harkam (p.16): اگر شاه زادما حلقه بندگی در گوش کرده و غاشیه عبودیت بردوش انداخته در سلک بندهای درگاه درآیند

Abū'l-Fadl (p.23 etc.): همه سرداران و گردن کشان کمر بندگی بر میان جان لبه و گوشواره فرمان برداری در گوش فروتنی کشیده ... در آمدند

(iii) Instruction to the Envoy:

Harkam (p.8): بعضی مقدمات که مکرور خاطر بهایون است و بعبارات در نمی آید بزبانی دخلت بعضی گرامی آن سلطنت پناه رساند

Abū'l-Fadl (p.15): بعضی سخنان دلاویز و اسرار حقیقت آمیز که مخزون و مکنون خاطر است ... مذکور مجلس السلسله سازد

B. Besides the above examples, which can be multiplied, Harkam borrows from

Abū'l-Fadl many compounds and adjectival phrases :

هنگی نیت ; مهر انجلی ; عشیرین شامه ; حضرت صمدیت

In the models of the *Farmāns* and *Parvānas* (chapters II and III), the author could do little to show his originality, but had to illustrate them in close adherence to the Chancellery practice. The specimens in all cases follow *Rukn* by *Rukn* the Mughal documents, and thus can be called perfect models .

Single points are as follow:C. His knowledge of Arabic :-

(i) الصَّالِحُ خَيْرٌ (Peace is the best); (ii) عِيَاذُ بِاللَّهِ (God avert); (iii) اعز انهای

(Most important information); (iv) بالراس والعین (Most willingly); (v) قلم مقطوع اللسان

(Broken-pointed pen); (vi) بسط الله ظلكم ابداً (May God extend your shadow eternally).

D. Idioms and Poetical Proverbs:

- (i) آهن بر آهن کوفتن (To strike iron against iron i.e. to fight with an equally formidable opponent); (ii) سرا راه گرفتن (to block up a road); (iii) در سپرده توقف ماندن (to be delayed); (iv) دست بدامن صبر زدن (to cultivate patience).
- (v) صبر تلخ است ولیکن بر شیرین دارد (This is from the Gulistān of Sa'dī : منتش ترش از گردش ایام که صبر : تلخ است ولیکن بر شیرین دارد)
- (vii) غافل نشین نه وقت بازسیت (Nizāmī). (viii) کسب کمال کن که عزیز جهان شوی

E. Harkam writes in a very simple style and plain language without ever indulging in involved phraseology or ornate diction. There are very few examples of Saj' and those if at all in the conventional titles and complimentary epithets:

- (i) (p.26): بر خورداری نورالنبیاری خجسته اطواری برابر جان بلکه بهتر از جان محمود خان از جانب احمد خان
- (ii) (p.26): رکن السلطنت القاهره عضدالدولت الباهره قوه خوانین بلند مکان مبارز الدین خان بهادر ...

Compare the following parallels :

- (i) Abū'l-Fadl (p.47): اعضاء الممالک العظمی اعتماد الخلفه الکبری رکن السلطنت القاهره عضدالدولته الباهره ...
- (ii) Munsha'at al-Namakīn (fol.5b): عمدة الملک رکن السلطنة القاهره عضدالدولته الباهره ... قوه خوانین ...

F. Figures of Speech:

- (i) Similes and Metaphors : عمر عزیز که چون آب رفته معاودت ندارد (Life is compared with water past which never returns.) (ii) For the beloved: ای ماه آسمان خوبی و ای سرو گلستان محبوبی ... نوردیده عشاق ...

G. Hindi words:

- (i) چونا (Chūnā) : lime-water ; (ii) چوتره (Chabūtra) : platform-office; (iii) Pargana پیرگنہ

We can conclude by assigning him a place in the grade of the Munshī-yi-majāzī.

I. It is strange that Ivenow (RAS-Bengal Cat.Ms.No.363) notes the forms as "bombastic epistolographic models".

I N S H Ā' - I - M U N Ī R.The Author :(Shāh Jahān).

Abū'l-Barakāt Munīr (b.A.H.1019), popularly known as Maulānā or Mullā Munīr Lāhaurī, was the son of 'Abd al-Jalīl of Multān who was a poet and a calligrapher under Akbar. From a very early age, the Mullā showed great mental precocity and even at the age of fourteen he imitated Falākī, Sanā'ī and Anvarī.¹

He joined the services of Mirzā Safī, with the title Sayf Khān (d.1049/1639-40) in Akbarābād in A.H.1045 in the capacity of Munshī and went with him to Bengal at the time when the Khān was appointed the governor of that province. After the death of his patron, as the numerous letters of our author show, he received many invitations from various nobles and the Prince Shāh Shujā', but he entered the service of I'tiqād Khān (d.1082/1671) at Jaunpūr. In the service of both the Khāns, the Mullā seems to have been always hard pressed with poverty and his distressed condition resembled the "dishevelled tresses of the beloved (parīshān)" and at times he was so destitute that nothing remained with him save the "land of poetry (zamīn-i-sukhūn) to cultivate contentment".²

It was at Jaunpūr that Munīr found a congenial literary atmosphere among poets like Nasīmī, Maulānā Jalāl, Kalāmī and Badihī, that stimulated him to undertake the compilation of many poetical and prose works.³ The Mullā died there very young like 'Urfī at the age of 35, in 1054/1644-45.

An Estimate of Mullā Munīr:

As a poet and Inshā-pardāz, Munīr stands higher than many of his contemporaries. He has a large circle of friends and admirers like, Mirzā Jalālā Tabātabā'ī, Munshī Chandra Bhān Barahman, Khawāja Muhammad Sādiq, Shaykh 'Ināyat-Allāh Kanbūh and his younger brother, Muhammad Sālih Kanbūh. The last mentioned was a great friend of the Mullā. The poetical talents of the Mullā became more polished under the care of Jalālā and Barahman to whom he used to send his creations for their corrections saying "jāy'-i-islāh khālī ast".⁴

1. Khulāsat al-Inshā' (Bodl. I416) ff. 47b-49a (the Preface to the Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā' of Munīr). There is some confusion as regards the name of his father which in the Sharh-i-Qasā'id-i-'Urfī (Bodl. NO. I4054) and the Makhzan al-Gharā'ib (Bodl.) appears 'Abd al-Majīd'.

2. Inshā'-i-Munīr, (Litho.) Cawnpore, 1874, pp. 19, 21, 24, 32.

3. Ibid. pp. 37-38.

4. Nau-Bāvah (EIO-2079) ff. 38b-39b, 54b.

As a poet he has been given a place only next to Faydī, and has been looked upon as one who had the ability of imitating Nizāmī in mathnavī. As the author of many poetical works, some of his mathnavīs have been published.^{1.}

As a Munshī, even Jalālā, himself a master of a new style in composition, regards Munīr's epistolary composition of a very high degree in ornate style.^{2.} He has for long been a model for the munshīs and poets of the succeeding generations, because his composition contains "extreme subtle meanings and metaphors". "The scratching of his pen brings the scribe of heaven (dabīr-i-sipihr) into a dance in the assembly of the stars, and on his resplendent verses the Venus sings the tune of approbation".^{3.}

His Prose works:

Among other works, he is the author of a commentary on the first forty Qasīdas of 'Urfī, for whom he seems to have great liking, as is apparent from numerous quotations from his qasīdas in the epistles of Munīr. He wrote a treatise in defence of the Indian style in prose and poetry, but which, like his biographical work on the Indian poets begun by him in A.H. 1052 and completed by Ṣāliḥ afterwards, does not seem to be extant now.^{4.} He also wrote a preface to the munsha'at of Ṣāliḥ, the Bahār-i-Sukhun, which the latter began to compile at the suggestion of the Millā, but which, as the internal evidence shows, was completed in 1074/1663-4.^{5.} The best known works of his are the two collections of his epistles and writings in a refined prose style, under the titles, the Inshā-i-Munīr and the Nau-bāvah.

(I) Nigāristān-i-Munīr:

Manuscripts of both the works are very numerous and have been lithographed several times. The copies of the manuscripts and lithographed editions of both works contain that part of the epistles which Munīr wrote under the pseudonym of Sayf Khān and which forms a separate collection under the distinct title of Nigāristān-i-Munīr

1. Nau-bāvah. ff. 54b-55a. His mathnavī entitled Mazhar-i-Gul, which he wrote in praise of Bengal has been republished by the Pakistan Publication Karachi. Another poetical work, a historical romance, the Kāristān has been lithographed in Lucknow in 1848.
2. Nau-bāvah. Ibid.
3. Khulāsat. (Bodl.) fol. 21a, Br. Mus. Ms. Or. I705, fol. 159b, Compare also, 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, pp. 408-9.
4. Compare O. C. Magazine, Lahore, May, 1927, Art. on Munir, by Maulānā Mahmūd Shīrānī Sāhib.
5. Bahār-i-Sukhun, (Br. Mus. Ms. Or. I78) ff. 2b-4a. Compare Rieu. i 398, .

The first collection of his epistles comprising the Nigāristān and writings in a refined-prose style was completed in A.H.1050 and it is commonly known as the Inshā'-i-Munīr. The Nau-bāvah another collection of his Ruqa'at and short prose pieces, he compiled one year after the preceding Inshā'. Both the collections were made at Jaunpūr. There seems to be another collection of his epistles described by Ivanow (No.366-III) as Mukātabāt-i-Munīr, which has quite a different beginning from the preceding two. The Inshā' and the Nau-bāvah contain Munīr's own Maktūbāt, Ruqa'at and 'Arīdas. I have used the EIO-2079, Ms. of the Nau-bāvah and the Inshā'-i-Munīr, lithographed at Cawnpore, in A.D.1874.

Language and Style:

Munīr is essentially a dilettante like most of the Munshīs of his younger generation for example, Tughrā Mashhadī, Bīdil, Qatīl and others who all belong to the School of Amīr Khusrau and Mullā Zuhūrī. To them Fasāhat means indulgence in rhetorical devices and in a diction that must conform to the Khayāl in which the meaning is subordinated to telling words and phrases. The great exponents of the art like Khwāja Jahān instruct the munshīs to avoid loose speech caused by the use of such words which are capable of more than one interpretations and constitute the Figures Īhām and Majāz-mursal^{I.} Munīr follows his literary prophet Khusrau, in violating professedly all the rules of Fasāhat and Balāghat, and he uses words which create Tā'kīd-i-lafzī and Ma'navī (Corroborative Apposition in words and the sense). The words he employs have multiplied meanings or what Khusrau calls, Mutakaththir al-Ma'ānī.^{2.} There is hardly any trope with which Munīr has not ornamented his letters and elegant prose pieces. He is an insufferable rhetorician who exhausts all the tropes with artful devices. Those who are acquainted with the Nuzhat al-arvāh of Fakhr al-Sādāt al-Husaynī, would probably find our author an equally dexterous master of rhetorical skill and of euphuistic style who plays on words which are "homonyms" either in spelling or calligraphic shape, or belong to

I. Compare Manāẓar, ff.IIb-I4a.

2. I'jāz, ff.29b-30a.

بمچون برگهای غنچه دل ننگند و آشنایان از بهلوی یکدیگر چون شاخهای سنبلی و مرغ آشوبه دارند صرف گیران دشمن حسن در آهو گرفتن نظامی نکند

The Idiom " آهو گرفتن ", presupposes the use of خطا and چین, the places which have association with the musk of آهو (deer). Examples of such artifices and devices in his euphuistic style are so numerous that the whole composition of his appears only a " Love's Labour Lost ", in which the ordinary meaning is shrouded with a chain of Tropes and haze of phraseology.

E. The following example displays his knowledge of music, the correlative words and terms suggestive of that art come into play because the author in the beginning uses the word " بیوا " (unprovided), which also means one who is without a song or a tune (Nava). The Khayāl, in fact, presupposes the Figures of Speech he has to employ in its conformity. This artifice is called the " Barā'at-i-Istihlāl ":-

این بیوا به لبض مخالفان کوک نشده (not in harmony) آهنگ (concord also intention) کج آهنگی کردند و
نغمهای ناز است سرودند اگر اکنون ایشان را روزگار چون تار ساز رشته دراز داده است اما چون خضر طنبور آخربهار رشته در گردن
شان خواهد افتاد الحمد لله که کج آهنگی ناسازان در است کواری این بیوا کوک و نرنگ (kinds of tunes) میدانند

The Figures appearing in the above passage are the Īhām, Mutadādd, i.e., Kūchik and Buzurg, and the Tajnis-i-Khatt, i.e., Nār (نار) and Tār, تار.

F. Examples of other Figures of Speech:

(i) Mutadādd (Antithesis): بران صاحب باطن ظاهر است که صورت پیرستان معنی

(ii) Tajnis-i-tamm, Tajnis-i-zā'id and Īhām :

آن مردم چشم (pupil) مرمی را (manliness) بعین عنایت خویش از چشمم رزم روزگار این در چشمم (hope) از مرمی آن
بیش اندوز دید و آنت که منت بر چشم (eye and hope) احباب گذارد تا چشمه آفتاب موج خیز نور است آب چشمه امید

The device " بعین عنایت ", i.e., عنایت beginning with the letter " ع ", is also noteworthy.

(iii) Īhām and Tashbih: چون آن تنگ حوصلگان را روزگار رشته دراز داده است بگردار کاغذ بادامی پرند

(i) رشته: thread with reference to a kite (کاغذ بادامی), but رشته دراز means to afford opportunity.

MUNSHĀ'ĀT-I-BARAHMAN.

The Author :

(Shāh Jahān).

Chandra Bhān, with the title Rāy, the honorary epithet of Khwāja and the poetical surname of Barahman or Barhaman, the son of Dharam Dās, Brahman by caste, was born at Lahore. He took to literary pursuits under the celebrated scholar and mullā, 'Abd al-Karīm of Siyālkōt (d. I067/I656).¹

Barahman started his career as secretary to Afdal Khān, who became the Dīvān-i-kull after Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne. After the death of his patron (I048/I639), he passed into the Imperial service some time in A.H. I057, and held the duties of the Vāqi'a-nivīs-i-hudūr. He was promoted to departmental secretaryship in the Dār al-Inshā and later was appointed to Sa'd-Allāh Khān as his Munshī to help in drafting the Farmāns.² According to one source he acted as personal secretary to Dārā Shikūh, the heir-apparent, and after the death of that Prince he retired to Banāras, where he died in I068/I657-8, o'r I073/I662-3.³

An Estimate of Barahman:

From the study of his works, Barahman emerges as a very noble character like his friend and patron Dārā Shikūh. He is the very incarnation of the Hindu Vedāntā and Muslim mysticism. His poetry and prose breathe the spirit of his pantheistic beliefs and Sūfī tendency. To his brothers Rāy Bhān and Uday Bhān, he writes that the 'real endeavour of a human being consists in the gnosis of God and the knowledge of oneself'. Similarly to Khwāja Tēj Bhān he advises him to devote to the study of works on Ethics and Sufism.⁴ Muhammad Sālih, who has included him in the list of prominent writers of the period in his 'Amal-i-Sālih', says that 'although apparently he wears the sacred thread (zunnār-band), he turns his face from infidelity, and however much he appears a Hindu

I. Chahār Chaman. ff. 86b-87a. Ethe and Ivanow pronounce his takhalluṣ in the irregular and Anglicised form of Brahman, but the poet himself uses both stated above:

(i) برہمن از تو سخن بی دلیل می خواهم; که اعتبار باشد دلیل و برہمن را (ii) مرا بر رشتہ زنا را لفظی خاص است; ہیادو گامین از برہمن ہی دارم

Most of the modern writers have 'Abd al-Hakīm (Vide Storey, Fas. 3, p. 570), but Barahman himself calls his teacher as 'Abd al-Karīm (Chaman. Ibid.)

2. Ibid. ff. 4b-6a, 87a-90b.

3. Mir'at-i-Jahan-numā (cited Rieu iii, I087a, 397b).

4. Chaman. ff. 95a.

in form, he speaks unto the meaning of Islam'. ' He has', observes Ṣāliḥ, ' such a tender heart that at the time of reciting his verses, tears flow from his eyes and his eyelashes are always seen wet with tears'.¹

Although Barahman follows, like the Muslim writers, all the traditional Muslim forms in his literary works, being an upright Brahman, he gives vent to Hindu beliefs and ways of thought and never loses his identity as one who is, "Barahman-i-'Aqīdat-kīsh" , "Barahman-i-durust- I'tiqād-va- Ṣafī-nihād" , or "Zunnār-dār".

Barahman is the first Hindu poet to be the author of a Dīvān. As a writer, like Ānend Rām Mukhlis and Munshī Tek Chand Bahār, the Hindu writers of his younger generation, Barahman left many works in prose and poetry. There the contemporary writers who have a fair opinion on his composition, but others, like the authors of the Makhzan al-Gharā'ib and the Kalimāt al-Shu'arā', and some Munshīs undervalue his literary merits, with a bias, apparently, as is understandable. According to Mullā Munīr's estimation, Barahman was an eloquent poet and a stylish prose-writer. Himself a prominent poet, he regards Barahman as his teacher, and this itself is not without significance according to the Oriental conventions of poetry.² Ṣāliḥ pays a worthy tribute to the pleasant poetry of Barahman, who, as he says, ' is the idol-worshipper at the temple of poetry and the sweeper at the threshold of this dignified art. He writes a correct hand in the Shikasta style and speaks with the tongue of the pen of Nasta'liq'. Ṣāliḥ considers him as one who imitates Abū'l-Faḍl in Inshā'-pardāzī, and says that 'he has distinguished himself in the style of Tarassul and Inshā' and has a perfect skill in expressing his Mudda'ā in the epistolary composition!³

Dārā Shikūh had great fascination for the simplicity of his style in both prose and poetry.⁴ He had found in Barahman a congenial friend who was like him, a confluence of the Vedāntā and Ṣūfī philosophies. Shāh Jahān used to call Barahman affectionately

1. 'Amal. p.434.

2. Nau-bāvah. ff.53b and 54b.

3. 'Amal. pp.434 and 443.

4. Makhzan al-Gharā'ib.(Bodl.)ff.56a-b.

" Hindū-yi-fārsī-dān " ^I (هندوی فارسی دان) but, those who looked askance at the great proficiency of Hindus in a language that had become a semi-religious language of the Muslims, ascribe all the laurels won by Barahman to his flattery and sheer luck. For them, his Divān is tasteless and he had no source of knowledge (dastmāya-yi-'ilmī nadāsht) but after constant imitation of the style of the old masters, he could pen a few relevant epistles (khatt-i-marbut), and that among Hindus, he was barely a sufficient writer.²

His Works:

In the preface to his Munsha'āt he enumerates the following works:

(i) Chahār Chaman ; (ii) Guldasta ; (iii) Tuhfat al-Anvār ; (iv) Tuhfat al-Fusahā' ; (v) Kār-Nāma ; (vi) Majma' al-Fuqarā' and (vii) Munsha'āt-i-Barahman. He also translated a Sanskrit work on Vedāntā styled as "Ātma Vilās" into Persian under the title, "Nāzuk-Khayālāt"³. Another work ascribed to him is the collection of the questions and answers on Vedāntā topics, from Dārā Shikūh put to the Hindu Yogī, Bābā Lāl, this he translated into Persian from Hindi under the title Mukālamāt-i-Bābā Lāl⁴.

Chahar Chaman.

The present work was compiled during the period, as it seems, when Barahman was acting as the Vāqī'a-nivīs-i-hudūr to the Emperor. The book is divided into four chamans (parterres). The first contains descriptions of various festivals at Court and the author's own verses which he recited on those occasions. The second describes the daily occupations of the Emperor Shāh Jahān. The whole material is obviously taken from Lāhaurī's Bādshāh-Nāma, The third which concerns us most gives an account of the author's life and some of his Ruqa'āt and Raqīmas addressed to his brothers Ūday Bhan and Rāy Bhan and to his own son Tej Bhan. There is one Raqīma which he wrote to the Laureate of the Emperor, Hājī Jan Qudsī. A few of them which are left without headings (in the Br.Mus.Ms.) are addressed to an imaginary friend or a beloved. Most of these epistles

1. Chaman . fol.89b.

2. Compare Makhzan al-Gharā'ib. fol.5a.

3. Published at Lahore in 1910.

4. Vide S.M.'Abd-Allah, Adabiyāt-i-Fārsī main Hinduwōn kā Hissa. p.75.

are found in the Munsha'at. The fourth chaman contains short prose pieces on moral and religious reflections. It seems to have been a common practice with all our authors, like Abū'l-Fadl, Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad and Baqir Khān to give vent to their innermost feelings in the form of Khutab, Dībāchas, Tagrīzāt and writings of a refined-prose style.

Munsha'at-i-Barahman (Edinb.Ms.No.334).

This is a collection of his (i) 'Ard-dāshts addressed to Shāh Jahān, and most of them are despatched from Mēwār (Udaypūr) whither he was sent by the Emperor in 1654 to conduct negotiations with Rānā Rāj Singh. There is at least one that is addressed to Aurangzīb 'Alamgir after his accession to the throne (in A.D. 1658) requesting him to relieve him from the Imperial service owing to his old age. The second part contains 'Arīdas addressed to the Viziers and Nobles of the State and includes some of his Nāmas also to his friends among the nobles. The most notable correspondents are Sa'd-Allāh Khān, Lashkar Khān and Afdal Khān. They deal with the poet's own poetical compositions and contain his Ghazals which he frequently improvised. Most of them are recommendatory letters written to the nobles requesting their kind attention to the wretched plight of several men of letters like, Khawāja Anand Rūp, Hamāth Barahman, Munshī Bhōpat Rāy Khawāja Khēm Dās, Indra Bhān and Gopāl Dās Munshī. The third part consists of his Mukātabāt, Nāmas and Ruqa'at addressed to his relations, his father, brothers and the son Tēj Bhān.

Language and Style :

In the Munsha'at Barahman says that the fame of his literary style had spread in īrān and Tūrān and everywhere in the nooks and comers of Hindūstān.^I He is, no doubt, the leader of the Hindu Munshīs, and like Abū'l-Fadl his influence could be seen in the epistolary composition of Balkrishan Barahman and Anand Rām Mukhlīs. He writes in the style called the 'Sahl-i-mumtani', with considerable ease and fluency and sober and

I. Munsha'at. fol.12a.

succinct expression. In his case also a murāsala approaches a mukālama. Most of the epistles seems to be in imitation of Sa'dī's style in the Gulistān. He is not, as Ṣālih I. remarks, a follower of Abū'l-Fadl, although Barahman could not escape his influence. Unlike him, Barahman does not indulge in secretarial pomposity nor he has so much command of high-flown diction and majesty of style. He is the first Munshī who chooses very simple Alqāb of everyday conversation and expresses his Mudda'a with the minimum of words and short sentences (ījāz). One hardly comes across rhymed sentences and laboured periods ; but at times he becomes very ornate and euphuistic and indulges in metaphorical expressions. Such examples though very rare, are found in the Chahār-Chaman, and in the epistles composed presumably to display the elegance of his style. Single Points are as follow :

A. Compare the following Alqāb of Barahman with those of Ānand Rām Mukhlis :^{2.}

(i) Barahman: for the Viziers and Nobles:

(i) رائے صایب رای من ; (iii) خان شہامت نشان سلامت ; (ii) نواب صاحب قبلہ قدردان سلامت

(iv) علامہ ارسطو فطرت سلامت (for Sa'd-Allāh Khān).

(ii) For relations:

(i) برادر بچان برابر ; (iv) برادر بچنگ من ; (iii) برادر ارجمند ; (ii) قبلہ حقیقی سلامت

(v) برادر عمخوار من ; (vi) فرزند ارجمند

Mukhlis:

(i) صاحب مہربان من ; (iv) رای صاحب من سلامت ; (iii) بندہ پرور سلامت ; (ii) نواب صاحب مشفق مہربان سلامت

(v) برادر بچان برابر ; (vi) صاحب والد ماجد

B. He derives his imageries from Hindu beliefs and customs, and in this respect his is the best specimen of the Sabk-i-Hindī. Every epistle and petition more or less begins thus:

1. Compare S.M.'Abd-Allāh, Adabiyāt, pp.76-77.

2. Br.Mus.Ms. Or.92,93. (Autographed letters of Ānand Rām Mukhlis); Compare ff.5a,IIa, 22a-b,25a,3Ib,35a-b,4Ia etc.

- (i) _____ بر همین که رشته بندگی در گردن و ضد غلامی بر همین دارد (ii); کمترین بندهای عقیدت نشان چند جهان
- (iii) _____ بر همین عقیدت کیش که ضد اخلاص بر همین و زنا را عطا و در گلو دارد

C. Similarly as a product of Hindu-Muslim Culture, he does not neglect to use the correct phrase or idiom religious in its nature, in accordance with the literary tradition of the Muslims. He opens his Munsha'at with the customary Muslim form with the Bismillah and ends with the Du'a' in that form.

- (i) _____ بنجاک روی روضه منوره مقدسه که در میان دنیا و آخرت واقع شده
- (ii) _____ حافظ حقیقی در همه جا و همه حلت ذات ملکی ملکات اشرف اقدس که مظهر آئینه رحمت انبوی است و ظل حمایت خویش داشته آفتاب دولت اقبال را بر مغزاق جهان تابنده و پاینده دارد -

D. Barahman is perhaps the first cautious Munshī who writes with an uniformity of Syntax. He does not use different Pronouns for one and the same person which most of the Munshīs (even Abū'l-Fadl) do not avoid.

- (i) An example of a repetition of Impersonal Verb "Bayistan" for the sake of uniformity of the Syntax:

(Munsha'at, fol. 6b): _____ بعمل باید آورد و قدر این عنایت را بواقعی باید دانست و شکر این نعمت را بجا باید آورد

E. An example of Idiomatic and metaphorical expression of deep sorrow.
(Chaman, fol. 101b). (Compare also Abū'l-Fadl, supra No. A-iv).

_____ نسیم بهشام در دآلود این متهم رسید و کاروان در دوانده از فلک ناکامی بشهرستان خاطر آفرین و دل عنکبن بار اقامت کشا و یعنی
صلای غم افزای ساخته ... خداوند صورت و معنی والد بزرگوار پند از گوش غفلت بر آورده و از غایت ... چون نقش بدیوار مانده بود با وجود

_____ معامله فنی بی پایانه (۶) در عالم سودا چون در آمده چون دست بجان نیافت بر گریبان زد و دیده را چون بینان بازار گریه گرم
و سینه را به خروش گرمی بنگامه گفت ... و گاهی نفس آتشین خمرن سستی میبویخت و بان چون نغمه لبزد زبان خموش و از نهایت جرات سخن بر لب فراموش -

F. An example of his Omate style with the use of Figures, the Tafdīl (Comparative or preferential - a kind of Tashbīh), and Īham and Husn al-Ta'līl. (Chaman, fol. 108b):-

زبان چلو پوف شیرین و دہان (دہان) شکر افشان شود شہرتی دیگر بہم رساند لعاب لبش اگر چه شاداب تر از اعل بدخشان و زگیں تر از یاقوت
 رمانی است اما اعل را آن شکر افشانی و یاقوت را آن مک زینمی کجا اگر نہ لعل یا رکبویان (گیو مائی) و ہنگام تکلم مک زینمی بودی
 مک را این مک بودی و اگر دہان پستہ خوب رویان در وقت خندہ شکر افشان نکشتی شکر شیرین نبودی

G. Imitation of Sa'di's Gulistan:

- (i) چو جان بخشی او فرمودہ اند نمان بخشی او کم از جان بخشی نیست
- (ii) لے ٹھاپ رای من ہر چند کم تر یاد می فرمایند بیشتر بیاد می آید

H. Peculiarities:

Expressions peculiar to an Indian mind especially the Hindu are very common.

Besides using a host of Hindi words, Barahman has the following peculiarities:

- (i) Sometimes he uses بندہای, instead of the more correct بندگان, i.e., plural of بندہ.
- (ii) عورت used as the plural of عورت, instead of the more common زنان.
- (iii) He uses سلطانان instead of سلاطین, in order to get the Saj' with خانان و مرزبانان.
- (iv) Similarly پروہتان (prōhitān), the Persian plural of the Hindi پروہت i.e., a priest, appears with its rhyming word, مقیمدان.
- (v) He omits the Preposition " در " to express multitude in the following phrases:
طبقہ طبقہ و فرقہ فرقہ.
- (vi) Note the peculiar use of " ہر کلام " instead of " ہر کس " (Munsha'at, fol. IIb):
... و عورت بیوہ و ضنیفہ در خور حالت استحقاق ہر کلام قسمت یافت
- (vii) Another peculiarity of Barahman's style is to use in the same sentence plurals in Arabic and Persian and some time a Persian plural of an Arabic word:

(instead of حفاظان) حفاظ (instead of مولود خواہان ... (و) در مجلس مولود عظام و فضلاء و حاکمان و دران و مکینان مساکین)

C O N C L U S I O N .

The period of the Mughal rule in India forms one of the most glorious epochs in the history of the eastern Muslim Kingdoms. The new rulers brought with them the heritage and institutions of the Mongols and the Timurids from their homeland, borrowed some, if at all from the Sultāns of Dihlī, yielded enormously to the indigenous influences and assimilated all of them with their own to create a distinct entity of Indo-Mughal society and culture.

Contrary to the repeated assertion of some of the modern Indian historians who strive to find an immediate link between the political organisation of the Mughals and the Sultanate of Dihlī, or to trace it in the 'Perso-Arab' system of the government, it becomes almost evident from the scattered facts in the preceding pages, that to ignore the Mongols, the Timurids and the Turcomans, the most immediate links, is to omit the major premise of this syllogism of history. The institutions of Chingīz Khān, the military exploits of Tīmūr and the Cultural Renaissance of Central Asia under the Timurids, were all transplanted to India, and it was through interaction with the indigenous culture that the Mughals left behind the most enduring monuments of their achievements in sandstone and marble, arts and letters.

It is quite understandable that the Mughals with the materials at their disposal left by the preceding Sultāns modelled the organisation of their government broadly on the lines of their ancestral institutions. The position of most of the officials under the Mughals is attested in Mongol and Timurid times. The Dīvān as the finance minister appears both under the Timurids and under the Mughals, holding the same office, but enjoying the highest position under the latter^I. This change in the application of the term dīvān for an official instead of its old signification of "Office", necessitated a change in the name of the office of correspondence (Dīvān-i-Inshā'), which hitherto came to be known as the Dār al-Inshā'. During the later Mughal period it is frequently mentioned as the Bayt al-Inshā' or simply as Munshī-Khāna, a term which

I. Compare Bābur-nāma, (Bev.), Vol. i., p. 282.

survived till lately under the local States of the Indian Nabobs and Rajahs . The conception of the Munshī of our period emerges from the Kātib and the Dabīr ,but he stands out as unidentified with both of his predecessors. The only qualification of a Munshī of the Mughal period was to be adept in drawing up the drafts of the Chancellery edicts in elegant style and to be a stylish munshī with a refined-prose style. The portals of the Imperial service were open to all irrespective of caste and creed ,while during the early period of the Sultanate ,only those born of noble birth were given employment in the State Chancery. ^{I.} The Mīr Munshī from the time of 'Alangīr appears with the title of Munshī al-Mamālik as under the contemporary Safavids, a title which is ' already attested in Mongol times ' ^{2.}

When we turn to the actual functioning of the Mughal Chancellery ,we feel closer to the chancelleries outside India under the predecessors of the Mughals. A comparative study of the bureaucratic machinery under the Safavids and that of our period reveals a great many similarities. The contemporary Safavids were in direct possession of the traditions from their predecessors the Turcoman dynasties 'with whom they had manifold relations'. ^{3.} We may also, for our purpose look back to the Turcomans as the immediate source for drawing parallels in the administration of the Mughal Chancellery. This aspect of the question appears more striking after a study of the edicts of both the chancelleries. Parallels in technical and literary draughtsmanship are the most redeeming features of this borrowing of the Mughals from the immediate land. Again ,we may go further to the main source ,the Mongols,to establish the assertion in question. Not only are some of the Mughal institutions ~~are~~ identical with their predecessors' ,but the associated terminology and nomenclature of the chancellery parlance and official life were borrowed ready-made from the Mongols. Suffice it to enumerate the following terms which appear in Mongol times : ^{4.} Soyūrgḥāl, Barāt, Al-tangha Yarligh, 'Avāridāt, Bīgar, Ikhrajāt and many others ,which were almost unknown to India

1. Compare Baranī, pp.38-39.

2. Tadhkirat al-mulūk, V.Minorsky, p.132.

3. Ibid. p.30.

4. Most of these terms appear in Juvaynī. The Soyūrgḥāl,however figures in a letters of Rashīd al-Dīn Fadl-Allāh addressed to Maulānā Sadr al-Dīn (Vide Per.D.84,Bodl.ff.I4a-b)

during the period of the Sultanate.

In the section of the parvānāchas, there is a broader field to bear the same question ; again in this case we have to pass to the Turcomans, and the Safavids, the direct successors of the first mentioned. The renewals of land-grants with immunities, in the subsequent farmāns of the Turcomans , and later under the Safavids , on the attestation of the rescripts of the highest officials such as the Mithāl issued from the Dīvān-i-Sadārat al-'alayhi'l-'āliya , the Sanad of the Dīvān-i-Ashraf ; the technical details recorded on the subsequent documents with relative extracts from the Office Records , the references made to the former ruler (grantor) on the right hand margin of the documents ; the conventional Tā'kid and Tahdīd enjoining the officials under threat of responsibility " not to demand every year a new farmān , nishān or parvānācha " , all speak for themselves in the Ministerial rescripts of our period.¹ It shows not only a literary persistence , but also an administrative transplantation to Mughal India. In the section of the Kāghadhāt-i-Daftarī, the Mughals did not forget to resort to the most current terms in India; at the same time most of the following terms collected at random relating to accountancy and departmental functioning appear in the bureaucratic administration of the Safavids and we may safely assume that they have a long history of descent:²

مردود خدمات ; قبض الوصول ; سند دفتریان ; سخاوه مواجب ; تانینان ; ریول ; توجیه
 طومار ; لعلقه ; ارباب التماویل ; روزنامهچیه ; قدغن ; اوارجه ; رقم
 رسال ; بازخواست ; دستور العمل ; ابواب جمع ; حسب الامر الاعلیٰ ; فرمان جنانطاع شد ; باز یافت

Another set of terminology developed with the Mughals in the Indian milieu, others having had their origin during the period of the Sultanate. This prevailed, and soon India became rich with an highly developed official parlance , to which the country still adheres closely. We may enumerate only the most notable items in the current

1. Compare Mātinādārān, and A Soyūrghāl, V. Minorsky.

2. Compare the Tadhkirat al-mulūk and the Ā'in-i-Akbarī for all these terms.

pronunciation that have survived in the vernaculars either in their mutilated forms or slightly differing. It is to be pointed out here that it was during the East India Company régime, that most of them became Anglicised :

Sunnud(for Sanad); Takīd-patrā (an additional order for emphasis); Mahajarnāma (for Mahdar-nāma); Kharīta(under the Marathas), a roll of letters (the kharīta, according to the Ā'in-i-Akbarī, was one of the illegal imposts); Hibba-nāma ; Sudder Nizamat Adawlat, Sader Dewani Adawlat (civil and criminal courts); Kāji or Kāzī; Dīvanī(civil court); Bēgār and Bēgārī(the last mentioned means a menial); Mochalkā; Qabalā, and a host of other civil and legal documents and administrative terminology.

It is also to be noted the East India Company did not long feel inclined to change the prevailing model of the state administration of the Mughals, not to speak of the local States which were the little miniatures of the Mughal government. One at the same time is surprised to note the same literary structure and chancellery practices in the documents of the East India Company, and of the Afghan rulers outside India in the 18th century.¹

The Mithāl and the Manshūr appear under the Ghaznavids and other Muslim chancelleries and, as is understandable, these were among the principal mandates during the period of the Sultanate. The Nishān appears under the Tughluqs as a public proclamation of an ordinance,² and which term seems to have been associated with different connotations under different periods. According to a Nishān of the Emperor Akbar, addressed to his son, the Prince Murād, it implies a royal missive for that purpose, but later under the same Emperor it acquired a definite position as the Princely Order. The Hukm as we have seen, is the precise order of the Queen Mothers and the Empresses, and as such it appears during the period of the Turcomans.

It is a significant point about the impact of the Persian language on India, that it did not only enrich the vernaculars with a stock of loan-words from its own

1. Compare IHRG-xvii, Dec., 1940, pp. 149, and Vol. xix, Dec. 1942, pp. 114-119.

2. Compare Inshā'i-Māhūr, J. A. S. Bengal, 1923.

fountain head, but helped also in the growth of a new language, the lingua franca of the Indian Sub-continent, commonly known as the sister language of Persian, that is Urdu. The lasting impact of Persian literature on Urdu can be felt only after a study of Urdu Prose and Poetry. Suffice it to say that the very currents of thoughts in them issue forth from the spring of Persian literature. The Mughal poets and the Munshīs are still studied and admired, although not imitated but quoted in extenso in the daily conversation of every Urdu speaking Indian. The ornate and rhymed prose and the euphuistic style were these chief features of Indian-Persian prose, that first of all influenced Urdu literature in the early period of its development. It found great exponents in Rajab 'Alī Bēg Surūr, Pandit Ratan Nāth Sarshār and amongst the writers attached to the Fort William College. The characteristic features of the Persian Inshā'pardāzī are mirrored in the letters of the great Urdu poet, Mirzā Asad-Allāh Khān Ghālib, Sayyid Inshā-Allāh Khān Inshā, Sir Sayyid, Mahdī Ifādī and of their successors; but the very pattern of correspondence in Urdu strikes us more by the texture of Persian epistolary composition. The great varieties of epistles and the memoirs of the elaborate classification of the Muhāvarāt faded away. As the class barriers are taking new and progressive turns, the humble tone of the Murāfa'āt, and the highly complimentary tones of the friendly correspondence in Urdu have become only a polite convention. Nevertheless the Alqāb and the several Arkān, such as the Du'ā, the I'lām-i-hāl and the Ikhtitām-i-Du'ā have retained their original identity.

In present day India, the future of Persian even in the educational Institutions is very dark, and although it is not spoken anywhere, it is studied by certain sections of the population. It has retained the peculiarities of the Tūrānī Persian along with its own indigenous ones as developed in the Indian environment. For the Iranians, the Indian Persian as written is "pārsī-ye-nādurust" and as spoken with them is "pārsī-ye-classici (pāstānī)". It is true to say that it is easier for an Irani to understand an Indian attempting to speak Persian with him, but difficult for the latter to understand the Modern Persian of the former, owing to the wide divergence between the two which has grown since the XVII-th century.

Appendix -A.

A Selected Bibliography.Abbreviations.

Br.Mus.	=	British Museum.
BI	=	Bibliotheca Indica Series.
Bodl.	=	Bodleian Library Oxford.
Edinb.	=	Edinburgh University Ms.
EIO	=	Ethe India Office (No.)
Gib.Memo.Ser.	=	E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series.
R.A.S.	=	Royal Asiatic Society.
SOAS.	=	School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Abbreviations.T I T L E S.Inshā' Mss.

	1.	<u>Ānand Rām Mukhlis</u> , <u>Autographed letters</u> of;	Br.Mus.Or.92,93.
	2.	<u>Bahār-i-Sukhūn</u> of Muhammad Ṣālih Kanbūh,	Br.Mus.Or.I78.
Ch.Ba.	3.	<u>Chahār Bagh</u> of Ḥakīm Abū'l-Faṭḥ Gilānī, EIO-2063, SOAS.No.445I.	
Chaman	4.	<u>Chahār Chaman</u> of Chandra Bhān Barahman,	Br.Mus.Or.I892.
Daqā'iq.	5.	<u>Daqā'iq al-Inshā'</u> of Ranjhōr Kāyesth,	Edinb. No.II5.
Dastūr.	6.	<u>Dastūr al-Kātib fī Ta'yīn al-Marātib</u> of Shams al-Munshī,	Br.Mus. Or.3344.
	7.	<u>Dastūr-i-Shigarf</u> of Bhōpat Rāy,	Br.Mus.Or.20I7.
	8.	<u>Dastūr al-Subyān</u> ,	Br.Mus.Add.9697.
I'jāz.	9.	<u>I'jāz-i-Khusravī</u> of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, Litho. Lucknow, I875-76.(parts).	Br.Mus.Add.I684I.
Bāqir.	IO.	<u>Inshā'i-Bāqir Khān</u> of Bāqir Khān Najm-i-Thānī,	EIO-I535.
'Iyār.	II.	<u>Inshā'i-'Iyār-i-Dānish</u> of Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad,	EIO-2066, ff.60-I92
Khānazād.	I2.	<u>Inshā'i-Khānazād Khān</u> of Amān-Allāh Khānazād Khān,	Br.Mus.Or.I4IO-ii.
	I3.	<u>Inshā'i-Mu'īn al-Zamajī</u> of Mu'īn al-Zamajī,	EIO- 2982.

Abbreviations.T I T L E S.

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| | 14. | <u>Inshā'ī-Mīram Siyāh</u> of Mīram Siyāh Qazvīnī, | EIO- 206I. |
| | 15. | <u>Inshā'ī-Tāhir al-Ḥusaynī</u> of Shāh Tāhir al-Ḥusaynī | Br.Mus.Har.499. |
| Tarab. | 16. | <u>Inshā'ī-Tarab al-Ṣubyan</u> of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, I- | EIO-2066, ff.46-60,
II- R.A.S.232. (G.B.) |
| | 17. | <u>Inshā'</u> Anonymous. | Br.Mus.Add.7689. |
| | 18. | <u>Jāmi'al-Inshā'</u> of Bhāg Chand, | Br.Mus.Or.I705. |
| Khulāsat. | 19. | <u>Khulāsat al-Inshā'</u> - | Bodl. I4I6. |
| Latīfa | 20. | <u>Latīfa-yi-Fayyādī</u> of Abū'l-Fayd Faydī or Fayyādī, I- | R.A.S.(G.B.)347,
II-Br.Mus.Egerton,695 ;
III-EIO-I479. |
| Manāzar. | 21. | <u>Manāzar al-Inshā'</u> of 'Imād al-Dīn Khwāja Jahān, | Br.Mus.Add.22,706. |
| | 22. | <u>Munsha'āt-i-Barahman</u> of Chendra Bhān Barahman, | Edinb.No.334. |
| Namakīn. | 23. | <u>Munsha'āt al-Namakīn</u> of Mīr Abū'l-Qāsim Khān Namakīn, | EIO-2064. |
| Nuskha. | 24. | <u>Nuskha-yi-Jāmi'a-yi-Murāsālāt</u> of Ev-oghli Haydar, | Br.Mus.Add.7688. |
| Nāmī | 25. | <u>Nāma-yi-Nāmī</u> of Khwāndamīr, | EIO-2055. |
| | 26. | <u>Nau-Bāvah</u> of Mullā Abū'l-Barakāt Munīr, | EIO-2079. |
| Nigār | 27. | <u>Nigār Nāma-yi-Munshī</u> of Malik-Zāda Munshī, | Br.Mus.Or.I735. |
| | 28. | <u>Raqā'im-i-Karā'im.</u> - | Edinb. No.24I. |
| Tarassul. | 29. | <u>Tarassul-i-Nusriyya</u> of Sharaf al-Dīn Fadl-Allāh, | Br.Mus. Or.3322. |
| | 30. | <u>Zubdat al-Inshā'</u> Anonymous, | EIO- 2065. |

Inshā' Mss. (Mixed collections).

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| | 31. | <u>'Ard-dāshts</u> of Sayyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārha, | Br.Mus.Add.I,6859. |
| Diary. | (32. | <u>'Arīdas</u> of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, or his <u>Diary</u> , | Br.Mus.Add.I,8882. |
| | (32. | <u>Diary</u> of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad- | ditto. |
| | 33. | <u>Khulāsat al-Inshā'</u> - | Br.Mus. Or.I750. |
| | 34. | <u>Muntakhabāt -az-Fārsī,</u> - | Br.Mus. Or.I842. |
| | 35. | <u>Per.D. 84.</u> | Bodl. Per.D.84. |
| | 36. | <u>Ruqā'āt-i-'Urfī</u> of 'Urfī Shīrāzī, (<u>Kulliyāt-i-'Urfī</u>), | Edinb.No.I07-Vii. |

Inshā' - contd. (Printed).

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| al-Tavassul. | 37. | <u>al-Tavassul-ila-al-Tarassul</u> of Bahā'al-Dīn b.Mu'ayyid al-Baghdādī,
Ed. Ahmad Bahmanyar, Tehran, I3I5/I936. |
| 'Atabat. | 38. | <u>'Atabat al-Katabah</u> of Muntajab al-Dīn Badī' Atābeg al-Juvaynī,
Ed. Muhammad Qazvini and 'Abbas Iqbal, Tehran ,Shamsi I329. |

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- Badā'i. 39. Badā'i al-Inshā' of Ḥakīm Muhammad Yūsuf , Delhi, A.D.1870.
 40. Inshā'i-Abū'l-Fadl see Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī.
- Harkam 41. Inshā'i-Harkam of Harkam Dās Mathurā Dās Kanbūh, text and translation ; Francis Balfour M.D., printed at Calcutta, A.D.1781.
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- Inshā(A.F.) 40. Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī of (Shaykh) 'Allāmī Fahhāmī Abū'l-Fadl, litho. Lucknow , 1280 (A.H.).
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 48. Ṣahīfa-yi-Shahī of Mullā Vā'iz Husayn Kāshifī , Litho. Mirzapur, 1260/1844.
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 52. (A) Farmān of Shāh Jahān, dated 1038/1629, Br.Mus.Or.II697
 53. (Two) Āl-tanghā Farmāns , dated 1122/1710 and 1151/1738, Br.Mus.Or.2285.
 54. (A) Nikāh-nāma i.e., marriage settlement between Bahādur Shāh and Zīnat Mahall. (Exhibited) India Office library.

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55. Copies of Farmāns, Nishāns and Parvānas relating to the English trade in India, with dates ranging from A.D.1633-1712. Br.Mus.Add.24039.

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56. (A) copy of Jahāngīr's Farmān, dated I028/I6I9, Br.Mus.Har.Roll-43, A.4.
57. (A) certified copy of an imperial Farmān of Shāh Jahān, Br.Mus. Sloane 4090-ff.25.
58. Daftar-i-Dīvānī Va māl-va-mulkī-yi-Sarkār-i-'Alī, pub. The Nizam's Govt. Hyderabad Deccan, I357/I939.
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- IHRC. 61. Indian Historical Records Commission from I920 to I956, Mughal documents published with photo plates, transcription or description.
- O.C.Maga. 62. Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, May I933, Farmāns of Bābur and Humāyūn quoted verbatim.
63. Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign, pub. Daftar-i-Dīvānī, Hyderabad Deccan, I950.

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68. Davābit-i-'Ālangīrī, Br.Mus.Or.I64I.
69. Dastūr al-'amals : Br.Mus. Add.6598 and Br.Mus.Add.6599 (copy of the same.)
70. Dastūr al-'amal-i-Nivīsandagī, Br.Mus. Add.664I.
71. Dastūr al-'amal-i-Khālisa-yi-Sharīfa, Edinb.No.230.
72. Farhang-i-Kār-dānī, ordastūr al-'amal. Edinb.No. 83.

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73. Farhang-i-Bada'i al-Insha' Br.Mus.Add.5, 629-I44.
- Javami'. 74. Javami' al-Hikayat Va Lavami' al-Rivayat, (Chapt.xviii-only) of Muhd. 'Awfi Br.Mus.Add.I6,862.
- Ghurrat. 75. Kulliyat-i-Khusrau for the Dibacha-yi-Ghurrat al-kamal -ff.I6I, EIO-II87, and Dibacha-yi-Ghurrat al-Kamal, EIO-II92.
76. Makhzan al-Ghara'ib, Bodl. 395.
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78. Bahr al-Ma'ani of Muhammad b. Nasir al-Din Ja'far al-Makki al-Husayni, EIO-I867.
79. Maktubat-i-Ashrafi of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir al-Simani, Br.Mus. Or.267.
80. Maktubat-i-'Ali Hamadani of 'Ali Hamadani, Br.Mus. Add.I6,840.
81. Maktubat-i-Ahmad b. Yahya Munyari of Ahmad Munyari or better known as Sharaf Munyari, EIO-I844.
82. Maktubat-i-Quddusiya of Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus Ganguhi, EIO-I873.
83. Maratib al-Wujud of Nur al-Din Muhammad, the author of Nos.II,I6 and 32. EIO-I924,I5.
84. Ruqa'at-i-Husayn of Aman-Allah Khanazad Khan, the author of No. I2. EIO-I893, Litho. Lucknow, A.H.I269.

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- 87,88. Akbar-nama of Abu'l-Fadl, translated by H. Beveridge, BI(Calcutta) Vol.iii, I897-I92I. Text, 3 parts, BI(Calcutta)I877.
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