



THE CUSTODIANS OF SHIKĀR: ROLE, RANK AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MUGHAL IMPERIAL HUNTSMEN

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Abstract

Shikār (hunting) transcended from a mere amusement to an instrument of governance and imperial power in Mughal India. Due to its multifaceted dimension, the Mughal paid careful attention to efficiently manage the hunting establishment and expeditions. The principle responsibility was given on the chief of hunt (*qarāwal begi*) who meticulously organized the hunting parties, supported by a network of *qarāwals*. This paper seeks to explore the relatively understudied aspect of Mughal hunting culture – shifting the focus from the imperial hunting practice to the bureaucratic machinery of hunting establishment that supported them. The chief huntsman often enjoyed a noble position due to their close association with the emperors during royal hunts. The study will examine on how the hunting post elevated them from huntsman to a relatively higher positions. Additionally, the paper explores the ethnic composition of the *qarāwal begis* employed from the reign of Akbar to Aurangzeb which will help us to understand the ethnic diversity and nature of nobility during the Mughal period.

Keywords: *Shikār* (Hunting), *qarāwals* (huntsmen), *qarāwal begi*, rank, ethnicity, Afghans, Iranians

Introduction

Imperial hunt (*shikār*) in Mughal India was far more than a mere recreation. Due to its multifaceted dimension the Mughals institutionalized the hunting establishment and built an efficient administrative set up for its smooth functioning. Hunting as a powerful tool for governance, territorial expansion, showcasing emperors' aura and prestige, diplomatic move and building a divine connection are common theme featured in the history of Mughal imperial hunt.¹ The organization of hunting expeditions, representations of hunts and hunting landscapes in Mughal painting equally attained scholarly attention.² However, historians failed to address a few fundamental questions – who were responsible for organizing the imperial hunts, and how was the hierarchy structured? What role did these figures play, and what was their rank or influence within the Mughal court? And what were their ethnic and social backgrounds – were they drawn from a homogenous group or did they represent a more diverse imperial elite?

This aspect is completely neglected in the scholarly engagement, perhaps because of the lack of direct information in the Persian sources. This paper, therefore, is a humble attempt to fill the lacuna that existed in the historiography of Mughal hunt. By addressing the above questions, this paper aims to explore the role of the officials who not only organized the hunting expeditions but sustained the institutional set up with their skills. The paper will also study the rank and influence of chief huntsmen in courtly circle and their ethnic background.

Huntsmen: Titles, Roles, and Etymologies

Shikār (hunting) as a recreation and a tool for governance was always held high in Mughal India. The planning and organization of hunting was, therefore, assigned to a specific office known as *shikār-khāna*. *Shikār-khāna* was one of the thirty-six Mughal *karkhānas* (royal manufactory).³ It functioned as menageries of hunting animals along with other *karkhānas* such as *ahū-khāna* (deer park), *chīta-khāna* (cheetah park) and *qūsh-khāna* (aviary for falcons).⁴

Prior to the Mughals, under the Sultans of Delhi the hunting department (*shikār khāna*) was mainly headed by *mīr-i shikār*.⁵ The title was borrowed from the Turko-Mongolian world where the *mīr-i shikār* was the chief of hunting establishment.⁶ *Mīr* is a Persian shortened form of Arabic word *Amīr* which means “commander” and *shikār* is a Persian word meaning “hunt”. The Mughals in continuation of their ancestral tradition retained the term *mīr-i shikār* at least in the initial phase. However, their

responsibilities perhaps changed and evolved over the time. They were not only involved in the organization of the hunt, but additionally associated with the hawking, their care and management.⁷ Abul Fazl mentioned *Mīr-i shikār* in the section where he discussed about the falcons. They were given rewards according to their ranks and on the basis of the games they captured with the help of falcons.⁸ However, their role other than the handler of falcons is not clearly documented during Akbar's reign.

Abul Fazl also notes that *qarāwals* guarded the hunting ground (*shikārgah*) during hunting expedition.⁹ These *qarāwals* can be variously translated as scouts, vanguards, game-keeper and huntsmen. Apart from guarding *shikārgahs* they were mainly responsible for locating animals, driving the game into enclosures, and overall organization of imperial hunt for the emperor. It is argued that *qarāwals* with their head *qarāwal begi* (chief huntsman), a branch of Mughal army combined two functions – in peace they were huntsmen, in war, they were scouts or skirmishers.¹⁰ During Jahangir's reign *mir-i-shikār* was substituted by *qarāwal begi* – with Mongolian *qarāwal* means “scouts” and Turkic *beg* refers to “master” or “ruler” – emerged as the master of scouts or huntsmen.¹¹ Hence, royal hunting continued under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb under the leadership of *qarāwal begi* and assisted by *qarāwals*.

Status in Court Hierarchy

The highly skilled hunters occupied a respected position within the court hierarchy in Mughal India. The nature of their responsibilities indicates they were integral to the emperor's expeditions, signifying trust and close proximity to the sovereign. Qiyam Khan, (*qarāwal begi*) chief huntsman under Jahangir, served as a confidential attendant, overseeing every detail related to the hunt beyond his considerable hunting expertise. In his memoirs, Jahangir expressed the depth of their relationship, mourning Qiyam Khan's death and noting his closeness to him.¹² Kamal Khan, another huntsman of Jahangir was awarded with the honorific title ‘*Shikār Khan*’ who constantly accompanied him on his hunting expedition.¹³ Jahangir also gave a village to Kamal Khan for his distinguished services as huntsman and renamed this village to Kamalpur.¹⁴

The skilled huntsman's higher status in court hierarchy demonstrated the fact that in the reign of Aurangzeb, Muhammad Sharif held two significant office – *qarāwal* and *khus manzil* (an officer responsible for selecting suitable halting spots for the emperor's marches) – highlighting his skill, social status and high level of trust the emperor placed on him.¹⁵

Huntsmen often enjoyed a close proximity to the emperor in *shikārgah* (hunting ground) where they discussed diverse topics not necessarily on politics but personal conversation. On one such occasion in Kashmir, after a hunt, Aurangzeb was resting with his favourite huntsman under the shade of a tree and their conversation turned into a sensitive issue. The huntsman asked the emperor “why he ordered Dara's head to be cut off”. Aurangzeb, appeared uneasy, attributed it to Dara's misfortune.¹⁶ Although huntsman was dismissed from the emperors' favour and commanded not to appear before the emperor again¹⁷, such incident highlights the unusual level of intimacy and informality that huntsmen could share with the emperor at the hunting grounds.

Qarāwal begi due to their close association with the emperor benefitted in career progression where their status became elevated from servants to a corps of elite nobility. Originally a huntsman for Jahangir, Sikandar Muin was later entrusted with the management of a hunting palace in Jahangirabad.¹⁸ Subsequently, this area was conferred upon him as a *jagir*, following its designation as a *pargana*.¹⁹ This promotion not only augmented Muin's responsibilities but also significantly enhanced his social and economic standing. This also elevated his position from a skilled royal huntsman to a member of the Mughal nobility. Similarly, Iahwardi Khan, an Iranian noble at Shah Jahan's court held a *mansab* of 3000/2000 at the time of his appointment as *qarāwal begi* in 1634-35, later on his *mansab* increased into 4000/4000 in the same year and 5000/5000 in 1639-40.²⁰ In those years he promoted to the *Subedar* of few very important provinces such as Malwa, Burhanpur and Delhi apart from his other appointment.²¹ In Aurangzeb's reign Sarbuland Khan and Mughal Khan, who both initially served as *Qush-beqi* (chief of aviaries), were later promoted to governorships in Agra and Malwa, respectively.²² Therefore, the chief of hunt always enjoyed a highly respectable position in the Mughal nobility.

Ethnic Composition

The Mughal court adorned with the nobles from diverse race, religion and ethnicity. The persons appointed in the hunting establishment were also of diverse background. It is not possible to trace the ethnic background of all the persons appointed in the hunting department due to the paucity of information on this aspect. Therefore, the aim of this section is to explore the ethnic background of persons who mainly headed the hunting apparatus. Akbar's reign is surprisingly silent about them which is otherwise very rich in description and illustration of hunting anecdotes, organization of hunting parties, hunting methods, management of animals in hunting parks and et al. However, on the basis of few fragmentary information we noticed that persons appointed in Akbar's hunting establishment were of diverse ethnic origin. They were mainly of martial race, skilled in warfare and handling of animals.

Akbar appointed Saiyyid Ahmad of Barha, a *Shaikhzada* (Indian Muslim) as the chief of *khāṣa* cheetah.²³ He was part of Barha family which was known for their valour and bravery. His valour was well-known to Akbar as he accompanied in many military expeditions and during seige of Pattan under his guardianship the charge for the contingents was given to Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan.²⁴

Fath Khan, an Afghan served as *chita-ban* or cheetah-keeper under Akbar.²⁵ It should be noted that Akbar inducted very few Afghans into his nobility and relation in general with Afghans was that of mutual distrust due to their hostile attitude and dethronement of his father by Sher Shah.²⁶ Despite the fact, Akbar tried to induct the loyal Afghans into his service in view of their bravery and wanted to create an efficient administration with people of specialized skills. Furthermore, Akbar's chief huntsman for a certain period was also an Afghan, Haji Jamal Baluch who also served under Jahangir.²⁷ Thus, Afghan as a martial race might be a driving factor to Akbar for appointing them in these specialized posts. Abul Fazl also adds that Akbar appointed Latif Khwaja as the in charge of hunting animals²⁸, however his ethnic background is not known.

Jahangir on the other hand mainly preferred the Afghans as *qarāwal begi*. During his reign, Afghans were employed in large number and many of them enjoyed high *mansab* (rank).²⁹ Jahangir in his memoirs reiterates many hunting incidents where Afghans accompanied him frequently in his hunting excursion and always remained close to him. Kamal Khan³⁰, Haji Baluch (also known as Baluch Khan)³¹, and Qiyam Khan³² were Afghan appointed as *qarāwal begi* (chief huntsman) under him. Subhan Quli was another Afghan served as (*qarāwal*) huntsman (see table 1).³³

Like Afghans, Jahangir also inducted large number of Rajputs into his nobility.³⁴ Although the references to Rajputs being appointed in the hunting establishment are rare, they are not altogether absent. Multiple instances suggest not only their active participation, but they remained close to the emperor during royal hunts. On one occasion, while Jahangir indulged in hunting with cheetah in the vicinity of Bari in 1610, a group of twelve (*bārah*) headed by Anup Ray reported the presence of a lion in the nearby areas.³⁵ This group of twelve, who accompanied the emperor, while at hunt³⁶ was not only headed by a Rajput, but also composed of them.

They rendered valuable service during the hunt is recorded by Jahangir himself. On hearing the presence of lion, emperor immediately embarked on the hunting of lion with a very close group of attendants, including his son prince Khurram. Among the few close attendants were Anup Ray, Itimad Ray, Ram Das, Hayat Khan and a few others. During this hunt, the emperor was about to be attacked by a lion, and Anup Ray in a dramatic way risked his own life and intervened to protect the emperor. His deadly efforts were successful at the end and saved the life of the emperor. Jahangir records the incident in great detail, but what is significant is, despite the efforts by prince Khurram and other attendants, Jahangir especially praised the efforts of Anup Ray and in recognition of his courage and bravery, bestowed upon him the title of *Anirai Singha-dalan* (Slayer of the Lion).³⁷



Figure 1: Prince Khurram attacking a lion at Bari, late 1610, Balchand

Source: Milo C. Beach & Ebba Koch, *King of the world, the Padshahnama* 1997, pl. 30, pp. 76-79

The above event is not a singular instance which records the presence of Rajputs in hunting trips. On another occasion, on victory over Rana Amar Singh, the Rana of Mewar, Jahangir invited prince Karan Singh to join him for a lioness hunt during which he wanted to demonstrate his hunting skills to the prince. Under environmentally unfavourable circumstances – firstly, a storm broke; and secondly, elephants on which emperor was mounted to hunt became frightened and shaky at the sight of the lioness – emperor shot straight towards the eyes of the lioness as desired by the prince.³⁸ This particular event highlights on the one hand, Jahangir's show of his marksmanship to a prince belonging to a warrior clan, thereby finding hunt as the most suitable medium for showcasing his power and on the other hand, to also win over a psychological war over this powerful Rajput clan whom even his father Akbar failed to subdue.

This hunting anecdote is significant in several respects. Of the few companions present, notable three were Rajputs – exemplifying the trust emperor placed on them. It should also be noted that hunting was an exclusive activity in which only those closest to the emperor were permitted to accompany him. Given the inherent dangers involved, including the risk of life, such expeditions required a high level of trust. The inclusion of these Rajput nobles on these hunts, therefore, speaks volumes about the confidence Jahangir placed in them.

Jahangir also employed Indian Muslims (*Shaikhzadas*) in few important posts. For instances, Ilahmullah, a *Shaikhzada* was appointed as *Daroga-i-shikār*.³⁹ Kashmiri race were known to had mastered as the skill falconer, therefore, he employed Lashkar Mir Kashmiri to lead Kashmir huntsmen under his regime.⁴⁰

Table 1: Huntsmen under Akbar and Jahangir and their Ethnicity

Sl. No	Name	Title	Ethnicity	Emperor	Source
1	Saiyyid Ahmad of Barha	In-charge of <i>khāṣa cheetah</i>	Indian Muslim	Akbar	<i>A'in-i Akbari</i> , I, 209
2	Fath Khan	<i>Chita-ban</i> (Cheetah-keeper)	Afghan	Akbar	<i>A'in-i Akbari</i> , I, 231
3	Ilhamullah	<i>Daroga-i Shikār</i>	Indian Muslim	Jahangir	<i>The Apparatus</i> , 44
4	Kamal Khan	<i>Qarāwal Begi</i>	Afghan	Jahangir	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 203; <i>The Apparatus</i> , 65, 186, 361, 409
5	Baluch Khan (Haji Baluch)	<i>Qarāwal Begi</i>	Afghan	Akbar, Jahangir	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 203, 237, 239; <i>The Apparatus</i> , 65
6	Qiyam Khan	<i>Qarāwal Begi</i>	Afghan	Jahangir	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 233; <i>The Apparatus</i> , 68
7	Lashkar Mir Kashmiri	Head of Kashmiri Huntsmen	Kashmiri	Jahangir	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 253
8	Sikandar Muin	<i>Qarāwal Begi</i>	—	Jahangir	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 318
9	Imam Wirdi	<i>Qarāwal Begi</i>	—	Jahangir	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 379
11	Subhan Quli	<i>Qarāwal</i>	Afghan	Jahangir	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 239

Under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb a dramatic shift is noticed in the ethnicity of *qarāwal begi*. Only the Iranis were appointed to this post throughout their reign. It is also interesting to note that this post passed down to their own family and some of the *khanazads* (house born) held the same office for the longer period of time. Ilahwardi Khan, an Iranian held the office of *qarāwal begi* for first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign while his son Jafar (later known as Jafar Barq Andaz Khan) held it for six years from 1649 to 1654.⁴¹ In the last four years of Shah Jahan's reign, no fresh appointment was made. Between 1637 and 1649 Khalilullah Khan, Murad Kam Safavi, Zahid Khan Koka and Mir Salih served as *qarāwal begi* for more than a year, all belonged to the Iranian branch of nobility with rank between 1000 to 3000 *zat* with only exception of Mir Salih who held the rank of 500/80.⁴² (See Table 2).

The information on the post of *qarāwal begi* for the reign of Aurangzeb is limited. Only four persons belonged to the Iranian nobility are known to have held the office of *qarāwal begi* and one Muhammad Sharif is mentioned as *qarāwal*.⁴³ Faizullah Khan was appointed as *qarāwal begi* at the outset of Aurangzeb's reign who remained in the office for next nine years.⁴⁴ It is also important to note that two persons from the same family namely Darab Khan and Qamaruddin Khan held the office for about eleven years which exemplify the hereditary nature of the post in some cases.⁴⁵ Muftakhar Khan succeeded Qamaruddin Khan, however his period of office holding is not known.⁴⁶ *Tazkirat-ul Umara* mentioned that he held the office up to 34th regnal year.⁴⁷ Thus, he remained in the office for about eleven years (See Table 2).

Table 2: *Qarāwal Begi* under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb and their ethnicity

Sl. No	Qarāwal Begi	Ethnicity	Year	Source
1	Ilahwardi Khan	Iranian	1627-37	<i>Badshahnama, I(a)</i> , 310-11; <i>Shahjahan Nama</i> , 141; <i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 132
2	Khalilullah Khan	Iranian	1637-38 1639-40	<i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 132-33
3	Murad Kam Safavi	Iranian	1638-39 1640-44	<i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 133
4	Zahid Khan Koka	Iranian	1644-46	<i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 133
5	Mir Salih	Iranian	1647-49	<i>The Apparatus</i> , 238; <i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 134
6	Jafar (Son of Ilahwardi Khan)	Iranian	1649-54	<i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 134-135
7	Khwaja Ubaidullah	Turani	1658	<i>Alamgirnama</i> , 207; <i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 163
8	Fazilullah Khan	Iranian	1658-66	<i>Alamgirnama</i> , 207, 457, 673, 765, 858; <i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 163-164
7	Darab Khan	Iranian	1666-71	<i>Alamgirnama</i> , 966; <i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 164
8	Qamaruddin Khan	Iranian	1677-81	<i>Maasir-i-Alamgiri</i> , 218, 220; <i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 165
9	Muftakhar Khan	Iranian	1681-82	<i>Maasir-i-Alamgiri</i> , 218, 220; <i>The Ruling Elite</i> , 166
10	Mohammad Sharif	Iranian	Aurangzeb	<i>Maasir-i-Alamgiri</i> , 121

Therefore, if we closely examine the changes in the ethnic composition of *qarāwal begi* and individual closely associated in hunting excursion from Akbar to Aurangzeb, a clear shift becomes evident. During the reign of Akbar and Jahangir preference were given to the established warrior clans — such as Saiyyids of Barha, Afghans and Rajputs. By this time these groups became household name for their bravery in battle and skilled in the art of warfare. Both Akbar and Jahangir employed them for the post of *qarāwal* and *qarāwal begi* because of their fame in the art of warfare and their loyalty to their master.

However, under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, a noticeable transformation occurred. The post of *qarāwal begi* predominated by only one group of nobility i.e. the Iranians who were traditionally associated and known for their literary and administrative competence, rather than their martial background.⁴⁸ This shift suggests that the post had evolved into a prestigious position accessible only to the individuals belonged to the royal families and *khanazads*. Its transition from one generation to the next one – Ilahwardi Khan to Jafar Khan and within a single family (Darab Khan and Qamaruddin Khan) also suggests that the post was much sought after. Unlike their predecessor, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb gave credence to family lineage while appointing *qarāwal begi* than the merit of the individuals.

Conclusion

Imperial hunting in Mughal India rested solely on the shoulder of *Qarāwal begi* who was responsible for orchestrating and managing the entire hunting expedition, with the help of a band of *qarāwals*. This included selecting suitable hunting ground, tracking and trapping game, directly assisting the emperor in the ground and vice versa. In essence, the emperor's safety and hunts success depends largely on the *qarāwal begi* and his team of *qarāwal*, who also acted as spies during hunting excursions. They also enjoyed emperor's deep sense of trust and emotional closeness in the *shikargah* where informal and candid conversation with the emperor brings them a step closer. Owing to this close proximity to imperial authority, the *qarāwal begi* often rose to the higher posts in the Mughal court hierarchy. Thus, they emerged as the custodian of hunts in Mughal Empire. Furthermore, an examination of their ethnic backgrounds reveals the significance of this post. A single family sought to dominate and monopolize the post, highlighting its prestige and influence within the Mughal administrative structure.

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Notes and References

¹ Few scholars discussed this aspect of Mughal hunt, see Anand Pandian, 'Predatory Care: The Imperial Hunt in Mughal and British India', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.14, No.1, March 2001; Thomas Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2006; Shaha Parpia, 'Reordering Nature: Power Politics in the Mughal Shikargah', *International Journal of Islamic Architecture*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2018.

² Asok Kumar Das, 'The Mughal Royal Hunt in Miniature Paintings', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Issue 1, January 1967, pp. 19-23; Ebba Koch, *Dara-Shikoh Shooting Nilgais: Hunt and Landscape in Mughal Painting*, Washington D.C.: Freer Gallery Occasional Papers 1, Smithsonian Institution, 1998; Divyabhanusinh, 'Hunting in Mughal Paintings', in S.P. Verma (ed.), *Flora and Fauna in Mughal Art*, Marg Publication, Mumbai, 1999, pp. 94-108.

³ Thirty six is a traditional number. From different sources Sir Jadunath Sarkar listed about 70 *karkhanas* functioned under the Mughals. See his *Mughal Administration*, M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 3rd edition, Calcutta, 1935, pp. 191-192.

⁴ Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 191-192; Tripta Verma, *Karkhanas under the Mughals from Akbar to Aurangzeb: A Study in Economic Development*, Pragati Publication, Delhi, 1994, pp. 19-21.

⁵ Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i Firozshahi*, (ed.), Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1862, p. 54; Balban (r. 1266-1287) as slave noble used to serve as *amir-i shikar* under Sultan Razia of Delhi; see also Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Historical Dictionary of Medieval India*, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., UK, 2008, p. 29, 37.

⁶ Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, p. 83

⁷ Babur, *Baburnama*, (tr.), Wheeler M. Thackston, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 286.

⁸ Abul Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, (ed.), H. Blochmann, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1867-77, vol. I, p. 213 (henceforth *A'in-i Akbari*); Hawking and falconry was important in Mughal India, not only for their potentialities as game but they helped in locating and trapping the animals in their hunting pursuit.

⁹ *A'in-i Akbari*, I, pp. 213, 204; for meaning see F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, Fifth Impression, 1936, p. 962

¹⁰ William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moguls: Its Organization and Management*, Luzac & Co., London, 1903, pp. 189, 225.

¹¹ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (ed.), Saiyid Ahmad, 1863-64, rept., Sir Syed Academy, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 2007, pp. 203, 231, 237, 246 (henceforth *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*); tr. by A. Rogers and edited by H. Beveridge, 2 vols., London, 1909-14, vol. 2, p. 12, 24, 27-28; see also Thomas Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, p. 83.

In Jahangir's memoirs, the term *mir-i shikar* occurred three times, but in regard to the gift of falcon carried by Mir shikar Pari Beg from King of Persia, see *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 107-08

¹² *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 246, 268, 336

¹³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 203; Kamal Khan as *qarawal* was also one of the few attendants accompanied the emperor in his 1610 lion hunt at Bari, see p. 89

¹⁴ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 178

¹⁵ Saqi Must'ad Khan, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Ahmad Ali, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1871, p. 195; translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1947, pp. 121, 327

¹⁶ Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, 4 vols., tr. William Irvine, London, 1907-1908, vol. II, p. 108; Manucci do not mention the name of this huntsman and he also reported to have served under Dara, which perhaps prompted him to ask such sensitive question.

¹⁷ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, vol. II, p. 108

¹⁸ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 318

¹⁹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 318

²⁰ M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1985, pp. 119, 126, 132

²¹ Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*, pp. 119, 126, 132

²² *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 106, 118, 120

²³ *A'in-i Akbari*, I, p. 209; Akbar known to have amassed 1000 cheetah in his hunting establishment and 101 were designated as *khasha*.

²⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, p. 6

²⁵ *A'in-i Akbari*, I, p. 231; Abul Fazl used both the term 'yuz' and 'chita' for cheetah, here he used *chita-ban* to refer to cheetah-keeper.

²⁶ Afzal Husain, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir: A Study of Family Groups*, Manohar, 1999; see also Afzal Husain, 'Afghan Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir—The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1987, Vol. 48 (1987), pp. 187-196.

²⁷ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 237, 239

²⁸ *Akbarnama*, III, p. 396.

²⁹ Afzal Husain, *The Nobility*; See also Iqbal Husain, 'The Sociological History of an Immigrant Community: The Afghans in Medieval India', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 2006-2007, Vol. 67 (2006-2007), pp. 209-216.

³⁰ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 203; Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*, p. 65

³¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 203, 237, 239; Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*, p. 65

³² *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 233; Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*, p. 68

³³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 239

³⁴ For Jahangir's relations with Rajput nobility, see S. Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'The Mughals and the Rajputs 1605-1659 A.D.', unpublished thesis, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1982.

³⁵ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 89; (tr.), vol. 1, pp. 184-87; Jahangir notes that Anup Ray was one of his trusted companions during hunting expeditions.

³⁶ Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama*, (ed.), Maulvi Kabiruddin and Abdur Rahim, 2 vols., Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1867-1868, vol. I (a), pp. 493-94 (hereafter *Padshahnama*)

³⁷ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 89-90; Jahangir used the term *shir* to indicate lion, not tiger. There is an ambiguity in the translation of the Persian term *shir* and *babar* or *shir babr* used by the Persian chroniclers for lion and tiger. Alexander Roger rendered the term *shir* as tiger which is undoubtedly a mistaken whereas F. S. Steingass gives the meaning of the word both as lion and tiger. However, Jahangir's use of the term *shir* to denote a lion and not a tiger can be corroborated by the fact that the incident is reiterated by Shah Jahan, not only in written form but illustrated as part of the *Padshahnama* painting where lion is clearly depicted. This version is slightly altered from Jahangir's memoirs, not in the reproduction of the facts, but in emphasis in projecting how a brave and courageous prince (Khurram) attempted to save the lives of his father Jahangir and his royal attendants who were presented at the hunt. See *Padshahnama*, I (a), pp. 493-95 for the event; and for the painting see Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the world: the Padshahnama, an imperial Mughal manuscript from the Royal Library*, Windsor Castle, Azimuth Edition, 1996, plate no. 30.

³⁸ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 140; (tr.), vol. 1, pp. 286-287; For a discussion on the painting, see Das, 'The Mughal Royal'

³⁹ Jahangir, *Memoirs*, tr., by Price, f. 41; Cf. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*, p. 44, J120

⁴⁰ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 253; (tr.), vol. 2, p. 53

⁴¹ Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*, pp. 126, 238, 271, 280; M. Afzal Khan, *The Ruling Elite: Iranian Nobility under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb*, Viva Books, Delhi, 2016; p. 113.

⁴² Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*; pp. 166, 169, 192, 238, Khan, *The Ruling Elite*, p. 113

⁴³ Mohammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, (ed.), Maulavis Khadim Husain and Abdul Hai, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1868, pp. 207, 966; for information on Muhammad Sharif see *Maāsir-i-'Alamgiri*, pp. 121, 327

⁴⁴ *Alamgirnama*, p. 207; Khan, *The Ruling Elite*, pp. 142-43; Faizullah Khan appointed as *qarāwal begi* in place of Khwaja Ubaidullah.

⁴⁵ *Maāsir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 218; Khan, *The Ruling Elite*, pp. 142-43

⁴⁶ *Maāsir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 220; Khan, *The Ruling Elite*, pp. 142-43

⁴⁷ Khan, *The Ruling Elite*, pp. 143

⁴⁸ By emphasizing on their administrative competence, we are not suggesting that they did not possess any military skills.

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