CHAPTER - SIX

MAJOR IRÁNIAN FAMILIES

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CHAPTER SIX

MAJOR IRÁNIAN FAMILIES

I. ÍTIMÁD-UD DAULA'S FAMILY

The political eminence of Ítimád-ud Daula's family during the reign of Jahangír has been a question of great interest ever since the days of Jahangír himself. ¹ From time to time modern scholars have analysed the influence of Núr Jahán over the politics of Jahangír's reign. ² The political influence of this family was not confined to Jahangír's reign only and it persisted during the reign of his immediate successor Sháhjáhán and even during that of Aurangzeb. The genealogy of the family has already been traced by Irfan Habib. However, enlarged genealogical charts are being appended to this chapter with additional information about matrimonial connections in the subsequent generations. An attempt has been made here to study the extent of influence and power concentrated in the hands


of the members of the house of Itimād-ud Daula during the reigns of Shāhjāhān and Aurangzeb by analysing the appointments and mansabs held by them. Information regarding mansabs, important central offices and governorships of various provinces held by the members of this family has also been tabulated and appended to the chapter.

The family of Itimād-ud Daula generally maintained marriage relations with Iranian families.1 Princes of the royal blood of course, formed an exception. The families with which matrimonial relations were entered into included the families of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī, Saiyid Muḥammad Mukhtar Khān Sabzwārī, and Zūlfiqār Khān Qarāmānlū. Mīr Mīrān came to India in 1606 with his father Mīr Khalīl-ullāh. Mīr Khalīlullāh was a descendant of Saiyid Nooruddin Shāh Ni‘amatullāh Wālī, a descendant of Imām Mūsā Kā‘im.2 Mīr Khalīlullāh had married a grand daughter of Shāh Ṭāhmasp Šafavī (daughter of his son Shāh Ismā‘īl II).3 After his arrival in India Mīr Mīrān married Šāliha Bāno Begum, daughter of Āṣaf Khān.4 Mīr Mīrān’s son, Khalīlullāh Khān (from his Iranian wife and not from the daughter

1. See Afzal Husain, "Marriages Among Mughal Nobles as an Index of Status and Aristocratic Integration", in PIHC, 1972, pp. 304-12.
2. M.U. III, pp. 335-36; also see chapter 6 section (v).
of Aṣaf Khan) was married to Ḥamīda Bāno Begum, a daughter of Mirzā Ṣafī Saif Khan who was a descendant of Āqā Mulla Dawātdār. Khalīlullāh Khan's son Rūhullāh Khan I was married to a daughter of Shāista Khān. Thus a series of male members of the family of Mīr Mīrān married into the family of Itimād-ud Daula. Saiyid Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī also belonged to a respectable family of Persia. His ancestors had long been the custodians of the Mashhad shrine. Amīr Shamsuddīn III, one of the great leaders of this family, was the recipient of imperial favours during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafavī who granted him the title of Sultān, gave him a drum and a flag, and bestowed on him the whole of the territory of Sabazwār.

On his arrival in India Saiyid Muḥammad Khān Sabzwārī married Nauras Bāno Begum the daughter of Muḥammad Sharīf, a son of Itimād-ud Daula. In later generations another member of this family is known to have married into the family of Itimād-ud Daula. He was Muḥammad Taqī the son

2. He was the great grandson of Āqā Mullā. See Irfan Habib's article, op.cit.
of Dāud Khān, a son of Saiyid Muḥammad Mukhtār Khān Sabazwārī. Muḥammad Taqī married a daughter of ʿAzīzuddīn Bahramand Khān, who was a grandson of Ṣādiq Khān the nephew and son-in-law of Iṭimād-ud Daula. The family of Zūlfiqār Khān Qarāmānlū was also a family of high status in Iran. He married a daughter of Ṣādiq Khān; and his son Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān married Mihrun Nisā', a daughter of Āṣaf Khān. Asad Khān's son Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Zūlfiqār Khān married a daughter of Shāista Khān. Asad Khān's daughter was also married to Khudā Bandah Khān, son of Shāista Khān.

At the time of the political crisis in 1627 after the death of Jahāngīr, Āṣaf Khān played a very important role in winning the succession for Shāhjahān. After his accession Shāhjahān promoted Āṣaf Khān to the highest rank of 9000/9000 (2-3h) and confirmed him in the post of vakīl which he held till his death in 1641. It is significant that after the death of Āṣaf Khān, Shāhjahān did not fill the post of vakīl. Henceforth the office

1. For his family background see M.U., II, 85-89; also see Chapter 6 section (v).
4. Ibid., p. 374; Aḥbārāt, 33 R.Y. 2 July, 1689.
5. Lāhorī, I(a), pp. 70-71.
6. Ibid., pp. 180, 193; Sāliḥ, I, p.284.
7. It may, however, be noted that the award of the manšab of 9000/9000 (2-3h) to Āṣaf Khān was unprecedented and was in violation of established rules and regulation governing the manšab system. No noble could be promoted beyond the rank of 7000/7000 (2-3h), (See Lāhorī, II, p.25).
of wāzīr became the principal office; but it was never held by the members of Āṣaf Khān's family throughout the reign of Shāhjahān. The only exception was Jāfar Khān, the son of Šādiq Khān who, towards the close of Shāhjahān's reign, was appointed wāzīr-i Kūl vice Mīr Jumlā in 1658.¹

The next important post of Mīr Bakhshī remained in the family of Āṣaf Khān for twenty-two years during the thirty-one years of Shāhjahān's reign.²

Besides the posts of vakīl, wāzīr and Mīr Bakhshī, other important central offices like Mīr Atish, Mīr Tuzuk, Second Bakhshī, and several other offices of importance such as Ākhtabegī, Qarāwalbegī, Qūrbegī, Qūshbegī and faujdāris of various sarkārs were held by members of Itimād-ud-Daula's family.³

Many important governorships were also held by members of this family during Shāhjahān's reign as will be evident from Appendix B.⁴ A statistical analysis of the total number of governors is given in the table and for convenience the calculation is done decade wise.⁵

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1. Şāliḥ, III, p.271.

2. See Appendix A; also Cf. the list of Mīr Bakhshīs of Shāhjahān given by Ibn Hasan (op. cit., pp. 230-31) which ends with Khalīlullah Khān in 23 R.Y.

3. See Appendix A.


5. Since the reign of Shāhjahān covers a period of about thirty-two years, in the third decennial list the calculation is done for the remaining twelve years.
From these tables we find that, in the first decade (i.e. Ist to 10th R.Y.) the total number of governors of various provinces by year was 149, of whom 54 were members of Itimād-ud Daula's family, i.e. 36 per cent of the total number of governors. In the second decade (i.e. 11th to 20th R.Y.) the total number of governors of various provinces was 148, of whom members of Itimād-ud Daula's family were 47—giving 31.7 per cent of the total governors. In the third decade the position of the family declined, further the governors numbering 169 out of whom 50 belonged to or were related to the house of Itimād-ud Daula. Thus, the governorships held by the members of this family during the later years of Shāhjahān's reign (i.e. 21st to 32nd R.Y.) was only 29.5 per cent of the total governors of the empire.

But while there was a relative decline in the governors' posts held by Itimād-ud Daulas family, this accompanied a decline in the Irānian element. In fact among the Irānīs, the family of Itimād-ud Daula held in the three respective decades governorships amounting to 67.5%, 74.6% and 76.9% of the total held by Irānīs. In other words among the Irānīs, the family continued to hold a dominant position.

It is significant that Zafar Khān Khwāja Aḥsanullah held the governorship of Kashmir for a record period of
thirteen years with a short interval of three years. Similarly, 'Ali Mardan Khan was appointed governor of Kabul and Kashmir and in each province he remained for a period of nine years. Amir Khan was appointed subedar of Sind twice for a total period of nine years.¹

The most striking feature of Shahjahan's reign is that in spite of the fact that he was proud of his being a descendant of Amir Taimur Qirani and that he showed favour to the Turanis, most of the important governorships were held by the members of Ittimad-ud Daula's family. For instance, from the second to the fifth regnal year of Shahjahan's reign eight governorships were simultaneously held by the members of the family and out of these eight governorships three contiguous provinces in the east (i.e. Qasim Khan Juwaini in Bengal, Baqir Khan Najm Sani in Orissa, and Saif Khan in Bihar) and four contiguous provinces in the west (i.e. Asaf Khan in Lahore and Multan, Itiqad Khan in Kashmir and Amir Khan in Sind) were entrusted to them while the Deccan was held by Azam Khan for a large part of the same period. Similarly from the 15th to the 21st regnal year three contiguous provinces (Kashmir, Sind and Kabul)²

¹. See Appendix B.
². Kashmir by Zafar Khan, Sind by Amir Khan and Kabul by Ali Mardan Khan. See Appendix B.
were simultaneously held by members of this family.

As has been mentioned in Chapter IV(a), the lists of 
manṣābdārs for the first twenty years of Shāhjahān's 
reign have been compiled from Lāhōrī's Bādshāhnāma, and 
for the last ten years on the basis of Wārīṣ. For 
convenience tabulation has been done of all the 
manṣābdārs 
alive holding the rank of 1000 zāt and above at the end of 
each decade (the 10th, 20th and 30th R.Y.). On the basis 
of this calculation the percentage of the members of the 
family of Ītimād-ud Daulā in the total manṣābdārs at the 
end of each decade has been worked out (See Appendix E(i) 
to this Section). It appears that in 1637 members of Ītimād-
ud Daulā's family held 68,000 zāt and 63,300 sawār out of 
a total number of 4,54,500 zāt and 3,63,550 sawār i.e. 
14.96 per cent of the total zāt and 17.41 per cent of the 
total sawār ranks. At the close of second decade (1647) 
they held 70,500 zāt out of 4,67,000 total zāt rank and 
60,350 sawār out of the total 3,80,800 sawār rank, that 
is, 15.08 and 15.84 per cent of the total zāt and sawār 
ranks respectively. By the termination of the third 
decade (1657-58) the position of the family seems to have 
further improved. Out of 4,97,500 total zāt rank the 
members of the family were holding 83,000 zāt and out of 

1. See the list at the end of Chapter IV (a). 
2. Table showing position of Ītimād-ud Daulā's family 
as manṣābdār under Shāhjahān.
3,72,950 total sawār rank they were holding 75,600 sawār, that is, 16.68 per cent of the total zāt rank and 20.27 per cent of the total sawār rank.

In other words, members of Itimād-ud Daula's family accounted for a little more than one-sixth of the zāt rank and one-fifth of the sawār rank throughout the reign of Shāh-jahān while during Jahāngīr's reign the members of this family accounted for nearly one-twelfth of the zāt and one-tenth of the sawār ranks in 1621,¹ the period during which the family was said to have reached the climax of its power.²

Thus, during the reign of Shāhjāhān the fortunes of the family of Itimād-ud Daula continued to be in the ascendant, and the members of his family were given rapid promotions and were entrusted with important assignments.

In the reign of Aurangzeb too, the family appears to have continued to enjoy important positions, as would appear from the appendices, showing central offices and governorships held by the members of the family. The majority of the incumbents in most of the central offices and even governorships came from the house of Itimād-ud Daula. The office of wazīr or Diwān-i kul, was entrusted

1. Irfan Habib, op. cit., p.95.
2. Ibid., pp. 78-79.
to the members of this house for the larger period of Aurangzeb's reign, there being four wazīrs from this house. Jāfar Khān the son of Ṣādiq Khān held this office for a period of seven years and Asad Khān, a son-in-law of Āṣaf Khān, for the longest tenure of about 30 years (from 1676 to 1707) with the exception of a short interval of about a year (1692 to 1693) when he was away on the military campaign in the carnatic. During this period his son-in-law and a grandson of Ṣādiq Khān, Bahramand Khān acted as his deputy diwān.¹

The office of Mīr Bakhshī was also for most of the time under Aurangzeb, kept in the hands of Itīmād-ud Daula's family. As many as five of its members held this office. Bahramand Khān held it for the longest period (over ten years), from July 1692 to November 1702. Asad Khān, Rūḥullāh Khān and Zūlfiqār Khān held it for more than five years each.

Similarly, the post of second bakhshī was mostly held by members of this family. Asad Khān and Bahramand Khān successively occupied the office for a period of about seventeen years of which Asad Khān's single tenure was of twelve years. Rūḥullāh Khān and his son Rūḥullāh Khān II again successively held it for over ten years.

¹. See Appendix-C.
As regards the post of Mīr Ātish our table shows that seven of its occupants during Aurangzeb's reign belonged to Itimād-ud Daula's family. The Sabzwāris, who were matrimonially related to the family, held this office for a period of nineteen years, during eleven of which Tarbiyat Khān Mīr Khalīl alone held the office.¹

Another important central office was that of Mīr Sāmān or Khān-i Sāmān and it appears to have been the sole monopoly of the Irānian incumbents since Shāhjahan's reign. Here too we find the predominence of Itimād-ud Daula's relations. Out of the total nine Mīr Sāmāns of Aurangzeb five were members of Itimād-ud Daula's family. Sultān Ḥusain Iftikhr Khān held this office for about seven years, Rūḥullāh Khān and his son Rūḥullāh Khān II held it for about nine years while Khudā Banda Khān, the last of Aurangzeb's Mīr Sāmāns, occupied the office for about three years.²

The two other important offices of Ākhtabegī (master of horse) and Dāroqba-i Ghusalkhāna, to which only trusted nobles were appointed were mostly occupied by the members of the family, which provided seven Ākhtabegī holders of the post of during Aurangzeb's reign.

1. See Appendix-C.
2. Ibid.
Similarly, for the office of the superintendent of Ghusal Khāna Ītimād-ud Daula's family furnished six occupants. Out of 29 years in which appointments to the post of Akhtabegī are known the members of Ītimād-ud Daula's family served for 16 years, Sultan Ḥusain Iftikhar Khān and his brother Multafat Khān successively serving for about eight years. Their cousin Ruhūlā Khān appears to have been appointed thrice to this office, serving for a total period of about seven years. Similarly to the office of the Dāroqha of the Ghusal Khāna, out of 34 years in which appointments are known, the members of Ītimād-ud Daula's family are found to have served for 17 years. Bahramand Khān served for six years, Hoshdar Khān five years and Iṭiqād Khān (Zūlfiqār Khān) for three years.¹

As far as governorships of various provinces are concerned, we have prepared a table on the basis of the tabulations prepared by M. Athar Ali showing the governorships of various provinces held by members of the family. Most of the important provinces like Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir, Orissa and Bengal were, for most of Aurangzeb's reign, held by the members of Ītimād-ud Daula's family. Amir Khān Mir Miārān

¹. See Appendix-C.
held the governorship of Kabul for a period of 29 years being appointed twice in the same province, first for seven years (4th-10th R.Y.) and then for continuous 22 years (20th-41st R.Y.). Shāista Khān was also appointed twice as sūbedār of Bengal for a total tenure of 23 years. He held the office of the sūbedār of the adjoining province of Orissa for nine years together with Bengal. Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg appears to have been appointed thrice as sūbedār of Kashmir for a total period of 14 years. Muḥammad Yār Khān occupied the governorship of Delhi for about twelve years (40th-51st R.Y.). Moreover, most of the provinces in the Deccan also appear to have been held by members of the family.

It may also be noted that many contiguous provinces were simultaneously held by the members of the family. Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg was sūbedār of Bihar from 11th R.Y. to 17th R.Y. while Shāista Khān was sūbedār of Bengal during the same period. From 22nd to 30th R.Y. Shāista Khān was simultaneously holding the two contiguous provinces of Bengal and Orissa. In 31st R.Y. Shāista Khān was succeeded, in the two provinces, by Abū Naṣr Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg who respectively held Orissa and Bengal till the 37th R.Y. of Aurangzeb's reign. Subsequently, for the next two years Kāmgār
Khan served as *sūbedār* of Orissa in succession to Abū Naṣr Khan together with Ibrāhīm Khan Zīg in Bengal. Thus, for a considerable time the two contiguous provinces of Bengal and Orissa remained in the hands of the family. Three contiguous provinces in the north - Agra, Awadh and Delhi - were also occupied most of the time by members of the family. For instance, Agra was held by Shāista Khan in the 1st R.Y. and by Hoshdār Khan from 6th to 13th R.Y.; Awadh was held by Mīr Ishaq Irādat Khan in the 1st R.Y. and by Murād Kān Ḍafavi Mukarrām Khan from 3rd to 8th R.Y. In the 12th and 13th R.Y. when Agra was under Hoshdār Khan, Amīr Khan Mīr Mīrān held Allahabad and Ibrāhīm Khan Zīg governed Bihar, and Nāmdār Khan, in the 13th R.Y., simultaneously held Delhi. In 21st R.Y. the two contiguous provinces Gujarat and Malwa were governed respectively by Mukhtār Kān Shamsuddin and Kān-i Zamān Muftakhar Kān in 25th and 26th R.Y. Interestingly enough, when in the 36th R.Y. of Aurangzeb's reign Shāista Kān was *sūbedār* of Agra his son Buzurg Umed Kān governed Allahabad. Next year, after his death, his son Itiqād Kān governed Agra and another son Khudā Banda Kān governed Awadh while Bihar was under Mukhtār Kān Qamaruddin. From 40th R.Y. down to the end of Aurangzeb's reign the two contiguous provinces
of Agra and Delhi remained all the time in the hands of Itimād-ud Daula's family. In addition to these two provinces other contiguous provinces like Awadh, Allahabad and Ajmer were also, at times, simultaneously held by the members of the family. ¹

In the north and north west two to three of the four contiguous provinces of Kashmir, Lahore, Sind and Kabul were for certain periods simultaneously governed by the members of Itimād-ud Daula's family. In the 2nd and 3rd R.Y. the two provinces of Lahore and Kashmir, were respectively governed by Khalīlullah Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg. When Amir Khān Mīr Mīrān was governor of Kabul from 20th to 40th R.Y. the two other provinces of Sind and Kashmir were most of the time under the charge of the members of the family. ²

During the last decade of Aurangzeb's reign the two contiguous provinces of Agra and Delhi were simultaneously governed by members of the family. Moreover, other provinces like Allahabad, Awadh and Ajmer were also at times simultaneously held by the members of this family during the period.

¹. See Appendix-D.
². Ibid.
It may also be noted that many provinces in the Deccan were also simultaneously held by the members of Itimād-ud Daula's family throughout Aurangzeb's reign. It appears from our tabulation of various governorships that members of the family held governorship in three important provinces - namely Agra in the north, Bengal in the east, and Kabul in the north-west for the larger part of Aurangzeb's reign.

As regards the mansabs of the family an analysis of the same has been made on the basis of the two lists given by M. Athar Ali for the two phases - 1658 to 1678 and 1679 to 1707 of Aurangzeb's reign. Mansabs, ranging from 1000 zāt and above, of those members of the family have been taken into account, who were known to have been alive by the end of each phase. Thus, by the end of the first phase i.e. 1678 it appears that out of a total 6,85,000 zāt and 4,39,850 sawār members of Itimād-ud Daula's family held 90,500 zāt and 70,700 sawār. By the end of the second phase i.e. 1707 the family accounted for 65,500 zāt and 49,700 sawār out of total 9,69,900 zāt and 6,30,100 sawār ranks. Thus, the share of the family in the total rank at the close of the first phase was 13.22 per cent of the total zāt and 16.07 per cent of the total sawār ranks (on the above hypothetical basis). A marked decline, however, is
noticed in the second phase as by the end of 1707 the family's share in the total rank was 6.75 per cent zāt and 7.38 per cent sawār.1

The apparent decline in Itimād-ud Daula's family fortunes was probably because of the inflation of total mansābs owing to the influx of new recruits (the Deccanīs, Marathas, etc.). Compared to the Irānīs in general, there was no decline in the family's fortunes whatsoever. Tables A and B give a summary of the total mansābs held by the family under Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table A</th>
<th>Shāhjahān</th>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Total rank held by Itimād-ud Daula's family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1637</td>
<td>1,66,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1647</td>
<td>1,53,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>1657</td>
<td>1,86,000</td>
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<tr>
<th>Table B</th>
<th>Aurangzeb</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Total rank held by Itimād-ud Daula's family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1,95,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707</td>
<td>1,56,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. See Table showing position of Itimad-ud Daula's family as Mansābādārs under Aurangzeb in Appendix E(ii).
It is clear from the above tables that the average share of the family in the total rank held by Irānīs under Aurangzeb (44.13% ḍāt and 51.48% sawār) was larger than that of under Shāhjahān (43.83% ḍāt and 49.12% sawār).

The family of Itimād-ud Daula, thus, enjoyed power and position continuously down to Aurangzeb's death, enabled them to remain entrenched in power. The family could claim such a privileged position under Mughal emperors for such a long spell of time perhaps not only because of the personal capabilities of its members but also because of their advantageous relationships - matrimonial relations with the Imperial family and marriages with many prominent Irānī families.
APPENDIX
Genealogical chart of Itimād-ud Daula's Family

1. Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf
   هجري تهرانی
   = d/o Āqā 'Ullā Jawātdīr Qazwīnī

2. Khwāja Muḥammad
   Āqā 'Tāhir 'Wasīlī'

3. Mīrzā Zhīyās Bābā
   Itimād-ud Daula
   = 5. 'Aṣmat Bēgum
   d/o Mīrzā 'Alā-u-daula Qazwīnī

4. Šādiq Khān (Cīr Bakhshī)
   = 15.

5. Rōshan Šāmir
   Salātāt Khān
   = 39

6. Ja'far Khān
   = 23 D.

22. Muḥammad Mūrād,
    Iltifāt Khān
    = Muḥammad Ibrāhīm
    Ghairat Khān
    s/o Najābat Khān
6. Jaafar Khan = 39

20. Namdar Khan = 29

46. Dindar Marahmat Khan

84. Shapur = 104

9. Mirza Bahram

21. Kavgar Khan = 68

24. Azizuddin Bahramand Khan

25. Sharfuddin = 50

26. D. = Prince Sulaiman Shukoh

47. D. = 87

48. D. = Mir Miran Yazdi

S/o Amir Khan, Mir Miran
10. Bilqis Bāno
= Khānlar Zūlfiqār
Khān Qarāmānlū

27. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm
Asad Khān
= 40

28. D.
= Prince
Zainuddin
s/o Prince Shujā'ī

29 D.
= 20

49. Muḥammad Isma‘īl
Zūlfiqār Khān
= 24

50 D.
= 24

51 D.
= 86

52 D.
= 64

= 70
54. Darab Khan  
S/o 30

86. Muhammad 87. Muhammad Taqi  88. Kamyab Khan  89. D.  
Khalil, Tarbiyat = 47  = 121  = Mir Lashkar  
Khan  
= 51  

118. Farzana Bano  
= Amirul Umar  
Hussain Ali Khan

Muhammad Taqi  Bahramand Khan  
= 98

114. Muhammad Ishaq 115. D.  
= 94  
= 120
References to the Genealogical Charts

The following symbols have been employed to explain relationships in the chart:

- indicates 'father/mother of'
+ " 'brother/sister of'
= " 'husband/wife of'
 \ " 'grandson of'
S/o " 'son of'
d/o " 'daughter of'
S/L " 'son-in-law of'

Numbers prefacing the names of persons in the chart

1 = d/o ʾqā Mulla Dawātdar

1 : 2+3

2 : 4; 4 = 15

3 = 5; 5 d/o Mirzā Ālāuddīn Wāz wini S/o ʾqā Mulla

3 : 13

3 : 14

3 : 15; 15 = 4

3 : 16

3 : 17

3 : 18; 18 = Ẓāsim Khan Juwainī

3 : 19; 19 = Ḥākim Beg

Sources

A.A.A. I, 165.
Iqbalnāma, 54.
Tuzuk, 152; Z.Kh., II, 208.
Iqbalnāma, 54; Z.Kh., II, 405.
Tuzuk, 58; Iqbalnāma, 28, 29.
Tuzuk, 98, 127 etc., Iqbalnāma, 74.
Iqbalnāma, 295; Z.Kh., II, 208.
Tuzuk, 336; Iqbalnāma, 54-55.
Tuzuk, 106; Z.Kh., II, 209.
Tuzuk, 224, 270; M.U. III, 78-79.
Z.Kh. II, 288.
4: 6 + 7 + 8 + 9  

4: 10; 10 = Khānlar Zūfiqār Khan  

4: 11 + 12; 12 = Iraj Khan Afshār  

6 = 39; 39: 20 + 21  
Z.Kh. III, 31; M.A., 103; M.U.I, 531.

7: 22  
M.U. II, 731-33.

7: 23; 23 = Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Shuja’āt Khan S/o Najābat Khan Mirzā Shujā'.

9: 24 + 25  
M.A., 103; M.U. I, 455.

7: 26; 26 = Prince Sulaimān Shukoh  
M.U. I, 454.

10 = Khānlar Zūfiqār Khan Qārāmānlu: 27, 27 = 40  
Z.Kh. II, 411; Šādiq Khan, f.89(b); Kāzim, 439; M.U. I, 310; II, 93; T.M. 35, 74.

10: 28; 28 = Prince Zainuddin S/o Prince Shuja’  
M.U. II, 89.

10: 29; 29 = 20; 20 S/L Khānlar, Zūfiqār Khan  
Kāzim, 439; M.A. 27; T.M., 8.

13: 31, 30 = Saiyid Muḥammad Khan Mukhtar Khan Sabzwāri: 56 + 56  
T.M., 162.

13: 31  
Tuzuk, 342; Igbālnāma, 291; Z.Kh. II, 311; M.A. 221.

13: 32; 32 ÷ 3  
Qazwīnī, Bāḏshāhnāma, Transcript in the Department of History Library, Aligarh No.13, p.83 (hereinafter cited as Qazwīnī); Šāliḥ, I, 44.
Iqbalnama, 275-277; Z.Kh. II, 188-89.
Tuzuk, 110; Qazwíní, 83, 94;
Láhorí I(a), 93.

Láhorí I(b), 242, 324; II, 116,
728; Manucci II, 389.

T.M.S. Genealogical Chart under
Manucci II, 389.

Tuzuk, 362; Iqbalnama, 301;
Láhorí (a), 77.

Z.Kh. III, 31; M.U. I, 531.

M.U. II, 93; T.M., 35.

T.M.S. Genealogical Chart under
No. 42; M.A., 209; M.U., I, 785.


Iqbalnama, 55.

Tuzuk, 130, 335 etc.; Iqbalnama, 56.

T.M.S. Genealogical Chart under
No. 13; M.U. III, 78-82.

T.M.S. Genealogical Chart; M.U.
I, 573-76; Cf. Z.Kh. II, 288.

Z.Kh. II, 254; M.U. I, 408-12.

M.U. III, 830-33; T.M., 8.

M.U. I, 456-57; T.M. 16.

M.A. 158; M.U. I(a) 320-21; II, 93;
T.M. 31.

M.A. 461; M.U. I, 454-57; T.M. 16.

Akhbáírat, 39 R.Y., 18 January, 1696;
T.M. 22.
27 : 52, 52 = 64

30 : 53 + 54 + 56

30 : 55; 55 = Mirza Husain : 90

31 : Shahnawaz Khan Safavi

31 : 57

32 : 58 + 59

33 = s/o Iraj Shahnawaz Khan S/o Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan

33 = 60; 60:93; 93 = Muhammad Rashid

33 : 51

33 : 62

33 : 63

33 : 64; 64 = 52

33 : 65

33 : 66

33 : 67

33 : 68; 68 = 21; 21 = 14

33 : 69; 69 = Ruhullah Khan

33 : 70; 70 = 49

33 : 71; 71 = Hoshdar Khan S/o Multafat Khan

Akhbarat, 33 R.Y., 11 July, 1689; M.A., 374.

M.U. III, 413.

M.U. III, 650; T.d. 21.

M.A., 109; T.M., 10.

M.A., 536; T.M., 162.

Kagim, 623 where it is mentioned that 58 and 59 were sons of 32; and 54 was sister's son of 32. This confirms that 32 was the son of 13 whose daughter 30 was the mother of 54. Cf. M.A., 109 has wrongly mentioned 54 as the son of 32.

Iqbalnama, 275; M.U. II, 706.


Kagim, 140, 291, 416; M.U. II, 706; T.U., 112.

Kagim, 140; M.A., 54.

M.U., 1, 292; T.M., 24.

M.A., 351, 371, 374; M.U., 1, 814.

M.A., 348.

M.A., 369; T.M., 14.


T.M., 27.

Kagim, 477; M.U. II, 309, 706.

M.A., 158; T.M., 31.

M.A., 114; T.M., 6.
35 : 72; 72=72
35 : 73; 73 = 112
35 : 74; 74 = 74
38 = Mirzâ Şafî Saîf Khân : 76+77+78
38 : 75; 75 = Khalîlullah Khan Yāzdî
38 : 79; 79 = Zafar Khân S/o Khwāja Abūl Hasan Turbâti
42 : 80; 80 = 14
42 : 81; 81 = Mirzâ Şafî Shîkan Khân Şâfâvi
46 : 84; 84 = 104
47 = 87; 87 S/L 24
48 = Aîr Khân S/o Aîr Khân Aîr Aîr Khân
53 : 85
54 : 86+87+88+89
56 : 91
57 = AURANGZEB
62 : 94; 94 = 114
62 : 95
62 : 96; 96 = Muḥammad Baqîr
62 : 97; 97 = 103
63 : 98; 98 = 116
63 : 99; 99 = 100

M.A., 110; Manucci IV, 417; M.U. III, 706-707.
M.U., I, 574; T.M., 4.
M.A., 38; M.U. I, 775.
Z.Kh. II, 290; M.U. II, 762-63.
Lahorî, II, 116.
Lahorî, II, 185; Wâris, 36; M.U. III, 478-79.
Akhbârât, 39 R.Y. Rabi' II, 4 Nov. 1695.
M.U. I, 457.
M.U., II, 40-41.
M.U., I, 537.
Lamori I(b), 243; II, 22; M.A., 536
Akhbârât, 40 R.Y. 10 April, 1696.
Akhbârât, 43 R.Y. 11 Ziqâda, (1 May) 1699.
M.A., 480; M.U. II, 40.
Akhbârât, 50 R.Y. 7 Shâbân (3 Nov) 1706.
61: 100, 100 = 99

62: 101; 101 = میر احمد مازندرانی

63: 102

64: 103; 103 = 97

65: 104, 104 = 84

66: 105

67: 106

68: 107; 107 = کامیاب خان س/و عبدالکریم جان نیسار خان

69: 109; 109 = ابراهیم بق س/و علی ماردی خان زیگ

70: 110; 110 = مفتخار خان س/و دیانات خان

71: 111

72: 112; 112 = 73

73: 113; 113 = پرنس بدیا بخت س/و پرنس آخام

74: 114; 114 = 94

75: 51, 86:114.

76: 115; 115 = 120

77: 47 : 116 = 98

78: 117; 117 : 24

79: 121; 118 = امیرالعلی عمران حسین علی خان

Akhabarat, 50 R.Y. 7 Shabān (3 Nov) 1706.

Akhabarat, 33 R.Y. (Shawwāl), 25 July, 1689.

Akhabarat, 43 R.Y. 11 Dīqāda (1 May) 1699.

Akhabarat, 39 R.Y. (Rabī' II), 4 Nov. 1695.

T.M., 27.

T.M., 127.

Lāhorī II, 744; Şālih III, 278; M.U. II, 762-63.

M.U. I, 163-64.

M.U. I, 539; T.M. 85, 163-64.

M.U. III, 709, 710; T.U. 53.

M.U. I, 234; T.M. 4.

M.U. III, 655.

M.A. 221,480; M.U. I,457.

T.M. 90.


M.U. II, 41; III,650-53; T.K. 84.
89 = Mīr Lashkārī Ṣafavī

90: 119+120+121; 119=92

M.U. II, 41 where it is mentioned that Mīr Lashkārī was a descendant of Mirzā Ḥaidar Ṣafavī.


114: 122

T.M. 101.
## APPENDIX - A

### 'TIMĀD-UD DAULA'S RELATIONS HOLDING CENTRAL OFFICES UNDER SHĀHJĀHĀN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R.Y.</th>
<th>Vakīl/Wazīr</th>
<th>Mīr Bakhshī</th>
<th>Mīr Tuzuk</th>
<th>Mīr Ātīsh</th>
<th>QarāwalBegī</th>
<th>Qūr Begī</th>
<th>Ākhtā Begī</th>
<th>Second Begī</th>
<th>Qauṣh Begī</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>Khan(Vakil) 186</td>
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<td>Lāhorī I(a) 180, 193.</td>
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<td>Khalīlullāh Khan, Lāhorī I(a), 299.</td>
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<td>Roshan Žāmīr Salābat Khan, Lāhorī I(a), 417.</td>
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<td>Khalīlullāh Khan, Lāhorī I(a), 474.</td>
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|   | Shāhnawāz Khān Šaftāvi, Lāhorī I(b), 16-17. |

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Murād Kamān, Safavi, Lāhori II, 204, 227.

Khalīl-ullah Khān, Lāhori, II, 228.

Abdul Hādī Aṣalat Khān, Lāhori, II, 385.

Khalīl-ullah Khān, M.U., I, 775

Abdul Kāfī Nawāzish Khān

Khalīl-ullah Khān, Lāhori II, 385.

Murād Kamān, Lāhori II, 385.

Ibid, 422.
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<td>Mir Khalil Khan Zamân, Lâhorî, II, 511.</td>
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<td>Jefar Khan, Lâhorî, II, 681.</td>
<td>Nawâzish Khan, Wâris, 60.</td>
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<td>Murâd Kam Schâfâvi, Wâris, 3.</td>
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<td>Mir Ishâq S/o Âzam Khan, Wâris I, 134</td>
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<td>Mirza Bahman- Nayr, Wāris, 176; Saleh, III, 141, 143.</td>
<td>Mir Islaq, Irādat Khan, Wāris, 190.</td>
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<td>&quot;Ibid., 173, 175.</td>
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<td>27.</td>
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<td>&quot;Ibid., 241.</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>&quot;Ibid., 215; M.U., XI, 332-34.</td>
<td>Mir Mirān, Wāris, 318.</td>
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<td>Wāżīr,</td>
<td>Шалих,III,</td>
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<td>Шалих,III,</td>
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### APPENDIX - B

**GOVERNORSHIPS HELD BY THE MEMBERS OF I'TIMĀD-UD-DAULA'S FAMILY UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN**

**Note:** The name of province is given in bracket under the Subedar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R.Y.</th>
<th>Total No. of Governors known to be holding the post during the year</th>
<th>Total No. of Irānis holding the posts</th>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Number of governorships held by I'timād-ud Daula's family</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Çāsim Khān (Bengal) Bāqīr Khān (Crissa) Saif Khān (Bihar) Āṣaf Khān (Lahore &amp; Multan) Ī'tīgād Khān</td>
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## APPENDIX - C

**I'TIMĀD-UD-DAULA'S RELATIONS HOLDING CENTRAL OFFICES UNDER AURANGZEB.**

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<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kamgar Khan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Abû Naqî Khan</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>35.</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Itiqâd Khan Buzurg Umed</td>
<td>Khân</td>
<td>Jânsipâr Khan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Khudâ Banda Shâista Khan</td>
<td>Khân</td>
<td>Muktâr Khan Dinâdar Mat Khan</td>
<td>Xângar Khân</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mir Khalîl, Tarbiyat Khân</td>
<td>Khân</td>
<td>Muktâr Khan Qamruddin (Bihar)</td>
<td>Khânasâd Khân Râhullah Khân II (Bedar)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Itiqâd Khan Muhammed Yâr</td>
<td>Khân</td>
<td>Rustam Dil Khân (Golconda)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ibrâhîm Khân</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Abû Naqî Khan (Lahore)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mohd. Khalîl Zabardast Khân (Awadh)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ibrâhîm Khân Mohd. Khalîl Zabardast Khân (Lahore)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mohd. Khalîl Zabardast Khân (Awadh)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Khudâ Banda Khudâ Banda Khân (Berar)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ibrâhîm Khân (Kashmir)</td>
<td>Abû Naqî, Rustam Dil Shâista Khan Khân (Py.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

contd..
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPENDIX D Contd.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46. 6</td>
<td>Muktār Khān, Qamaruddin Hāfiż (Agra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. 5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>49. 6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>50. 5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>51. 5</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E(i)

Table Showing Position of I'timād-ud Daula's Family as Mansabdār under Shāhjāhān

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FIRST DECADE 1627-1637</th>
<th>SECOND DECADE 1637-1647</th>
<th>THIRD DECADE 1647-1658</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Žāt</td>
<td>Sawār</td>
<td>Žāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Total Mansabs</td>
<td>4,54,500</td>
<td>3,63,550</td>
<td>4,67,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Mansabs held by</td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>63,300</td>
<td>70,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>members of I'timād-ud Daula's family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B as % of A</td>
<td>14.96%</td>
<td>17.41%</td>
<td>15.08%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX E(ii)

**Table Showing Position of Ittimād-ud Daula's Family as Mansabdār under Aurangzeb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FIRST PHASE 1658-1678</th>
<th></th>
<th>SECOND PHASE 1679-1707</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zāt</td>
<td>Sawār</td>
<td>Zāt</td>
<td>Sawār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Total Mansabs</td>
<td>6,85,000</td>
<td>4,39,850</td>
<td>9,69,000</td>
<td>6,30,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Mansabs held by</td>
<td>90,500</td>
<td>70,700</td>
<td>65,500</td>
<td>49,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of Ittimād-ud Daula's family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B as % of A</td>
<td>13.22%</td>
<td>16.07%</td>
<td>6.75%</td>
<td>7.88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. 'ALĪ MARDĀN KHĀN'S FAMILY

The stream of immigration to augment the ranks of the Mughal nobility continued under Shāhjahān. Unlike the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr, it would seem that immigration from Iran during Shāhjahān's time was generally of individuals and not of whole families or establishments.¹ The only exception is offered by 'Alī Mardān Khān who came along with his family and a large retinue of officers and companions in 1638, having made over Qandahār to Shāhjahān². He became the highest Iranian noble of Shāhjahān, and therefore deserves a detailed biographical notice on that account alone.

'Alī Mardān Khān was a Kurd of the Zig³ tribe and belonged to a well reputed aristocratic family. His father Ganj 'Alī Khān Zig was a close confidential officer of Shāh 'Abbās I and had served him in Herāt since his childhood. During Shāh 'Abbās' reign he was entrusted with important offices like Qilādār of Salāmah in Khawāf, governor (hākim) of Kirmān and Sīstān.⁴ In the 36th R.Y.

1. See Chapter Two.
4. AAA, I, pp. 414, 559, 576.
(1031 A.H.) he was entrusted with the government (Iyālat-wa-Dārāī) of Qandahār, the most crucial province of the time and where apparently very trusted and experienced generals were appointed. GanjʿĀlī Khān held Qandahār until he died in 1034 A.H. (1624 A.D.) and performed valuable services for his master in beating back the Uzbeks in Khurāsān. Shāh Ābbās I conferred on him the title of Khān and called him Arjumand Bābāī (my reverend father).

GanjʿĀlī Khān's two other children are also known to us. One Shāhrukh Beg, apparently a military officer died of an accident while riding during a campaign near Garjistān (in Irān). The second was a daughter whose son Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg came with Ālī Mardān Khān, his maternal uncle as well as father-in-law.

It appears that being the only surviving son of a person who had enjoyed fatherly regard from the Shāh of Irān and held highly responsible posts in the government, Ālī Mardān Khān succeeded in winning the

1. A.A.A. II, pp. 977-78.
2. Ibid, p. 1041.
Shāh's favours and succeeded his father as the governor of Qandahār with the same symbols of respect and titles of Ḵbān and Bābā-i Ṣānī (the second father). But this bred jealousy among other nobles, and their hostility reached its culmination during the reign of Shāh Ṣafī. They exploited the defensive preparations made by Ḥāmed Khan at Qandahār which he began actually in order to check Mughal intrusions. He had already strongly rejected Shāhjahan's secret proposal of handing over Qandahār to the Mughals in return of highest possible rank and rewards in the Mughal empire.

Shāh Ṣafī sent reinforcements to Qandahār and at the same time, at the instigation of those nobles, preferred a charge of embezzlement against Ḥāmed Khan. The latter comprehending the real intentions of the Shāh now accepted Shāhjahan's proposal and fled to his court where he was well received and granted the rank of 5000/5000. His rank was soon increased to 6000/6000, and he was also appointed ṣubedār of Kashmir.

1. AAA, II, pp. 1041, 1086; Lāhorī, II, p. 27; Šādiq Khan, ff. 44(b)-45(a).
2. Lāhorī, II, pp. 27-34; Šādiq Khan, ff. 45(a)-(b); Z.Kh., III, p. 28.
3. Bernier says that Ḥāmed Khan was recalled from Qandahār to give the account of his government, Cf. Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 184.
A distinction was always made in the Mughal Empire between those immigrants who came with some administrative background and experience in civil and political matters and those without it; and the former were generally awarded higher ranks and offices. Accordingly Ali Mardan Khan and some of his companions were awarded high ranks. Ali Mardan Khan was granted the highest rank of 7000/7000 (5000x2-3h) and the title of Amir-ul-Umarā and Yār-i Wafādār. His total salary amounted to 12 karor dāms the highest salary ever received by any noble after Āṣaf Khān. It is also significant that throughout his life Ali Mardan Khan held one or the other of the three contiguous provinces of Kashmir, Lahore and Kabul, the most strategic territories in the north-west of the empire. Moreover, in the vicinity of Qandahār, on the one hand, and Balkh and Badakhshān, on the other, Kabul always needed not only an experienced general but also a person well acquainted with the region; and Ali Mardan Khan’s longest stay at Kabul tends to suggest that he had the full confidence of Shāhjahān, who was faced with the hostility of both Persian and the Uzbeks.

1. See ante, Chapter Two.
5. Ibid.
During his governorship of Kabul 'Alī Mardān Khān was sent against the Uzbeks. In the 18th R.Y. (1645) he sent his confidential servants Farhād and Faridūn against Tardī 'Alī Qatghan, who, after a short engagement, took to flight. In 1646 he was sent along with Prince Murād Bakhsh, against the Uzbeks and to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. At this time Sultan Khusrau, Bahram Sultan and Subhān Qulī Sultan, three sons of Nazar Muḥammad Khān came and paid homage to Prince Murād while Nazar Muhammad Khān fled to Persia. However, Murād Bakhsh, in spite of Shâhjahān's prohibition, returned to India for which the prince was censured and Saʿdullah Khān was sent to Balkh. It would seem that normally 'Alī Mardān Khān would have been asked to take over charge of Balkh, but his being an Irānī and so a suspected Shi'a made this impolitic. As Lāhorī tells us, "Although servants of this faith-protecting court, whether Irānis and others, are in obedience to and following the Emperor, firm in upholding true beliefs abstain from the false beliefs of the deviant and the self-serving, yet as the long standing hostility between the Uzbeks and

1. Tardī 'Alī Qatghan was the guardian of Subhān Qulī Khān the son of Nazar Muḥammad Khān and the governor of Khāmand and its neighbourhood. See Lāhorī, II, pp. 401-404, 456-63.

2. Ibid., pp. 482-92; 512-43; 548-56.
Qizil-bashes, owing to religious differences, had reached such a state that reconciliation and friendship is on no account possible, the Emperor did not find it advisable to appoint Ālī Mardān Khan as governor of the ʂūba Balkh in spite of his joining the Sunnī sect upon entering the service of this court. Because of the inopportune act of Prince Murād Bakhsh and some others of the victorious army, large numbers of the Almāns, having ventured to cross the Oxus River, had ravaged some parts of Badaḵshān and other places. Therefore, the Emperor ordered that after Allāmī's (Ṣaʿād ullah Khan's) arrival at Balkh, Ālī Mardān Khan should proceed to Qunduz and address himself to deal with the Almāns, and having slaughtered a number, force them to retire across the Oxus. Since the Governor of Badaḵshān had to stay in Bālḵ for some time for organising his affairs and his escorts, Ālī Mardān Khan was to stay in Qunduz till his arrival. After the said Governor reached Badaḵshān, Ālī Mardān Khan should proceed to ʂūba Kabul of which he was Governor". 1

When Aurangzeb was sent to take charge of Bālḵ and Badaḵshān Ālī Murdān Khan was again sent there. 2 At this time he had an encounter in Timūrābād, with ʿAbdūl ʿAzīz, the eldest son of Nazar Muḥammad Khan and

1. Lāhorī, II, p. 68.
2. Ibid., p. 633.
the governor of Bukhārā. Ālī Mardān Khān defeated Beg Oghli and Qutlug Muḥammad Sultan and Yādgār Tukariya one after the other in a battle that continued for seven days in which the Uzbek army sustained great losses.1 Afterwards when Balkh and Badakhshān were restored to Nazar Muḥammad, Ālī Mardān Khān came back to Kabul. After some time he was allowed to go to Kashmir, where the climate was more suitable for him.2

When Prince Dārā Shukoh was appointed to lead an expedition to Qandahār and the province of Kabul was assigned to his eldest son Sulaimān Shukoh in 1653, Ālī Mardān Khān was again posted there. Thereafter he again went to Kashmir. It was during this time that he was summoned to court towards the close of 1656. He had an attack of dysentery and in the beginning of the 31st R.Y. (1657) while returning to Kashmir he died at Machhiwara (on 16th April, 1657). He was buried in his mother's tomb at Lahore.3

After Ālī Mardān Khān's death his property and effects to the amount of one crore of rupees in cash

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3. Śāliḥ, III, p. 246.
and kind were taken into the Imperial Treasury. But afterwards, out of this amount only 50 lacs of rupees were retained in the treasury; and of the balance 30 lacs of rupees were allowed to Ibrāhīm Khān and the remaining 20 lacs were distributed among the three sons and ten daughters.¹

Among 'Alī Mardān Khān's sons, the eldest Muḥammad 'Alī was left in Irān as hostage with Shāh Ṣafī. Shāhjahān sent a letter to Shāh Ṣafī's successor Shāh 'Abbās II to secure his release.² But it is not known whether he was ever sent to India. Of the remaining four sons, 'Abdullah Beg and Ibrāhīm Beg flourished during the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb. Ismā'īl Beg and Ishāq Beg both reached only the ranks of 1,500/800 and died in the battle of Samugarh.³

The person in this family who attained the highest position under Aurangzeb was Ibrāhīm Khān. He surpassed all of his kinsmen in terms of mansabs and offices. Under Shāhjahān he had been promoted to the rank of 4000/3000⁴ but was not entrusted with any independent

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2. Lāhorī, II, pp. 497-98.
3. Ibid., p. 246; M.U., II, p. 807.
assignment. It was during the reign of Aurangzeb that as a reward of his valuable services in the war of succession, he was given rapid promotions and was raised to the rank of 6000/6000.\(^1\) He remained sūbedār of various provinces one after the other except for a short interval of about four years during his entire term of forty-eight years' service under Aurangzeb. It is also significant that during this period he was appointed sūbedār of Kashmir thrice.\(^2\) He got a fourth tenure there during Bahādur Shāh I's reign. He died at Ibrāhīmābād Sodhra in Lahore in 1709.\(^3\)

During his viceroyalty of Bengal (1690-99) his son Zabardast Khān was faujdār of the chaklas of Burdwan, Jessore, Midnapur and Hugli and he defeated the self-styled king Raḥīm Shāh, a rebel Afghān of the region.\(^4\) In 1700 he was appointed sūbedār of Awadh and promoted to the rank of 3000/2500.\(^5\) In 1705 he was appointed sūbedār of Ajmer, being transferred from the faujdārī of Lakhi jungle.\(^6\)

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6. Ibid., pp. 496-97; Ibid.
Ibrahim Khan's second son Yaqub Khan was deputed with him to Bengal and when he was transferred to Allahabad, Yaqub Khan was also transferred being appointed as faujdar of Jaunpur. In the reign of Bahadur Shah I he was granted the title of Ibrahim Khan and was appointed deputy sубедar of Lahore under Asaf-ud Daula.

Fidai Khan, a third son of Ibrahim Khan is mentioned for the first time in the Ma'asir-i Alamgiri being deputed in 1684 along with his father to Kashmir. There he was engaged in a campaign against Tibet.

Besides Ali Mardan Khan's family a large retinue of his trusted slaves and officers accompanied him and each one of them was awarded with a suitable rank and office according to his experience. Among them the most prominent were Murshid Quli Khan (the famous diwan of the Deccan), Hussain Beg Khan Zig and Ali Beg Sultan.

Hussain Beg Khan, Ali Mardan's son-in-law, was separated from him and appointed Akhtabegi (master of horse) in 1646 - a post which was granted to only very trusted nobles. In 1648 he was appointed sубедар of

2. M.U., I(a), pp. 300-301.
5. Husain Beg Khan Zig and Ali Beg Sultan were his sons-in-law also.
Kashmir with the title of 'Khān'. In 1654 he was made faujdār of Miyān-i Doāb and in 1658 the Mir-i Tuzuk. In the battle of Samugarh he was a partisan of Dārā Shukoh and was in charge of the royal artillery. But after Dārā Shukoh's flight he joined Aurangzeb and was appointed faujdār of Bangash in 1656. Here he remained till 1675 and was then transferred as faujdār to Jaunpur where he died in 1676. Of his sons Mirzā 'Ātāullāh had a rank of 700 zāt and Muḥammad Aḥmād was deputy sūbedār of Kabul and held the title of Nāṣir Khān. In 1703 he was removed from the office and his rank was reduced as punishment for certain offences. Another son-in-law of ʿAlī Mardān Khān, ʿAlī Beg Sulṭān was appointed deputy sūbedār of Kashmir soon after his arrival from Irān in 1638 and received a rank of 2000 zāt.

Among the servants of ʿAlī Mardān Khān who came along with him it was only Murshid Quli Khān who, on

2. Ibid., p.266; Ibid., p. 237; Ibid.
5. M.A., p.140; Ibid.
7. M.A., p.439; Cf. M.U., III, pp. 833-35, where he is mentioned as sūbedār of Kabul and not having been punished for any offence.
8. Lahorī, II, pp.170, 190-91; Šādiq Khān, f. 49(b).
account of his personal experience and ability, could attain the rank of 3000/1,500 and the office of Diwān towards the close of Shāhjāhān's reign in 1658. He had also been previously appointed as diwān of the Punjab and Multan, Mir-i Ātish, superintendent of elephant stables, faujdār of Kangrah foot hills, Ākhtabegī (master of the horse) and diwān of the Deccan by Shāhjāhān.  

In India 'Alī Mardān Khān established marriage relations with well reputed Irānian families. His son Ibrāhīm Khān married the daughter of Yahyā, a son of Saīf Khān. Besides his two daughters who had been already married to Ḥussain Beg Khān and 'Alī Beg Sultān respectively, he had two more daughters. One of them Sāhibjī was married to Amīr Khān Mir Mīrān, the son of Khalīlullah Khān Yazdī, a well-known family of Jahāngīr's time. The other daughter was married to Zāhid Khān Koka's son Faizullah Khān, whose grand-daughter was married again in the family of 'Ināyatullah Khān Kashmirī, an important noble of Aurangzeb.  

2. Lāhorī, II, pp. 177, 230, 331, 362, 471, 688; Wārīṣ, pp. 67, 192, 235, 307-8; also Cf. Šādiq Khān, ff. 86(b), 90(b).  
5. Tuzuk, p. 150; M.U., III, pp. 335-42. See section (v) infra.  
It is worth mentioning that Şahibji herself was a competent lady so much so that she ran the administration of Kabul on her husband's behalf when he died without leaving an heir. She controlled the rebellious Afghans in the province to Aurangzeb's satisfaction till the arrival of the new governor.¹

As far as mansabs, held by the family, are concerned certain interesting facts emerge from our information. During the entire reign of Shāhjahān it appears that many members of 'Alī Mardān Khan's family and his companions were granted mansabs, and some of them were very rapidly promoted. But none of his sons, even 'Abdullah Beg and Ibrāhīm Beg, who held the ranks of 2,500/1,500 and 4000/3000 respectively in 1658, was assigned any independent office. They are generally found to be deputed with their father or at the most as auxiliaries in expeditions. The only exception is offered by Ḥusain Beg Khan being appointed Ākhtabegī, Mīr-i-Tuzuk and şubedar of Kashmir and other offices.²

As regards 'Alī Mardān Khan's personal promotions and his successive appointments, it appears that he was

2. Lāhorī, II, p.49; Wāris, p.36; Şāliḥ, III, p.266.
promised the highest possible rank and office as a reward of making over Qandahār to Shāhjahān. This was inspite of his being vulnerable to suspicion, being a recent defector.¹ The granting of the manṣab of 4000/3000 to Ibrāhīm Khān apparently seems to be out of consideration for the fact that he was the eldest and most favourite son of Ālī Mardān Khān. It was he alone who under Aurangzeb also was promoted to 6000/6000; his son Muḥammad Khalīl Zabardast Khān too obtained a rank of 3,500/3,500.² Thus the line of the main promotions descended through Ibrāhīm Khān.

The total ranks held by the family during the reign of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb was 23,700/13,700 (500x2-3h) and 17,700/14,100 (500x2-3h) respectively.

Besides being a military commander and a civil administrator Ālī Mardān Khān was a great builder. The laying out of a number of gardens, sarāis and residential buildings in Kashmir and Lahore are attributed to him.

His buildings can broadly be classified into two types-private buildings such as personal mansions

1. There was always an apprehension among the Irānī nobles of Shāhjahān that Ālī Mardān Khān could not be loyal servant. See Z.Kh., III, pp. 28-9.

(havelis) in Kashmir\(^1\) and Peshawar and his own tomb at Lahore; and public works like canals, gardens and sarais. Construction of sarais in Kashmir was felt to be necessary by Shāhjahān owing to the obstructions of roads by heavy rain and snowfall during winter. Hence, sarais at every stage (manzil) were constructed under the supervision of 'Alī Mardān Khān in order to provide places of refuge to travellers. In 1639 Naqī Beg, an employee and apparently an architect of 'Alī Mardān Khān, was given the charge of repairing and widening roads through Kashmir\(^2\). Similarly, in 1646 when 'Alī Mardān Khān was ūbedār of Kabul the work was undertaken to clean and level the hilly routes in Peshawar.\(^3\) As many as seven sarais are known to have been constructed by 'Alī Mardān Khān and the Hirāpur road was repaired and developed in Kashmir during his governorship there.\(^4\)

'Alī Mardān Khān also constructed a number of gardens both in Kashmir and Lahore. The 'Aliābād garden

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3. Šādiq Khān, f. 63(a).

4. Tarīkh-i Hasan, II, p.507. These were Sarāī Khāmpur; Sarāī Shājahmarg; Sarāī Bahrām Galla; Sarāī Hirāpur; Sarāī Poshāna; Sarāī Sokhta and Sarāī Thanna.
at village Til Bal in Kashmir was constructed in 1654. This has beautiful buildings, strong walls, a large canal and big pond with springs and fountains.\(^1\) At Lahore the Naulakha and the Shālāmār gardens became important picnic resorts and particularly the latter had been a place of attraction for Irānīs, Tūrānīs and people from other parts of the world.\(^2\) The Shālāmār was in fact a combination of seven gardens such as Angūrī Bāgh, Ināyat Bāgh, Faiż Bakhsh, Hayāt Bakhsh, Faraḥ Bakhsh, Mahtābī Bāgh and Gulābī Bāgh. The plan of the whole garden was laid out in such a way that all the seven gardens were at a sloping ground having a large pond on the highest level. The water fell in short waterfalls through the first garden to reach the lowest level of the garden.\(^3\) Towards the south of the garden there was a stone Hammām being divided into three parts the first and the second parts had two fountains; and the third had a tank and a bathroom with facilities of cold and hot water.\(^4\) Sujān Rāi tells us that "Alī Mardān Khān

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2. Ṣādiq Khān, f.56(a). A garden 'Ganj 'Alī Khān Bāgh' in Qandahār named after his father suggests that construction of gardens had been a practice in his family. See Wāris, pp. 79-85.


renamed Sodhara (a town in the sarkār of Lahore) on the bank of river Chenab, as Ibrāhīmābād after the name of his son Ibrāhīm Khan. He laid out a garden (in Ibrāhīmābād) which could be favourably compared with Shālāmār garden. He also constructed a number of beautiful buildings there. Six lacs of rupees were spent on the construction of buildings, garden and on digging of a canal to provide water to the garden. One village out of the villages of Sodhara was granted to ʿAlī Mardān as altamghā for the up-keep of the garden and the city". ¹

The most important work undertaken by ʿAlī Mardān Khan was the construction of a projected canal designed to bring water to Lahore from the hills at Rajpur near Nurpur, to the length of some 48½ kurohs. The work was undertaken in 1639 to bring the water for the irrigation of land and Shālāmār garden then being laid out by Khalīlullah Khan and also to provide abundance of water to the citizens of Lahore. ² The emperor advanced one lakh of rupees for the project but when in the 16th R.Y. the canal was completed it was

¹. Sujān Rāi Bhandārī, Khulāṣat-ut Tawārīkh, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p.74.

². Lāhorī, II, pp. 168-69, 233-34, 311-12, 315; ʿĀdīq Khan, ff. 50(b); 56(a); Z. Kh., III, p.28.
found that water could not reach the city. Another one lakh of rupees was advanced and Mulla ʿAlāʾul Mulk Tūnī Fāzīl Khān was assigned the project. He used only five kurohs length of ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal and excavated a new length of 32 kurohs, so as to bring water finally to Lahore.¹

ʿAlī Mardān Khān built a market complex in Peshāwar during his governorship. It was a roofed four-laned bāzār. When Shāhjahān visited the market he was so much impressed that he desired to send the same plan to Mukaramat Khān the officer-in-charge of Delhi fort under construction at that time to help him construct a market there on the same pattern.²

Significantly enough ʿAlī Mardān Khān is found to have been maintaining some kārkhanās in Lahore and Kashmir where goods such as carpets and shawls were manufactured. In the 30th R.Y. of Shāhjahān (1657 A.D.) on the occasion of the emperor's lunar weighing ceremony ʿAlī Mardān Khān sent to the emperor fine merchandise including woolen carpets and shawls produced in his workshops.³

¹ Lāhorī, II, pp. 233, 315; Šādiq Khān, f.56(a).
² Ibid, p.504; Ibid., f.63(a). It also suggests that ʿAlī Mardān Khān was fond of adopting different architectural styles in his buildings.
³ Wāris, p.373.
APPENDIX

Genealogical Chart of 'Ali Mardan Khan's Family

1 Ganj 'Ali Khan, Zig

2 'Ali Mardan Khan

3 Shahn Rukh Beg (died in Iran 1023/24 A.H.)

4 Daughter

14 Husain Beg Khan Zig = d/o 'Ali Mardan Khan (10)

5 Muhammad Ali 6 Ibrahim Beg 7 Abdullah Beg 8 Ismail Beg 9 Ishaq Beg

10 Daughter 11 Daughter 12 Sibbi 13 Daughter

14 Husain = Ali = Amir = Faisul Beg Khan Beg Berg Khan Zig (14) Sultan Mir s/o Zahi Khan Miran Khan Kok

15 Muhammad Khalil 16 Yaqub Khan 17 Fidai Khan

18 Mirza 19 Mirza Aman Nasser Khan

20 Muhammad Afzal

21 Sadr-ud Din Muhammad Khan

22 Nasir Khan

23 Daughter

Hidayullah Sa'dullah Khan

s/o Inayatullah Khan
References to the Genealogical Chart

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III. Khawafis and Mdmuris

The Khawafis

Khawafī means "coming from Khawaf", which is a district and town in Khurásan in eastern Persia. It lies between the district of Bākharz to the north and that of Qāin to the south-west, adjacent to the modern Irān-Afghanistān border along the south of the road running from Mashhad to that city. At the present time, Khawaf forms one of the five components (bakhshehs) of the Shahrastān (fortified city) of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya in the ustān or province of Khurāsān; and this administrative division also includes Zawzan. Commenting on Khawaf and its people, during the reign of Akbar Amin Ahmad Rāzī, the author of Haft Iqlīm, who was also a native of Irān, says that Khawaf has always been the 'mother


soil' of just and religious rulers, historians, sheikhs, ulama' and beneficent wazirs. The author adds that they were all so ambitious and efficient in discharging their duties that wherever they went, they obtained distinction and became favourites of their masters. The Al-muṣaffar dynasty belonged to Khawāf and seven of its rulers had ruled in Pārs and Shīrāz for 59 years. He also gives an account of the leading sheikhs and learned men of the time such as Shaikh Sānjān (Subḥān) better known as Rukn-ud Dīn Muḥammad, Shaikh Zain-ul Millat wa-Āldīn, and his grandson, Shaikh Zain Sādīr who was one of the learned men of his age and was distinguished by his long service with Bābur. Under Humāyūn, he was exalted to the rank of an Āmīr. The author also names some important wazīrs who served under Shāh Rukh Mirzá, Bābur Mirzá, Abū Sāīd Mirzá and Sultān Ḥusain Mirzá. They were Khwāja Ghiyāṣuddīn Fīr Āḥmad, Mirzá Ālāūd Daulah, Mirzá Sultān Mūḥammad and Khwāja Majd-ud Dīn. The last one, in the reign of Sultān Ḥusain Mirzá, was elevated to such dignity that he put the seal on the royal orders and


2. Ibid.

mandates (Abkām wa Manshūrāt). A number of other
dignitaries, scholars and learned men from Khawāf are
also mentioned by him by name.

A fourteenth century chronicler, Ḥamdullah
Mustawfi Qazwīnī, writes that the people of Khawāf
were of the Ḥanafite sect, law-abiding and very much
attached to their faith. They were friendly to strangers,
being given to charity; and they often made the
pilgrimage to Mecca. In the 17th century, the author
of the Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, states that formerly the
people of Khawāf were known to be bigoted Sunnīs. When
Shāh ʿAbd-ṣ-Safavī, in the beginning of his reign, came
to Khawāf he forced them to recite tabarrā (condemnation
of the first three Caliphs) as is customary with Shiʿās,
but they refused, for which many of them were punished.
However, the Khawāfīs later emerged as staunch Shiʿās
just as they had formerly been bigoted Sunnīs. Thus,
it appears that religious persecution was initially
severe in the area and quite possibly it drove some

2. Ibid., pp.174-76.
3. Nuzhat-al Qulūb, tr. G. Le Strange, London, 1919,
p.152.
Khawāfīs to migrate. From Zainuddīn Wasafī, the author of Badāi-ul waqāā'ī, who was in Khurasān when Shāh Ismā'īl defeated Shaibānī Khān, we learn that it was difficult even for Tafzīlī sunnīs to live freely in Khurasān.¹

Shamsuddīn Khawāfī, was also apparently a victim of such persecution. He was the son of Khwāja Ālāuddīn, a leading man of Khawāf.² He came to India sometime in the reign of Akbar and became his protege. Soon he acquired a position of trust and, in 1595, he was appointed Dīwān of Kabul. After some time he was made the Dīwān of the Empire (Dīwān-i Kul). In 1598, when after a stay of fourteen years in the Punjab, Akbar moved to Agra leaving behind the Begums and Prince Khurram at Lahore, Shamsuddîn was made governor of Lahore (Punjab).³ He died at Lahore in 1599-1600.⁴ In spite of his being trusted so highly, he never took advantage of it. He had a large family whose members acquired mamsābs and commanded respect.⁵ After his death, the

³. A.N. III, p. 746.
⁴. Ibid., p.772.
charge of the exchequer of the Punjab was conferred upon his younger brother, Khwāja Momin, again a man of good understanding of affairs. His son, Khwāja 'Abdul Khāliq, was, in the time of Jahāngīr, very intimate with Mirzā Abūl Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān. During Coup d'etat in 1625, Mahābat Khān killed him simply because of his intimacy with Āṣaf Khān.¹

During the life-time of Khwāja Shamsuddīn Khawāfī, his brother-in-law, Mirak Kamāluddīn, who was also from a leading family of Khawāf, along with his son, Mirak Husain, came to India and, apparently on the recommendation of Khwāja Shamsuddīn, became one of the chief servants of Akbar. In India, Mirak Kamāluddīn married one of the daughters of the Saiyids of his native city, and had a son Mirak Ṭā'ullāh. In Akbar's time, he received a rank of 700 zāt. He was first made bakshī of Ahdis at Kabul and later on was appointed diwan of Patna, where he died by the close of Shāhjahan's reign. His first son, Mirak Husain (who had accompanied him from Khawāf), distinguished himself during the reign of Jahāngīr and held high office. After Shāhjahān's accession, he became diwan of the Deccan. From that

¹. Iqbal-nāma, p.267.
day this office is said to have been made hereditary in this family. ¹ We find that up to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the descendants of this family were entrusted with this post. Mir Muḥammad Husain Khān, a great grandson of Mirak Moīnuddīn Amanat Khān, held the post in 1746; he also held the diwānī of Aṣaf Jāh's establishment.²

Mirzā Ārab Khawāfī, a saiyid of Khawāf, came to India sometime in the reign of Jahāngīr and he was soon appointed waqī’ā nigār-i huzūr (Recorder of proceedings at the court). Afterwards he was raised to the position of an Āmir. He had two sons. The first, Mirzā Shamsuddīn was killed during his father's life by his own servant while he was engaged in whipping him.³ The second, Mir Aḥmad got important appointments and promotions during the time of Shāhjāhān and Aurangzeb. It is said that he was a favourite of Aurangzeb and during his reign Aurangzeb gave him the title of Muṣṭafā Khān, his rank being raised to 3000/2000.⁴ He was also sent as an envoy to the countries of Balkh and Bukhārā.⁵

2. Ibid., II, pp.79-80.
His son was Mir Ahmad Mustafa Khan (the second). For some time he was diwan of the household of Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah. He was also appointed to the Deccan.  

During the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, the names of a number of other families from Khawaf are also recorded. They included those of Mir Askari Aqil Khan, Mir Abul Maali, Mutamad Khan Muhammad Sali Khawafi, Shaikh Mir Khawafi, Inayat Khan Khawafi, Khwaja Mir Khawafi and Khwaja Jahan Khawafi.  

Among these families, those of Mir Abul Maali and Shaikh Mir Khawafi reached the zenith of their power and prestige under Aurangzeb. Members of these families enjoyed great confidence of the Emperor. A large number of their descendants continued in Mughal service up to the end of the reign of Muhammad Shah.  

Thus, the number of Khawafis in the service of Mughal Emperors was considerable and particularly during Aurangzeb's reign their number was much higher than under the preceding regimes (see Chapter IV above).  

1. Z.Kh., II, p.357.  
3. See Genealogical Charts at the end of this section.
This was perhaps because of this fact that Aurangzeb is said to have patronised the Khānazāds, and the Khawāfīs belonged to the old families.

Information regarding mansabs and important offices held by the Khawāfī nobles in different years have been tabulated at the end of this section, in Appendices A and B.

The table shows that during the reign of Shāhjahan the Khawāfīs already held some important offices. But their ranks were moderate. Khwāja Jahan Khawafī appears to be the highest mansabdār among them with the rank of 2000/600 and Muẓaffar Ḥusain Fidāʾī Khān, son of Mīr Abūl Ṭāhī Khawafī, held the rank of 1500/800. No other Khawafī is known to have been given the rank of 1000 zāt and above during the entire reign of Shāhjahan. It is quite significant that from Akbar to Shāhjahan no Khawafī

1. An interesting event can be cited in this connection. One day when Amānat Khān (the second) Khawafī along with his son entered the imperial enclosure (sara pardah) in the court, an attendant (chobdār) seized the son's hand and kept him back. Amānat Khān in his wrath seized the chobdār and brought him to the King and said, 'If the Khānazāds are to be insulted by such people, what expectation have they of fame and honour in the King's service?' The King out of respect dismissed the whole of the guard for that day (M.U. I, pp.287-288).

2. See the list of Khawafī nobles under Shāhjahan in Appendix-A. The list has been compiled on the basis of M. Athar Ali's Apparatus (op.cit.) and supplemented by Maāṣir-ul Umarā. The numbers with the initial letter 'S' in the second bracket under each entry are the serial numbers given in the Apparatus. Figures in the first bracket on the other hand shows the years of that entry. Athar Ali has wrongly identified Muẓaffar Husain, the son of Mīr Abūl Ṭāhī Khawafī, as Tūrānī.
was ever given the office of *ṣubēdār*, whereas under Aurangzeb not less than thirteen governorships of important provinces were held by the members of different *Khawāfī* families.¹

As we have seen, the office of *dīwān* of the Deccan was made hereditary in the family of *Mīrak Ḥusain Khawāfī* during the reign of *Shāhjahān*; this is corroborated by our table which reveals that most of the time the members of this family were entrusted with this post.²

Under *Shāhjahān*, a number of *Khawāfīs* were also appointed as *bakhshīs*. Thus, we find that *Mīrak Ṭāūullah*, a son of *Mīrak Kamāl*, was *bakhshī* of *aḥdīs* in Kabul. *Mīrak Moinuddīn Aḥmanāt Khān* was, at first *bakhshī* and *wāqfā* *nawīs* of *Ajmer* and then of *Multan*. *Mīr Ḥaḍīr Muṣṭafā Khān*, son of *Mīr Ḥarīm Khawāfī*, was *bakhshī* of *Lucknow*, the second *bakhshī* of prince Aurangzeb in the Deccan was *ʿAqīl Khān Mīr ʿAskari Khawāfī* who held the same post when Aurangzeb became Emperor.³

It appears from the list of *Khawāfī* nobles under Aurangzeb (See Appendix-B) that many *Khawāfīs* held ranks

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1. See Appendix-B *Khawāfī* nobles under Aurangzeb. These lists have been compiled from *Ālamgīrnamā* (Kāzīm *Māʿṣīr-i-Ālamgīrī* (M.A.) and *Māʿṣīr-ul Umara* (M.U.).

2. *Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān* the son of *Mīr ʿAbdūl Qādir Dīnāt Khān* was *dīwān* of the Deccan in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (See M.U. II, pp.79-80).

3. See Appendix - A and B and also their biographies in the M.U. under each individual.
of 1000 zāt and above. Shaikh Mir Khawāfī was given the manṣab of 5000/5000 in 1657-58 and his brother Saiyid Amīr Khān in 1662-63. Khān-i Jahān Bahādur Zafar Jang held the rank of 7000/7000 in 1675-76 and his son, Sipahdār Khān 5000/3500 in 1706. Khāfī Khān rightly remarks that the Khawāfīs prospered more in the reign of Aurangzeb than in the reign of any preceding Mughal Emperor.¹

It may be pointed out that during Aurangzeb's reign the families of Mirak Moīnuddīn Amānat Khān, Shaikh Mir and Khān-i Jahān Bahādur Zafar Jang Kokaltāsh were the most prominent. The office of Diwān of Deccan was filled successively by members of Amānat Khān's family. Amānat Khān was governor of Kabul and his son Mir Husain Amānat Khān II was governor of Aurangabad. A number of other posts such as diwān-i Khāliṣa, diwān-i buyūṭāt, Mutaṣaddī of the port of Surat, Buystāt-i Rikāb, and Daftardār-i tan were also in the hands of this family.

Shaikh Mir Khawāfī was one of the most important officers of Aurangzeb. He died fighting for his master during the war of succession in the battle of Deorai.

¹ K.K. II, p.72.
against Dārā Shukoh. He had the rank of 5000/5000 (2-3h) in 1658. 1 After his death, Aurangzeb is said to have extended much patronage to the members of his family. His younger brother, Saiyyid Amīr Khān, was appointed qil'ādār of Delhi with the rank of 2000/1500 in 1658, 2 this was raised later to 4000/3000 in 1659. In 1662-63, his rank was further increased to 5000/5000 (1000x2-3h). He was appointed šūbedār of Kabul. 3 Shaikh Mīr's sons, Mīr Ibrāhīm and Mīr Muḥammad Yaqūb, were also given ranks of 1000/400 and 1000/150 respectively. The former was promoted to the rank of 2000/2000 in 1701. 4

The family of Mīr Malik Ḥusain Khān-i Jahān Kokaltāsh was apparently the highest and most respected family. As his mother had breast-fed prince Aurangzeb, Mīr Malik Ḥusain and his brother Mīr Muẓaffar Ḥusain were raised to high ranks and became Amīrs. 5 The latter held the rank of 4000/4000 and the office of Mīr Āṭish. 6 Khān Jahān became the highest-ranking Khawāfī.

2. Ibid., p.158.
3. Ibid., pp.345, 661, 842; M.A., pp.38, 71.
4. Ibid., pp.345, 661, 856; M.A., p.440.
5. For their biographical details see M.U. I, pp.798-813.
officer and obtained governorships of various provinces. In 1657-58, his rank was 1000/500 which was raised to 5000/5000 in 1658-59. He was twice appointed sübedār of Allahabad (viz. in 1666 and in 1690). In 1674, he was again promoted and his rank was increased to 6000/6000 (2-3h) and was also appointed governor of the Deccan. He was also awarded the insignia of Māhī-o-Marātib. In 1675-76, he was again promoted to 7000/7000.1 His eldest son Muḥammad Ḥasan Muẓaffar Khān, later Himmat Khān, was given the rank of 2500/2200 in 1687 and was appointed sübedār of Allahabad. In the same year, his second son, Muḥammad Ḥusain Nāṣirī Khān, later Sipahdār Khān, was appointed sübedār of Lahore.2 In 1694, he was promoted to the rank of 3000/3000 and appointed sübedār of Allahabad. In 1705, he was given promotion and his rank was raised to 4000/3500. Next year (1706), he was again promoted and received the rank of 5000/3500.3 A number of other descendants of this family were in the Mughal service till Muḥammad Shāh's reign.4

Besides these large Khawāfī families, there were a number of small ones too. There were many individuals whose family relations could not be traced. They were

3. Ibid., pp.241, 273, 283, 365, 379, 481, 496. See also Appendix-B.
Ināyat Khān Khawāfī, who was a mansabdār of 1000/100 and diwān of Khāliṣa. His son-in-law, Fādshān Qulī Tahawwur Khān, was faujdār of Ajmer in 1679. Āqil Khān Mīr Ḍaskārī, the son of Mīr Muḥammad Taqī, held the mansāb of 1500/500 in 1658-59, and by 1666 he reached that of 2500/700. In 1681, he was appointed sūbedār of Delhi.¹

Mīr Ṭāṣafī Khan Khawāfī was a mansabdār of 3000/2000 and qilādār of Gandikota in Karnatak in 1659.² In 1660 he was appointed Mutāṣaddī of Surat port³ and was sent as an envoy to Balkh and Bukhārā in 1664.⁴

Khawāja Mīr Khawāfī Ṣalābat Khān and his son Tahawwur Khān (Fidāī Khān) were also important officers under Aurangzeb. Besides holding a number of offices such as those of Mīr Tuzuk, governor of Awadh, Dārogha of filkhana (elephant stable), topkhāna and Ḹhas chaukī, Ṣalābat Khān was also twice appointed as Mīr Āṭish.

While his son Fidāī Khān was made faujdār of Sahāranpūr and Dārogha of Qūrkhana.⁵ In 1659, another individual

1. See Appendix A and B.
5. See Appendix B. For the biographical details of all these nobles see M.U. under each individual.
Khawāfī noble, Mir Rustam Khawāfī appears to have been promoted to the rank of 1500/1000. In 1666-67 he was appointed faujdār and Qarāwalbegī of Baroda.¹

To sum up, whatever might have been the causes of their migration, the Khawāfīs were at par with other sections of the nobility, though none of the Khawāfī families was so politically dominant as the family of I’timād-ud Daula was. Appendices A and B clearly show that many important central posts such as Mir Ātish, Mir Tuzuk, Dārogha-i Topkāna, second Bakhshi, and Bakhshi of Āhidis; and faujdāris of various sarkārs and Qilādāris of many important forts were entrusted to them. It also appears that they were quite successful in the discharge of their services in the provinces. Important provinces such as Kabul, Lahore, Gujarat, Bengal and the Deccan were some time or the other put under their charge. They also held Diwānī offices. Perhaps the Khawāfīs were considered very honest and competent in the affairs of revenue in those days.

¹. Kāzīm, pp. 399, 986.
GENEALOGICAL CHART A

1. Mīr Husain

2. Mīr Hasan
   = d/o Khawāja Alāuddīn Muḥammad

3. Mīrak Kamāl

4. Mīrak Husain

5. MīrakʿĀṭāullah

6. Mīrak Moīnuddīn Amānat Khān
   7 D
   = X
   15 Arshad Khān, Mīr Abū ʿAlā
   = 12

8. Mīr ʿAbdul Qādir
10. Mīr Ḥusain
   = 15 = Khawāja
   Amānat Khān II
   = Mīr Abū Ṭurāb
   Momīn
   Husainī
   Bālkhī

9. Mīr ʿAbdur Raḥmān
11. Kāẓim Khān
   = 14 D
   = Mīr Abū Ṭurāb
   Momīn
   Husainī
   Bālkhī

12. Mīr Ḥusain
24. Mīr Ḥasan
   = 32
   Mīr Ḥasan
   ʿAlī

13. Mīr Ḥusain
25. Mīr Ghuṭlām
   = 36 Ḥafīẓuddīn
   Amānat Khān II
   Husain, Kifāyat
   Khān

14. Mīr ʿAbdul Qādir
26. Mīr ʿAbdul Qādir
   = Saʿāduddīn
   Khān Bahādur
   Ḥusain, Kifāyat
   Khān

19. Mīrak Moīn Khān

32. Shāhnawāz Khān
   (author of M.U.)

33. Mīr ʿAbdur Raḥmān

34. Mīr ʿAbdur Raḥmān

35. Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad

36. Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad
    Arshad Khān
Chart B

1. Mir Abūl Ma'ālī

2. Mir Mu' ūaffar Husain
   Aẓam Khān, Fidāi Khān
   Koka

3. Mir Mālik Husain
4. Ḥājī Khānam
   Khān Jahān Bahādur
   Zafar Jung Kokaltāsh

5. Muhammad Šāliḥ, Fidāi Khān
6. Jamāluddīn
   Šafdar Khān
   = 11

7. Muhammad Ḥasan
   Mu' ūaffar Khān,
   Himmat Khān

8. Muhammad Muḥsin
   Našīrī Khān,
   Sipahdār Khān,
   Khān Jahān
   'Izzud Daulah

9. Muhammad Samī'

10. Muhammad
   Našīrī Khān
   Baqā', = 6

11. Muḥammad
12. Abūl
   Baqā', = 6
   Fath
   Mu' ūaffar
   Khān

13. Nuruddīn
Chart C

1. Mirzā 'Arab

2. Mīr Aḥmad, Muṣṭafā Khān I
   - Bādīuz-zamān (5)
     (Adopted son)

3. Mirzā Shamsuddīn

4. D.

5. Bādīuz-zamān (Adopted by 2)

6. Mīr Aḥmad, Muṣṭafā Khān II

7. Mīr Muḥammad ʿAlī, Saiyid Mukarram Khān Bahādur
Chart D(i)

1. Khawāja Ālāuddin Muḥammad Khawāfī

2. Khawāja Shamsuddin Khawāfī 3 D. = Mir Ḥasan

4. Khawāja Momin

5. Khwāja Ābdul Khāliq

Chart D(ii)

1 X

2. Pādshāh Qulī Khān, 3. Fāzīl Beg
Tahawwur Khān Tahawwur Khān
= d/o 'Ināyat Khān Khawāfī

4. Asaduddin Aḥmad
Chart E

1. Mir Muhammad Taqi

2. Mir Muhammad Askari
   "Aqil Khan

3. Mir 'Abdul Halil

4. D.
   = Shukrullah Khan Khawafi
   S/O
   Khwaja Sulthan Mahmud
   |

5. Mir Inayatullah, Shakhir Khan

6. Mir Sulagi
Chart F

1. Abūl Maʿālī

2. Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī

3. Saiyid Amīr Khān 4 D.


9 D

12 & = 13

10. Saiyid

Muḥtasham Khān 0ukarram Khān Shamsher Khān = Mīr ʿAzīzullah = Khawāja Muḥammad

(Childless)

11. Muḥammad Khān

13. ʿUbaidullah Khān (An adopted son)

= 12

14. Hashmatullah Khān

15. Saiyid Hashmatullah Khān
Chart G

1. Khwāja Mir Khawafī
   Šalābat Khān

2. Shaikh Mir Tahawwur Khān
   Fidāi Khān

3. Mir 'Azizullah,
   Fidāi Khān

4. Mir 'Abdullah
   (Ibadullah Khān),
   Fidāi Khān
References to the Genealogical Charts

Chart A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>References</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Lahorī I(a) 303; (b) 104, 316; II 91, 752; M.U. I, 259.</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Lahorī II, 751; ʻAlīh III, 477; M.U. I, 259.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>M.A. 110; M.U. I, 260.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kāẓim, 97, 760; M.U. I, 263, 267; II, 59.</td>
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<td>6:11</td>
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<td>M.U. I, 267-68.</td>
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<td>6:13</td>
<td>13=Khāwaja Momin Balkhi</td>
<td>T.M. 88-89.</td>
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<td>6:14</td>
<td>14=Mīr Abū Turāb Mashhadi</td>
<td>T.M. 139.</td>
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<td>14:26</td>
<td>26=Saʿuddīn Khān; 26 g/s 6</td>
<td>T.M. 139.</td>
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<td>6:8:16</td>
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<td>M.U. II, 70; T.M. 69.</td>
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</table>
10 : 21; 21 = 18  

10 : 22 + 23; 23 = Shāhnawāz Khan's aunt  

11 : 24; 24 = 32; 33 g/s 11  

12 : 15; 25; 25 = 34 + 35  
M.U. I, 291.

16 : 27 + 28 + 29  
M.U. II, 78-80.

**CHART B**

1 : 2 + 3  
M.U. I, 798

2 : 5; 5 = 13  

2 : 6; 6 = 11; 6 S/L 3  
M.A., 241; M.U. I, 806.

3 + 4  
M.A., 406; Akhbārāt, 44 R.Y.  
8 Ziqada, 16 April, 1700.

3 : 7 + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11  
M.A., 241; M.U. I, 806.

3 : 12  
M.A., 395, 406; M.U. I, 811,  
see also Akhbārāt op. cit.

3 : 8  
M.A., 155.

**CHART C**

1 : 2 + 3  
M.U. III, 516.

1 : 4; 4 = 5; 5:6; 6:7  
M.U. III, 518.

5 adopted son of 2  
M.U. III, 518.

**CHART D (i)**

1 : 2 + 4  
M.U. I, 664-69.

1 : 3; 3 = Mīr Ḥasan  

4 : 5; 5 N/O 2  
Iqbālnāma, 267; M.U. I, 667.
CHART D (ii)

2 S/L Ināyat Khān Khawāfī  
M.U. I, 447; II, 818.
2 + 3  
2 : 4  
M.U. I, 453.

CHART E

1 : 2  
T.M. 8.
2 : 3  
T.M. 2.
2 : 4; 4 = Shukrullah Khān  
S/L 2  
M.A. 303; T.M. 8.
4 = Shukrullah Khān : 5  
T.M. 38,
5 : 6  
T.M. 138.

CHART F

1 : 2  
T.U. 224.
2 + 3  
Kāzīm, 158; M.A., 107;  
M.U. II, 476-77.
2 : 4; 4 : 10  
Kāzīm, 345.
2 : 5 + 6 + 7  
M.A. 107; M.U. II, 670;  
III, 695, 793.
2 : 5  
M.A. 141; M.U. III, 646-50;  
T.M. 23.
2 : 6 + 7  
M.A. 144; T.M. 36.
2 : 8; 8 = Azīzullah S/L 2  
M.A., 144.
2 : 9; 9 = Muḥammad Sāliḥ  
Naqsh bandī  
M.A. 171.
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<td>M.U. III, 793; 796; T.M. 123.</td>
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<td>5 : 12; 12 = 13 : 15</td>
<td>T.M. 140.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 : 13 (adopted son); 13 = 12; M.U. III, 695-701; T.M. 121, 140.</td>
<td>12 : 15</td>
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**CHART G**

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<td>1 : 2</td>
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<td>T.M. 99.</td>
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<td>2 : 4</td>
<td>T.M. 135.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Mirak Afsullah</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Mirak Mo'inuddin</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Khwaja Jahan Khawafi</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Muhammad Salih Khawafi Mu'tamad Khan</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Agil Khan, Mir 'Askari Khawafi</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Mir Malik Husain, Khan Jahan Kokaltash S/o Mir Abul Ma'ali Khawafi</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Rahmatullah Khawfī</td>
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<td>Name and Title</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Mīr ʿAbdul Qādir, Diānat Khan I</td>
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<td>Mīr Ḥusain Amānat Khan II</td>
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<td>Mīr ʿAlī Naqī, Diānat Khan II</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Mīr Saiyid Muhammad Irādatmand Khan S/o Amānat Khan II</td>
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<td>Mīr Muhammad Khan (Jān) S/o Muḥtāsham Khan Mīr Ibrāhīm</td>
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<td>Saiyid Amir Khan b/o Sheikh Mir Chawafi</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Nishtasham Khan, Mir Ibrahim S/o Sheikh Mir</td>
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<td>Mir Ishaq Mukarram Khan S/o Sheikh Mir</td>
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<td>Mir Muhammad Yaqub S/o Sheikh Mir Chawafi</td>
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<td>'Imāyat Khan Chawafi</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Pādshāh Quli Tahawwur Khan</td>
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<td>Āqil Khan, Mīr ʿAskarī Khwāfī</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2000/700 (1653)</td>
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<td>(Kāzīm, 843; M. A., 47)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2500/700 (1660)</td>
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<td>(Kāzīm, 981)</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Mīr Malik Husain, Khan Jahān Zafar Jāng Kokaltāsh</td>
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<td>5000/5000 (4000 x 2-3h) (1666)</td>
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<td>(M. U. I(b), 801)</td>
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<td>6000/6000 (2-3h) (1673-74)</td>
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<td>(M. A. 124)</td>
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<td>7000/7000 (1675-76)</td>
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<td>(M. A. 142)</td>
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<td>4000/4000 (1659)</td>
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<td>(Kāzīm, 402)</td>
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<td>(M. U. I, 250)</td>
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APPENDIX-B CONTD...
Muhammad Hasan, Muslim Khan, Himmat Khan S/o Khan Jahan Kokaltash

17. 3000/2000 (1661)
    (Kagim, 593)
    3500/2000 (1662)
    (Kagim, 741-42)
    3500/2300 (1663)
    (Kagim, 762)
    4000/2300 (1663)
    (Kagim, 843)
    4000/2500 (1665)
    (Kagim, 870)
    4000/4000 (1677)
    (Kagim, 1061)

    Kabul (1674, M.A. 136) (1676, A.C. 157)
    (Kagim, 202)
    M.A. 168

    Awadh and
    Gorakhpur
    (Kagim, 477)
    A.C. 1660-61
    (Kagim, 573).

    2500/2200 (1666)
    (M.A. 262)
    Bijapur (1686)
    (M.A. 273)
    Allahabad (1686-87)
    (M.A. 282)
    Awadh (1690)
    (M.A. 335)
    Allahabad (1691)
    (M.A. 338, 348)

    Gorakhpur (1690)
    (M.A. 335)
    Jaunpur (1693, A.C.)
    (M.A. 348)

Muhammad Husain, Nasir Khan, Sipahdard Khan S/o Khan Jahan Kokaltash

18. 3000/3000 (1694)
    (M.A. 365)
    4000/3500 (1705)
    (M.A. 411)
    5000/3500 (1706)
    (M.A. 496)
    Lahore (1697)
    (M.A. 283)
    Allahabad (1694)
    (M.A. 165)
    Allahabad (1697, A.C.)
    (M.A. 387)
    Allahabad (1705, Second
    Time) (M.A. 481)

    Jaunpur (1694 till
    1699)
    (M.A. 365;
    M.A. III, 950)
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<th>Years</th>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Muhammad Šālih, Fidā ī</td>
<td>Khan S/o Ağaš Khan Koka</td>
<td>Agra (1694)</td>
<td>1684-85 (M.A. 247)</td>
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<td>Jamāluddīn Šefdar Khan S/o Ağaš Khan Koka</td>
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<td>Bareilly (1695)</td>
<td>1690 (M.A. 433)</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Abūl Fath S/o Khān Jahan Kokaltāsh</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1000/400 (1699)</td>
<td>(M.A. 406)</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Arshād Khan, Abūl ʿAlī S/L Mīr Husain Amānat Khan</td>
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<td>Kabul (1699)</td>
<td>(M.U.I, 290)</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Khawāja Mīr Khwāfī Salābat Khan</td>
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<td>Awadh (1682-83)</td>
<td>(1682-83) (M.A. 242)</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>Saharanpur (1697-98)</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Mir Rustam Khawafi</td>
<td>1666/67</td>
<td>Baroda (1666-67)</td>
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<td>1500/500</td>
<td>(Kagim, 986)</td>
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<td>1500/1000</td>
<td>(Kagim, 399)</td>
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<td>1000/1000</td>
<td>(Kagim, 986)</td>
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<td>27</td>
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</table>

**APPENDIX B Contd..**

- Mir Atish (1682)
- Mutassadil Surat port (1684)
- Mir Atish (1687-88)
- Ist Mir Tuzuk (1690)
- Daroga of Khans Chauki (A.C. 1691)
- Daroga of Gurkhana (1704)
- Garvalbeel of Baroda (1666-67)
- Mushrif and Amin of Dagh (1660)
The Ma'mūris

One name which occurs throughout the 17th century is but has eluded detailed scholarly scrutiny/Māmūrī. In this section the fortunes of individual Māmūrīs, and their internal relationships are explored, with a view to discovering the degree of continuity of rank and influence in this particular case. Since the Māmūrīs were largely medium-ranking officials the information in them has large gaps.

In the biography of Mīr ʿAbdur Razzāq Muḥaffar Kān Māmūrī, the author of Maʿāṣir-ul Umarā states that he was a true Saiyid of Ma'mūrābād, a village in the vicinity of Najaf.¹ This is a more reasonable ascription of their native place than the one suggested by the modern translator of the Maʿāṣir-ul Umarā; that the place of origin of the Māmūrīs was a place called Māmūra near Kabul.² Quite obviously Shāhnawāz Kān in the 18th century was in a fairly good position to know of the origin of the Māmūrīs and his statement may be safely

¹. M.U., vol. III, p.376. No place called Ma'mūrābād is mentioned in Haft Iqlīm op.cit. or the Rauṣat-us Šafā, a comprehensive history of Iran by Mīr Ḵhwānd; nor is it mentioned in Le Strange's The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, op.cit. Māmūrīa - a village in the city of Khurram Shaḥr and a village of the same name in the city of Nishāpūr are mentioned in Farhang-i Jughrafiya-i Irān, Vols. 6 and 9 respectively. These references are corroborated by Loghat Nāme Dahkhodā, op.cit., Latter 'M' p.760.

². M.U., tr. H. Beveridge, Reprint, Patna 1979, vol. I, p.269; he cites Elliot and Dowson's History of India, etc. vol. V, p.316.
accepted. No connection between Kabul and the Mamūris is, in any case, recorded.

The Mamūris, were, therefore, Irání, and indeed like the bulk of the Irání nobility, they seem to have appeared for the first time during the reign of Akbar. The first name which we get is that of Mir Ābdur Razzaq Māmūrī. Though the Maśāir-ul Umarā mentions that his ancestors had migrated to India, we do not find record of any earlier member of the family living or serving in India. The first reference to Ābdur Razzaq Ma'mūrī himself occurs when in June 1586 Qāsim Khān led an expedition into Kashmir, and Mir Ābdur Razzaq Māmūrī was posted with him. In October, 1586 when the imperial forces met with a reverse, Qāsim Khān sent Mir Ābdur Razzaq and others in the vanguard. In the same year Akbar is said to have introduced certain reforms in the administration and dual appointments were made to provincial offices. Mir Ābdur Razzaq Māmūrī was appointed bakhshi of šūba Bihar with Rai Patar Das as its diwān.

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2. A.N.,III, p.496.
3. Ibid., p.506.
4. Ibid., p.511.
In 1592, after the rebellion of Muẓaffar Shāh Gujarātī, Mīr Ābdur Razzāq was appointed as Bakhshī of Gujarat.¹ In 1593 he was put under surveillance by Mirzā Āzīz Koka before the latter's escape to Ḥijāz via port Bilawal which was in the jurisdiction of Mīr Ābdur Razzāq.²

In 1596 Mīr Ābdur Razzāq Māmūrī was sent with Qulīj Khān to join Qāsim Khān in operations against the Raushaniyas and his good service received notice.³ He also served with Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī in Bengal for a long time as Bakhshī. When Raja Man Singh, sūbedār of Bengal, was ordered to lead an expedition against Mewar, there was some disturbance in Bengal. Mīr Ābdur Razzāq Māmūrī was arrested by Māşūm and Qutlū Lohānī, the leaders of the rebellion, in or about 1601. Thanks to the timely return of Raja Man Singh who dispersed the rebels and further by the chance that the executioner who was deputed to kill the Mīr was shot dead, his life was saved. Afterwards, he went to the court and received royal favours.⁴

The Tuzuk suggests that he was imperial Bakhshī at the time of Akbar's death. Jahāngīr refers to his

2. Ibid., p.638.
3. Ibid., pp.702, 703.
earlier defection from his own service but the details of the service Ābdur Razzāq performed with Prince Salīm are not available. Inspite of his defection Jahāngīr now confirmed him in his post, and granted him the title of Muẓaffar Khān. He was appointed as second Bakhshī along with Khwāja Jahān. In this service he distinguished himself. ¹ After some time he was appointed Bakhshī of Prince Parvez² and later on Bakhshī of the court (Bakhshī-i Huzūr).³

In 1609 Muẓaffar Khān Māmūrī was sent to direct the manṣabdārs of the army serving in Mewar that they should obey the orders of Abdullah Khān, who had replaced Mahābat Khān.⁴

For some time in 1612, Muẓaffar Khān Māmūrī was given the charge of the revenue department in Thatta. On the basis of past and current realization, he determined the jamaʿdāmī and also assigned jāgīrs to Mirzā Rustam Šafavī, the newly appointed şubēdar and his dependants.⁵

In 1616-17 he was appointed şubēdar of Thatta and his dependants.

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1. Tuzuk, p.6. He seems first to have joined Prince Salīm's service, but left it "without cause for reason" for that of Akbar; Z.Kh. pp.205-7; M.U. III, 377-78.
2. Tuzuk, p.7.
3. Ibid., p.39.
4. Ibid., p.74.
rank was raised to 2500/1000. In 1620-21 he was made governor of Agra and in 1622-23 was assigned the high office of Mir Bakhshi. During the last days of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed subedār of Malwa. After Jahāngīr's death, Khan Jahān Lodi marching northwards from the Deccan seized Malwa from Mużaffar Khan Māmūrī. After his accession Shāhjahān assigned Malwa to Khan Zaman, son of Mahābät Khan, and Mużaffar Khan Māmūrī was obliged to live in retirement in the capital. It is not known when he died.

Mir ‘Abdul Wahāb, a younger brother of Mir ‘Abdur Razzāq, was a poet and his pen-name was ‘Ināyati. Under Jahāngīr he was made Bakhshi of Qandahār and afterwards, when Prince Dāwar Bakhsh was appointed subedār of Gujarat, he was made Bakhshi of Gujarat. He died there.

1. Tuzuk, pp.156, 234.
2. Ibid., p.337.
3. Ibid., p.361.
4. Qazwīnī, f.131(b); M.U. III, p.378.
5. Lāhorī I(a), pp.76, 82.
6. Ibid., pp.126,427.
Mir 'Abdul Wahab's son Asad Khan Mamuri served in Thatta with his uncle Mu'azzafar Khan Mamuri. Since Asad Khan loved soldierly display he is said to have employed a large number of Arghun and Tarkhan youths whom he always kept around him at Thatta. When Prince Parwez went with Mahabat Khan, in pursuit of Prince Shahjahah, Asad Khan was posted with him. Mahabat Khan, after coming to Burhanpur, put him in charge of Ellichpur. In the war between Adil Shahi commander and Malik Ambar, in 1624 he went to reinforce Mulla Lari, the Adil Shahi general, along with other officers and mansabdars. When the Adil Shahis were defeated at Bhatwadi, Asad Khan escaped from the battle field and reached Burhanpur. When Shahjahah returned from Bengal and besieged Burhanpur, Asad Khan helped Rao Ratan in defending the city. As a reward of this he was promoted to the post of Bakhshi of the Deccan.

When Khan Jahan Lodi, after the death of Prince Parwez, was appointed subedar of the Deccan, he used to get up in honour of Aqa Afzal Fazil Khan, who was diwan of the Deccan, but did not rise for Asad Khan Mamuri. Asad Khan is said to have been displeased, since he was

1. Z.Kh. II, p.275.
very conscious of his own status as a Saiyid. The Badshāh Nāma implies that he held the rank of 2500/1500, at the time of Jahāngīr's death.

In the beginning of Shāhjāhān's reign Asad Khān was recalled and came to court, bringing with him 14 elephants as peshkash. Shāhjāhān overlooked his active part in the defence of Burhanpur, and in 1629 appointed him faujdār of Lakhi Jungle with an increase of 500 zāt, whereby his rank was raised to 2500/1500. In 1632, while holding the rank of 3000/1500 he died at Lahore.

According to the Zakhīrat-ul Khawānin a son of Asad Khān Māmūrī was killed in a Skirmish between Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang and the Rānā in the 4th regnal year of Jahāngīr.

Another Māmūrī officer noticed during Jahāngīr's reign is Mir Abdul Karīm Māmūrī. It seems that he was a noted architect. In 1615 he was sent to Māndū with orders

2. Lāhorī, I(a), p.183; This rank was confirmed later by Shāhjāhān.
3. Ibid., p.197; M.U. I, p.141.
4. Ibid., p.288; but this seems to be a mistake of the scribe. In 1627 his rank is mentioned 2500/1500. After an increase of 500 zāt it should be 3000/1500 which is given in the decennial list. Cf. M.U. I, pp.141-42 gives 2500/2500, which also seems to be a slip.
5. Lāhorī I(a), pp.29, 397; Z.Kh. II, pp.275-76.
6. Z.Kh. II, p.68.
to construct new buildings for imperial use and to repair the buildings of the previous sultans. In about a year, Mir 'Abdul Karīm got some old buildings repaired and a few new ones constructed. Besides, he constructed in the city a whole new building on which Rs.3 lakhs were spent. When the Emperor visited these buildings he granted to Mir 'Abdul Karīm the rank of 800/400 and the title of Mamūr Khān. He is also said to have constructed buildings at Lahore at an expense of Rs.7 lakhs in 1620. The famous poet and historian Chandra Bhān Brahman was in his service at Lahore.

It seems that at the death of Jahāngīr, Mir 'Abdul Karīm was appointed diwān of the Punjab, he was replaced in 1631 by Ḥakīm Jamālā-ī Kāshi. In 1663, he was appointed Darogha-i Imārāt (Superintendent of buildings) of Agra. In 1634 he was promoted to the rank of 1000/200. In 1638 he was given promotion to 1500/200. He was employed in

4. Şāliḥ III, pp.434, 443.
the construction of the Tāj Maḥal, along with Mullā Murshid Shīrāzī Makarmat Khān. In 1655 he is mentioned as holding four posts, Bakhshī, Wāqīā nawīs, Dārogha of buildings and Mīr Bahr of Agra. In these posts he was replaced by Muṭṭalīb, son of Mutamad Khān.

An officer of the same clan who rose to prominence during the reign of Shāhjahan was Mīr Abūl Fazl Māmūrī. The author of Zakhiratul Khawānīn knew him and praises his generosity and obliging nature. He held a high status in the Deccan. He received favours from Prince Aurangzeb.

Towards the close of Shāhjahan's reign he held the rank of 500/200. In 1658 when Aurangzeb marched northwards to claim the throne, Mīr Abūl Fazl Māmūrī was promoted to the rank

2. Ibid., p.491.
3. Ṣādīq Khān, ff.93(a)-(b); K.K. I, p.747.
of 1000/400. In the battle of Dharmat he served in the Vanguard with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and Najābat Khān. After the battle he was granted the title of Māmūr Khān and promotion to the rank of 1500/500. In the battle of Samūgarh he was again placed in the vanguard under the same generals.

It is said that when Najābat Khān subsequently showed some presumption, Aurangzeb sent Mīr Abūl Faţl Māmūrī who was a very good friend of his to bring him to the court. But his persuasions were unsuccessful and Najābat Khān spoke scornfully of the Emperor. Then afraid of his conduct being reported, Najābat Khān murdered Abūl Faţl and had his corpse thrown outside. Yet Najābat Khān was only deprived of his rank and title, no other punishment was awarded to him.

2. Ibid., pp. 62, 77; M.U. II, p. 504.
3. Ibid., p. 93.
4. M.U. III, pp. 505-506. The murder is obliquely referred to in Alamgīr Nāma, on p. 230 where Najābat Khān is said to have been deprived of his rank, jāgīr, the high title of Khān-i Khānān Sipahsālār and the honour of coming to the court for the serious crime (Taqṣīr-i 'ażīm). However, Sādiq Khān Māmūrī gives another version. He gives the name of the murdered man as Mīr Khawāfī (Sādiq Khān, ff. 101(b), 104(a)). One cannot say where the truth lies. In any case, Mīr Abūl Faţl Māmūrī I is not heard of again. The possibility cannot be ignored that by Mīr Khawāfī, Sādiq Khān meant Abūl Faţl Māmūrī. There is some suggestions of close ties between Māmūris and Khawāfīs, which we shall comment on later.
Mīr Abūl Faẓl was survived by a son Mīr ʿAbdullah who was a master calligraphist. For some time he served as Bakhshī of the army of Fīroz Jang. Mīr ʿAbdullah's two children are also noticed: a son who owing to unemployment became a darwesh and a daughter who was married to Jaʿfar Ālī Khān Khurāsānī. Jaʿfar Ālī Khān had earlier acquired fame as a son-in-law of Ḥātim Beg Kifāyat Khān. He had served under Aurangzeb as diwān of Bijapur, of Haiderabad and of Bihar and for sometime as Bakhshī of the army of Ghāzīuddīn Khān Fīroz Jang. He died at the beginning of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. Nothing is known about the other children of Mīr Abūl Faẓl Māmūrī. But his sister had many children. One of her grand children was Fakhruddīn Ālī Khān. Fakhruddīn Ālī's father Mīr Abūl Fatḥ resigned imperial service and took to commerce and oversea trade at Cuttack in Orissa. This is one of the rare instances where trade could entice away a member of the Mughal nobility.

Fakhruddīn Ālī himself was said to be an intelligent and enterprising man but not favoured by fortune. He was appointed Bakhshī and wāqīa nawiṣī of Sangamner in the Deccan during Aurangzeb's reign. In the

1. This marriage reinforces the belief that the Māmūrīs were Irānīs.
3. Ibid., p.507.
reign of Bahādur Shāh I he was appointed Qilādār of Surat.¹

He was dismissed in the reign of Farrukh Siyar. When Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān Amīr-ul Umarā’ came to the Deccan in 1715, on account of his old acquaintance with his family, Fakhruddīn ‘Alī was appointed faujdār of Bijagarh.²

In 1724 when Mubāriz Khān was appointed sūbedār of the Deccan, he appointed him as governor of Berar. He died about the time Nīgāmul Mulk overthrew Mubāriz Khān.

Shāhnawāz Khān, the author of Ma‘āṣir-ul Umarā, says that the Mīr was closely related to him.³ The relationship is, however, not described; Shāhnawāz Khān was himself an Irānī, being a Khawāfī.

In the account of 1659 the Alamgīrnāma mentions Isfandyār Khān Māmūrī as commander of Prince Shuja’s vanguard in battle against Mīr Jumla.⁴ After Shuja’s defeat as the prince retreated to Akbarnagar he ordered Isfandyār Khān to build an entrenchment.⁵ In 1660 the latter was sent to Dūnāpūr to check the imperial forces.⁶

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5. Ibid., pp.496-97.
6. Ibid., p. 504.
In the battle of Tanda, Isfandyār Khān Māmūrī commanded the rearguard and sustained serious injuries.\(^1\) When at last Shāh Shuja' fled to Assam, Isfandyār Khān surrendered to Mīr Jumla in 1661.\(^2\) He was apparently accepted in service. He was appointed faujdār of Khairābād.\(^3\) According to the Tāriḵ-i Muḥammadī, he was given the title of Māmūr Khān.\(^4\) In 1684 after some success in an engagement Māmūr Khān who had now got the title of Dilir Khān, was granted a robe of honour, a farman, a tugh and a banner.\(^5\)

Isfandyār Khān Māmūrī had a son, Muḥammad Yār Khān who was given his father's title Māmūr Khān in 1684.\(^6\) In 1692 Muḥammad Yār Māmūr Khān was appointed faujdār of Bīr being transferred from Aurangābād. He was also given a promotion of 400 sawār and thus his rank was raised to 1500/800.\(^7\) In 1701 he is mentioned to have been removed

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1. Kāẓim, p.523; Šādiq Khān, ff.112(a), 114(b).
2. Ibid., pp.554-5.
3. Ibid., p.863.
7. Ibid., p.347.
from the faujdārī of Karnatak Bijapur. ¹ He died in the same year, as sūbedār of Bijapur. ²

Two more Māmūrī officials of Shāhjahān's reign namely Muḥammad Šādiq holding (supposedly) the title Šādiq Khān Māmūrī and Mīr Abūl Faṣl Māmūrī pose a problem for the historian to resolve. They were themselves historians whose respective histories of the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb were freely plagiarised by Khāfi Khān. The account of Shāhjahān's reign was written by Šādiq Khān, while from the 2nd R.Y. of Aurangzeb's reign till his death the work was compiled by Abūl Faṣl Māmūrī.

The exact relationship between the two authors is not known. Šādiq Khān has given the names of his family members, such as his uncle Mīr Muḥammad Khān who along with his two sons received wounds in the war of succession. ³ Another uncle Bāqī Khān was appointed sūbedār of Agra in 1648. ⁴ He also claims that Jaʿfar Khān the well known wazīr of the early years of Aurangzeb and a member of the house of Itimād-ud Daula was an uncle of his. ⁵ This amounts

¹ M.A., p.441.
² T.M., p.12.
³ Šādiq Khān, ff. 9(b), 10(a).
⁴ Ibid., f. 79(b).
⁵ Ibid., ff.100(a), 102(b).
to a claim that Şâdiq Khân was related to Nûr Jahân's family by marriage. Here, again, it may be noted, kinship is claimed with the most eminent Irânî family.

Şâdiq Khân offers certain details about himself. He was appointed waqâi' nawîs of Prince Shâhjahan's army during the expedition against the Râna of Mewâr (1614). 1 After Shâhjahan's accession he was made Bakhshî. 2 In the 4th R.Y. (1631) he was appointed superintendent of Ghusal Khâna. 3 In 1642 he was appointed Diwân of Ta'n, vice Râi Mukand Dâs. 4 In 1647 he was promoted to 6000/6000. 5 The other particulars cannot be confirmed; but the last is sheer invention. No manşabdâr of 6,000 zât of the name of Şâdiq Khân Mâmûrî is recorded by Lâhorî or Wâris. It seems that for some reason Şâdiq Khân was given misleading particulars either for self-glorification or possibly to escape identification. In this case even the name Şâdiq Khân may be dubious.

It may well be that this was because Şâdiq Khân was not sympathetic to Aurangzeb's cause. In 25th R.Y.

1. Şâdiq Khân, f.2(b).
2. Ibid., ff.4(b)-5(a).
3. Ibid., f.22(b).
4. Ibid., f.56(a).
5. Ibid., f.76(b).
(1651) he says, he was appointed Wāqī' Nīgār of the four provinces of the Deccan.¹ But he had returned to Agra before the War of Succession. When Aurangzeb arrived near Dholpur, Shāhjahan wanted to lead the army personally and for that orders were sent to Dara through Šādiq Khān; but the Prince did not agree.² Šādiq Khān and his uncle Mīr Muḥammad Khān sustained severe injuries in the battle³.

After Aurangzeb's accession he was removed from the post of Wāqīa nawīs of Agra and detained at the court.⁴ In the 29th R.Y. 1687 Mīr Abūl Fażl Ma'mūrī mentions him as alive, being involved in a suspected conspiracy with Prince Mu'azzam.⁵ This makes Šādiq Khān's career even more of a puzzle giving him a career right from 1614 to 1687. Obviously, there is some enormous blunder deception somewhere here.

Mīr Abūl Fażl Ma'mūrī who continued the compilation was certainly not the same Abūl Fażl who had served in the Deccan during Shāhjahan's time (see above).

¹. Šādiq Khān, f. 86(b).
². Ibid., f. 98(a).
³. Ibid., f. 98(b).
⁴. Ibid., f. 100(b).
⁵. Ibid., f. 168(b).
In the 6th R.Y. 1662 A.D. Mir Abūl Faţl Ma'mūrī describes Shāista Khān's Deccan campaign on the testimony of the narration of his father who had been in that campaign. But he does not mention his father's name.

In 1682 he was, in addition to being Mir-i Sāmān of Burhanpur, he was also appointed Waga'i nawīs. In 1685 when Prince Muḥammad Aẓam besieged the fort of Bijapur, Mir Abūl Faţl Ma'mūrī was sent there to convey some important imperial message to the Prince. In 36th R.Y. (1693 A.D.) he mentions that he was transferred from the post of Dārogha-i Buɣtāt, in which he had been serving for thirty years, and was appointed Mir Bahr. This is in apparent contradiction to his earlier statement about holding the post of Mir Sāmān in 1682; but the post of Mir Sāmān was closely connected with the Buɣtāt Department. None of these particulars can be verified from other sources; and these too may well be fictitious.

Our survey of the Ma'mūrīs thus provides some answers while it raises others that need more elucidation.

1. Šādiq Khān, f.130(a).
2. Ibid., ff.155(a)-(b).
3. Ibid., ff.163(a)-(b).
4. Ibid., f.185(b).
First of all it is practically certain that the Ma'mūris were Irānis, and almost as certain that they were Saiyids of Ma'mūr near Najaf. They only married among Irānī families. Their connexions with Khawāfīs are, however, not clear, though certain hints are suggestive. Šādiq Khān seems to call Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī, Mīr Khawāfī; Khāfī Khān obtained a copy of apparently privately kept history of Šādiq Khān and Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī II which he plagiarised; Shāhnawāz Khān, a Khawāfī, claimed kinship with Ma'mūris. Even more tantalising is the lack of information about the kinship between various officers bearing the clan-name Ma'mūrī. It is hoped that these may be clarified as records and MSS. are further investigated. Finally, the curiously fictitious nature of biographical details about the two Ma'mūrī historians Šādiq Khān and Abūl Faẓl Ma'mūrī II demand adequate explanation. While all these matters are for further research, the history of Ma'mūris within the Mughal nobility illustrates once again how once admitted to the nobility, members of a family or clan could go on claiming a place in it for a long time on the basis of status that had been once recognised.
(iv) MĪR JUMLA'S FAMILY

Mīr Muḥammad Said Mīr Jumla is one of the well known figures of 17th-century India. An emigrant, merchant, administrator and general, he was at once an adventurer and a statesman.† Jagdish Narain Sarkar has given us a definitive biography of the man, based on the varied original sources available, Persian, English and Dutch, etc.‡ It is, therefore, not necessary here to go over the same ground again, and a summary statement of the main facts of his life may suffice.

Mīr Muḥammad Said Ardistanī was a native of Ardistan near Iṣfahān.§ His father was a petty oil-merchant. Yet he found an opportunity to acquire some knowledge of letters which apparently helped him to secure the office of a clerk to a diamond merchant who used to trade with Golkonda.¶ He then accompanied another Persian merchant as his personal attendant and incharge of his horses in a voyage to India.§§ Later gossip held that he was compelled to selling shoes

1. Bernier, p.16.

2. The Life of Mir Jumla - The General of Aurangzeb, (Second edition), New Delhi, 1979 (hereafter see Mir Jumla).


5. Bernier, pp. 16-17; Manucci I, pp.231-32.
in the streets of Golkonda during his early days. He, however, soon established himself at Golkonda primarily as a great merchant and subsequently entering Quṭbshāhī service obtained the title of 'Mīr Jumla' which denote his position as the principal minister or general. He was particularly responsible for Quṭbshāhī occupation of parts of the Vijayanagar Empire (Karnatak), and the Quṭbshāhī Karnataka became practically his private kingdom. This was bound to excite jealousy at the Quṭbshāhī court; and Mīr Jumla in turn turned to the Mughals for protection.

It was in 1656 that Mīr Jumla threw himself under the protection of Shāhjahān who, after the successful invasion of Golkunda by Aurangzeb, granted him initially the rank of 5000/5000, while his son Muḥammad Amin obtained that of 2000/1000. Subsequently, he was granted the title of Muʿāẓzm Khān and the rank of 6000/6000 and he was appointed to the high office of wazīr of the Mughal Empire. On the accession of Aurangzeb he was promoted to the mansab of 7000/7000

and was deputed to lead the army against Prince Shujā' in the east. After the successful conclusion of the Campaign, he was granted the title of Khān-i Khānān Sipahsālār. He then led an invasion of Assam, but on his return, died at Khirāpur in Kuch Bihar in 1663.

Mīr Muḥammad Ṭānī, the only son of Mīr Jumla, was an important noble of Golkunda Kingdom when the latter was at the height of his power. He had a considerable following at court and acted as deputy of his father when he was absent in Karnatak. When Mīr Jumla transferred his allegiance to Shāhjahān, Mīr Muḥammad Ṭānī was imprisoned by Qutb Shāh along with his family and his property was confiscated. He was subsequently released under the pressure of Aurangzeb's forces which invaded Golkunda. He waited upon Prince Sultān Muḥammad (Aurangzeb's son) near Haiderābād. It was in the 30th R.Y. of Shāhjahān (1656) that Muḥammad Ṭānī, along with his father, entered Mughal service. But on account of heavy rains and of his sudden illness  

2. Ibid., p.563; Māmūrī, ff. 118(a)-(b).
3. Ibid., p.812; Ibid., f.129(b); Bernier, p.173; M.U. III, p.554.
4. Wāriq, p.365; Māmūrī, f.95(a); M.U. III, p.613.
5. Ibid., p.336.
he had to stay behind at Burhanpur while his father went to the court. After some time came to court and received a Khilat and the title of Khan.¹ In the same year Mir Jumla was sent to the Deccan to be an auxiliary of Prince Aurangzeb in the Bijapur Campaign. Muhammad Amin, being promoted to the rank of 3000/1000 was appointed deputy wazir on his father’s behalf at the court.² Thus Mir Jumla’s family, from the very beginning of its arrival at the Mughal court, was given a very high position. In 1657 (31st R.Y.) Muhammad Amin Khan, in addition to the office of deputy wazir, was appointed Mir Bakhshi; his rank was increased to 3000/1500 and a bejewelled pen-case was granted to him.³ Meanwhile Shâhjahan fell ill and, Dârâ Shukoh being nominated as his successor, it was difficult to retain Mir Jumla, suspected to be the partisan of his rival Aurangzeb, as wazir. He was therefore removed from the office of wazir towards the end of September 1657 for having acted against certain orders. His son, Muhammad Amin Khan, who had been acting as his deputy wazir was forbidden from going to the office.⁴

¹. Wâris, p.363; M.U., III, p.613.
². Ibid., p.365; Cf. Mâmûrî, f.95(a) Where his rank is given 3000/3000.
³. Mâmûrî, f.96(a); Cf. M.U. III, pp.613-14.
⁴. Mir Jumla, p.177.
In December 1657 Mīr Jumla was recalled to the court. But Aurangzeb, loath to lose aid of Mīr Jumla's forces, persuaded him to remain with him in the Deccan. Since Mīr Jumla was not ready to defy the imperial order he was arrested (January, 1658) and sent as a prisoner to the fort of Daulatābād. On the other side, Muḥammad Amīn Khān was imprisoned in Agra by Dārā Shukoh simply on the charge of neglect of duty but actually on the suspicion of Mīr Jumla's collusion with Aurangzeb in the Deccan. But shortly afterwards he was released from confinement.

After Aurangzeb's accession Muḥammad Amīn was appointed to the office of Mīr Takhshī and his rank was raised to 4000/3000. In the 2nd R.Y. his rank was increased to 5000/4000; and further to 5000/5000 in the 5th R.Y. In the 7th R.Y. (1664) 1000 of his sawār rank was made do-aspa sih-aspa. In the 10th R.Y. (1667) he was sent to suppress the uprising of the Yūsufzais. Though before his arrival, Shamsheer

1. Kāẓīm, f. 84; Māmūrī f. 96(a).
2. Ibid.; Ibid., ff. 98(a), 100(a); Cf. Bernier, pp. 41-42.
3. Ibid., pp. 111-12, 119; Cf. Māmūrī, f. 100(a).
4. Ibid., p. 426.
5. Ibid., p. 762.
6. Ibid., p. 855.
Khān Tarīn had defeated the Afghāns, Muḥammad Amin too entered their territory and devastated their country before returning to Lahore. Soon after he was appointed Šūbedār of Lahore in succession to Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg and the office of Mir Bakhshī, which Muḥammad Amin was still holding, was now assigned to Dānishmand Khān.

In 1667, Muḥammad Amin received royal orders to treat 'Abdullāh Khān (the expelled ruler of Kāshghar) with all respect and care and to give him 50,000 rupees from the public revenue besides a large amount and some articles as offering on his own behalf. In the 13th R.Y. (1670) he was appointed Šūbedār of Kabul. In the same year Jaʿfar Khān the wazīr died and Asad Khān was deputed as acting wazīr until a suitable person was found. The choice fell on Muḥammad Amin Khān. In the 14th R.Y. (1671) he came to the court. Inspite of his business capacity and his ripe judgement was wellknown, he was reputed to be haughty and reckless. He accepted the office of wazīr on certain conditions which were not acceptable to the Emperor. The offer was, therefore, withdrawn, and

1. Kaḡim, p.1065; M.A. pp.62-63; Māmūrī, f.139(a) states that Muḥammad Amin Khān was appointed Šūbedār of Lahore in addition to the office of Mir Bakhshī and was then sent to Chastise the Yūsufzāi Afghāns.

2. Kgim, p.1067; M.A., p.64.

3. M.A., p.64. Similar orders were also sent to Mumtāz Khān, Šūbedār of Kashmir and other governors and faujdārs on his route.

4. Ibid., p.104; M.U.,III, p.616.
he was granted leave to go back to Kabul, though he did receive a special robe of honour (Khilat-i Khāsa) and the elephant Ālam Gumān with silver trappings.¹

In the 15th R.Y. (April 1672) Muḥammad Amīn Khān had to face a serious Afghān uprising. He was worsted in a battle on the Khyber Pass. His young son ‘Abdullāh Khān was killed in battle, while his young daughter and some of ladies of his family were captured by the Afghāns and only released on payment of heavy ransoms.² It is said that in spite of having come to know that the Afghāns, on hearing of his designs to march from Kabul to Peshāwar, had closed the roads, Muḥammad Amīn in his arrogance paid no heed to it and after crossing the Khyber marched on into their territory. The Afghāns attacked on all sides and great slaughter occurred among the Mughals. Muḥammad Amīn Khān wanted to sacrifice his life but his servants led him away.³ This great reverse destroyed his reputation, and Aurangzēb did not give him another chance against the Afghāns which he sought from the emperor. His rank was reduced from 6000/5000 to 5000/5000 and he was

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² Ibid., pp.117-18; Manucci, II, pp.200-201, also see M.U. III, 617-18.
³ M.A., p.118.
appointed şübedar of Gujarat without being allowed a visit to the court. ¹ He served there for a fairly long period. In the 22nd R.Y. (1679) an order was sent to him to come with his contingent to Ajmer to take part in the campaign against the Rana.² Muḥammad Amin was consequently granted the honour of paying homage to the emperor at Ajmer in the beginning of the 23rd R.Y. (October 1679), and he was well rewarded along with his officers.³

In February 1680 he took leave at Chittor for Ahmadabad and at the time of departure he was granted a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant.⁴ In the 25th R.Y., on 16 June, 1682 he died in Ahmadabad while still its şübedar. He was buried within the Bhadra citadel.⁵ Like his father, he too left large property including 70 lakhs of rupees, 1,35,000 ashrafīs and Ḥibrāḥīmīs, 76 elephants, 432 horses, 117 camels, 114 mules, ten chests of Chinaware of all kinds, 60 carts (rahkala).

². Ibid.; Ibid.
³. Ma‘amūrī, ff. 151(a)-(b).
⁵. Mirāt-i Ahmādī, I, p.302; Cf. M.A. p.219 gives 4 June. His tomb and a mosque adjacent to it are still extant in the Bhadra fort near the Kutcheri gate. The tomb has been transformed into a residence and the mosque into the office; See M.S. Commissariat, A History of Gujarat, Bombay, 1957, Vol.2, p.183 (hereinafter see Commissariat).
one maund of shot, and 54 maunds of gunpowder. These possessions were brought from Ahmadabad to the court and seized by the imperial orders.¹ In Delhi, Muḥammad Amin Khan had a havelī (mansion) which after his death was presented in 1686 Mahabat Khan Haiderabadi². In Ahmadabad, Muḥammad Amin Khan had laid out a garden with great trouble and planted various kinds of fruit trees. We are informed that Aurangzeb was fond of choice mangoes of this garden and sent orders to the new governor Mukhtar Khan Subzwārī asking him to furnish details of the income, expense, area of the land (garden), buildings, number of trees etc. of this garden.³ About the wealth of Muḥammad Amin Khan, Manucci on the testimony of the Khan's own secretary says "without drawing pay or income from the king, he could of himself, with the rank he had, maintain twelve thousand horsemen for eighty years".⁴ It may be noted that Muḥammad Amin Khan, after his father's death, had been looking after the latter's business through his agent or broker 'Mīr Mameth Hosseyn Taffa Tappa' (Mīr Muḥammad Ḥūsain

1. M.A., p.226; Cf. M.U., III, p.619 does not mention horses, Camels, mules and other things. The Mīrāt-i Āhmādī, I, pp.304-5, mentions only 59 horses of which 17 old and deformed ones were sold by the diwān of the sūbah and the remaining 42 horses were sent to the court.


Tabatabai). Even four years after Mir Jumla's death, Muhammad Amin Khan enjoyed high repute there at Masulipatam his agent Taptapa (Tubatabhai?) virtually acted as master of the port and bought and sold and loaded and unloaded cargo free of every impost.¹

Muhammad Amin Khan was proud and self-conceited by his nature² but at the same time he was known for honesty and truth. He had a wonderful memory. He memorized the Qur'an in a very short time during his governorship of Ahmadabad and attained the privilege of being designated a 'Hafiz' by the Emperor himself.³

Regarding his religion we are told that he was a Shi'a (Imamiya) and his bigotry had reached such an extent that he did not admit Hindus to privacy. If any of the great Rajas, who could not be denied, came to see him, he afterwards had the house washed and carpet removed; and he changed his clothes!⁴ If Manucci may be relied upon, Muhammad Amin Khan is said to have denied the common people in Ahmadabad the right to offer their prayers in the same mosque at the time of

2. M.A. 219; Manucci, II, p.179 also calls him a haughty and far from genial.
his prayers. This caused great resentment among the people who mobbed the Khān, when he came out of the mosque, and the Khān was obliged to hide in a neighbouring house. He reported the incident to the Emperor; but the latter censured him for his haughtiness. Mīr Muḥammad Aḥmīd Khān died within a short time of this occurrence.¹

A similar incident of mass agitation in which the subedar was mobbed on the day of ‘Īd, while returning from the prayers, has been recorded in Mīrāt-i Ahmādī under this year but in a different context.² Manucci,

2. Mīrāt-i Ahmādī, vol. I, pp.300-301 mentions that in the year 109? AH., a severe famine took place in Ahmadabad due to scarcity of food. Dearness of cereals and foodgrains rose to such an extent that people suffered afflictions for want of bread. By chance, ‘Īd fell during these days. The Khān had gone out for prayers. On his return to the city through the bāzār, people, who had come out for the celebration, gathered around his carriage (sawārī) and began to lament about the dearness and scarcity. A mischievous person named Abū Bakr was present in that mob and he induced and excited masses to riot. Muḥammad Aḥmīd Khān went to the fort and a report of it was sent to the Emperor (at Aurangābād where he had recently arrived, M.A. p.217). The Emperor was enraged and issued an order to Muḥammad Aḥmīd Khān to put Abū Bakr to death as a leader of rioters. The Khān arranged a banquet to which Abū Bakr was also invited. After the food was over, Muḥammad Aḥmīd Khān cut a melon, which was specially kept ready for the Shaikh and personally offered him a few poisoned slices. As soon as the Shaikh ate them, his condition changed and immediately left the banquet. He died soon after reaching home; see S.B. Rajyagor: History of Gujarat, New Delhi, 1982, p.275.
seems to have been confounded, the latter incident with a real or imaginary protest against his ban on prayers in the mosque during his own presence.

Although apparently a failure on the military front, Amin Khan earned the reputation of a successful and competent administrator during his governorship of Gujarat. Aurangzeb himself is said to have remarked that ‘the management and law and order as established by Muhammad Amin Khan in this suba were not obtained at any time under any of the subedar’. It was perhaps as a result of Aurangzeb's high assessment of his capacities that Amin Khan held the governorship of Gujarat for as many as ten years, a tenure which had never been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. An account of his administration is provided by the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, on which the following description is based.

In 1673, after his arrival in Ahmedabad, Amin Khan, in compliance with imperial orders, condoned arrears of previous years due from peasants in the Khaliq and Jagirs and thus saved the peasants from


2. From 11th June 1672 to 16th June 1682 (4th Safar 1083 A.H. to 20th Jamad II 1093 A.H.), see M.A., pp. 121, 219.

much harassment. As for the dues of the immediately preceding year it was ordered that these should be demanded only from those who were in a position to be brought pay, and those who had fled should back and restored to their lands. \(^1\) Chaudharies and Muqaddams were taking villages on farm, causing much oppression on the peasants. An imperial order was issued to the Divān of the sūba to the effect that tax-farming should cease in both Khāliṣa and jāgīrs and the prohibited cesses should not be demanded from the peasants (rifāyā). The Amins in parganas were also ordered to act in accordance with these orders. \(^2\)

During the governorship of Amīn Khān, a number of imperial orders arrived in Gujarat exhibiting Aurangzab's anxiety to appeal to Muslim law in financial and revenue matters. Imposition of Jizya on the non-muslim subjects of the empire and the collection of Zakāt from the Muslims were the two major steps taken as part of this policy. The collection of Zakāt was revived to avoid loss occurring to the treasury as many Muslims on

2. Ibid., p.292.
whom the payment of zakāt was compulsory evaded it by mixing up their own goods with those of the non-Muslims.\(^1\)

In 1673 Amin Khān received an order that Muḥammad Sharīf, the jāzi and Muḥtasib of the city should be provided with footmen (piyādās) to enforce Islāmic regulations (Aḥkām-i Sharāī).\(^2\)

Amin Khān seems to have taken particular interest in the promotion of trade in Gujarat. In 1677 a number of Surat merchants, headed by Mirzā Muḥẓam, approached him at Ahmadābād for assistance against the oppressions of Ghiyāshuddīn Khān, the customer (mūtaṣaddī) of Surat. The merchants also went to the Emperor and consequently Ghiyāshuddīn Khān was recalled and Muḥammad Beg was appointed as customer of Surat port.\(^3\) In the same year a royal order was enforced in Ahmadābād against the monopolization of trade by a caste. In the mahāl of Ahmadābād mint (Dār-ū Shab Ahmadābād), a group of wire-drawers (Gudāzgarān-i Ṭarkash) belonging to the Srimāl caste monopolised the profession and did not

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1. Mirāt-i Ahmādī, vol. I, pp. 296-300 gives a detailed account of Jizya and Zakāt, including mode of the collection of Jizya and conditions for the realization of zakāt. Nearly five lacs of rupees were collected annually in Jizya from the Zimmis in Gujarat.


allow anyone to enter their profession. The order condemned this monopoly saying that prohibition of a trade is not permitted in religion (Share) and demanded that it be set aside. 1 Similarly, in 1680 another royal order granted exemption, from the zakāt tax, to the buyers of horses. 2

During his viceroyalty Amīn Khan also bestowed much attention on the conservation of public monuments and repairs to fortifications. In 1673 an amount of Rs. 8,250 was sanctioned from the royal treasury for the restoration of the fort of Āgamābād. 3 Similarly, an amount of 992 rupees was given from the royal treasury for repairs of a mosque built by Haibat Khan in the city. Again the fort of Jūnāgarh which was in a state of decay was also ordered to be repaired. 4 In 1676, it was found that the city-walls of Ahmadabad and some of the buildings of the royal palaces in the Bhadra fort

2. Ibid., p. 295.
3. Ibid., vol. I, p. 290. This fort was built by Āgam Khān, after himself, the subedār of Gujarat during Shāhjahān's reign, on the banks of the Vatrak river to overawe the rebellious kolīs of the region and to keep them under control. The ruins of the fort are still visible at the village of Āgamābād Kot-wadi in the Kapadwanj tālūqga of the Kaira district. See Supplement to the Mirāt-i Ahmādī, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1930, p. 19C; also Commissariat, vol. 2, p. 120, 181.
had began to fall. The Diwān of the gūba was ordered to pay 2,900 rupees, according to the estimates, for their repairs from the treasury. The next year, 1580 rupees were also sanctioned (tankhāw gārdīd) for repairs to the college (madrasa), the mosque, the ḥamām and the hospital (dār-ush ḫifā) constructed by Saif Khān, the sūbedār of Gujarat during Jahāngīr's reign.

Besides restoration and repairs to the old monuments, a number of new buildings were also constructed, both for utilitarian and religious purposes, during Amīn Khān's period of viceroyalty. In 1676, a mosque and a sarāi in the town of Dohad, the birth-place of Aurangzeb, were constructed under the supervision of the Darogha Muḥammad Beg. A sum of 76,300 rupees was spent over their construction.

Besides Amīn Khān, Mīr Jumla had several daughters. He wanted to marry one of them to Saiyid Nīgāmuddīn Aḥmad (of Mecca) and another to Saiyid Sulṭān Karbala'i (of Najaf), who were brought by Mīr Jumla to Haiderābād. As the two Saiyids were highly

2. Ibid. p.292.
3. Ibid. p.291. This square walled structure still serves in Dohad and is now utilised for government offices and similar purposes. See Commissariat, vol. 2, p.182 and f.n.11.
educated and of noble lineage, Quṭb Shāh himself resolved to marry his two daughters to them. This was perhaps an additional reason for Mir Jumla's displeasure with Quṭb Shāh. But on the day of the proposed marriages there occurred a hot discussion between Saiyid Aḥmad (Mīr Aḥmad Ḍārab of M.U. III, p.620) the elder son-in-law of Abdūllāh Qutb Shāh who had the management of government affairs and also arranged the marriage, and Saiyid Sultān. The situation took a serious turn so much so that Saiyid Aḥmad threatened his father-in-law that he would induce Aurangzeb to wipe out his kingdom in case the marriage took place. Saiyid Sultān thereupon set fire to the preparations. The marriage with Saiyid Sultān was therefore abandoned. In 1664 he joined Mughal service and was granted the rank of 1500/600 and 12000 rupees along with ten horses. In 1665 his rank was increased to 1500/700 and he was married to the daughter of Muḥammad Amin Khān. In 1666

1. Saiyid Niẓāmuddīn Ḍāmad was the son of the sister of Shāh ʿAbbās II and Saiyid Ṭaṣūm; he was educated and brought up at Mecca. Saiyid Sultān was the disciple of Saiyid Ṭaṣūm and belonged to a very high Saiyid family. See Mir Jumla, op.cit., Appendix-D, pp.73-74 and note; Cf. M.U., III, pp.619-20.


4. Ibid., p.870.

5. Ibid., p.876.
he was promoted to the rank of 2000/-.

Nothing more is known about him. A brother of Saiyid Sultān, Mīr Abbās appears to have been granted permission for returning to his native country (i.e. apparently Iran) in 1676; he was given a khilāt and an inām of 2000/- rupees.²

No male member of Mīr Jumla's family after the death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, appears to have survived. Mirzā ʿAbdullah the only son of Muḥammad Amīn Khān had already been killed by the Afghāns.³ A brother-in-law of Muḥammad Amīn Khān named Mirzā Sultān⁴ is also said to have been killed along with Mirzā ʿAbdullah. The only male member of the family, though not from the direct line of Mīr Jumla, a son of Muḥammad Amīn Khān's sister was Saiyid Muḥammad. He was perhaps in the service of his maternal uncle in Ahmadabad when the latter was the

2. N.A., p.141.
4. Manucci, vol. II, p.206. It seems that Mirzā Sultān and Saiyid Sultān are the same person, and Manucci is wrong to call him 'brother-in-law' in place of 'son-in-law'. It is true, as we have seen above, that Saiyid Sultān in the beginning was betrothed to one of the sisters of Muḥammad Amīn; but the marriage could not be materialized. Further, in 1676 Saiyid Sultān's brother Mīr Abbās appears to have taken leave for home. This also suggests that perhaps after his brother's death in 1672 he had to leave India.
sūbedār of Gujarat. Because Saiyid Aḥmad is found to have returned to the court in 1683 after the death of Muḥammad Amin Khan. He was granted audience and a robe of honour (Khilāt). Later he was sent along with Mughal Khan and other generals to fight against Surjan Singh Hārā. Nothing more is known of him and the other members of the family after this date.

2. Ibid., p.228.
(V) **OTHERS**

(a) **Mirzās of Qandahār**

The Mirzās of Qandahār belonged to the family of the Ẓafavīd rulers of Iran. In India they were known as Qandahārīs on account of their having held Qandahār before coming to India. The family came to India with Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī and his elder brother Mirzā Muḥaffar Ḥusain Ṣafavī. They were the great-grandsons of Shah Ismaiʿl Ṣafavī, and their father Sultan Ḥusain Mirzā was a son of Bahrām Mirzā, a son of Shah Ismaiʿl Ṣafavī. Sultan Ḥusain was governor (wālī) of Qandahār, Zamīndāwar and Garmser, which extended up to river Hirmand, during the reign of Shah ʿAbbās I (1524-76). Later in the reign of Khudā Banda (1577-86) after Sultan Ḥusain's death, Qandahār was assigned to Muḥaffar Ḥusain Mirzā, while the territory of Zamīndāwar and Garmser was made over to Rustam Mirzā. The other two brothers Abū Saʿīd Mirzā and Janjar Mirzā lived with Mirzā Rustam at Zamīndāwar.¹

Both the Akbar Nāma and the Tārīḵ-iʿAlam Ārāi Abbāsī say that the two brothers, Mirzā Muḥaffar Ḥusain and Mirzā Rustam, did not have cordial relations with each other. As compared to Qandahār Mirzā Rustam's

territory of Zamīndāwar and Garmser did not yield much income. Therefore, he was anxious to annex other territories; this was naturally opposed by Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā. The brothers fought time and again and both sustained great losses in officers and men. Their situation was made further difficult by the proximity of the Uzbeks, who posed a constant threat to the security of their territories. Finally the approach of the Mughal forces in the region made their position almost untenable. Mirzā Rustam Šafavī was the first to accept Mughal inducements in 1592-93, when he found that during his absence on a hunting expedition, Zamīndāwar had been seized by Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā. In 1575 Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā himself found the squeeze on him from the Uzbeks and the Mughals too hard to bear. Preferring to make terms with the Mughals, he handed over the possession of Qandahār to them. Both the brothers arrived at Akbar's court with a large retinue. On their arrival they were welcomed and escorted to the Emperor by important nobles like Āṣaf Khān, Ābdur Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, Mirzā Jānī Beg, Mirzā Azīz Koka and Zain Khān Kokaltāsh. 1 Mirzā Rustam was granted a mangāb of 5000/1500, and Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain that

of 5000/4000. They were assigned ḵāqīr in Multan, Baluchistān and Sambhal. Mirzā Rustam was also appointed as ṣūbedār of Multan; Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain was honoured with the title of Farzand.¹

The reception and the high ranks (for 5,000 zaṭ under Akbar was an exceptional one) directly granted to the two brothers needs some explanation. The Akbarnāma says that Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī was granted the manṣāb of 5000 zaṭ and a cash award of one kror of tankās together with a large ḵāqīr in order to persuade Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain Ṣafavī to join Mughal service.² When the letter arrived he was also awarded equal zaṭ rank but was given a larger sawār rank of 4000 sawār.³ The sawār rank was higher than that of Mirzā Rustam, because Muẓaffar Ḥusain had handed over such an important region as Qandahār and Zamīndāwar to the Mughals, while Mirzā Rustam had come empty-handed. But the honour accorded to the two Mirzās probably went farther than the matter of Qandahār, important as it was. The Mughals had an inward sense of respect for the status of the Ṣafavid rulers, and it was seen as a great elevation of Mughal prestige if members of the Ṣafavid house could be

2. A.N. III, 646; Āin-i-Akbarī, Blochmann (tr.), p. 329; M.U., III, 438.
brought into Mughal service. Thus not only were the Qandahār Mirzās accorded high ranks, but marriages of their daughters and grand-daughters with Mughals readily acceded to. The Šafavīd family continued to enjoy high prestige at the Mughal court in later times also. When in the 48th R.Y. of Aurangzeb (i.e. 1703-4 AD) Mirzā Ālī Naqī Šafavī, a grand-son (by daughter) of Shāh Ābbās Intarrived at Surat, he was paid 5000/- Rupees from the treasury of the Surat Port as Travelling allowance, and upon his arrival at the Mughal court he was granted a manṣab of 3000/1000. He was also appointed as 3rd Bakhshī.¹ Later, in the 50th R.Y. (i.e. 1706-1707 AD) his nephew Muḥammad Muḥsin came from Irān and did homage to the Mughal court.² But he is not found to have been awarded any rank or office.

After its arrival the family of the Qandahār Mirzās established matrimonial relations with many important Irānian families and also succeeded in marrying many of their daughters with Mughal Princes. The only daughter of Mirzā Muḥaffar Ḫusain, Qandahārī Maḥal, was married to Prince Khurram.³ Mirzā Rustam's two daughters

2. Ibid., p.513.
were married to Prince Murtaza Parvez, the son of Jahangir and Prince Shah Shuja, the son of Jahangir. Prince Aurangzeb married Dilras Banu Begum, the daughter of Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān Šafavī, son of Mirzā Rustam Šafavī. The other daughters of Shāhnawāz Khān were married to Princes Murād Bakhsh and Shah Shuja. In the reign of Aurangzeb also many princes took brides from this family.

Besides these marriages in the royal family there were a few Iranian families of the highest status with which the house of the Mirzās of Jandahār established marriage alliances. These were the families of Abdur Rahim Khān-i Khanān, Islām Khān Mashhadī, Mīr Mīrān Yazdī and Shamsuddīn Mukhtār Khān of Jabzwār. Two of Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān’s daughters were married with Mirzā Muhammad Aṣālat Khān and Mirzā Mu‘īz Mūsvi Khān.

2. Lahorī, I (a), pp. 32-33.
3. Šādiq Khān, ff. 43(b)-44(a); see also K.K., II, pp. 12, 63.
4. Lahorī II, pp.304-305; Šādiq Khān, ff. 55(b), 107(a).
5. See Appendix-A, Genealogical Chart.
6. Ibid. Nos. 27, 32, 40, 45, 48 & 49.
both belonging to highly respected Saiyid families
of Mashhad. Aṣālat Khan's father Mirzā Bādi' was one
of the great Saiyids of Mashhad and his ancestors had
been the guardians of the shrine of Imām ʿAlī Ibn Mūsā,
the eighth Imām. Mirzā Aṣālat Khan came to India in
1646 and received the rank of 1000/400. 1 Mirzā Muʿīz
Mūsvī Khan's father Mirzā Fakhrā was a Mūsvī Saiyid of
Qum and his mother was a daughter of Mīr Muḥammad Zamān,
a great Saiyid of Mashhad. He reached India in the
14th R.Y. of Aurangzeb (i.e. 1671-72) and received a
suitable rank. 2

Connections with the great house of Itimād-ud-
Daula too were established in due course. Mirzā Ṣaf
Shikan Khan Ṣafavī's wife Shahzāda Begum was the
daughter of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī from Sāliha Bāno Begum,
the daughter of Aṣaf Khan. A daughter of Mirzā Rustam
Ṣafavī was married to Shamsuddīn Mukhtar Khan Sabzwārī
whose mother Nauras Bāno was a grand-daughter of Itimād-
ud Daula3. Mīr Maḥmūd Aqīdat Khān a brother of Aṣālat
Khān was married to Kābulī Begum, a grand-daughter of


being of Ṣafavīd origin their ranks and offices
have not been taken into account by us alongwith
those of the Ṣafavīd Mirzās of Qandahār.

ShāISTA KHAN (and a daughter of RūHULLAH KHAN I).\footnote{1}

It is interesting to note that the family of SāM MIRZĀ, a son of ShāH ISMāIL ŠAFAVĪ is first noticed in the reign of ShāHJAHĀN. When exactly this family migrated from IRĀN is not known. From the Akbarnāmā however, it transpires that MĪR Ārif Ardebēlī, a son of SāM MIRZĀ, came to Lahore sometime during the reign of Akbār\footnote{2} who perhaps, says Lāhorī, offered him some office which he did not accept owing to his mystic disposition.\footnote{3} MĪR Ārif's son MĪR Ābdullāh has been repeatedly mentioned as recipient of cash awards.\footnote{4} In 1652 he was allowed to proceed to Lahore after being granted cash ÍNĀm of Rs. 5000.\footnote{5} In 1653 he appears to have been given a Khilāt and the charge of Lahore\footnote{6}. This suggests that MĪR Ābdullāh had joined imperial service and could be entrusted with a responsible office.

During Aurangzeb's reign MĪR Ābdullāh's son MĪR Muḥammad Šādiq appears to have been living in

\footnote{1} M.A. 109-110, 113, 114, M.U. I, p.225.\footnote{2} A.I.I, I.I, p.749, where he appears to have been died at Lahore in 1007 AH.\footnote{3} Lāhorī, I.I, p.243.\footnote{4} Ibid. pp. 224, 243, 475, 628.\footnote{5} Ḥāris, p.196.\footnote{6} Ibid., p.214.
seclusion at Lahore. He was honoured with a khilāṭ and a cash award (inām) of Rs. 1000.\textsuperscript{1} In 1663 again, Mir Muḥammad Şādiq and his grand-son Mir Musā appears to have been granted a cash award of 1,500 rupees.\textsuperscript{2}

Returning to the Qandahār Mirzās' position as manṣabdarās a reign-wise tabulation is offered in Appendix-B, which shows the manṣabs held by members of the family from Akbar to Aurangzeb. The table contains only the highest ranks known to have been held by the Mirzās in each reign instead of giving a long year-wise record of manṣab-promotions. The manṣabs of those who died or retired in a particular period have not been excluded because making a periodical account of the manṣabs in the hands of the family is the only purpose of the table and not a comparison of the Mirzās' position with that of other families. It may also be noted that there are two other Şafavī Mirzās who appear in the table, but whose relationship with the Şafavī Mirzās of Qandahār is not established and has only been presumed here. These are Khwāja Beg Mirzā Şafavī and his nephew and adopted son Mirzā Muḥammad Şāliḥ Sipahdār Khan.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Kazim., p. 215.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p.818.
The table reveals that till the end of Aurangzeb's reign four generations of the Mirzās had continuously been in active service and that they continued to enjoy a high position in the empire. In the first generation the two Mirzās - Mirzā Rustam and Mirzā Mużaffar - held a mansāb of 5000/1500 and 5000/4000 respectively.¹ The other two younger brothers - Mirzā Abū Sa'īd and Mirzā Sanjar died in 1596-97, they held a rank of 350/zāt each.² Soon afterwards the rank of Mirzā Mużaffar was resumed on account of certain complaints against him.³ In the second generation, out of nine Šafavīd Mirzās three were holding the rank of 5000/5000.⁴ Among the Qandahāris except for Mirzā Haiđer, a son of Mirzā Mużaffar Ḥusain, all the sons of Mirzā Rustam held the rank of 1000 zāt and above.

The third generation during Shāhjahan's reign was holding, numerically as well as in terms of mansābs, the highest position as out of 14 total members of the family, including Muḥammad Šāliḥ Sipahdār Khan, three held the rank of 5000/5000.⁵ Of the rest seven held

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² A.ż (tr.), op. cit. pp. 328, 555; M.U. III, 441.
³ A.N. III, pp.711-12, 743; M.U., III, 302.
⁴ Mirzā Rustam Šafavī 5000/5000; Khwāja Beg Mirzā Šafavī 5000/zāt and Muḥammad Šāliḥ Sipahdār Khan 5000/5000.
⁵ Shāhnawāż Khan held 5000/5000 (2-3h).
ranks of 1000 zāt and above. Under Aurangzeb the fourth generation of the Mirzās among manşabdārs appears to have declined both numerically and in terms of ranks held. During the fifty years of the reign there were only eleven members of the family known to have been in service. Of these, except one, Muḥammad Aḥsan, a son of Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khan Ṣafavī, who held the rank of 710/30, all held manşabs above 1000 zāt. Shāhnawāz Khan Ṣafavī held 6000/6000 (5000x2-3h) and Murād Kām Ṣafavī 5000/3000. But Shāhnawāz Khan lost his life in 1659 after he joined Dārā Shukoh. During the fifty years of Aurangzeb’s reign the total manşabs in the hands of the Mirzās (taking the highest held by each) totalled 30,200/18,500 (5000x2-3h) while during the thirty years’ reign of Shāhjāhān the Mirzās’ total manşabs amounted to 31,200/24,200 (5000x2-3h).

Lastly, a few words may be offered on the offices held by the Mirzās during the period. Information on this is brought together in Appendix-C. The tables showing incumbents are mainly based on contemporary

1. See Appendix-B, under Shāhjāhān.
2. See Appendix-B, under Aurangzeb.
3. See Appendix-B.
chronicles of respective periods, supplemented by the Lakhīrat-ul Khawānīn and Maʿāṣir-ul Umarā'. The tables contain information for those years only in which appointments on various posts of the Mirzās are recorded. The tables suggest that a large number of offices like ʿubādār, faujdār, Diwān, Dīlādar, Ījarawalbeqī, Qaushbeqī, Qūrbāqī and thānedārīs were held by the members of the family besides being sent on various important military expeditions in the Deccan and the North-west.¹ But throughout the period only Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī and his son Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī are known to have been appointed as ʿubādār (Governor) of different provinces; none of his other sons or even grand-sons was ever assigned this office. It is certainly curious that the office of ʿubādār of any province was never given in the family of Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain Ṣafavī right from the time of Akbar. It was towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign that Mirzā Ṣadruddīn Muḥammad Ṣafavī, a great-grandson of Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain was appointed ʿubādār of Khāndesh in 1701;² and he was apparently the last of the Ṣafavīds in India known to have attained distinction.³ Mostly the Mirzās are found to

1. See Appendix-C.


have been assigned the post of faujdār of different sarkārs in the empire. In the reign of Jahāngīr Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī, a son of Mirzā Rustām Ṣafavī held the post of diwān of Gujarat in 1617. He was afterwards sent to the Deccan. The rather junior posts of Qarāwaḥbegī (chief huntsman), Qaushbegī (chief Falconer) and Türbegī (Incharge of the royal standards), were granted to them during Shāhjahān's reign for a long period. Similarly, the office of 2nd Bakhshī, one of the important central offices of the empire, is found for the first time to have been assigned in the fourth generation towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign. In the same period the office of Ārz-i Mukarrar (officer in charge of presenting orders for confirmation) was held by Mīr Mu'azzam Siyādat Khān, a son of Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī; it was taken away from him in 1687-88.

It may, therefore, be inferred that barring a few persons the Qandahār Mirzās in general did not enjoy

1. Tuzuk, pp. 186-246.
2. Ibid., p. 288.
3. See Appendix-C, Table-C Offices held by the Mirzās under Shāhjahān.
4. Ibid., Table-D, Nos. 15-18.
much influence in the counsels of the empire and slowly slipped into medium ranking nobles. None of the following important central offices like Diwan, Mir Bakhshi, Mir Gaman, Mir Atish, Mir Tuzuk and Akhtabegi were assigned to them. It appears that in spite of their being related to the royal Safavid family of Iran, the Mirzas were not entrusted with important Central offices and were not given a very high position in the nobility. It was, however, characteristic of the Mughal system that the family, once established, would continue to claim mansabs and some status generation after generation (four generations having been studied by us).
APPENDIX-A contd.

(33) Mirzâ Badî'uzzamân
    Shâhnawâz Khan Šafavi
    = Nauras Bâno Begum

(53) Mir Ma'âşûm
    Ma'âşûm Khan

(54) Mir Mu'âzgam
    Mu'âzgam Khan

(55) Mohd.
    Ahsân = Ašâlat

(56) D.
    Khan = Prince
    s/o Mirzâ
    Bâdi' Bâno
    Mashhâdî

(57) Dilras Bâno
    = Mir Begum
    = Prince Šâlih
    Bâkhsch

(58) D.
    = Prince
    Aurangzeb

(59) D.
    = Prince
    Murâd

(60) D.
    = Prince
    Shâh Shujâ'

(61) D.
    = Mirzâ
    Mûiz
    'Fitrat
    Musî Khan
    s/o Mirzâ
    Mumârâ

(62) Aţâr Bâno
    = Prince Mohd.
    Kâm Bâkhsh
    s/o Aurangzeb

(63) Akram Khan
    = Mirzâ Ali Naqî
    Šafavi Khan

(64) D.
    = Mirzâ Ali Naqî
    Šafavi Khan

(65) D.
    = Mirzâ
    Taqî Sâdât
    Khan s/o
    Sâdât Khan

(66) Mir Muhammed
    Mahdî Farzand
    Khan.

(67) Zeb-un- D.
    Nisâ'

(68) Zînat-un
    Nisâ'

(69) Zubdat-un
    Nisâ'

(70) Prince
    Aţâm

(71) Prince
    Aţâm
### References to the Genealogical Chart

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<thead>
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<th>Numbers prefacing the names of persons in the chart</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 : 2, 3, 4, 5</td>
<td>A.A.A. I, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 : 6, 7, 8</td>
<td>A.A.A. I, 136</td>
</tr>
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<td>5 : 9</td>
<td>A.N. III, 749, Lāhorī II, 243</td>
</tr>
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<td>9 : 10</td>
<td>Lāhorī II, 224, 243, 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 : 11</td>
<td>Kāzīm, 215-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13+ 11</td>
<td>Kāzīm, 818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 = Sultan Ḥamza Mirzā</td>
<td>A.A.A. I, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 : 20, 21, 24</td>
<td>A.A.A. I, 487; M.U. III, 301-303</td>
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<td>16 : 21, 21, 26</td>
<td>Lāhorī I(h), 176; T.M. II, 30; M.U. III, 581.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 : 29, 29, 30</td>
<td>T.M. 113.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 = d/o Islam Khan Mashhadi</td>
<td>T.M. II, 30; M.U. III, 581.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 = Islam Khan Mashhadi</td>
<td>T.M. II, 30.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
26 + 27 = M.U.III, 581.
17 + 18,19 = A.A.A.I,136; A.N. III, 645.
17 : 32,34,37,38 = A.N.III,646; Lāhorī I(a),184,205; Tuzuk,146,167.
17 : 33 = Tuzuk,321,401.
17 : 35 = Tuzuk,381.
17 : 36 = Tuzuk,147,260,293-94.
17 : 37 (Adopted son) = Lāhorī I(b),322;II,745; Šāliḥ III, 479.
Shamsuddin Mukhtar Khan:
51 = d/o Sultan Husain Iftikhar Khan T.M., 26.
17 : 41;41=Prince Parvez M.U.III,438.
17 : 42;42=Prince Shuja‘ Lāhorī I(b),32-33;II,137-38; Šādiq Khan f.25(b).
Prince Shuja‘:52 = Lāhorī II,137-38; Šādiq Khan f.25(b).
32 : 43 = Lāhorī II,315; M.U.III, 583.
43 + 17 = Lāhorī II,374; Wāris,147.
43 : 45,45=Mīr Nāṣamatullah Lāhorī II,374; Wāris,147; Kāzim,287.
43 : 46;46=Prince Muizuddin M.A.,152; M.U.III,586
48 : 49;49 = d/o Khalīl-ullāh Khan Yazdī Kāzim,663; M.U.III,479.
48 : 50; 50 = 34  T.M. II, 63.
33 = Nauras Bano Begum  M.A. 109, K.K.II, 75; Cf. 
Sadig Khan, f. 109(a) mentions 
as Yurish Bano; also f  
Kagim 420, mentions as Nawazish 
Bano Begum.

33 : 53, 54, 55  Kagim 51, 209, 333.
53 : 65  T.M. II, 35.
65 = Mir Muhammad Taqi Sadat T.M. II, 35.
Mun Muhammad Taqi Sadat  T.M. II, 35.
Khan

33 : 54  Kagim, 333; T.M. II, 10.
33 : 54; 54:62  M.A., 225; T.M. II, 130.
62 = Prince Kam Bakhsh  M.A. 225; T.M. II, 130.
33 : 54; 54:63  T.M. II, 25.
54 : 64; 64 = Mirza Ali Naqi T.M. II, 23.
33 : 56; 56 = Ashalat Khan  Kagim, 333; M.U. I, 222-25.
33 : 57; 57 = Prince  Sadig Khan, ff.43(b)-44(a);
Aurangzeb  K.K. II, 12, 63.
33 : 58; 58 = Mir Sahi  Kagim, 45, 864.
33 : 59; 59 = Prince Murad  Lahori II, 304-5; Sadig Khan, 
Bakhsh  f.55(b); K.K. II, 12, 63.
33 : 60; 60 = Prince  Sadig Khan f.107(a) About this 
Shuja'  marriage all other authorities 
are silent.
33 : 61; 61 = Mirza Mu'iz  M.A., 337; T.M. II, 2; M.U.III, 
Musavi Khan  633-36.
57 = Prince Aurangzeb  Lahori I(b), 243; II, 22.
Prince Aurangzeb: 67, 68  Lahori II, 22, 343; Sahi II, 
268-69, 391; T.M. II, 15, 42, 102.
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<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
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<td>Prince Aurangzeb: 69</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Aurangzeb: 70</td>
<td>T.N. II, 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Aurangzeb: 71</td>
<td>Faruki; Aurangzeb &amp; His Times, Delhi, 1972, p. 544.</td>
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</tbody>
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# APPENDIX - B

## POSITION OF THE MIRZĀS AS MANSABDĀRS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name &amp; Title</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>AKBAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mirzā Rustam Šafavi</td>
<td>5000/1500</td>
<td>A.N.III, 646; Tuzuk, III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>JAHĀNGĪR</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mirzā Rustam Šafavi</td>
<td>5000/5000</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 111.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Radī'uzzaman Shāhnawāz Amir Khān Šafavi s/o</td>
<td>500/200</td>
<td>M.U.II, 670; Tuzuk, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mirzā Rustam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mirzā Hasan s/o Mirzā Rustam Šafavi</td>
<td>1500/700</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 369; Lāhorī I, 184; M.U.III, 477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Multafat Khān s/o Mirzā Rustam Šafavi</td>
<td>1500/300</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 381.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Suhrāb Khān s/o Mirzā Rustam Šafavi</td>
<td>1000/400</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 147.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mirzā Haider s/o Mirzā Muqaffar Ḥusain</td>
<td>500/150</td>
<td>Lāhorī I, 185; M.U. III, 555.</td>
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# SHĀHJAHĀN

<table>
<thead>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Lāhorī Iī</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mirzā Rustam Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>5000/5000</td>
<td>I, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Retired)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mirzā Murād Iltifāt Khan</td>
<td>2500/100</td>
<td>Iī, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mirzā Badī'uzzaman Shāhnawaz Khan</td>
<td>5000/5000(2-3h)</td>
<td>III, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>3000/3000</td>
<td>Wāris 71, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mirzā Ḥaider s/o Muẓaffar Ḥusain Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>1000/200</td>
<td>Iī(b) 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mirzā Sulṭān Ṣafāvī s/o Mirzā Ḥaider Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>3000/1500</td>
<td>Wāris, 365; III, 236, 455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mirzā Nauzar s/o Mirzā Ḥaider Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>4000/3000</td>
<td>Wāris, 72, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ṣaf Shikan Khan s/o Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>2000/100</td>
<td>Iī, 583-84; III, 459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Khushhāl adopted son of Mirzā Rustam Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>600/400</td>
<td>III, 479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mir Ma'aṣūm s/o Shāhnawaz Khan Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>500/400</td>
<td><strong>Apparatus,</strong> S 5651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mir Mu'aẓam s/o Shāhnawaz Khan Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>500/500</td>
<td>III, 482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mir Šāliḥ N/O Shāh Abbās Ṣafāvī</td>
<td>900/200</td>
<td>Wāris 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mirzā Murād Kamrān Ṣafāvī s/o Mirzā Murād Iltifāt Khan</td>
<td>3000/3000</td>
<td>III 247, 454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Muḥammad Šāliḥ Sipahdār Khan</td>
<td>5000/500**</td>
<td>Iī, 378, 720</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* M. Athar Ali, *Apparatus of Empire*, cit., p. 103, gives 6000/6000 which is not found on the pages he has referred to.

** Excluded.
### APPENDIX-B contd.

#### AURANGZEB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Shares</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mirza Shahnawaz Khan Safavi</td>
<td>6000/6000</td>
<td>Died, Kazim, 209.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5000x2-3h)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Murad Kam Safavi</td>
<td>5000/3000</td>
<td>Kazim, 981.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Saifuddin Safavi Kamyab</td>
<td>1500/700</td>
<td>Kazim, 870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khan s/o Saf Shikan Khan</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mirza Sultan s/o</td>
<td>4000/3000</td>
<td>Kazim, 976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mirza Haider Safavi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s/o Mirza Sultan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mirza Ma'asum s/o</td>
<td>2000/1250</td>
<td>Kazim, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shahnawaz Khan</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mir Mu'azzam Siyadat Khan</td>
<td>1500/700</td>
<td>Kazim, 333-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s/o Shahnawaz Khan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Muhammad Ahsan s/o</td>
<td>700/300</td>
<td>Kazim, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shahnawaz Khan Safavi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>(*) Mir Sali S/L Mirza</td>
<td>1500/500</td>
<td>Kazim, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shahnawaz Khan Safavi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Mir Ali Naqi Mirza Safavi</td>
<td>3000/1000</td>
<td>M.A. 482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khan S/I Mir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mu'azzam Khan Safavi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total: | 30,200/18,500 (5000x2-3h) |

(*) Apparently the same person as above (No. 14) under Shahjahân.
APPENDIX – C
OFFICES HELD BY THE MIRZĀS

A - UNDER AKBAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year A.H./A.D.</th>
<th>Name &amp; Title</th>
<th>Offices</th>
<th>References</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1007/1598-99</td>
<td>Mirzā Rustam Šafavī</td>
<td>Jāgīr in Rāisin</td>
<td>A.Y.III, p.749;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1008/1599-1600</td>
<td>Mirza Rustam Safavi</td>
<td>An an auxiliary in the Deccan with Prince Dāniyāl in the siege of Ahmadnagar.</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 9, 110</td>
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B - UNDER JAHĀNGĪR

<table>
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<th>References</th>
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<td>1.</td>
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<td>Mirzā Rustam Šafavī</td>
<td>Şūbedār Thatta</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 111, 128; Z.Kh.I, 199-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1026/1616-17</td>
<td>Mirzā Ḥasan Šafavī s/o Mirzā Rustam</td>
<td>Dīwān of Gujarat</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 186.</td>
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<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1028/1618-19</td>
<td>Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavi</td>
<td>Subedar Allahabad</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 373</td>
<td>Lāhorī I, 76.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>1028/1618-19</td>
<td>Mohd. Šāliḥ Sipahdār</td>
<td>Qilādār Ahmadnagar</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khan, Khanjar Khan</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1037/1627-28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1032/1622-23</td>
<td>Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavi</td>
<td>Subedar, Bihar</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 413</td>
<td>Lāhorī I, 125.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1032/1622-23</td>
<td>Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavi</td>
<td>Faujdār Bahraich</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 369.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1035/1625-26</td>
<td>Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavi</td>
<td>Subedar, Bihar</td>
<td>Tuzuk, 413</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1037/1627-28</td>
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### UNDER SHĀḤJAHĀN

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1038/1628-29</td>
<td>Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavi</td>
<td>As an auxiliary in Bengal.</td>
<td>Lāhorī I, 205</td>
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<td>Mohd. Šāliḥ Sipahdār</td>
<td>Qilādār Ahmadnagar</td>
<td>Lāhorī I, 399</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khan</td>
<td>-do-</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1042/1632-33</td>
<td>Mirzā Shāhnawāz Khan</td>
<td>Faujdār Suburbs of Agra.</td>
<td>Lāhorī I, 476</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1043/1633-34</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Quashbegī</td>
<td>Lāhorī I(b), 16</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1049/1639-40</td>
<td>-do-</td>
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<td>1044/1634-35</td>
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<td>Lāhorī I(b), 7</td>
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<td>Qilādār Ahmadnagar (A.C.)</td>
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<td>1049/1639-40</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>1047/1637-38</td>
<td>Mirzâ Ḥasan Ṣafavî Faujdâr Miyân-i Doab</td>
<td>Lâhorî II, 91.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Şaf Shikan Khân Qûrbegî</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>1049/1639-40</td>
<td>Mirzâ Nauzâr Ṣafavî Faujdâr Koil</td>
<td>Lâhorî II, 143.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Tuyûldâr of Pargana Jalesar</td>
<td>Lâhorî II, 163-64.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Şaf Shikan Khân Qûrbegî (A.C.)</td>
<td>Lâhorî II, 204.</td>
<td></td>
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APPENDIX-C Contd.

18. 1051/1641-42  
Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī  
Qilâdâr Pethân  
Lāhorī, II, 273.

19. " "  
Mirzā Shāhnawâz Khān Ṣafavī  
Sūbedâr Orissa (A.C.); Lāhorī II, 283, 332.  
Faujdâr Jaunpur.

20. 1054/1644-45  
Mirzâ Murâd Kām Ṣafavī  
Qâushbegî  
Lāhorī II, 335.

21. 1055/1645-46  
Mirzā Sultān Ṣafavī  
As an auxiliary in the Deccan with Ḥâlîm Khân Mashhadi.  
M.U. III, 581.

22. " "  
Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavī  
Faujdâr Fathpûr, 
and Biyâna; Ṣâgîrdâr Fathpûr & Biyâna  
Lāhorī II, 431.

23. 1055/1645-46  
Ṣaf Shîkan Khān  
On Bałkh and Badakhshan expedition with Prince Murâd Bâkhsh.  
Lāhorī II, 485-86.

24. " "  
Mirzâ Nauzâr Ṣafavī  
Qâushbegî; Com. of Altamash in Bałkh & Badakhshan  
Lāhorī II, 470, 486.

25. 1056/1646-47  
Mirzâ Shāhnawâz Khān  
Sūbedâr Malwa; 
Faujdâr Jaunpur (AC)  
Lāhorī II, 583.

26. " "  
Mirzâ Ḥasan Ṣafavī  
Faujdâr Jaunpur  
Lāhorī II, 584;  
M.U. III, 478.

27. 1057/1647-48  
Mirzâ Murâd Kām Ṣafavī  
Qûrbeâgî  
Wâris, 3.

28. " "  
Shâhnawâz Khān Ṣafavī  
Sūbedâr Malwa & Deccan  
Wâris, 17.
35. 1060/1650-51 Mirzā Nauzar Šafavī Faujdār Māndu; Tuyūldar of Bahraich Apparatus, S 5285.
37. 1060/1650-51 Mirzā Murād Kām Šafavī Faujdār Lucknow & Baiswara Wāris, 147-48
38. 1061/1651-52 -do- Faujdār Jaunpur; Baiswara (A.C.) Apparatus, S 5284.

* Hasar in the text is apparently a mistake for Jessore.
### APPENDIX-C Contd.

| 39. 1063/1652-53 | Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī | Şübedār Awadh; Fuyūldār of Gorakhpur & Bahraich | Wāris, 197, 207 |
| 40. 1064/1653-54 | Mirzā Ṣaf Sh.īkan Khān | Thānadār Jessore *(A.C.)* | Wāris, 250; M.U. III 478. |
| 41. 1068/1658 | Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī | Şübedār Gujarat | E.F.I. x, 162. |

### UNDER AURANGZEB

| 1. 1069/1658-59 | Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī | Şübedār Ahmadabad | Kāzim, 209; K.K.II 45 |
| 2. " " | Mirzā Sultān Ṣafavī | Faujdār Dhāmūnī & Churāgarh | Kāzim, 218 |
| 4. " " | Mirzā Nauzār Ṣafavī | Under Retirement with an annual Allowance of Rupees Forty Thousand | Kāzim, 206 |
| 5. 1070/1659-60 | Mirzā Murād Kām Ṣafavī | Faujdār Awad; Faujdār Jaunpur *(A.C.)* | Kāzim, 477. |
| 6. 1070/1659-60 | Ma'āṣüm Khān S/o Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī | Qurbanī | Kāzim, 852-53 *(A.C.)* |
| 7. 1077/1666-67 | Mirzā Sultān Ṣafavī | Sent on Kabul Expedition with Prince Ṣu'ayb | Kāzim, 976; M.U. III 582-83 |

* Khaiber in the text is apparently a mistake for Jessore.
## APPENDIX-C Contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Officer</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1078/1667-68</td>
<td>Mirzā Sultan Safavi</td>
<td>Deputed in Deccan with Kazim 1038; Prince Mu'azzam</td>
<td>M.U.III, 583.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>1112/1700-1701</td>
<td>Mirzā Sadruddin Shāhnawāz Khan</td>
<td>Sūbedār Khāndesh</td>
<td>M.A. 433; M.U.III 692</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>1113/1701-02</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3rd Bakhshī</td>
<td>M.A. 439; M.U.III 692</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1118/1707</td>
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(b) **ASAD KHAN'S FAMILY**

Asad Khan's family was a well-reputed Turkmen family of the Qaramanlu tribe.¹ His ancestors had served under the Safavid rulers from Shah Ismail's time. Bairam Beg (or Bahrām Beg)² was the governor (Hākim) of Balkh during Shah Ismail's reign and it was he who, along with other Iranian generals, helped Bābur against the Uzbek Sultāns in the battle of Khurāsan, subsequently in the battle of Ghajdwan he lost his life fighting against the Uzbeks.³ His son Husam Beg Qaramanlu was raised to the status of Amīr and was appointed to Ashkūr,⁴ a district near Gilān, during the reign of Shah Tahmāsp.⁵ His sons, Rustam Khān, Farhad Khān, Zulfiqar Khān and Alwand Sultan, were also men of rank under Shah Abbās I. Rustam Khān, the eldest among them, probably held some important post at Tālish (also his native place) where on account of the

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1. Apparently a very small and insignificant tribe.
2. He was the grandfather of Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu (No.5) the grandfather of Asad Khan (No.13). See the Genealogical Chart in Appendix-A.
enmity with the nobles he was forced to settle in Shirwān, then under the Ottoman Turks. However, hostility with the Ottoman authorities soon broke out, and the Turks killed Rustam Khān along with his one or two brothers (names not known) and followers. Farhād Khān and his younger brothers, Zūlfaqār Khān and Alwand Sultān, escaped with their lives leaving behind one sister, two daughters of Rustam Khān and other servants and followers. In the beginning of Shāh 'Abbās' reign they arrived in Āzarbāijān and joined the service of Shāh 'Abbās I. 1 Farhād Khān was appointed governor of Māzandrān with Alwand Sultān as his deputy in 1596-97. 2 In 1598-99 he was also appointed governor of Astarābād, 3 Herāt and the Amir-ul Umarā' of Khurāsān 4. But in the same year he was murdered on account of a suspicion of rebellion. 5 Zūlfaqār Khān's younger brother Alwand Sultān was first appointed as governor of Langar Kānān, a city (Ulka) near Ardbīl, in 1591-92. 6 In 1596-97 he acted as deputy for his brother

2. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 520, 542, 565; earlier he appears to have served in several battles, Ibid., pp. 404, 427-28, 433-34, 436-37, 442-445, 449-51 etc.
3. Ibid., p. 565.
4. Ibid., p. 574.
5. Ibid., I, p. 575.
6. Ibid., p. 442.
Farhad Khan in Mazandran, where in 1597-98 he joined the conspiracy of Alwand Dev, the rebel Qiladar of Aulad.1 But the rebellion was soon suppressed by Farhad Khan and Alwand Sultan was sent to the Court where he was pardoned and made free (mutlag-ul-Inan).2 Nothing more is known about him.

Zulfigar Khan Qaramanlu, the grand-father of Asad Khan, also appears to have held several appointments during Shah Abbās I's reign. He was appointed governor (Beglarbegi) of Azarbāijān in 1591-92.3 As it was customary in the Safavid empire that Beglarbegis alone were sent on diplomatic missions, Zulfigar Khan was sent as an envoy to the Ottoman empire in 1595-96 and returned in 1597-98.4 In 1604-5 he was appointed governor (Hakim) of Ardbīl, and the same year, after the recapture of Tabriz, he was made its governor.5 In 1606-7 the governorship (Ayālat wa Darā́f) of Shumākhī and the Amir-ul-Umarā’i of the entire Shirwan was also conferred on him.6 During his stay in Shīrwan he defeated

1. A.A.A., 520.
2. One of the strongest forts of Tabaristan.
4. Ibid., pp. 442, 492, 588.
6. Ibid., p. 543.
8. Ibid., p. 733.
Ma'ṣūm Khan the governor (wālī) of Tabarsarān in 1607-8 on account of his not allowing Zülfīqār Khan to construct a fortress at Shābrān near his territory to which the Khān has been deputed. However, the fortress was built and equipped with necessary provisions, and castellans (Hārisān) were posted. But the next year (1608-9) some of the officers of Dāghistān and Tabaristān became agitated over the construction of the fortress. Consequently Qarchaqāi Beg, a confidential officer of the Shāh, was sent to Shīrwān with order to join Zülfīqār Khān in suppressing the turbulence at Shābrān. In the meanwhile Qarchaqāi Beg received a second order from the Shāh by which Zülfīqār Khān was put to death by the attendants of the Beg. The author of the 'Ālam Ārā-i ʻAbbāsī explains that Zülfīqār Khān on account of his being an important and powerful noble had become very proud of his position and perhaps had developed a kind of turbulent tendency, the signs of which were marked by the king. The other reason which he feels to be superficial was that by killing Zülfīqār Khān the Shāh wanted to reconcile the officers of Dāghistān.

The author of Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā' says that after Zülfīqār Khān's murder his family members faced hard times as the Shāh did not show them any kindness. It might be true because none of the family members is found

2. Ibid., p. 806.
to have been taken into the royal service; even Khanlar
the only known son of Zulfiqar Khan does not find any
mention in the Alam Arā-i Abbāsī. Khanlar appears to
have arrived in India, as a fugitive towards the close
of Jahangir's reign (i.e. 1627).¹ This suggests that
after his father's death Khanlar still remained in Iran
for about twenty-five years. The information of the
Māfsir-ul Umarā' therefore cannot be fully accepted.

In India Khanlar married the daughter of Šādiq
Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, brother-in-law and a cousin of Nūr
Jahān's brother Aṣaf Khān.² He thus established
matrimonial relations with the most important family
in the Mughal nobility. Subsequently his children
and grand children also married in this and some other
important Iranian families. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān,
his son, was married to the daughter of Aṣaf Khān³
whose grand daughter (Shāista Khān's daughter) was
married to Muḥammad Ismaiil Zulfiqār Khān, son of Asad
Khān⁴. A daughter of Khanlar (later entitled Zulfiqār

¹. Lāhorī, Vol.I (a), p. 73; also M.U., op.cit.
². Z.Kh. vol. II, p.411; M.U. II, p.88. For Aṣaf Khān's
family see Irfan Habib's article in Med. Ind. Misc.
⁴. Akbārāt, 32 R.Y. 3 October, 1688; M.A. 158; M.U. II,
k3; T.M. 31.
Khan Qaramanlu) was married to Namdar Khan, son of Jafar Khan\(^1\) and another to prince Zainuddin, a son of Prince Shah Shuja\(^2\). Another of Asad Khan's son 'Inayat Khan (by Nawal Bai) was married to a daughter of Abul Hasan, the ruler of Hyderabad.\(^3\) Asad Khan's four daughters were respectively married to Azizuddin Bahrampand Khan;\(^4\) Iftikhar Khan Mufakhir Khan, son of Fakhr Khan Najmi Sani;\(^5\) Khuda Banda Khan, son of Shaiista Khan;\(^6\) and Tarbiyat Khan.\(^7\) Asad Khan's two grand daughters (by his daughter and the wife of Bahrampand Khan) were married to Muhammed Taqi Khan the son of Darab Khan Bani Mukhtar,\(^8\) a well reputed family of Mukhtar Khan Sabzewari. The other grand daughter was married to Mir Muhammed Mahdi entitled Mir Khan, \(\ldots\)

\(^{1}\) Kazim, p.439; M.A. p.27; T.M., p.8.

\(^{2}\) Ibid., p.493; M.U., II, p.89.

\(^{3}\) M.A., 312-13; M.U. I(a), 320-21; T.M., 74.

\(^{4}\) M.A. 461; M.U. I, 454-457; T.M., 16.

\(^{5}\) Kazim, p. 858.


\(^{7}\) Akhbarat, 39th R.Y. 18 January, 1696. He was perhaps Tarbiyat Khan Mir Atish, son of Darab Khan.

\(^{8}\) M.A., p.221; T.M., p.90.
son of famous Amir Khan Mir Miran Yazdi\textsuperscript{1}. Thus Asad Khan's family was well connected with the four important Iranian families of Itimad-ud Daula, Baqir Khan Najm Sani, Mukhtar Khan Sabzwari and Mir Miran Yazdi on the one hand and with the ruling families of Mughals and Abul Hasan of Hyderabad on the other.\textsuperscript{2}

Being such a well connected family the rapid rise of its members under Shajahan and Aurangzeb becomes easier to explain. Further, the marriage pattern of the family in the successive generations shows that the Qaramanlu were quite adroit in living up to their status by establishing matrimonial relations with aristocratic families. Their closest links were with the house of Itimad-ud Daula as it appears from the genealogical chart that most of their children were married in this house. Their other known marriages, were strictly with those few Iranian families which had already established such relations with Itimad-ud Daula. It is significant that they always married their daughters into Iranian families. The only exception was the daughter (No.14) of Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} M.A., p.473; T.M., p.66; M.U. I, pp. 454-457.
\item \textsuperscript{2} See Genealogical Chart in Appendix-A.
\end{itemize}
(No. 12) who was married to a Mughal prince (No. 18), and this was a practically forced marriage.¹

Two male members of the family were married to the daughters of non-Iranian families. Asad Khan's son Muhammad Ishāq (No. 27) by a Hindu wife Nawal Bāi (No. 17) was married to a daughter of Abūl Ḥasan, the Golkunda ruler and another son Zulfiqār Khān (No. 20) was married to Tāhira Begum (No. 31) daughter of a Tūrānī noble Islām Khān Rūmī.²

After his arrival in India, but after Jahāngīr's death, Khānlar appears to have been appointed to the Central Command (qaul) along with Asad Khān against Shahryār, Nurjahan's candidate for the throne.³ In 1631 in the battle of Bālāghat, against Khān Jahān Lodī and Nizāmul Mulk, Khānlar rendered good services in the left wing of the imperial forces.⁴ In 1632 he was granted the rank of 1000/600 and the next year his ancestral title of Zulfiqār Khān.⁵ In 1634 he

2. T.M., p. 72.
4. Ibid., pp. 405-406.
5. Ibid., p. 476; Cf. Laiq Ahmad, The Prime Ministers of Aurangzeb, Allahabad, 1976, pp. 100-101 says that the title was given by Jahāngīr. He has confused him with Muḥammad Beg who was given the same title in 1614. See Tuzuk, pp. 134-135.
received his first independent appointment as Faujdar of Miyan-i Dozb being promoted to the rank of 1500/800. In course of time he held many important offices like Dargoqa-i Topkhana, Qiladar of Lahore fort, Faujdar of Mandsor and finally attained the office of Subedar of Bihar and the rank of 3000/3000 in the 30th R.Y. of Shahjahàn (i.e. 1656). Later, when struck with paralysis, he took to retirement and settled in Patna where he died in 1660.

His eldest son Muhammad Ibrahìm entitled Asad Khan (Aṣaf-ud Daula Jumla-ul Mulk) started his career under Shahjahàn being first appointed as Akhtabegi (Master of horse) in 1653 with the rank of 1500/600. In 1657 he was appointed to the more important position of second Bakshi which he relinquished in the 13th R.Y. of Aurangzeb (1671) being further promoted to the office of Deputy Divan. Subsequently the office of Mir Bakshi

4. Wariq, p. 208, 211.
7. Ibid., p. 108.
was added to it. In 1676 he was exalted to the highest post of wazīr\(^1\) which he held for the longest tenure in the Mughal Empire, right to the end of Aurangzeb's reign. He also then held the highest rank assignable to a noble, namely, of 7000/7000.\(^2\)

Muhammad Isma'il entitled Ītiqād Khān later Zulfiqār Khān, the son of Asad Khān, also held several posts during Aurangzeb's reign. Starting his career at the age of eleven with the rank of 300 zāt in 1668,\(^3\) Zulfiqār Khān occupied the most important central post of Mir Nakbshi\(^4\), and attained the high rank of 6000/6000\(^5\) towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign. Besides holding so many important offices both Asad Khān and Zulfiqār Khān are found to have been successfully engaged in a number of battles.\(^6\)

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1. M.A., pp. 152, 281; M.U. I (a), p. 311; Cf. Māmūrī, f. 144(b) gives the year as 16th R.Y. i.e. 1673.


3. M.A., p. 71; M.U. II, 93; Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, (Second edition) New Delhi, 1972, p.2, makes a slip when he gives the date of his first mansab as 1660 and the date of his birth as 1649 (11 years). The date of his birth in 1657 has been supported with a chronogram "Za Burj Asad rū namūd Aftāb" by Masīr-ul Umarā', op.cit.


6. See their respective biographies in M.U.
Muḥammad Ishāq entitled Ḩanāfī Ḥanāfī was another son of Asad Ḥanāfī by Nawal Bāī, the lady being popularly known as 'Rānī'. He was an expert calligraphist and for a time held the office of the Dārogha of jewel house.² In 1689 he is known to have been reinstated to his previous mansāb of 700/150.³ He was married to a daughter of Abūl Ḥasan the ruler of Golkunda⁴. His sons were named Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and Mirzā Kāzim. The former held a moderately high mansāb and the titles of Ḥanāfī Ḥanāfī and Ḥanāfī Ḥanāfī during the reign of Jahāndar Shāh.⁵

In the 29th R.Y. of Shāhjāhān (1656) a third son of Asad Ḥanāfī named Ḥanāfī is noticed for the first time, being granted an īnām of Rs. 2000/-⁶. He was perhaps a younger brother of Ṣūfī Ḥanāfī (their mother being Mihr-ūn Nisā’, a daughter of Aṣaf Ḥanāfī). Nothing more could be traced about him.

According to the Maʿṣūrīl-Umārī, Ṣūfī Ḥanāfī was childless (Aulād nadāsht)⁷, but

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1. The title was conferred on him in the 32nd R.Y. of Aurangzeb, T.U., p. 115.
curiously enough in 1686 one Yusuf the son of Zulfiqar Khan appears to have been sent, along with other generals, as a special officer (sazawali) under Lutfullah Khan in the campaign of Hyderabad.¹ That Zulfiquar Khan was not childless is further corroborated by the account of William Norris, an English Ambassador visiting Aurangzeb's Court towards the close of his reign. During his stay at Brahmapuri (or Islampuri) in 1701 William Norris' surgeon, on the request of one of Zulfiquar Khan's wives, treated her child who was only "one of 10 surviving and ye hopes of ye family, all dyinge of ye same fitts this child labours under."²

We may in the end mark the fact that, all in all, Asad Khan's was a very small family with only three male members who could attain rank and power in the Mughal nobility. Their sons-in-law and grandsons in-law have not been taken into account as members of this family, because almost all of them were related or belonged to the great house of Itimad-ud Daula.³

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1. Māmūrī, f. 164(b).


3. See ante Section I; also Irfan Habib's article op. cit.
An analysis of the appendices showing the careers (in tabulated form) of the Qaramānlūs in India reveals that the two Zūlfiqār Khān, one the father of Asad Khān and the other his son, were military generals by virtue of their profession. They are found to have been deputed, most of the time, on important military expeditions or entrusted with assignments pertaining to the maintenance of law and order such as sūbedār, faujdār, Qīlādār, Dārogha-i topkhāna, Bakhsī and Qūrbegī (keeper of arsenal) etc. Asad Khān, on the other hand, held mostly administrative offices like Akhtabegī (master of horse), 'Arz Wāqi'ī Subājāt, Deputy Diwān and Wazīr. As second Bakhsī and Mīr Bakhsī too he is not found to have accompanied any military expedition. Perhaps an independent command was never given to him though for this he once expressed his desire among his friends. "I have never been appointed on outside expeditions, if per chance appointed people will acknowledge my organising capacity and administrative efforts". This conversation was reported verbatim to

1. See Appendix-B.

2. In 1674 he was first sent to Kabul together with Prince Akbar M.A., pp. 133, 136; then after about nine years in 1682 he served along with Prince Azīmuddīn to check Rathor activities in Ajmer, M.A., 213.

3. Muḥammad Abdul Wahid (ed.), Rukā'at-i Alamgīrī, Lucknow, 1294 AH., letter No.153, pp. 41-42. This letter has also been translated by J.H. Bilimoria, Rukā'at-i Alamgīrī tr. Delhi, 1972, 147. For a slightly different version also see M.A., pp. 352-53.
the Emperor who accordingly sent him in 1693 to reinforce his son Zülfiqār Khān in the siege of Jinji. It was for the first time in 1701 that he was given full command of imperial force besieging Khelna and was granted the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā'. From our table it is clear that the military career of Asad Khān started with his arrival in the Deccan in 1684 (second time), and he is found to have been continuously engaged there till 1702. After that due to his old age and ill health he remained in constant attendance of Aurangzeb.

Zülfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang provides an example of a full-time military commander who was, throughout his life, engaged in campaigning. If Asad Khān was a successful civil administrator, Zülfiqār Khān was equally good on the military front. His matchless generalship may be judged by the fact that in 1705 during the siege of Wagingera fort, at a time when the Mughal Commanders like Chin Qulīch Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Tarbiyat Khān etc. had failed, Aurangzeb recalled Zülfiqār Khān from Burhānpur, writing to him with his own hands to take the command of the imperial army. Zülfiqār Khān ultimately captured the fort.  

Our tables also reveal that the family of Asad Khan enjoyed considerable power throughout the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb as some of the very important and confidential posts were held by the members of the family. Rankwise too, they enjoyed a high position especially under Aurangzeb. Asad Khan held the rank of 7000/7000 and titles like Amīr-ul Umarā', Jumdat-ul Mulk, Madār-ul Muḥāmī while his son Zūlfiqār Khān those of Nusrat Jang and Bahādur and held the rank of 5000/6000. The latter was also granted the most dignified insignia of Māhī Marātib.¹

Lastly, it may be noted here that not withstanding their doubtless loyalty² and sincerity to the


2. Manucci writes that after his accession to the throne Aurangzeb wrote to Shahjahan asking for a gift of the jewels under his possession. But Shahjahan, in place of the required jewels, sent him the loyal Asad Khān, a person whom he strongly recommended, declaring that he might be more safely trusted than any other living being. See *Storia Do Mogor* (1653-1708), Vol. II, pp. 20-21; also Vol. IV, p. 241 for Asad Khān's reply to Prince Kām Baksh for not handing over the imperial treasures as long as the Emperor was alive. In his last will Aurangzeb mentioned that "There is not, nor will there (ever) be any wāzīr better than Asad Khān", the letter has been quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. V, p. 262. In his letters to Asad Khān and Zūlfiqār Khān, Aurangzeb always addressed them by using the phrase 'My Sincere and devoted (servant)'. See relevant letters in *Rudāt-i Ālamgīrī*, op. cit.
empire sometimes they appear to have become the target of Aurangzeb's displeasure. Moreover, Asad Khan seems to have misused his position of *wazīr* and benefitted by his close association with the Emperor. In 1679 Asad Khan appears to have been promised a bribe of Rs.20,000 by the English Factors for procuring a custom free *fārmān* from the Emperor. But the latter refused saying that he could not grant it even for 22 lacs of rupees. However, there are a number of *parwānas* issued by the grand wazīr Asad Khan proclaiming and ensuring the desired concessions to the English merchants from time to time.

1. During the siege of Jinji Asad Khan was ordered to hasten to Zulfiqar Khan's help. As he delayed in going the Emperor remarked 'It is easy to make a boast but it is quite different to make it true, and also read the verse 'Don't boast any more of yourself (being a Turk) because your Turkship has ended' *Ruqāt-i Alamgīr*, op.cit., pp. 41-42. See also M.A., 352-53. In 1705 after the conquest of Jakinkhera Zulfiqar Khan was not given due rewards on account of some reasons. M.U., II, 97.

2. He enjoyed the privilege of visiting the Emperor in Gulālbār (enclosure) riding on his *pālki* which was forbidden to all the nobles and Princes except those who had been granted *pālkis* by the Emperor. Multafat Khan, another intimate servant, was also allowed. See M.A., 354.


William Norris writes "In dealing with officials at the Mughal Court—as, indeed, at any other court in the world—there was the problem of appeasing the underlings, who always took undue advantage of their privileged position. It was equally impossible to determine whether they had been genuinely commissioned by their superiors to do a certain thing, and how far they represented affairs to their masters as they really were". Elsewhere he criticises the great nobles like deputy ważir Arshad Khān, second bakhshī Rūḥullāh Khān, and Mīr Bakhshī Bahramand Khān for their illegal exactions but never, however, complains against Asad Khān and Zūlfiqār Khān with whom he was on friendly terms and the two had been instrumental in procuring and sending for him dastaks to Masulipatnam and Surat.

1. The Norris Embassy to Aurangzeb, op.cit., 271.
2. Ibid., pp.276-77.
3. Ibid., pp.275-276.
APPENDIX - A

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF ASAD KHAN'S FAMILY

1. Bairam Beg Qaramanlu
2. Husain Beg Qaramanlu

4. Farhad Khan
5. Zulfiqar Khan
6. Alwand Sultan
7. Son (Murdered by Ottomans in Shirwan)
8. Son (Murdered by Ottomans in Shirwan)

11. Daughter (Left in Shirwan)

12. Khanlar Zulfiqar Khan
   = d/o Sadiq Khan

13. Muhammad Ibrahim
    Asad Khan
14. Daughter
15. Daughter

18. Prince Zainuddin
    S/o
    Prince Shah Shuja'

28. Dindar, Marahmat Khan
13. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān

I

=16. Mihrun Nisā' Begum
d/o Aṣaf Khān

II

=17. Nawal Bāi 'Rānī'

27. Muḥammad Ishaq
  'Inayat Khān
  = d/o Abūl Ḥasan of Golkunda

29. Muḥammad Ẓāliḥ
  Itiqād Khān, 'Inayat Khān

Muhammad
Isma'il
Zūlfiqār Khān

21. Dārāb
  (Died in Childhood)

22. Son

23. Daughter

24. Daughter

25. Daughter

26. Daughter

28. Muhammad
  Islaq (Inayat Khān)
  = d/o Abūl Hasan of Golkunda

31. Nawal Bāi 'Rānī'

32. Bahramand
  Khān

33. Khudā
  Banda
  Khān S/o
  Shāista
  Khān

34. Tarbiyat
  Khān

35. Iftikār
  Mufakhir
  Khān
  Najm Shānī
20. Muhammad Ismail
   Zulfikar Khan
I
   d/o Shaida Khan
II
   d/o Islam Khan
   Husain Pasha Rumil
31. Tahira Begum
36. Yusuf
23. Daughter = 32. Bahramand Khan
37. Daughter
   = 39. Muhammad Taqi Khan
      s/o Darab Khan
      Bani Mukhtar Sabzwari
41. Mir Ali Naqi
    Bahramand Khan II
    = d/o Shaida Khan II
40. Mir Muhammad Mahdi,
    s/o Mir Miran
    Yazdi
References to the Genealogical Chart

indicates 'Father of'
+ " 'Brother/Sister of'
= " 'Husband/Wife of'
\ " 'Grandson of'
\S/ " 'Son-in-law of'
d/o " 'daughter of'

Numbers prefacing the names of persons in the Chart

1:2
2:3,4,5,6
3+4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
3:10,11
4+5,6
5:12
12=d/o Şâdiq Khan
13:12

12:14, 14=18
12:15, 15+13, 15=19:28
19:12
13=16, 1344 Aşaf Khan
13=17, 13:27

13:27, 27:29, 29+30
27=d/o Abûl Hasan of Hyderabad
13:20
13:21
13:22 (22 died in childhood)
13:23, 23=32, 32413
13:24, 24=33

13:25, 25=34

13:26, 26=35
20=d/o Şahista Khan

2044 Şahista Khan; 204 Aşaf Khan
20=31
20:36
32:37, 38
37=39:41\, 32&23
38=40

Sources

A.A.A., I, 112
A.A.A., I, 443
A.A.A., II, 752.
Ibid.
Ibid. I, 442, 449, 529, 542, 575, 588
M.U. II, 85
Şâdiq Khan, f.89(b): Kâzîm, 439;
M.U.I, 310; T.M. 35, 74.
Kâzîm, 493; M.U. II, 89
T.M. 8
Kâzîm, 439; M.A. 27
M.U. II, 93; T.M., 35
Akbârât, 25 R.Y, 10 Sept. 1681;
Mamûrî, f.185(a) M.A., 312;
T.M. 74; M.U. (a), 320-321.
Akbârât, 32 R.Y., 4 Oct. 1688;
Mamûrî, f.185(a); M.A., 312-313.
M.U. I (a) 320-21; T.M. 72.
Wâris, 313
Kâzîm, 757-58
M.A., 461; M.U.I, 454-57; T.M.16.
Akbârât, 33 R.Y., 11 July, 1689;
M.A., 374.
Akbârât, 39 R.Y., 18 January, 1696;
T.M., 22.
Kâzîm, 858; Akbârât, 4 R.Y.1662.
Akbârât, 32 R.Y. 3 Oct., 1688;
M.A. 158; M.U. II, 93.
T.M. 31.

T.M. 72.
Mamûrî, f.164(b)
Ibid.; T.M., 90.
Ibid.; Ibid., 66; M.A. 473.
### APPENDIX-B

**MANŞABS AND APPOINTMENTS HELD BY ASAD KHAN'S FAMILY**

(A) **UNDER SHAHIJAHAN**

1. Khānlar, Zulfiquār Khan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.N.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Appointment</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In the central command with Aṣaf Khan in the battle against Shahryār.</td>
<td>Lāhorī I (a) 73.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1631</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In the left wing command of the imperial army in the Deccan.</td>
<td>Lāhorī I(a), 406; Z.Kh. II, 411; T.U. 71.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>1000/600</td>
<td>Zulfiquār Khan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lāhorī I(a), 432.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1633</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lāhorī I(a), 476.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1500/800</td>
<td>Faujdār of Miyān-i Doāb</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lāhorī I(b), 101; T.U. 71.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bakhšī of Dārā's contingent in the Qandahār expedition.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lāhorī II, 140-141; Şadiq Khan, ff. 50(a)-51(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1639</td>
<td></td>
<td>Darogha-i Topkhāna</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lāhorī II 154.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1640</td>
<td>2000/800</td>
<td>Qilādār of Lahore fort</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lāhorī II, 198, 223; T.U., 71.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1644</td>
<td>2000/1500 (500x2–3h)</td>
<td>Tuyūldār of Pargāna</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lāhorī II, 380; T.J. 71. Bhojpur (Bihar)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Asad Khān

(A) UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN

1. 1651 1000 ẓāt
2. 1653 1500/600 Asad Khān Ākhtabegī
3. 1655 2000/600 ʿArq Waqāʾī
4. 1657 2000/800
5. 1658 3000/1500

(B) UNDER AURANGZEB

6. 1658 3000/1500 Second Bakhshi (H)
7. 1659 3500/2500
8. 1663 4000/2500
9. 1664 4000/3800
10. 1670 Dy. Diwān
11. 1671 Mīr Bakhshi
12. 1673 Dy. Diwān (Resigned)
13. 1673 Sent to Kabul along with Prince Akbar to suppress the Afghāns.
14. 1676  
Wazir  
M.U. I(a), 311; T.U. 196.

15. 1677  
Deputed in the  
Deccan.  
M.A., 161;  
Mâmûrî, f. 149  
(b); M.U. I  
(a) 312.

16. 1681-82  
Deputed with  
Prince ʿ Ağîm-  
uddîn to  
check Rathor  
activities.  
M.A., 213;  
Fûtûbî, ff.  
83(b) 84(a).

17. 1684  
Visited  
Aurângzeb  
at  
Ahmadnagar  
M.A., 241;  
M.U. I, (a)  
312.

18. 1687  
Granted  
Masnad-i  
Wizârat  
M.A., 281;  
M.U. I(a),  
312.

19. 1688 7000/7000  
In the  
conquest of  
Nandial fort  
M.A., 302;  
M.U. I(a), 312.

20. 1690  
In the siege  
of Wakankhera  
etc.  
M.A., 354.

21. 1692-93  
In the siege  
of Jinji  
fort.  
M.A., 356.

22. 1693  
In the siege  
of Jinji  
fort.  

23. 1698 7000/7000  
Appointed at  
Brahmapuri  
(Islâmpûrî)  
to guard  
imperial  
harem.  
M.A., 408;  
M.U. I(a), 314.

24. 1699  
Commanded  
Mughal troops  
besieging the  
fort of Khelna.  
M.A., 445, 450;  
T.U., 196.
3. Muhammad Isma'īl Zulfiqar Khan

1. 1668 300/3at  M.A., 71.
2. 1673-74 Appointed in Kabul. T.U., 71.
3. 1677 Bakhshī of Ahdis  M.A., 158.
4. 1679  M.A., 176.
9. 1685 Thanedār of Indi M.A. 266.
12. 1688 Sent to conquer Futūhāt, Bangalore fort 131 (a).
14. 1691  4000/2500  Conquered the M.A., 345; fort of Nirmal M.U., II, 94. (Trinomali).


17. 1695  5000/4000  Nuṣratjang M.A., 374; M.U., II, 95.

18. 1698  5000/5000  Conquered fort M.A., 392; of jinji M.U., II, 95-96. (renamed Nuṣratgarh after his name).


20. 1700  Sent towards M.A., 430, 432, Parnala under Mamūrī, f.197(a). Prince Bedār
            Bakt, crushed Dhannā Jādav.


24. 1706  6000/6000  Sent towards M.A., 511, 512; Aurangabad to M.U., II, 97. punish Marāṭhas; recaptured
            Kondana (Bakhshanda Bakhsh).
(c) **FAMILY OF RÜHULLAH KHĀN**

The family of Rūhullah Khān - the Mīr Bakhshī of Aurangzeb - was an important Iranian family some of whose members came to India in 1606 in a very destitute condition.¹ His grandfather Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī, the son of Mīr Mīrān of Yazd, was a descendant of Saiyid Nuruddīn Shāh Ni'amatullah Wālī whose descent was traced to Imām Mūsā Kāẓīm (the 7th Imām).² Before their migration to India, the ancestors of Rūhullah Khān had served under the Šafavī rulers of Iran since Shāh Ismā'īl Šafavī's time.³ They had held important offices and some of them had earned the title of Murtazā-i Ḥamālik-i Islām (the chosen of the realms of Islām).⁴

The family also had the privilege of marriage alliances with the Šafavī family as it appears from the genealogies:

3. A detailed account of the family has been given in the biography of Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī in M.U.,III, pp.335-342.
4. Shāh Ni'amatullah II and his son Mīr Mīrān I had this title. See A.A.A.,I,pp.132,228; M.U.,III, p.339. It may also be pointed out that members of this family have been mentioned with the prefix 'Šah' (viz. Shāh Ni'amatullah, Shāh Khalīlullah etc.), while in the Mughal chronicles prefix 'Mīr' has been invariably used to their names, which I have followed here.
gical charts appended to this chapter. In the text below the numbers within brackets after each name refer to the serial numbers given in the charts. Mīr Khalīlullah I's (No. 6) grandfather Saiyid Nā'imuddīn Shāh Niāmatullāh II (No. 2), married Khānish Begum, a sister of Shāh Tāḥmāsp Ṣafavī, whose daughter (No. 4) (probably Pāri Paikar Khānum of M.U., III, p. 339) was married to Ismā'īl Mīrzā (later Shāh Ismā'īl II) the son of Shāh Tāḥmāsp in 1554-55. Mīr Niāmatullāh III (No. 5) and his younger brother Mīr Khalīlullah Yazdī I (No. 6) the sons of Amīr Ghyāguddīn Mīr Mīrān I (No. 3) were also married to Ṣafavīd princesses. The former married Khānish Khānum, a daughter of Shāh Tāḥmāsp and the latter married Shāh Ismā'īl II's daughter Sultān Begum (No. 8). After Khānish Khānum's death in 1590-91, during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I, Mīr Niāmatullāh married


2. A.A.A., I, p. 132; Tuzuk, p. 62; Cf. M.U. III, p. 339 mentions a daughter of Mīr Niāmatullāh I as Pāri Paikar (fairy-faced) Khānum who was perhaps the same daughter married to Ismā'īl Mīrzā.


another daughter of Shāh Ẓahmāsp, Khadija Sultan Begum, the widow of Jamshed Khān, who was governor (vālī) of Bih-pas (in Gilān).

The Masā'ir-ul Umarā' tells us that Shāh Niāmatullah II's (No. 2), father Mīr Nizāmuddīn Abī (No. 1), was Sadr of Shāh Ismail Ṣafavī and afterwards when the vakīl of the State, Amir Majmū-i Ṣānī was killed at Ghajdiwān the Mīr was appointed the royal vakīl. During the reign of Shāh Ẓahmāsp, Ghyāuddūn Muḥammad Mīr Mīrān (No. 3) held charge of the entire Suyūrghāls (Ṣāhib-i Suyūrghālt-i Kullī) and held some very important office (masnad-i asmāt-o-ignebāl) in yazd. The total income from the property &


2. Bih-leşh and Bih-pas were the two cities (ulka) in Gilān. See A.A.A., I, p.265.

M.U., III, pp.340-41 wrongly mentions Shahr Bāno Begum, another wife of Mīr Niāmatullah, as having died in the 4th R.Y. of Shāh Abbās I in Isfahān; this is because of confusion with Khānish Begum who died that year. See A.A.A., II, p.431. Shahr Bāno Begum was a younger sister of Khadijah Begum and was married to Salmān Khān, son of Shāh Ṭāhir Mirzā Istājlū during the reign of Khudā Banda. See A.A.A., I, pp.136, 260, 280.


4. Besides holding the ancestral title of Murtazā-i Mamālik-i Islām, he was also honoured to be styled (lagab) as Arjumand Bīrādari (the revered brother) see A.A.A., I, p. 228.
perquisites of the family (hāsīl-i imlāk wa idrārāt-i musallamīyat-i ān silsilāh) amounted to 5000 tūmāns. 1

During Shāh ABBĀS I's reign, MĪR Khalīlullah Yazdī I (No.6) the son of MĪR Mīrān Yazdī I (No.3) and the great grand father of Rūhullāh Khān I (No.38) was granted charge of Yazd by the Shāh in 1590-91. 2 Subsequently, MĪR Khalīlullah Yazdī I was censured by the Shāh for certain reasons and he lost his property as a result. From fear of his life he fled with his two sons MĪR Mīrān II (No.9) and MĪR Zahiruddīn (No.10) to India and waited upon Jahāngīr at Lahore in 1606. He was graciously received by the Emperor and besides a cash award of Rs.12,000/-, was granted the rank of 1000/200, together with a Jāgīr. 3 In 1608, he fell ill after over-eating mangoes and died of severe diarrhoea at Agra. During this short association of about two years with Jahāngīr MīR Khalīlullah I had attained so much reputation in the court and closeness to the emperor that the latter was quite grieved on his death; and whatever he left behind in cash and kind was allowed to be sent to his children in Irān (vilāyat). 4 His two grandsons – MīR

2. Ibid., II, p.431; M.U., III, p.341.
3. Tuzuk, p.63; M.U., III, 341.
4. Ibid, pp.69,150.
'Abdul Hādī (No.13) and Khalīlullah Khān II (No.14) the sons of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II (No.9), from his Irānian wife, had remained in Irān on account of their tender age. Jahāngīr in a letter to Shāh 'Abbās asked that they be allowed to come to India.¹

After Mīr Khalīlullah's death, his two sons Mīr Mīrān II (No.9) and Mīr Zahīruddīn (No.10) received high favours. They were respectively taken into service in the 10th and 17th R.Y. and each one of them was initially granted the rank of 1000/400.² Mīr Zahīruddīn, who joined the service in 1622³ could not make progress and having resigned from the service went into retirement⁴. In 1632 Shāhjahān granted him an annual allowance of Rs.18,000/-⁵ Mīr Mīrān I, however, was appointed first as faujdār of Mewāt in 1619⁶ and then gūbedār of


2. Tuzuk, p.150,347.
3. Ibid., p.346.
Delhi in 1620. His rank was also successively raised to 2500/1400 in 1622, in which year he died.

After its establishment in India the family of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II succeeded in contracting matrimonial relations with important Irānian families. It may be noted that only the male members of this family married in the family of Itīmād-ud Daula. Mīr Mīrān II himself married Śāliḥa Bāno Begum (No. 11) a daughter of Aṣaf Khān, his son Khalīlullāh Khān II (No. 14) married Hamīda Bāno Begum (No. 17), a daughter of Mirzā Ṣafī Saif Khān, the son-in-law of Aṣaf Khān and a great grandson of Ṭaqā Mulla Dāwātdār of Qazwīn. Rūḩullāh Khān I (No. 38) married a daughter (No. 41) of Shāista Khān, and a grandson of Khalīlullāh Khān II, Mīr Khān (No. 42) the eldest son of Asīr Khān Mīr Mīrān III (No. 36) married a daughter (No. 57) of Azīzuddīn Bahramān Khān, the grandson of Ṣādiq Khān Mīr Bakhshī.

1. Tuzuk, p. 324.
2. Ibid., p. 344.
3. Ibid., p. 352.
5. Ibid. I(b), p. 775.
6. Irfan Habib's article op. cit. Genealogical Chart 'E', p. 84.
Among other Iranian families with which the family of Mir Miran Yazdi II entered into marriage alliances were those of the Safavi Mirzás of Qandahar, ‘Ali Mardan Khan Zīg, and Mirza Bādī of Mashhad. 1 Mir Niḥmatullah (No.12), the son of Mir Zahiruddin (No.10) married the daughter of Mirzā Murād Kam Safavi. 2 Shahzāda Begum (No.16), the daughter of Mir Miran Yazdi II, was married to Mirzā Saf Shikan Khan (No.18), the son of Mirzā Ḥasan Safavi, 3 and a daughter (No.37) of Khalīlullah Khan II (No.14) was married to Saifuddin Safavi Kāmyāb Khan (No.22) the son of Mirzā Saf Shikan Khan (No.18). 4 Amīr Khān Mir Mirān III (No.36) married Jān Nawāz Begum alias Șāhibji (No.40), the daughter of ʿAlī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul Umarā 5; and Kābulī Begum (No.66) a daughter of Rūhullah Khan I (No.38) was married to Mir Muḥammad ‘Aqīdat Khān (No.72), son of Mirzā Bādī of Mashhad 6.

Hadiya Begum (No.69), another daughter of Rūhullah Khan I

1. He was one of the principal Saiyids of Mashhad. His ancestors had been the guardians of the shrine of the Imam ʿAlī ibn Mūsā (the 8th Imam). See M.U., I, pp. 222-25.

2. Lāhorī, II, p.374; Wāris, p.147.


5. Māmūrī, f.192(a); M.U. I (a) 284; T.M. II, 9.

6. M.U., I(a), 225; Cf. T.M. II, 62 mentions Mariyam Begum whose daughter Panna Begum (No.78) was married to Sarbuland Khan (No.74).
was married to Mīr Muḥammad Rafī Sarbuland Khān (No. 74) the son of Mīr Afzal Muqtadavī Khān of Tūn.¹

Some women from this family were also taken into marriage by Mughal princes in the reign of Aurangzeb. 'Aisha Begum (No. 67), a daughter of Rūḥullāh Khān I, was married to Prince Muḥammad 'Azīm (No. 73), the son of Prince Shāh 'Alam.² Similarly, a daughter (No. 56) of Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān III was married to Prince 'Izzuddīn (No. 61) the son of Prince Mu'izzuddīn towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign.³

Returning to the position of the members of Rūḥullāh Khān's family as mansabdārs a reign-wise tabulation is offered in Appendix-B, which shows the mansabs held by members of the family from Jahāngīr to Aurangzeb. The table contains only the highest ranks known to have been attained by them in each reign. It appears that till the end of Aurangzeb's reign three generations of the family had continuously been in active service and that they continued to enjoy increasin-

gly higher position in each successive reign. In the first generation there were only three members who are known to have been holding ranks. But none of them had the rank of 5000 zāt. In the second generation their position improved to the extent that out of eight members two were holding the rank of 5000 zāt. The two were Mīr ʿAbdūl Ḥāḍī Aṣ̱ālat Kāhān 5000/4000 and Khaḷīlullāh Kāhān Yazdi 5000/5000 (2-3h). The remaining six members reached ranks ranging from 700 zāt to 2500 zāt. The third generation during Aurangzeb's reign attained the highest position in terms of mansabs. Out of 17 members of the family holding ranks, three held the rank of 5000 zāt and above. They were Khaḷīlullāh Kāhān 6000/6000 (2-3h), Amīr Kāhān Mīr Mīrān 6000/5000 (3000x2-3h) and Rūḥullāh Kāhān I 5000/5000. Among the rest three were medium rank mansabdārs such as ʿAbdūl Kāfī Nawāzish Kāhān (3000/1200), Sultān Ḥusayn Iftikhār Kāhān (3000/1200) and Rūḥullāh Kāhān II (3500/1200). Thus, in the first two categories (viz. high and medium rank categories) the position of Rūḥullāh Kāhān's family was more strong during Aurangzeb's reign than ever before. Out of the remaining eleven members only four held the ranks of 1000 zāt and above while seven of them reached ranks below 1000 zāt. They were all sons of Amīr Kāhān Mīr Mīrān, so that except two of his sons - Amīr Kāhān
and Maraht Khan (1000/300) - all other sons reached ranks below 1000 ⁹at.

As regards the offices held by the members of Ruhullah Khan's family, information on central offices, governorships, faujdaris and qiledarships during the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb is brought together in Appendices C, D and E. We have seen that during Jahangir's reign it was only Mir Miran Yazdi II who held the rank of 2,500/1,400, the then highest rank held in the family, and the governorship of Delhi.¹ During the reign of Shahjahan the family, however, made great progress in terms of offices held by its members. The tables show that many important central offices like Mir-i Tuzuk, Mir Atish, Mir Bakhshi, second Bakhshi, Bakhshi of Abdis, Akhtabegi, Qarahwalbegi, Qushbegi, Qurbegi, Darogha of Dagh and Peshkash were held by members of the family. It also appears that with the exception of the two major central offices of Diwan-i kul or wazir and Mir-i Saman the other three major offices in the centre namely Mir Bakhshi, Mir-i Tuzuk and Mir-i Atish were held by them. As many as six members of the family are known to have held central offices during Shahjahan's reign. During the

¹. Tuzuk, p.324, 344.
reign of Shāhjahān the province of Delhi was twice put under the charge of two members of the family. Mīr Abdul Hādī Ağālát Khān was its governor from 1635 to 1637; and Khalīlullāh Khān II from 1651 to 1658.¹ We may recall that Mīr Mīrān Yazdī II too had been governor of Delhi under Jahāngīr.

During Aurangzēb's reign the family held a number of central offices, governorships of various provinces and also the offices of faujdār and Qilādār of different places. In addition to the offices held during the reign of Shāh Jahān, many other important central offices were also assigned to them. These include Mīr-i Sāmān, posts of Dārogha of macebearers, servants of Jilāu, Khās Chauki, and Diwān-i Khās etc. The office of Ākhtābegī (master of horse) which was only once assigned to Khalīlullāh Khān II during Shāhjahān's reign, was now frequently assigned to three members of the family, viz. Sultan Ḥusain Iftikhr Khān, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Multāf Multāf Khān, and Ruhullāh Khān I. The last named was appointed thrice to this office.² The office of Mīr-i Sāmān which was one of the major central offices was also assigned for the first time in the family to

¹. See Appendix-D(A).
². See Appendix-C(B).
Sultan Husain Iftikhar Khan and Ruhullah Khan I. 1

As regards governorships held by members of the family our table shows that as many as five members of the family were appointed to various provinces during Aurangzeb's reign. The provinces include Punjab (Lahore), Kabul, Allahabad, Kashmir, Bihar, Ajmer, Bijapur, Hyderabad, Bidar and Nander. 2 It is also evident that the average tenure of each incumbent both in the central offices and in the provinces was longer than under Shahjahan. Mir Miran, Amir Khan's total tenure as governor of Kabul was about 36 years. 3 As many as six members of the family held various faujdari and qiljadar in the empire. The faujdari include those of the Sarkars of Kohistan-i Jammu, Mandu, Langarkot (in Peshawar), Dhamuni, Saharanpur (or Miyani Doab), upper and lower Bangash, Jaunpur, Ghazipur Zamania and Agra. The qiljadar held by members of the family were of Agra, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Qandahar fort (in the Deccan). 4 Thus, the family of Ruhullah Khan I occupied

1. See Appendix C(B).
2. Ibid., D(B).
3. Ibid., also see Chapter 5(b).
4. Ibid., E(B).
A high position during Aurangzeb's reign as far as the Central Offices, governorships of provinces and other important offices are concerned.

A few words may be offered about Ruhullah Khan I's personal career under Aurangzeb. He reached the high mansab of 5000/4000 and besides holding many important posts obtained the coveted office of the Mir Bakhshi. Our evidence suggest that Ruhullah Khan I during most of his career enjoyed the trust of the emperor.

He appears to have started his career in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, as he is not mentioned at all in the sources of Shâhjahân's reign. He was deputed by the successful Aurangzeb to march along with his father Khâliîullah Khan II in pursuit of Dârâ Shukoh. He was presumably granted the rank of 1000/200 after the war of succession as in the 2nd R.Y. (1659) he is reported to have received an enhancement of 500 zât and promoted to the rank of 1500/200. In the 6th R.Y. (1663) his rank was further enhanced to 1500/500 and he was appointed Mir Bakhshi of Ah-dis.

1. Kâzîm, p.147.
2. Ibid., p.486.
apparently the first appointment, so far, known to be held by him. This office he held for about five years, till 1668. During this period he seems to have become a close and confidential noble of Aurangzeb. Manucci tells us that one day during his tenure as Mir Bakhshi of Abdīs (a rank much inferior to that of the Wazīr), breaking well established conventions and practices, Rūhullāh Khān at the time of presentation of petitions to the emperor took precedence over the Wazīr, and went very close to the emperor. The next day when Ja'afar Khān ventured to draw the emperor's attention to this impropriety the emperor took a lenient view and instead of censuring Rūhullāh Khān assured Ja'afar Khān (Wazīr) that it would not be repeated in future.¹

In 1668 Rūhullāh Khān was appointed Ākhtābegī² (Master of horse), a charge which was exclusively assigned to very trustworthy persons.³ However, a few years afterwards his fortunes began declining as in the 14th R.Y. (1671 A.D.) he was replaced by Irādat Khān and in the 16th R.Y. (1673 A.D.) he was given the less important office of the faujdār of Dhamūnī, and soon

3. In the context of Ḥusain Beg Khān Zīg, the author of Ma'āṣir-ūl Umara mentions that the office of Ākhtābegī was entrusted with none but only the very trusted person. See M.U. I, p. 591.
after was removed from that post too, for reasons not mentioned by authorities. After two years in 1675 he was, however, reinstated to the rank of 1,500/400 and was appointed faujdār of Sahāranpur. In a letter, from Jahān Āra Begum to Rāja Budh Prakāsh Zamīndār of Srimūr (in Garhwal), Rūhullāh Khān is mentioned as faujdār of Miyān-i Doāb which is identical with Sahāranpur.

It may be pointed out that this letter was written to the Rāja in reply to his letter in which he had requested Jahān Āra Begum to issue orders (Nishān) to Rūhullāh Khān and other officials to assist the Rāja in dealing with his Tahvilāds (treasurers) and the zamīndārs of pargana Sadhūra.

From 1675 till his death in 1692, for a period of about 18 years, Rūhullāh Khān led an uninterrupted career holding successively many important offices such as Ākhtabegī (second time, 1677 A.D.), Khān-i Sāman (1678 A.D.), Mīr Ātish (1679 A.D.), Mīr Bakhshī (1680 A.D.), Second Bakhshī (1681 A.D.), Qilādār of Ahmadnagar (1685 A.D.), again Mīr Bakhshī (1687 A.D.), sūbedār of Bijapur (1687 A.D.) and sūbedār of Hyderabad (1688 A.D.).

4. Ibid.
He was also active in a number of military expeditions sent against Marathas in the Deccan and participated in fall of the forts of Bijapur, Golconda and Raichur.\(^1\) He received rapid promotions and obtained the rank of 5000/4000 in 1686.\(^2\)

As second Bakhshi Ruhullah Khan appears to be acting as a bridge between the emperor and officers by mediating between the two. On the one hand he kept the emperor well informed about nobles' activities and on the other pleaded their cases and sought remedies to their grievances. In 1681 the emperor granted Mir Hifzullah son-in-law of Ma'amur Khan two months' leave to visit his mother at Shanjahanabad at Ruhullah Khan's recommendation.\(^3\) In the same year on his pleading as second Bakhshi, Amir Khan the subedar of Kabul received a promotion to the rank of 6000/5000 (3000x2-3h) all unconditional. Amir Khan reported to the emperor through Ruhullah Khan that instead of Rupees 6,00,000/- given to the Afghans annually, probably to maintain safety of the routes, he allowed them only Rupees 1,50,000/- and retained the rest for the central treasury.

1. See relevant entries of Ruhullah Khan's career in Appendix-C(B).


3. Akhbarat, Sha'bann 24th R.Y., 23 August, 1681.
Rūḥullah Khan seems to have put the case so competently that in addition to an enhancement in rank, Amīr Khan also received 1,20,00,000 dāms as inām from the emperor. 1

He also appears issuing ḥasb-ul ḥukm on orders of the emperor to various nobles and officers. In 1681 A.D. he sent a ḥasb-ul ḥukm to Khān Zamān informing him that Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Thānedār of Thāneswar, should be punished for not performing his duties and staying at Burhānpur. Khān Zamān was further asked to explain to the emperor why Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was allowed to stay at Burhānpur. 2

Rūḥullah Khan was also entrusted, as second Bakhshi, with the task of preparing and sending the Tūmār of nobles' contingents. In 1681 he was asked by the emperor to send the Tūmār of Ma'amūr Khān's contingent. 3 Again in the same year the emperor assigned him another important task of ordering the faujdārs of Burhānpur, Surat and Gujarat to maintain the high way so that the travellers could pass through their territories and reach the court safely. 4 Further, he was also compelled


2. Ibid., Ziqāda, 6th November, 1681.

3. Ibid., 14th November, 1681.

4. Ibid.
to convey imperial orders of punishment and demotions. In 1681 he informed Shaikh Muhammad Anwar, Diwan of Fûr and Mandal, that his rank was decreased from 100/20 to 40/20 as a punishment for not informing the emperor about the attack of Râna Râj Singh on Mandal, and writing to Asad Khân instead of the emperor. He was strictly ordered to send reports direct to the emperor in future. ¹

When Aurangzeb learnt from the reports of the secret news-writers about the bets made by Khân-i Jahân and Rustam Khân, in which Rustam Khân lost an enormous amount in lieu of which Khân-i Jahân confiscated his Jâgîr, the emperor ordered the second Bakhshî Ru'âullah Khân to issue a hasb-ul-hukm to the Bakhshî of the Deccan informing him about the decrease of 500 zât in his rank as punishment since he failed to report the matter to the emperor. ²

It is curious that all these important tasks of issuing the hasb-ul-hukms and conveying orders were entrusted to Ru'âullah Khân who held the office of Second Bakhshî while the Mir Bakhshîs during this period were Himmat Khân³ and, after him, Ashraf Khân⁴. Could

4. Ibid., p. 206.
one then venture to infer that Rūhullāh Khān was not only Second Bakhshi but also a favourite and close confidant of Aurangzeb.

Rūhullāh Khān was appointed Mīr Bakhshi twice. First in the 23rd R.Y. (1680) after the death of Sarbūlānd Khān though for a short period of about one year. The second time was in the 30th R.Y. (1686) with the rank of 5000/4000. He remained in this office till his death in 1692 and was succeeded by Bahramānī Khān. It appears that in addition to the office of Mīr Bakhshi he was also appointed sūbedār of Bijapur and Hyderabad, the two crucial provinces in the Deccan. This suggests that Aurangzeb had special trust in Rūhullāh Khān's administrative capability and statesmanship. He was considered one of the best administrators and advisors in matters pertaining to the government, and was summoned to the court for consultations on important matters.

Whether at court or away from it Rūhullāh Khān, as Mīr Bakhshi, retained his importance. Most of his

2. Ibid., pp. 348, 350.
petitions were approved and accepted by the emperor and latter was so indulgent to him that Rūhullāh Khān, at times, took liberty and disregarded the norms and regulations of the court.

His recommendations were usually accepted by the emperor. It was at his instance that 'Abdullāh Khān Bārha got his rank restored, a task in which he failed earlier inspite of performing courageous deeds against Marāthas. Rūhullāh Khān, however, through his intercession convinced the emperor and got 'Abdullāh Khān's rank released.

Nevertheless, Rūhullāh Khān was, on occasions, censured by the emperor. From 1673 to 1675 he was under suspension. During his governorship of Hyderabad he was again punished for certain reasons but after a few days he was pardoned. At times, it appears that his petitions were also rejected. During the days of scarcity:

2. Manucci II, 443-44.
3. Rag'īm-i Karāmī, B.M., Add. 26239, f. 9(a); Ruqa'āt-i 'Alamgīr, Niẓāmī Press Kanpur, 1273 AH., p. 27.
5. Rag'īm-i Karāmī, ff. 31(b)-32(a); Ruqa'āt-i 'Alamgīr, op. cit. pp. 39-40.
of pāibāqī and increasing pressure of salary-claimants, the emperor repeatedly forbade Rūḥullāh Khān for making fresh recruitments and once (in 1691) asked him strictly not to recommend people for employment.¹

Although described by most of our authorities as a liberal and benevolent person² Rūḥullāh Khān was not free from certain faults. Manucci calls him "honest but greedy both in eating and getting".³ Rūḥullāh Khān was unable to maintain good relations with his deputy sūbedār of Hyderabad Jān Niṣār Khān though he was appointed on his recommendation. The latter went to the extent of filing a complaint against Rūḥullāh Khān's wrong intentions against him and requested the emperor to transfer him to the post of Bakhshī-i Ṭan.⁴ Rūḥullāh Khān is also charged for appropriating money from the people on different pretexts. He often so cleverly managed to conceal his actions that the emperor was always convinced of his honesty.⁵ In a letter Aurangzeb himself

5. M.U. II, 314-15 mentions how Rūḥullāh Khān convinced the emperor of his honesty when he was found to have realised a 2/3rd commission on an advance which a Rāja in the Dōccan received through his recommendation.
acknowledges Rūhullah Khān’s act of misappropriation of wealth from the people.  

In spite of these failings Rūhullah Khān remained a great favourite of Aurangzeb till his last days. When the Khān was lying in his death bed, the emperor visited him and seeing him unconscious broke down. The Khān took the opportunity of seeking the last favour and begged that the emperor should show kindness and favour to those of his sons who were deserving and indulgence to those who were undeserving as being the sons and grandsons of a Khānazād. The emperor was gracious enough to give the assurance. Rūhullah Khān further requested that since he had accepted the Sunni faith and the rituals of ablution and burial should be performed accordingly. He also requested that his two daughters be married to Sunni grooms. According to his last will his elder daughter was married to Prince Muḥammad Āqīm. On the other hand, Siyādat Khān son of Siyādat Khān Saiyid Oqhlān refused to accept the younger daughter in marriage doubting her sincerity to the Sunni faith.  


2. 'Ināyatullah Khān, Ahkām-i Alamgīrī, Abdus Salām collection, 327/97, M.A. Library Aligarh, ff.13(b)-14(a); 18(a)-49(b); also Ahkām-i Alamgīrī, op.cit., Ahkām No.69, pp.77-78 and Ahkām No.70 pp.78-81.
Ruhullah Khan's successful career thus came to an end in 1692, but his last wish was honoured by Aurangzeb who took his sons into service. The second son Mir Hasar Khanazad Khan stepped into the shoes of his father being appointed as Khan-i-Samān in 1697-98 with the title of Ruhullah Khan II. He ultimately reached the post of Second Bakhshi.¹

¹ See Appendix-C(B); for his biographical details see also M.U., II, pp.315-317.
APPENDIX-A

Genealogical Chart of Rūḥullah Khān's Family

1. Mir Niẓāmuddīn Abd

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2. Saiyid Naẓmuddīn Shāh Niẓamullāh II

= Khānīsh Begum sister of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī

3. Amīr Qhiyāṣuddīn Muḥammad

Mir Mirān Yazdī I

4 D.

(Parī Paikar Khānam)

= Ismāʿīl Mirzā Ṣafavī

(Later - Shāh Ismāʿīl II)

5. Mir Niẓamullāh III

= (a) Khānīsh Khānam
d/o Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī

(b) Khādīja Sultān Begum

6. Mir Khalīl-ullāh Yazdī I

= (a) Yaktāsh Khān

= 8

(b) Yaqūb Khān

7 D.

8. Sultan Begum

= 6
6. Mir Khalilullah Yazdi I
   = 8

9. Mir Miran Yazdi
   = (a) in Iran (b) 11. Saliha Bano
   d/o Asaf Khan

10. Mir Zahiruddin

12. Mir Niamatullah
    = d/o Mirza Murad Kam Safavi

13. Abdul Hadi
    Asalat Khan

14. Khalilullah Khan II
    = 17. Hamida Bano
    d/o Saif Khan,
    Mirza Safi

15. Abdul Kafi
    Nawazish Khan

16. Shahzada Begum
    = 18. Mirza Saf Shikan Khan
    g/s Mirza Rustam Safavi

19. Jamaluddin

20. Asifuddin Kamyab

21. Safuddin Kamyab

22. Saifuddin Kamyab

23. Muhammad Nasir Khan
    Nuqrat Khan
    = 37

36. Amir Khan
    Mir Miran III

37 D.

38. Ruhullah Khan I
    = 41 d/o Shaista Khan
    Amir-уль Umarà

39. Azizullah

40 Jan Nawaz Begum
    alias Sahnibi d/o
    Ali Mardan Khan
    Amir-ul Umarà
13. 'Abdul Hādi Aṣālat Khān

20. Muḥammad
   Ibrāhīm
   Multafat Khān

19. Sulṭān Husain
    Iftikhār Khān

21. Bahāuddīn

32. Mīr Muḥammad

33. Mīr ZainulʿĀbidīn

34. Mīr Aḥmad Multafat Khān

35. Nawāzish 'Alī Khān

24. ‘Abdullāh
25. ‘Abdul Hādī
26. ‘Abdul Bāqī
27. Mīr Muḥammad
    Ṣādiq, Aṣālat Khān Bahādur
28. Muḥammad Jāfar
    Tafākhur Khān

31. Qamaruddīn
    Mukhtār Khān Sabzwār
30. Mīr Bāqīr Khān
36. Amir Khan Mir Miran Yazdi III

42. Mir Muhammad
43. Muhammad
44. Muhammad
45. Muhammad
46. Khadija
47. Hadi
48. Saif
49. Asadullah
Mahdi, Mir
Ja'far, Ibrāhīm, Ishāq
'Āqidat, Marā'mat, Amir
Khān, Khān, Khān
= 40 Ṣāḥibji

59. Fakhruddin
Husain Khan, Khan Bahādur
= 62 d/o Nawāb Sa'id
Ahmad Khan Bahādur
Ṣaulat Jang

50. Mir Abūl
51. Muḥammad
52. Mohd.
53. D.
54. Muḥammad
55. Mir
Abūl
Hasan
Hasan
Kāsim = 60 Mir
(Ḥusain)
'Abdul 'Alī
Khwāja, 'Alī
Muḥammad = 61 Prince
(Ṣu'ayb)
Izzuddin
S/o Prince
Mu'izzuddin

Note: Ṣāḥibji was childless and Amir Khan had no child by her. These children were mostly by concubines (M.U. I(a), 284).
38. Rûhullah Khân I
= 41 d/o Shâista Khân

63. Saifullah Khan
64. Mîr Hasan Khan
65. Mûhammad Bâqir Khan
66. Kâbulî Bairam Khan
67. Aîsha Begum
68. D. Hâdiya Begum
69. Niamatulllah Khan

71. D. = 46
= 44

77. D. = 77

75. Khâlîlullah Khan III
76. Mîr Mûhammad Ahsân, Itiqâd Khan, Rûhullah Khan III
77. D. = 77

81. Rûhûl Quds
### References to the Genealogical Charts

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<td>8</td>
<td>d/o 4; 8 = 6</td>
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16 = 18

14 + 13

15 s/o 9; 9 ÷ Āṣaf Khān

15 + 13

18 : 22 = d/o Khalīlullah Khān Yazdi II

22 S/L 14

10 : 12 = d/o Murād Kām Ṣafavī

‡ Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī

14 = 17 d/o Mirzā Ṣafī Ṣaif Khān

13 : 19 +20 +21

19 s/o 13

20 s/o 13, 20 +20

20 : 32, 33

32 : 34

33 : 35

19 : 24, 25, 26

27 s/o 19

28 s/o 19, 28 : 30

31 S/L 19

14 : 36, 38, 39 + 38


Ṣādiq Khān f.73(a); M.U. I(b), 775

Lāhori II, 116.

Lāhori II, 240, 471.

Kāzim, 663; M.U. III, 479.

M.U. I(b), 781-82.

Lāhori II, 374; Wāris, 147; Kāzim, 287; M.U., III, 342.

M.U. I(b), 775.

Kāzim, 627,908; M.U. I(a), 172, 252; III, 611.

Lāhori II, 677; Wāris, 14, 207; Kāzim 158.

Wāris, 206, 214, 255; Kāzim, 158; M.U. III, 611.

Akhbārāt, 25 R.Y. Žilhaj (24th Dec.1681).

T.M., 104.

T.M., 128.

M.A., 219; M.U. I(a), 254-55.

T.M., 84; Cf. M.U.I(a), 254-55.

T.M., 117; Cf. M.U. I(a), 254-55.

T.M. 26.

Kāzim, 908; M.U.I(b), 781-82; M.A. 222, 349.
14: 37 = 22
39 3/o 14
38 = 41
36 = 46 3/o Ali Mardan Khān Amir-ul-Umara
36: 12 = 57
36: 13, 14, 15, 16 = 44
36: 12, 50, 51, 52, 54, 47, 44 Akhbarat, 44 R.Y. 10 Zilhij 18 May 1700.
36: 13, 14, 55
36: 52, 47, 51, 54 Akhbarat, 44 R.Y. 17 Zilhij, 25 May, 1700.
36: 46 = 64
36: 47 T.M. 84.
36: 43 Akhbarat, 50 R.Y. Shabān, 4 Nov. 1706; T.M., 95.
36: 45 T.M. II, 102
36: 55 T.M. II, 118.
36: 49 T.M. II, 131.
36: 50 Akhbarat, 44 R.Y. 12 Zilhij 20 May, 1700.
36: 56 = 61 S/L 36 M.A. 518; Akhbarat 50 R.Y. Shaban, 4 November, 1706; 51 R.Y. 3 Ramgān, 28 Nov. 1706.
38 : 33, 64, 65
38 : 66 = 72
72 : 78 = 74
38 : 67 = 73 : 81
38 : 68
38 : 59 = 74
38 : 70
38 : 63 : 71 = 44 S/1 63
64 = 46
64 : 75, 76, 77

M.U. II, 315.
M.A. 114; M.U. I(a), 225.
T.M. II, 62.
M.A. 347, 373; M.U. II, 313;
T.M. II, 6n, 26.
Aḥkām-i Aḥāmēdī, 77-78, 78-81.
M.U. III, 801-806.
T.M. II, 91.
T.M. II, 58.
M.A. 274; T.M. II, 16; K.U. II, 315.
M.U. II, 317; T.M. II, 56, 75.
APPENDIX-B

Members of Rūhullāh Khān's family as Mansābdārs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name &amp; Title</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. UNDER JAHANGĪR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. UNDER SHĀHJAHĀN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mīr Zahiruddān</td>
<td>1000/400</td>
<td>Qazwīnī, 148(a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mīr Nīmatullāh S/o Mīr Zahiruddān</td>
<td>1000/200</td>
<td>Wāris, 147; Šāliḥ III, 469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mīr 'Abdūl Hādī, Aṣālat Khān</td>
<td>5000/4000</td>
<td>Lāhorī II, 577; M.U. I(a), 170-71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Aмир Khān, Mīr Mīrān</td>
<td>1500/500</td>
<td>Šāliḥ III, 463.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Sultan Husain, Iftikhar Khān</td>
<td>1000/500</td>
<td>Šāliḥ III, 248.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. UNDER AURANGZEB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>'Abdūl K. Šāfī, Nawāzīsh Khān</td>
<td>3000/1200</td>
<td>Kāzīm, 474.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX-B Contd.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Financial Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Amīr Khatān, Mīr Mīrān</td>
<td>25th Shawāl, 1681</td>
<td>6000/5000 (3000 x 2-3h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sultan Ḥusain, Iftikhar Khatān</td>
<td>24th Oct., 1681</td>
<td>3000/1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Multafat Khatān</td>
<td></td>
<td>3000/1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Rūḥullah Khatān I</td>
<td></td>
<td>5000/5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Khan zaj Khatān, Rūḥullah Khatān II</td>
<td></td>
<td>3500/1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>'Azizullah Khatān S/o Khalilullah Khatān</td>
<td></td>
<td>2000/5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Amīr Khatān S/o Amīr Khatān Mīrān</td>
<td></td>
<td>1000/600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Abūl Hasan S/o Amīr Khatān Mīrān</td>
<td></td>
<td>700/200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Mīr Muḥammad Ali S/o Amīr Khatān Mīrān</td>
<td></td>
<td>400/zat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Kāẓim S/o Amīr Khatān Mīrān</td>
<td></td>
<td>600/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Mīr Muḥammad Hādi S/o Amīr Khatān Mīrān</td>
<td></td>
<td>600/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Mohd. Hasan (or Ḥusain) or Mīr Hasan S/o Mīr Mīrān</td>
<td></td>
<td>500/70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Khwāja S/o Amīr Khatān Mīrān</td>
<td></td>
<td>500/60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Marahmat Khatān S/o Amīr Khatān Mīrān</td>
<td></td>
<td>1000/300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Mīr Muḥammad Jafar, Aqīdat Khatān S/o Mīr Mīrān</td>
<td></td>
<td>800/250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX-C

Major Central Offices held by the members of Ruhullah Khan's family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name &amp; Title</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1629-30</td>
<td>Khalilullah Khan II</td>
<td>Mir Tuzuk</td>
<td>Lāhorī, I(a), 299.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1632-33  to 1637-38</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mir Atish</td>
<td>Ibid. 451, 474, II, 21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1633-34</td>
<td>Mir Abdul Hadi Aṣālat Khan</td>
<td>Bakhshī of Aḥḍās</td>
<td>Ibid. I(b), 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1635</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Ibid., 101.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1637-38</td>
<td>Khalilullah Khan II</td>
<td>Mir Āṭish &amp; Qarāwalbegī</td>
<td>Ibid., II, 21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1638-39</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Qarāwalbegī (A.C.)</td>
<td>Ibid., 143.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>1639-40  Till 1640-41</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Qarāwalbegī</td>
<td>Ibid., 179, 204.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1639</td>
<td>Mir ’Abbūl Hādi, Aṣālat Khan</td>
<td>2nd Bakhshī</td>
<td>Ibid., 161.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>1639</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Āḵṭabegī (A.C.)</td>
<td>Ibid., 170.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>1640-41</td>
<td>Khalilullah Khan II</td>
<td>Qaushbegī &amp; Āḵṭabegī</td>
<td>Ibid., 228.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX-C Contd.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>1647-48</td>
<td>Sultān Husain, Iftikhār Khān</td>
<td>Dārogha of Qūrkhanā</td>
<td>Wāris, 14; M.U., I(a), 252.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>1649-50</td>
<td>Khalīlullāh Khān II&lt;br&gt;Till 1650-51</td>
<td>Mīr Lakhshī 2nd Bakhshī (A.C.)</td>
<td>Wāris, 129; Apparatus, (S5415)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>1650-51</td>
<td>Khalīlullāh Khān II</td>
<td>Mīr Bakhshī (A.C.)</td>
<td>Apparatus, (S5415)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX-C Contd.

22. 1656-57 Muhammad Ibrāhīm S/o Aṣāfāṭ Khan

23. 1657-58 Amir Khan

24. 1658 Khalīlullāh Khan II

Paūjār Miyan-i Doāb

Mīr Tuzuk (A.C.)

Mīr Bakhshi

Kāşim, 84, 95;

M.U.I(b), 779.

B. UNDER AURANGZEB

1. 1659 till 1663 Sūltān Ḥusain, Iftikār Khan

Ākhtabegī

Kāşim, 289; M.U. I(a), 253.

2. 1661-62 Muhammad Ibrāhīm, Multafat Khan

Mīr-i Tuzuk

Kāşim, 642.

3. 1662-63 "

Mīr-i Tuzuk & Mīr Bakhshi of Ahdis

Kāşim, 752, 759.

4. 1663 "

Mīr Bakhshi of Ahdis (A.C.), Ākhtabegī

Kāşim, 830.

5. 1663 Rūḥullāh Khan I

Mīr Bakhshi of Ahdis

Kāşim, 830; M.U.II, 309-10

6. 1663 till 1670 Sūltān Ḥusain, Iftikār Khan

Ākhtabegī (A.C.)

Kāşim, 830, 832

M.A. 101-102.

7. 1664 Multafat Khan

Ākhtabegī, Mīr Tuzuk also Dārogha-i Gurzbandār & Servants of Jilāw.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of Person</th>
<th>Relevant Information</th>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>Multafat Khan</td>
<td>Dārocha-i Gurzardarān Kāgīm, 966. &amp; Mūlāzmān-i Jilāw (A.C.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kāgīm, 978. Akhtābegī &amp; Mīr Tuzuk (A.C.)</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>1668</td>
<td>Rūhullāh Khan I till 1671</td>
<td>Mīr Bakhshī of Ahdis (A.C.), Akhtābegī (A.C.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>1669-70</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>M.A. 82. Khān-i Sāmān (A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>1670</td>
<td>Multafat Khān</td>
<td>Ibid. Akhtābegī (A.C.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>1671</td>
<td>Rūhullāh Khān I</td>
<td>Ibid. 108. Dārogha of servants of Jilāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>1674-75</td>
<td>Multafat Khān</td>
<td>Ibid. 150. Akhtābegī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>1675-76</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Ibid. 150. Khān-i Sāmān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>1677-78</td>
<td>Rūhullāh Khān I</td>
<td>Ibid. 156.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Year</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>Ruhullah Khan I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>1678-79</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>1680</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>1680-81</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>1681</td>
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<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>1682</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>1683-84</td>
<td>'Azizullah S/o Khalilullah Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Ruhullah Khan I till 1693</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>Ruhullah Khan II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>1695</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>31.</td>
<td>1695</td>
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<td>32.</td>
<td>1696</td>
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<td>33.</td>
<td>1698</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>1699</td>
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<table>
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<th>Name and Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>Ruhullah Khan I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>1678-79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>1680-81</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>1681</td>
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<td>1682</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>1683-84</td>
<td>'Azizullah S/o Khalilullah Khan</td>
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<td>Ruhullah Khan I till 1693</td>
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<td>29.</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>Ruhullah Khan II</td>
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<td>34.</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Ruhullah Khan II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>1700-1701</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>1701</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>1702</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>1702</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>42.</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>Amīr Khān S/o Amīr Khan Mīr Mirān</td>
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Khan-i-Samān & Daroga-i Diwan-i Khās
Daroga-i Diwan-i Khās (A.C.)
Daroga-i Jilau
Gūrbeği & Bakhshī of Ahdis (A.C.)
2nd Bakhshī
Bakhshī & Mīr-i Ātish (H)
Dr. Bakhshī-ul Mulk (H)
2nd Bakhshī (A.C.) (Died)
Daroga-i Bāgh-o Tashihā of Shāhjahān-ābad
7 Feb. 1705
## APPENDIX-D

Governorships held by the members of Ruhullah Khan's family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name &amp; Title</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. UNDER SHÁHJAHÁN</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1635</td>
<td>Mir Abdul Hadi, Aşâlat Khan</td>
<td>Şubedar Delhi</td>
<td>Lahorî I(b), 87.</td>
</tr>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>1635</td>
<td></td>
<td>Şubedar of Jaunpur(A.C.)Qazwînî, 341(b).</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td></td>
<td>Şubedar of Delhi (A.C.) Lahorî I(b), 280.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>1650-51</td>
<td>Khalīlullah Khan</td>
<td>Şubedar of Delhi</td>
<td>Wâris, 197, 332; (S5410); Şâlih, III, 266.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>1657-58</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. UNDER AURANGZEB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>1659-60</td>
<td>Amir Khan S/o Khalīlullah Khan</td>
<td>Dy. Şubedar Lahore</td>
<td>Kâzîm, 473.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1660-61</td>
<td></td>
<td>Şubedar Kâbul</td>
<td>Mâmûrî, f.122(b); K.K.II, 129.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1669-70</td>
<td>Amir Khan S/o Khalilullah Khan</td>
<td>Subedar Allahabad</td>
<td>M.A. 82, M.U. I(a), 278.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TILL 1671-72</td>
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<td>M.A., 110, 112.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>1671</td>
<td>Sultan Husain, Iftikhar Khan</td>
<td>Subedar Kashmir</td>
<td>M.U. I(a), 254</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TILL 1673</td>
<td></td>
<td>M.A., 125.</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>TILL 1674-75</td>
<td></td>
<td>M.A. 132, M.U. I(a), 279.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>1675-76</td>
<td></td>
<td>Subedar Bihar</td>
<td>M.A. 139, Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TILL 1699-1700</td>
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<td>M.A. 394, M.U. I(a) 281.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>1678-79</td>
<td>Sultan Husain, Iftikhar Khan</td>
<td>Subedar Ajmer</td>
<td>M.U. I(a), 254.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>1689</td>
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<td>Akhbarat, 39 R.Y.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>1696-97</td>
<td></td>
<td>Subedar Bidar &amp; Nander</td>
<td>M.A. 384-85; Akh. 40 R.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>April 11, 1696.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX-E

**Faujdaris and Qiladaris held by the members of Ruhullah Khan's family**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name &amp; Title</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. UNDER SHAHJAHAN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1647-48</td>
<td>Khalilullah Khan</td>
<td>Faujdar of Mewat</td>
<td>Na'ris, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1649-50</td>
<td></td>
<td>Qiladar of Kabul</td>
<td>Ibid. 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1651-52</td>
<td>Sultan Husain, Iftikhar Khan</td>
<td>Faujdar Mian-i Doab</td>
<td>M.U. I(a), 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. UNDER AURANGZEB</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>Amir Khan, Mir Miran Till</td>
<td>Faujdar of Kohistan-Jammu (A.C.)</td>
<td>M.U.I(a), 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1666</td>
<td>Mir Abdul Kafi, Nawazish Khan</td>
<td>Faujdar Mandu (A.C.)</td>
<td>Kagizim, 965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1671</td>
<td>Multafat Khan</td>
<td>Qiladar of Agra</td>
<td>M.U. III, 612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1673</td>
<td></td>
<td>Faujdar of Langarkot (in Peshawar)</td>
<td>Ibid., 612</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1674</td>
<td>Ruhullah Khan I</td>
<td>Faujdar of Dharmuni</td>
<td>M.A. 127; M.U. II, 310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1674-75</td>
<td>Multafat Khan</td>
<td>Faujdar Langarkot (A.C.)</td>
<td>Ibid., 141</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>Ruhullah Khan</td>
<td>Faujdar Saharanpur (or Mian-i Doab)</td>
<td>Ibid., 144; M.U. II, 310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Year(s)</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1676-77</td>
<td>Sultān Husain, Iftikhar Khan</td>
<td>Faujdar of the two Bangashes</td>
<td>Ibid. 153; U.I(a), 254.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>1680-81</td>
<td></td>
<td>Faujdar Jaunpur</td>
<td>Ibid. 193; Ibid. 254.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(A.C.) Died</td>
<td>Ibid. 209; Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>1680-81</td>
<td>Multafat Khan</td>
<td>Faujdar Ghazipur Zamānia</td>
<td>Ibid. 193; U.III, 612.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(A.C.) Died</td>
<td>Ibid. 209; Ibid. 612.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1681-82</td>
<td></td>
<td>Faujdar Agra</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>Rūhullah Khan I</td>
<td>Qiladar Ahmadnagar</td>
<td>M.A. 260; U.II, 311.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>1687</td>
<td>ʿAzizullah</td>
<td>Qiladar of Bijapur</td>
<td>Ibid. 282.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td></td>
<td>Qiladar Qandahār fort (in the Deccan)</td>
<td>Ibid. 461.</td>
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<td>15.</td>
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