THE

RIYAZU-S-SALĀṬĪN

A HISTORY OF BENGAL

GHULAM HUSAIN SALIM

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

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FASC. 1.

CALCUTTA

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PREFACE.

"And now shall India's paroquets on sugar revel all.
In this sweet Persian sugarandy that is borne to far Bengal."

Hafiz to Sultan Ghiasuddin, King of Bengal.

The History of Bengal cannot fail to be of special interest
not only to Hindus and Musalmans in Bengal, but also to
Englishmen, in that Bengal formed the foundation-stone of
the glorious fabric of Empire in Asia that England was
destined in subsequent years to rear on the wreck of the mighty
Empire of the 'Great Mogul.' Yet Histories of Bengal are
very few. From the Muhammadan side, though there are plenty
of General Histories of India, containing incidental references
to Bengal, or dealing with particular periods of it, there is no
general or comprehensive History of Bengal, save and except
the Riyazu-s-Salatin. From the European side, the only
standard History of Bengal is Stewart's History, but this last,
too, whilst mainly based on the Riyaz, incorporates also the
less reliable accounts from Ferishta. To appreciate the his-
torical value and position of the Riyaz, I need only quote the
says the late Professor Blochmann who laboured so largely
for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "is much prized as being
the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of
Bengal, which the author brings down to his own time (1786-
88)"; whilst Dr. Hoernle observes in a letter to me: "The
Riyaz is a Standard History of Bengal, is continually quoted
by Mr. Blochmann in his 'Contributions to the History and
Geography of Bengal' in the Journals of the Asiatic Society.
Mr. Blochmann strongly recommended that it should be
translated, and, therefore, the book is one which deserves
being translated and published by the Asiatic Society."

Whilst fully sensible of the honour conferred upon me by
the Asiatic Society in entrusting to me the duty of translating with notes this Standard History of Bengal, I cannot help confessing to a sense of diffidence in presenting this volume to the public under their auspices. Circumstances over which I have had little control, such as domestic troubles, difficulties of access to libraries or books of reference in out-of-the-way mofussil stations, and scanty snatches of leisure after by no means light daily official duties—have combined not only to retard the publication of this annotated translation, but to interfere with my presenting it in the shape that I had fondly aimed at. As it is, I venture to think, whilst fully conscious of its defects and flaws, that I have spared no pains to render the translation a faithful and literal representation of the original, consistently with lucidity and clearness in statement. To constantly elucidate the text, I have given ample foot-notes. These foot-notes have been prepared by me by reference to original and generally contemporary Persian sources, and in some cases also embody results of the labours of European scholars and antiquarians, as well as my own personal observations. The preparation of these foot-notes has involved considerable research and entailed much labour.

For my labours, such as they have been, I shall, however, feel amply rewarded if these pages in any measure contribute to awaken amongst my co-religionists in Bengal an enlightened consciousness of their historic past, coupled with an earnest longing in the present to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by a progressive and beneficent Government for their future social and intellectual regeneration; and also if they widen the mutual sympathies of the two great nationalities in Bengal by infusing sentiments of closer and more cordial comradeship, in that they have been fellow-travellers over the same tract for many long centuries; and last, though not least, if they evoke the sympathetic interest of Englishmen in the fate of a great and historic Community that preceded them for six centuries in the Government of this country.
A respectful tribute of mournful acknowledgment is due to the memory of my lamented wife, Hyatunnissa Begam, who often sat up by me during progress of this work, and sustained me in my labours.

* ABDUS SALAM.

ORISSA, CUTTACK:
23rd May, 1903.

P.S.—I had hoped to add to this work an Appendix dealing with the social, economic and political condition of the people in Bengal under each period of Moslem Rule; but for this (though I have collected some materials) at present I command neither the requisite leisure nor the full critical apparatus. The foot-notes will, however, it is hoped, give the reader some idea of the culture and civilisation that prevailed in Bengal under the Moslems, of their system and methods of administration, of their policy in adding to the physical comforts of the people, and in improving their intellectual, social and ethical ideals.

A. S.

BARISAL, BACKERGUNJE:
17th November, 1903.
RIYĀZU-S-SALĀTĪN, OR A HISTORY OF BENGAL.

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Chapter I

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of the English factory at Jumna approached by musulman of
a man to Nawab Shugna-din Khan—Nawab Shugna-din Khan—
Behar added to the Bengal Satrapy by Emperor Muhammad Shah—Ali Vardi Khan appointed Deputy Governor of Behar by Nawab Shujaa-d-din—General Abdul Karim Khan, Ali Vardi’s principal colleague—Ali Vardi chastises the Banjarah tribe and subdues the zamindar of Bhujpur, Tikari, and Namdar Khan Min—Ali Vardi obtains for the Emperor Muhammad Shah title of “Mahabat Jang Bahadur”—Haji Ahmad, Ali Vardi, Alamchand and Jagat Set plot to bring about a rupture between the two sons of the Nawab (Sarfaraz Khan and Muhammad Taqi Khan), in order to obtain personal advantages—Rupture between the brothers takes a serious turn, when Nawab Shujah-d-din interferes, and Muhammad Taqi Khan departs for Katak, where he dies—Murshid Quli Khan (No. 11), son-in-law of Nawab Shujahaddin, and Deputy Nazim of Jahangirnagar or Dacca, appointed Deputy Nazim of Orissa—An account of Mir Habib, principal adviser of Murshid Quli Khan (No. 11) both in Dhaka or Dacca or Jahangirnagar, and in Orissa—Whilst at Jahangirnagar, during the regim of Nawab Shujah-d-din Khan, Mir Habib, lieutenant of Murshid Quli Khan (No. 11) conquers Tiprah, which was henceforth named Raushanabad—Aga Sadek, zamindar of Patpasa—Nurullah, zamindar of Parganah Jallapur—Murshid Quli (No. 11) receives the title of Bustam Jang—Mir Habib reorganizes the administration and settlement of Orissa, and effects a surplus in its revenue—During the conflict between Muhammad Taqi Khan and Sarfaraz Khan, the Rajah of Parsutam or Furi removes Jagannath, the Hindu God, to across the Chilka lake—Rajah Dand brings back Jagannath to Furi—Sarfaraz Khan, Governor of Jahangirnagar, his Deputy-Governor being Ghulab Ali Khan—Jaswante Rai, the State Secretary at Jahangirnagar—Murad Ali Khan, Superintendent of the Nawarah at Jahangirnagar or Dacca—Rajballah, clerk of the Dacca Admiralty—Mirza Muhammad Said, Faujdar of Ghorahat and Bangpur and Knoch Behar—Badiuzzaman, zamindar of Birubhum—Karatchand, zamindar of Bardwan—Nadir Shah’s invasion of Indus—Shujahaddin or Nawab Shujah-d-danlah dies, and is succeeded by his son, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan—Nizamat of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan—Treachery of Sarfaraz Khan’s Councillors, Haji Ahmad, Jagat Set, and the Rai Raihan—Treachery of Ali Vardi Khan—Battle of Ghurea—Sanguinary fight between Ali Vardi Khan and Sarfaraz Khan—Sarfaraz Khan killed—Decline of Moelem Bengal from this date—Nizamat of Ali Vardi Khan—Ali Vardi Khan banishes to Dacca the Begams of Sarfaraz Khan—Emperor Muhammad Shah’s lament on the Bengal revolution—Ali Vardi’s Personel of Government—Ali Vardi wages war against Murshid Quli Khan II, Governor of Orissa, and bestows all important offices on his own relatives—Durdanah Begam, the brave wife of Murshid Quli Khan II—Mirza Baqir, son-in-law of
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TRANSLATION
OF THE
RIYĀZU-S-SALĀTĪN OF GHULĀM HUSAIN SALĪM.

\textbf{In the name of God, the Kind and the Merciful!}

Worlds of praise are due unto the palace of that World-Creator, who adorning this world by means of His hand of perfect power with the ornament of existence, has unfurled the Standard of Creatorship, and worlds of panegyric beset the shrine of that Supreme Author who has drawn by means of his brush of perfect art the portrait of Life in particoloured lines on the pages of Creation. He (God) is that Wise Sage, who has entrusted the affairs of the management of the world and the people of the world and the good and the right guidance of all classes to the persons of Sovereigns, and who has entrusted into the hands of authority of Sovereigns of this world, the reins of the opening and stoppage of the business of divers classes of mankind. He (God) is that Supreme Ruler of the Universe who, weighing the opening and stoppage of the affairs of mankind and the good and bad of Centre-Sitters in the circle of earth, in the scale of expediency of the world, has left in every clime and every country a ruler.

From the Cloud of His bounty, the garden of the world is green.
From the zephyr of His generosity, the orchard of the soil is green.
From the Colouring of the painter of His Creation, Emerald becomes green in the centre of mine.
Praise unto Lord, High is His rank and His praise.
Universal is His bounty and generosity,
All praise is due unto His Beneficence!

And blessings full of white effulgence and sacred benedictions are due unto all the messengers of the Palace of His bounty, that
is, unto the Prophets, especially unto that Symbol of Mercy of the people of the world, that Herald of the Faithful, that Seal of the Prophets, that Pioneer of the better Path, that Bright Lamp of the right road, the Raisoun d'aire of the creation of this world, the First-born: the Last-disclosed,¹ that is, the Pride of the Prophets, the Leader² of the Innocent, the Interceder on the day of Judgment, Muhammad the Chosen—Ahmad the Select; God's special mercy and peace be on him and his descendants, and the people of his sacred house, and on his successors and all his companions!

After God's and the Prophet's praise,³ this humble servant who is hopeful of the intercession of the Prophet, namely, Ghulâm Hussain, whose title is Salim Zaidpūrī,⁴ so says that since some period, according to chances of time, he has been in the service of Mr. George Uday, who is a gentleman of high position and high rank, of graceful character, of kind heart, mild disposition, praise-worthy deportment and great generosity, who is the Ḥatīm⁵ of

¹ This has reference to the Muhammadan belief that the Nūr or light of Muhammad was the first thing created by God, and that all else followed, though the Prophet in bodily form was ushered into existence after all other prophets.

² This has reference to the tragic martyrdom of Hussain and other members of the Fatimite family, who were all innocent, and whose ancestor the Prophet was.

³ Every Muhammadan book begins with the praise of God. This praise is called Ḥamad in Arabic, and is followed by Na't, or praise of the Arabian Prophet.

⁴ Ghulâm Husain Salim Zaidpūrī is the author of the present historical work entitled the Biyāṣu-ṣ-Salāṭin, or History of Bengal. Ibārī Bakbah in his history "Khurāhid Jalān Numā" of which Mr. Beveridge has published lately an Analysis in the Journals of the Asiatic Society, has some notice of Ghulâm Hussain. He states that Ghulâm Husain was of Zaidpūr in Oudh, migrated to Maldah in Bengal, and held the office of Dāk Munshi or Post Master there, under Mr. George Uday. Noticing the Charitable Dispensary at Maldah, Ibārī Bakbah observes that here used to be the house of Ghulâm Hussain, and that in the quarter known as Oak Qurbān Ali is the tomb of Ghulâm Husain who died in 1233 A.H. or 1817 A.C. The chronogram composed in honour of his memory by his pupil, Abdul Karim, is منشي زعّالم رنّده which yields 1233. Mr. Uday appears to have been at the time Commercial Resident of the East India Company's factory at Maldah.

⁵ Ḥatīm was a Prince of Yemen, in Arabia. His generous hospitality is a by-word in the East.
the world of bounty, the Naushīrwan ¹ of the world of Justice, the Generous man of the age, and who is callous about popularity and praise—

May God always preserve his good fortune, and advance his rank, and elevate his position, and double his life and dignity!—and that he has been in the class of his servants, and has ever been and is still the recipient of his favours. In short, the excellencies-abounding and bounties-sprunging person of that mine of discernment, is unique and matchless in this age.

He is a paragon of all excellencies,
He is superior to all praise that can be conceived.
He is enlightened, sees through things aright, like old sages,
But he has the fortune, the age and the rank of manhood.
He weighs his words which are pregnant with meaning,
His two lips, like two palms, at the time of conversation, are pearl-scattering.

The tray of his bounty is ready for the poor and the needy;
He always keeps gold and dīnār ² for the indigent.

Inasmuch as his high mind is always pursuant of the study of histories and travels, and is seeker of all sorts of knowledge and accomplishments, in the year 1200 A.H. corresponding to 1786 A.C., his bent of noble mind turned towards seeking a knowledge of the lives and careers of past sovereigns and rulers who unfurling the standard of sovereignty over Bengal, the Paradise of Provinces, ³ have now passed into the secret regions of Eternity. Accordingly, the order was given to this man of poor ability, that whatever he might gather from historical works, &c., he should compile in simple language, so that it might be intelligible to all, and might deserve the approval of the elite. This

¹ Naushīrwan was a King of Iran or old Persia. He flourished in the sixth century, and belonged to the Sassanian dynasty. His wazīr was the famous Buzurohemehor or Bouzour, author of the Zafarnāmah. Naushīrwan's justice is proverbial in the world.

² Dīnār, a gold coin weighing one misqal, i.e., 1½ dirhams. For details see Aīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. I (Blochmann's Trans., p. 88).

³ Our author calls Bengal "Jīnnat-ul-bulād," or 'Paradise of Provinces.' I am not sure if there is any historical basis for this expression, as there is for the expression "Jīnnat-ābād" which latter epithet was bestowed by Emperor Humayun on Gaur in Bengal (see Tabaqat-i-Akbarī, Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p 201, Aīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 123, and Badaoni, Vol. I,
ignorant man, of limited capacity, deeming the execution of the order of his master incumbent on himself, being the slave of order, has placed the finger of consent on the eye, and girded up the loins of effort and venture, collected sentence after sentence from every source, and for a period of two years has devoted himself to the compilation and preparation of this history. And after completing it, he has named it Riyāṣu-s-Salāṭīn,¹ according to the date of its completion. It is hoped that this work may merit the approval of all persons of light. It is desired of people conversant with past times, that if they detect any mistake or oversight, they will overlook it, inasmuch as this humble man is not free from shortcomings, according to the saying “Man is made up of sins of commission and omission,” and further, that, according to their capacity, they will correct the mistakes and defects, and if they cannot do so, they will be good enough to overlook them.

The plan of this work consists of an Introduction and Four Chapters.

Its arrangement is as follows:—

(a) The Introduction consists of Four Sections.

Section I relates to a description of the state of populousness of the country of Bengal, and of its boundaries and environs.

Section II relates to a description of certain characteristics of that country.

p. 349). However that may be, Bengal well deserved to be styled “Jinnat-ul-Ulūlād” or ‘Paradise of Provinces,’ owing to the fertility of its soil, the richness of its produce, and the vastness of its natural resources. During Musalmān rule, the Province of Bengal yielded the largest revenue to the Delhi Emperors, and in consequence its Viceroyalty was always coveted by Princes Royal of Delhi, from so remote a period as the times of Emperors Shamsuddin Altamah and Ghiasuddin Baiban—whose sons in succession ruled over Bengal, not to speak of later Mughal Princes Royal of Delhi. Under British rule also, Bengal Proper, including Assam, Behar and Orissa and Chûtia Nagpur, forms the largest Administrative Division of India, contains one-third of the total population of British India, and yields a gross revenue of 17 or 18 millions sterling, or one-third of the actual revenues of the Indian Empire. It is worthy of note that the above expression is also used in Mughal Imperial (official) documents, vide J.A.S.B. for 1901, Vol. LXX, Part I, No. 1, pp. 21-22.

¹ “Riyāṣu-s-Salāṭīn” is a chronogram yielding date 1202 A.H., corresponding to 1788 A.C., the year in which this historical work was completed. ‘Rauakah’ in Persian means a ‘garden,’ its plural being ‘Riyāṣ,’ meaning ‘gardens.’ “Salāṭīn” means “Kings’; therefore, ‘Riyāṣu-s-Salāṭīn’ means “gardens of Kings.” It is a pity the author does not specify all the sources
Section III relates to a description of certain cities of that country.

Section IV relates to a brief sketch of the rule of the Raja of Hindustan.

Chapter I relates to a description of the rule of the Musalmān rulers who as Viceroy held delegated authority over this country from the Emperors of Delhi.

Chapter II relates to a chronicle of the Musalmān Kings who mounting the throne of Bengal, had the Khutbah of sovereignty recited after their own names.

of his history, but there is internal evidence to indicate that, besides consulting standard historical works, such as Tabqaṭ-Nasiri by Minhāj-u-Sirāj, Tarākh-i-Firuz Shahī by Žianddin Barnī and by Sirāj Afīf (which contain references to the history of Bengal only for the period between 1198 to 1388 A.C.) and Tabqaṭ-i-Akbarī by Nizamuddin Ahmad (which contains an account of Bengal for the period 1338 to 1538), the Badaoni and Akhnānī by Abul Faṣāl (for the period under Akbar) and other similar standard historical works on India such as the Tuzuk, the Iqtaʿnāmah, the Fāṭdshānāmah, the Alamgīrīnāmah, and the Maṣāʾir-i-Alamgīrī. Salīm had recourse also to other less known historical treatises relating to Bengal which are not perhaps now extant, and perhaps lay only in MSS. Our author now and then says 'I have seen in a little book,' and he also cites a historical compilation by one Hajī Muḥammad of Qandahar, of which no copy seems now to exist. Our author appears also to have taken considerable pains in deciphering old inscriptions on monuments, mosques, and shrines in Gaur and Panduaḥ—old Musalmān capitals of Bengal. This feature considerably enhances the value of his history, and gives it a superiority over other similar works, and places our author in the forefront of Bengal antiquarians and researchers. Indeed, Ghalīm Ḥusain is pre-eminent in the History of Muhammadan Bengal, because other Muhammadan historians before or after him dealt only with certain periods of Bengal history, whilst our author's narrative comprises the history of Bengal from the earliest mythological period to the dawn of British rule, with a more detailed account of Muhammadan Rulers of Bengal. Stewart's History of Bengal is to a great extent based on the 'Riyāṣ though Stewart very often has referred the less accurate account of the Dakhin historian, Firqī, who flourished in the seventeenth century. The great Oriental scholar and antiquarian, Professor Blochmann, in his 'Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal' says: "The Riyāṣ is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal." Professor Blochmann further observes "for the early portions, Ghalīm Ḥusain

Salīm has used books which are unknown at present; yet he gives valuable dates which are often confirmed by collateral evidence. Salīm has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District."

1 The Khutbah is a Musalmān prayer-book recited on Fridays, 'Id days, and
Chapter III relates to a description of the careers of the Nāzims who were appointed to the Nizāmat of this country by the Caghtāi or Mughal Emperors.

Chapter IV consists of two parts:—

Part I being descriptive of the arrival of the Christians, consisting of the Portuguese and the French, &c., in the Dakhin and in Bengal.

Part II being descriptive of the domination of the English Christians over Bengal and the Dakhin.

other special days and occasions. The recital of the Khutbah after one's name and the minting of coins, was regarded by Muslim sovereigns as emblems of sovereignty.

1 Nāzims—

The Nāzims were functionaries created by the Mughal Government or by Sher Shah (Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 365). To each Province or Sūbah, the Mughal Emperors appointed two Principal Heads of administration, one being the Nāzim and the other being the Diwān. The Nāzim was the Governor or Viceroy of the Province, he was the Executive and Military Head of the Province, and administered Criminal Justice; whilst the Diwān, though independent of the former and directly subordinate to the Delhi Emperor, held portfolio of the Finance, and was responsible for the revenue administration of the Province, and also occasionally administered Civil Justice. Thus there were two independent wheels in the machinery of Provincial administration. Under the Nāzims, there was a chain of subordinate officials, called Naib Nāzims, Serashkars, Fanjars, Kotwāls and Thanaadars on the executive side, and under Diwāns on the judicial side, were Qazi-ul-Qazzāb (Chief Justice), Qāzis, Muftis, Mir Adis, Sadrds presided over by Sadr-i-Sādūr, and on the revenue side were Naib or local Diwāns, Amils, Shiqārs, Karkans, Qanungos, and Patwaris. The Judiciary, both Civil and Criminal, were often, however, independent of both Nāzims and Diwāns, and subordinate only to the Imperial Sadr-i-Ṣadūr or Sadr-i-Kul or Sadr-i-Jahān (or Minister of Justice) at Delhi, who was responsible for good conduct to the Mughal Emperor himself. (See A'in, Vol. II, p. 37-49, and do. Vol. I, p. 268.)

2 Caghtāi Khān was a son of Cangiz Khān. Emperor Bābar, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, was descended on the mother's side from a nobler stock, that is, from Caghtāi Khān; hence the Mughal Emperors of India commonly styled themselves as Caghtāi Emperors in preference to 'Mughal' Emperors, the term 'Mughal' not being so honourable, in accordance with an accepted usage and principle amongst Moslems to refer back their lineage to the nobler side, whether paternal or maternal.
INTRODUCTION: CONSISTING OF 4 SECTIONS.

SECTION I. A DESCRIPTION OF THE BOUNDARIES AND ENVIRONS OF THE COUNTRY OF BENGAL.

Be it known to the way-farers of the climes of travels and histories that the Şubah 1 of Bengal is in the second climate. 2 From İslâmábād, 3 otherwise known as Chittagong, to Teliagadhi, 4 that is, from east to west, the length is 400 Karoh, 5 and its breadth from north to south, that is, from the mountains in the north to

1 The name of Şubah originated from the time of Emperor Akbar, who designated the fiscal areas as follows from the time of the ten-years' settlement.—A Şubah was an aggregate of Sarkara, a Sarkār or Division was an aggregate of Dastār, a Dastūr (which Sir Henry Elliot in his Glossary explains as an abbreviation of Dastūr-ı-Amīl, corresponding to a district under a Sarkār) was an aggregate of Parganas or Mahals (used as equivalent expressions), and a Pargana or Mahal meant a fiscal division, the fiscal unit, coinciding with the dominions of a native chief under the Mughal dynasty. The words used before Akbar's time to denote fiscal divisions or tracts of country larger than the Pargana, were Shaq, Khattāh, 'Arsāh, Diyar, Vilayet, Iqtā, Bilād and Mamakat. Thus in the earlier Musalman histories before the end of the fourteenth century, we come across Shaq-ı-Sama, Khattah-ı-Ondh, 'Arsah-ı-Gorakpur, Diyar-i or Vilayet-ı-Lakhnauti, Vilayet-ı-Mean Doab, Iqtā-ı-Kara, Bilād Bang, Mamakat Lakhnauti. See Elliot's Glossary, and Ain, Vol. II, p. 115, and Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 148 and 262.

2 The Musalman astronomers and geographers divided the world into seven parts, to each of which they gave the name of Iqlim or climate.—See Ain-i-Akbari Jarrett's Trans., Vol. III, p. 43.

3 İslâmábād or Chittagong. The district was first conquered by the Independent Musalman Kings of Bengal. In 1850 A.C., about which year Ibn Batutah was in Chittagong, it belonged to King Fakhruddin of Sunargaon. It was re-conquered in 1685 by the Mughals under Umid Khān who changed the name of the place to İslâmábād during the rule of Nawab Shaista Khān, Viceroy of Bengal.—See Blochmann's contributions to History and Geography of Bengal and the Alamgīr-Namah, p. 940, and the Ain, Vol. II, p. 125.


5 Karoh or Kos—Ain 16 says:—The Kos was fixed at 100 tanahs, each consisting of 50 Ilahi gas or 400 poles (bana), each pole of 123 gas. Sher Shāh fixed the Kos at 60 jāns, each of 60 Sikandri gas. A farsāb is equal to three Kos.—See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 41 t.
Sarkar Madarum, which is the southern limit of this Suhah, is 200 Karoh. And since in the period of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Padshah Ghazi, the Suhah of Orissa was conquered by Kala-pahur and annexed to the Empire of the Sovereigns of Delhi, and made a part of the Suhah of Bengal, the extent of the latter Suhah became extended by 43 Karoh in length and by 23 Karoh in breadth. In the southern limits of this Suhah is the sea, and towards its north and east, are high mountains, and on the west, it adjoins the Suhah of Behar. During the rule of Emperor Akbar, Isk Khan Afghan conquering the eastern provinces struck coin and recited Khutbah in the name of Akbar, and annexed it to the Suhah of Bengal. There are twenty-eight

1 Sarkar Madarum extended "in a semi-circle from Nagor in western Birkhām over Bāvīgān on the Dasmūḍ to about Bārdwān, and from there over Khānūkh, Jamaqād, Chandrākona (western Bāghī district) to Mandāighāt, at the mouth of the Rupnarayan river, and consisted of 16 mahals with a revenue of Rs. 236,085."—See Blochmann’s Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal and the Ain-i-Abbār Vol. II, p. 121.

2 Kala-pahur is the famous general of the Afghan King of Bengal, Sháh-mán Karáshári, and the renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath in Puri in south Oriya. Kala-pahur was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Masúm and Quṭb of Oriya and ‘Aziz Koka, which in 900 A.H., took place between Cojagong and Gadhí. A detailed description of Kala-pahur’s conquest of Oriya is given in the Makhzan-i-Afghāni.—See Ain, Vol. I, p. 370 and Vol II. p. 128.

3 Isk Khan Afghan flourished in ‘Bhati’ in the reign of Dáud, the last Afghan King of Bengal, and continued as ‘over-lord’ or ‘Masbān-i-Bhati,’ as Abul Fazl in the Ain styles him, with twelve great Zenindars or prince-lings (known in those days as Bār Bhujiyās) under him, after annexation of Bengal by Emperor Akbar to the Mughal Empire. ‘Isk’s gādi was known as Masnad-i-Ali, the existing Dīwān families of Haidar Nagar and Jangalbari in Mymensingh district claim descent from ‘Isk.’ ‘Bhati’ according to Abul Fazl extended 400 Kār from east to west, and 300 Kār from north to the ocean to the south; it thus included the Sundarban and the tracts along the Megna. Grant defines “Bhati” as including the Sundarban and all the neighbouring lowlands (even Huly) over flooded by the tides. The Musalmān historians never use the term Sundarban, but give the sea-board from Hījūly to the Megna one name of ‘Bhati,’ which signifies lowlands over flooded by tides.—See Ain-i-Abbār, Vol. I, p. 342, and J.A.S. No. 8, 1874, and No. 2, 1875 and Ain, Vol II. p. 117.

4 In the Ain, the Suhah of Bengal is stated to have consisted of 24 Sarkars including 767 mahals, and the revenue is stated to have been 59 Krors 94 lakhs 59 thousand and 19 dāms, equivalent to Rs. 14,961,482-15-7. Its standing army, according to the Ain, consisted of 23,330 cavalry, 801,150
Sarkārs with eighty-seven mahals in this Šūbah. In past times, the fixed revenue of this Šūbah was fifty-nine kr. or eighty-four lak, fifty-nine thousand and three hundred and nineteen dam, which is equal to about one kr. or forty-nine lak, sixty-one thousand four hundred and eighty-two rupees and fifteen annas in silver Rupees. Twenty-three thousand three hundred and thirty cavalry, eight lak infantry, 1,170 elephants, 4,200 guns, 4,400 boats. Remembering that the army was not generally paid in coin, but by bestowal of fiefs or military jagirs, even at this distance of time, it is not difficult to imagine how Bengal was overrun by colonies of Musalmān feudal barons — See Ain-i-Altarī, Vol. II, p. 129 and Vol. I, p. 370.

1 On the Frontiers of Muhammadan Bengal.

The text as well as the Akbarnāma and the Itilāsamawat-i-Jahānī state that Bengal was bounded on the south by the sea, on the north by hills (that is, those south of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan), on the east by hills (that is, those of Chittagong and Arakan), on the west by the Šūbah of Behar. During the reigns, however, of the Independent Musalmān Kings such as Ilyas Shīh, and Alauddin Husain Shīh in 1502 and his son and successor Nasrāt Shīh), the Musalmān Kingdom of Bengal was more extensive than its geographical limits, and included northern portions of Orissa or Jīnagar, Koch Behar, Kamrup or Western Assam with portions of Eastern Assam, and the whole of Upper Behar (a Governor to represent the Bengal Musalmān King being posted at Hājīpūr opposite to Patna), and the eastern portions of South Behar including Sarkar Monghyr and Behar.— See J.A.S. No 3, 1873, pp. 221-222). The whole of Orissa was conquered and annexed to the Bengal Musalmān Kingdom in the reign of Sulaimān Karnānī, the last but one independent Musalmān Afghan King in Bengal.

When Bakhṭīyār Khiljī conquered Bengal, he ruled (ostensibly as Viceroy of the Musalmān Emperor of Delhi, Kutbuddin Aibak) over portions of Dinajpūr, Māldā, Rangpūr, Nadīrāb, Birbhum, and Bardwan comprising what was then called Dīyār-i-Lakhnūtī, and also he held Behar (Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī, p. 165). This state of things continued during the rule of his two immediate successors, when we find Husamuddin Iwār (a contemporary of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamāš) extending the frontier eastward to the Brahmapūtra and southward to the sea-board, and reigning as an independent king under the title of Sultan Ghiasuddin (Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī, p. 163). The Tārīkh Firuz Shāhi, p. 87 mentions that Emperor Balban in his pursuit of Mughisuddin Tughrāl, had to go so far eastward as Sunargāon, which would appear to have been within the limits also of Tughrāl’s Bengal Kingdom. Again, in 1350 A.C. when Ibn-i-Batūtah was in Chittagong, we find this important seaport was in the hands of King Fakhruddin of Sūnargāon. As Mr. Thomas in his learned discussions on old coins of Bengal Musalmān Kings has suggested, it would seem that so early as the twelfth century there was free commercial intercourse between the south-eastern sea-board of Bengal and the Arab seaports.
and one thousand and one hundred and fifty-eight infantry, one hundred and eighty elephants, and four thousand two hundred and six guns, four thousand and four hundred fleet of boats, constituted the standing army. Adjoining to the northern limits of Chittagong, is the tract of country ruled by the Rajah of Tipperah. It is an extensive country. The rulers of that country enjoy the title of Mānik, for instance Nyā Mānik. The nobles have the title of Narāin. The Rajah of that place had one thousand elephants and two laks of infantry in his service. Riding horses are not available. Between the north and the west of Bengal, pointing more towards the north, is the province of Kūch Behār. Its length from east to west, from the beginning of Parganah Bhitarpān, which is included in the conquered provinces, to Pātāgāon, which is the limit of the tract of the Mūrag, is 55 kos, and its breadth from south to north, that is, from Parganah Nājhat, which is included in the conquered country, to Pūshakpur, which adjoins Khonṭāghat, is fifty kos. This tract of country, in point of the sweetness of its water, and mildness and salubrity of its air, and of Baghdad and Basorah; and it would seem it was this commercial Musalman activity combined with superior martial and moral qualities that paved the way for Musalman domination throughout Bengal.

Subsequently in the reign of Ghiasuddin Tughlak Shāh, we find the Bengal Musalman Kingdom has grown so extensive and unwieldy, that we find him separating Behar from Bengal, and placing it under an independent Governor, whilst Bengal itself for purposes of convenient administration was divided into three different sections, viz.: (1) Diyar-i-Sunargān, comprising Eastern Bengal, (2) Diyar-i-Sātgaon, comprising Western Bengal, and (3) Diyar-i-Lakhnauti, comprising Northern and Central Bengal. A Governor was appointed to each of the above three administrative Sections or Divisions, the Governor of Lakhnauti being the Supreme Governor or Viceroy, whilst the two other Governors were placed generally in subordination to him (Tarikh-i-Firuṣ Shahi, p 461). But this state of things did not last long; for in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Tughlak (Tarikh-i-Firuṣ Shahi, p. 480) Bengal again rose as an Independent Musalman Kingdom, and as has been mentioned above, the whole of Upper Behar with eastern portions of Southern Behar was again annexed to the Bengal Kingdom, whilst Orissa also was subsequently added to it. This state of things continued until Akbar came to the throne, when Bengal, with Behar and Orissa, was annexed to the Mughal Empire of Delhi. See Tarikh-i-Nāpirī, Tarikh-i-Firuṣ Shahī, Akbarnamah, Ibn-i-Batūtah’s Travels and Mr. Thomas’s “Initial Coinage of Bengal,” J.A.S.B., No. 1, 1867 and No. 14, 1873 pp. 321-322 and 343.

1 The same in Ain-i-Akbarī, Vol. 2, p. 117.
2 For identification of these places see J.A.S., 1872, p. 49.
the comfort of its inhabitants, is superior to all the eastern tracts of Hindustān. Large oranges thrive here, and other fruits also grow in abundance. The tree of pepper grows there, its root is thīr, and its branches creep over ponds. Its ear, like the ear of grape, hangs down from the branches. Its inhabitants belong to two tribes, namely, Makh and Kūj, its Rājah is of the first tribe. They mint gold coins, and the coins are called Nāraini. Notable Rājahs have ruled there. One lak and one thousand infantry are always in the service of the Rājah.

And the country of Kāmrūp which is also called Kāmrū or Kāmtāh is subject to those Rājahs. The inhabitants of Kāmrūp are good-looking, and in magic raise the standard of mastery; and many incredible stories are related regarding them. In respect of the flora of that place, it is said that the scent of the flowers continues as fresh as before, some months after their being plucked, and that with these necklaces are made, and that by cutting trees a sweet liquid is obtained, and that the mango-tree trails like a climbing vine over ponds, and produces mango-fruit; and other similar stories are related.

And the mountain of Bhūtān, which is the abode of the Bhūtians, lies to south of Kūch Behār. Tāngar horses and Bhūt and Bari horses and the musk-deer are found in this mountain. In the


2 Kāmrūp (in Tabaqat-i-Nasīrī, p. 163, Kāmrū) included the Western portion of Assam together with the Bengal Districts of Rangpūr, Rangmati (now in Goalpara District) and Sylhet. It was first conquered by Musalmāns in the reign of Husamuddīn Iwaz alīs Sultan Ghiasuddīn, an immediate successor of Bakhtīyar Khlījī, in the early part of the thirteenth century. (Tabaqat-i-Nasīrī, p. 163). At the close of the fifteenth century, its Rājah Nalambhār was overthrown by Husain Shāh, King of Bengal. In ancient days, Kāmrūp was noted for its sorcery and the beauty of its women. Rangpūr is stated to have been founded by Bakhtīyar Khlījī, during his expedition into Tibet — See also J. A. S. for 1872, p. 49; Alamgirnāmah, p p 678 and 780, makes it equivalent for Hajo (Koch Hajo) Guhati and dependencies.

3 "Tāngistān" is the general name for that assemblage of mountains which constitute the territory of Bhutan, "tanga" meaning 'defiles.' Abul Fazl also mentions these 'Tanghan' horses. He states: 'In the lower parts of Bengal near to Koch, a species of horse is produced called Tanghan.' The tāngas pony is usually 13 hands high and short bodied, deep in the chest, and very active.
centre of this tract, a river runs between two rocks, its breadth is small, but it is very deep, and its current is strong. An iron-chain is put across the top of the river, and its ends are affixed to pieces of rocks on the two sides of the river, and a second chain is put over the first chain at a distance equal to the height of a man. Pedestrians cross the river by placing their feet on the lower chain, and seizing with their hand the upper chain. And what is stranger is that horses and all other loads and baggage are ferried across this river along this very chain. The people of this tract are ruddy-complexioned, and fat; their hair falls hanging down their heads and necks. Their dress consists of only one rag, just sufficient to cover the private parts. Men and women of this place dress in the same manner. The pronunciations in their language resemble those of the people of Kuch-Behar. It is said that mines of turquoise-stone also exist in this mountain.

Between the north and the east of the country of Bengal, bordering on the tract of Kamrup, is the vilayat or province of Asham (Assam). In its middle, the river Brahmaputra flows from east to west. Its length from west to east—that is, from Cowahati to Sadia—is about two hundred kures or kos, and its breadth from north, that is from the rocky fastnesses of the tribes of Mari, Majmi, Daphla and Valandah, to the hills of the Nagia tribe, is approximately seven or eight days’ journey. Its southern mountains adjoin lengthwise the mountains of Khasia, Kachar and Kashmir, and breadthwise they adjoin Amtan or Atwan, the abode of the Nagia tribe. Its northern mountain skirts lengthwise the lofty ridges of Kamrup, and breadthwise it faces the

1 Tribes of Mari, Majmi, Daphla, and Vilandah and Nag.—Vilandah or Landahl tribe has been identified with the Akas tribe.

All these tribes belong to the Non-Aryan Tibeto-Burman stock, which have clung to the skirts of the Himalayas, they crossed into India by the north eastern passes, and in pre-historic times they had dwelt in Central Asia by side with the ancestors of the Mongolians and the Chinese. The principal types of the Tibeto-Burman stock are the following:—(1) Cachari, (2) Garos, (3) Tipous or Mrunga, (4) Bhuiyas, (5) Gumugs, (6) Marmus, (7) Newars, (8) Leophas, (9) Miris, (10) Akas, (11) Miehans, (12) Nares, (13) Daphlas.—See J. A. S. 1872, p. 76, Col. Dalton’s “Ethnology of Bengal” and also description of Assam and the Assamese in Alamgarmanah, p. 722.

2 This seems to be a copyist’s mistake for “Geneseer hills” (see J. A. S. 1872, p. 781). The Alamgarmanah has Srinagar 1 p. 732.
mountains of the Valandāh tribe. The tract in the north of the river Brahmapūtra, from Gowāhāti to the abodes of Mari and Majni tribes, is called Üttarakūl; and the extent of the Dakhīṅkūl is from the country of Naktirānī to village Sadiāh. The climate of the lands bordering on the Brahmapūtra is for foreigners poisonous. For eight months the rainy season prevails, and the four months of winter are not free from rain. And the flowers and fruits of Hindūstān and Bengal are available here, and besides these, others are found which are not to be had in Hindūstān. Wheat, barley, and pulse are not grown, but the soil is fit for cultivation of all kinds. Salt is scarce and dear, and what is procurable from the defiles of some of the rocks is bitter and brackish. The fighting cocks of that country do not turn back face from enemies; though the adversary may be strong and big, they fight so much that the brain of the head becomes disturbed and they die. Large well-formed elephants abound in the wilds and the mountains. And plenty of deer, wild-goats, and wild-cows, and the horned fighting rams are also to be found. In the sands of the river Brahmapūtra, gold is found; twelve thousand Assamese are employed on this work. Every year one tola of gold per head is paid into the Rājah’s treasury. But the gold is not quite pure, so that one tola of gold sells for eight or nine rupees, and silver and gold coins are minted in the name of the Rājah, and shells are current, but copper pice is not in use. Musk-deer is found in the mountains of Ashām. The bladder of musk is large, and full of large pieces of musk, and is beautiful-looking. The aloe-wood, which grows in the mountains of Kāmrūp and Sadiāh and Lakhūgirah, is heavy and full of scent. No tax is levied from its subjects. From every house, out of every three persons, one person has to serve its Rājah, and in serving him, shows no laxity, and if laxity is visible, he is killed. The Rājah of that place dwells in a lofty building, and does not put his foot on the ground, and if he places his foot on the ground, he is deprived of his rīṭ. And the people of this country have a false notion that their progenitors were in heaven, and that at one time fixing a ladder of gold they came down to the earth, and that since then they have dwelt on earth. Hence the Rājah is called Sargī—and ‘Sarg’ in the Hindu language means ‘heaven.’ And

1 “Naktirānī” or “Naktīrānī” has been identified with Deshamī, a pargana of Kāmrūp.—See J A S. for 1872, p. 76.
the Moguls of that country are powerful and notable. It is said that when the Mogul of that place dies, his servants, male and female, with some conveniences and necessaries, and carpets and clothes and vestments together with a chhatri full of oil, are placed with him as a sepulchral monument, securely covered over with strong logs of wood.1

And adjoining to Assam (Ashăm) is Tibet, and adjoining Tibet, are Khata and Machin.2 The capital of Khata is Khan Baligh,3 which is at a distance of four days from the sea. It is said from Khan Baligh to the seashore, a canal has been dug, and both sides of it have been solidly embanked. And in the mountains to the east of Ashäm towards Uttarakul, at a distance of fifteen days' journey, the tribes of Mari and Majmi dwell. In that mountain black deer and elephants are bred. Silver, copper and tin are procured from those mountains. The habits of those tribes (of Mari and Majmi) resemble those of the Assamese, and in beauty and refinement their females are superior to the women of Assam. They have a great horror for the gun, in regard to which they say: "It is a wicked thing, it shouts out, but does not move from its place, and an infant comes out of its belly, and kills human beings."

And between the south and east of Bengal, is situate a large tract called Arkhang (Arracan);4 Chittagong adjoins it. The male elephant abounds there, horses are scarce, and camels and asses can be had at high prices. And cows and buffaloes are not to be found there, but there is an animal resembling cows and buffaloes, and of brown colour, which yields milk. Their religion is distinct from Islam and Hinduism. Barring their mothers, they can take all other women for their wives; for instance, a brother may marry his sister. And the people never remiss in their obeisance to the authority of their sovereign and chief whom they style

1 "The account of the burial of Ahom magnates is confirmed by recent disclosures of deserted graves."—See J. A. S. for 1872, p. 62, footnote
2 China was long known to Asiatics under the name of Khatai or Khata or Khata and Machin
3 Khan Baligh is the name given to Pekin; it means the Court of the Great Khan. See D'Herbelet and Yale's Marcopolo.
4 Arracan or the Magh country included Chittagong till a late period; it formed a great Buddhist Kingdom, whilst adjoining it on the north was the Hindu Kingdom of Tipperah.—See Almgrenamah, p 940, wherein Arracan is called "Bakhang," and its inhabitants are called "Maghas."
Wah, are always firm in their allegiance to him. Women-soldiers turn out at darbārs, whilst their husbands stay at home. The inhabitants are all black in colour, and their males do not keep-beard.

And adjoining to the country of Arkhang, is situate the country of Pegu, between the south and east of Bengal. And the military force of that country consists of an elephant-corps and infantry. White elephants are found in its jungles, and on its boundaries are mines of minerals and precious stones; owing to this, enmity exists between the Pignans and the Arkhangians.

And bordering on this tract is the country of Mag. The inhabitants are so many animals dressed up in human forms. They eat every animal of the earth and the sea that is procurable. They spare no animals. Their religion and law are all unsound. And they marry their sisters, born of different mothers. And the pronunciations of their language are similar to those of the people of Tibet.

And in the southern limits of Bengal, is situate the vilayet of Odisah (Orissa). From Lándahdalūl to Mālwhah and the passage of the Chilkāh lake, are its limits. In the period of the sovereignty of Sultan Jalālū-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh Ghazī, this country being conquered by Kālāpāhār was entered in the Diwan-i-Akbari and annexed to the Nizāmat of Bengal. And its short account is this, that Kālāpāhār, who was one of the nobles of Bābar and who was bold and could work miracles, under order of Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh, engaged in conquering that country with 12,000 select cavalry. Rājah Makand Deo,

1 Pegu is now a division of British Burmah comprising the districts of Rangoon, Bassin, &c.

2 The Maghs and Arracanese were one race, their country being Arracan or Arkhang. They made constant raids in fleets of armed boats up the rivers of South-Eastern Bengal. During the Viceroyalty of the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal at Daoca, Nawab Shaista Khān, these raids were considerably checked, and several of the Magh fleets were captured at the mouth of the Megna River, and the fort of Chittagong was also re-stormed. The Maghs were expelled from the island of Sandip. A large number of Magh settlers are to be found still in Chittagong, Bakargarj, Noakhali and Tipperah. Though originally Buddhists, they have now intermixed with the people, and have become Hinduised or semi-Hinduised.—See Alamgirnāmah, p. 940.

5 The first Muhammadan incursions into Jajnagar or Northern Orissa appear to have taken place about 1204 A.C. under Muhammad Shītan, an officer of
the ruler of that country, was very luxurious and given to indolence and ease. For six months he admitted the public to his audience, and attended to the management of the affairs of his country, and for six months he gave his body rest, and went to sleep. And if anyone awoke him during his period of slumber, he was sure to be killed. When the news of the arrival in that country of Kāḷāpāhār with the Imperial forces, came to the ear of the Rajah, he built the fort of Bārābāṭī,¹ which is a strong fort, for his security, and entrenched himself in it. And placing

Bakhtiyar Khilji, and subsequently under Husamadīn Iwaz, Tughral (see Tabaqat-i-Naṣīrī, pp. 157, 163, 244, 283). Under Husain Shāh, Ismail Ghazi invaded also Jajnagar or Orissa, sacked the capital Cuttack and successfully stormed the holy city, Puri (see J.A.S. 1874, p. 215 and do. 1872, p. 335). The complete defeat of the Hindus took place in 1567-68 A.C., when Sulaiman Kararani, King of Bengal, with a large army under his famous General Kāḷāpāhār advanced into Orissa and defeated the last independent Rajah Makand Deo under the walls of Jajpur and Katak. When subsequently in Akbar's time the Afghan Kingdom of Bengal was supplanted by the Mughuls, the Afghans in large numbers migrated into Orissa. In 1575 A.C., a great battle took place between Mughuls and Afghans (at Bajhaura, Badaun, p. 198) at Mughalmar, near Jaleswar in Balasore, in which Daud, the last Afghan king, was defeated, and Orissa practically shortly after (1592 A.C.) became a Mughul Province, administered by the Mughul Vicereoy of Bengal. In the Ain, Abul Fazl mentions that the Hindu rulers of Orissa had the title of Gajpat, or Lord of the Elephant. In the time of Nawab Ali Vardi Khān, Mughul Vicereoy of Bengal, Orissa became the hunting-ground of Mahratta free-booters. The struggles between Ali Vardi and the Mahrattas are graphically described in the Sīrul Mūtahārīn. See Tabaqat-i-Naṣīrī, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, Akbarnamah and Makhzan-i-Afghanī. Jajnagar is mentioned by Badoni I, p. 238, as having been subdued by Ulugh Khān in 1328 A.C. or 723 A.H., in Ghasūdīn Tughlak's reign, and is mentioned as having been subdued in 1360 A.C., by Fūrs Shāh Tughlak, Badoni I, 248 and Tarikh Firuz Shāhī by Shams Seraj, p 115. Seraj mentions that the idol of Jagannath was carried off to Delhi by Fūrs Shāh (p. 119).

¹ In the Sīrul-Mūtahārīn it is called Bārābāṭī. The fort of Bārābāṭī is on the south bank of the Mahanadi river, opposite to the city of Cuttack; it is now in ruins. The following description of it is translated and summarised by me from the Sīrul:—"The fort Bārābāṭī with the city of Cuttack is situated on the strip of land lying between the rivers Mahanada and Kathajuri. The fort is on the bank of the Mahanada, and the circumference of its enclosing rampart is about three kroh. The rampart is built of stone, brick, lime and cement, and a wide moat runs round the rampart. The city of Cuttack is situated on the banks of the Kathajuri river, and the distance between the fort and the city is about two kroh."
proper forces for encountering the enemy, he himself, according to his old habit, went to sleep. Kālāpahār, by successive and numerous fightings, vanquished the Rajah’s forces, and brought to his subjection the entire dominion of Odissah (Orissa), so much so that he carried off the Rani together with all household goods and chattels. Notwithstanding all this, from fear of being killed, no one was bold to wake up this drunken of the sleep of negligence, so that Kālāpahār had his hands free. After completing the subjugation of the entire country, and investing the Fort of Bārahbāṭi, which was his (the Rajah’s) place of sleep, Kālāpahār engaged in fighting. The officers and employes of the Rajah summoning his clarion-players communicated the news of the whole affair through the reed of the clarion. When the news about Kālāpahār went to the ear of that fortune-sleeper on the bed of sleep, which is brother of death, considering this affair as the event of the Day of Judgment, like the sleepers in graves, from the sound of the trumpet, sprang confounded from the sleep of oblivion, and making the movement of a slaughtered animal, devoted his head to the swords of the warriors of Islām. The country of Orissa and the fort of Bārahbāṭi being subjugated, were added to the dominions under the sovereignty of the Musalman Emperors. The firm Muhammadan religion and the enlightened laws of Islām were introduced into that country. Before this, the

1 This was Rajah Mukund Deva, Haricandara, who reigned from 1560 to 1568. Mukund Deva was a Telugu by birth. In 1564-65 A.C. a treaty was concluded between Emperor Akbar and the Rajah, preceded by mutual despatches of ambassadors on both sides (see Badaoni p. 76, wherein it is stated that Hassan Khan Khazanchī and Mahāputār where sent by Akbar as ambassadors to the Rajah of Orissa). As mutual jealousies prevailed between Mughuls and Afghans, this political measure was adopted by Akbar, in order to serve as a counterpoise to the ambition of the Musalman Afghan King of Bengal, Sulaiman Karrāram, who had planned to extend his Bengal Kingdom by annexing Orissa and also to prevent the latter from helping Akbar’s rebellious Governor of Tampur, named Khan Zaman. Finding shortly after Akbar engaged in wars in the west, Sulaiman Karrāram, the King of Bengal, attacked the Orissa Rajah, who had come close to the Ganges; the Rajah fled to Fort Kotsam. The Bengal King detached a force under Kālāpahār, his general, to Orissa across Mayurbhanja and thence southward by the Kaoabasa river. Kālāpahār ravaged Orissa, defeated the Rajah’s deputy, and shortly after the Rajah himself was killed, and Muhammadans finally conquered Orissa in 1568 A.C. After conquering Orissa, Sulaiman Karrāram (who reigned from A.C. 1563 to A.C. 1572) left his Vazir, Khan Jahan Lodi, as Viceroy of Orissa with headquarters at Cuttack, and Qūṭūlū as Governor at Puri. (Badaoni II, 174).
Muselman Sovereigns exercised no authority over this country.  
Of the miracles of Kalapahar, one was this, that wherever in 
that country, the sound of his drum reached, the hands and the 
feet, the ears and the noses of the idols, worshipped by 
the Hindus, fell off their stone-figures, so that even now stone-idols, 
with hands and feet broken, and noses and ears cut off, are 
lying at several places in that country. And the Hindus pursuing 
the false, from blindness of their hearts, with full sense and 
knowledge, devote themselves to their worship!

It is known what grows out of stone:
From its worship what is gained, except shame?
It is said at the time of return, Kalapahar left a drum in 
the jungle of Kaonjah, which is lying in an upset state. No 
one there from fear of life dares to set it up; so it is related.
And Jagannath, which is a big temple of the Hindus, is in 
this Subah. It is said when the Hindus reach Parsutam, where 
Jagannath is, in order to worship Jagannath, first they shave 
their heads like Musalmans, and at the first door of the house 
of Shaikh Kabit, who was a great saint of his time and whose 
parents were weavers, they eat and drink his food and water.

1 This is not strictly correct. See note 7, p. 3 ante.
2 Professor Blochmann has surmised that Kalapahar was originally a Hindu 
who embraced Islam, from the circumstance that his proper name was Raju 
Mr. Beveridge in his Analysis of Khurshed Jahan Numa has followed in 
Professor Blochmann's wake. I see no warrant for this surmise. The 
Makhzan-i-Afghani and the Akbarnamah, contemporary records, would not 
have failed to notice this fact, if it were so; for it would have been a matter 
of additional exultation to the Muselman historians. The text describes him 
as one of the "Omrah of Babar"; and Babar never dreamed of the policy 
of his grandson, Akbar, to employ Hindus in high military capacities or to 
make them his "Omra." Furthermore, the name Raju is current amongst 
Musalmans (See Blochmann's Ars, Vol. 1, which mentions one Syed Raju of 
Barha and Badaun, p. 323, Vol. 2, and Ars, Vol. 2, p. 371); Badini, too, in the 
Munastibs-I-Tauariha (p. 42, Vol. 1), mentions Kalapahar as a brother of 
Sikander Shah (alias Ahmad Khan Sir of Sher Shah's family) who occupied 
Bihar as vajul under Akbar. (The Makhzan-i-Afghani gives a full description 
of Kalapahar's conquest. He was killed in 1582 A.C. in a fight with Aziz 
Kokah between Golgant and Rajmahal.
3 Shaikh Kabit flourished about the beginning of the 16th century during 
the rule of Independent Muselman Kings in Bengal. He was the leader of a 
great theistic movement, the object in view being to harmonise Muselman 
and Hindu religions, and to teach votaries of both the great religions of India 
that they were after all children and worshippers of one God, that the Allah
which is called in the language of that country tarānī. After having done so, they proceed to worship their God of Jaggannāth. At Patna, Hindus unlike their practice elsewhere, eat together with Musalmans and other races. And all sorts of cooked food sold in the bazar, and Hindus and Musalmans buy them and eat together and drink together.

SECTION II.—DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY OF BENGAL.

Be it known to the appraisers of the pearls of past chronicles that most of the historians have narrated that when Hām, son of Noh (Noah) the prophet (may he be in peace!), with the permission of his holy father, set himself to colonize the south, he girded up his loin for accomplishing this, and deputed his sons—the first of whom was Hind, the second Sind, the third Hābash, the fourth Zanaj, the fifth Bārbar, and the sixth Nubah—in all directions on colonizing expeditions. And the tract that each of them colonized was called after him. The eldest son, Hind, having come to the country of Hindūstān, it was so named after him. And Sind in the company of his elder brother, having set himself to colonize the tract of Sind established himself there, and that was named after him. But Hind had four sons, the first was Purab, the second was Bang, the third was Dakin, and the fourth was Naharwāl. And every tract that was colonized by each, is still called after him. And Dakin, son of Hind, had three sons, and the country of Dakin was parcelled between them. Their names were Marhāt, Kanār, and Tālang; and Dakhinans are all descended from him, and up to this time all the three tribes dominate there.

And Naharwāl had three sons, namely, Babruj, Kanoj and Mahāj. After them cities were also named

of Musalmans is the Parmeshur of the Hindus, that they ought to be tolerant of each others creeds, and to regard each others as fellow-brethren. The labours of Kabir may be placed between 1380 and 1420 A.C., and reflect not only credit on him, but illustrate what ethical and spiritual progress took place amongst the people of India under the impact of Islam. It may be added that on Kabir’s death, both Hindus and Musalmans claimed his body; so catholic and liberal was he in his views. This great theistic movement set on foot by Kabir, received expansion in the following century by labours of Chaitanya, the Nuddea leader of Vishnuism, in Bengal who ed in the reign of Sultan Alau d din Husain Shāh, King of Bengal,
of both the upper and lower classes, consists of one strip of cloth just sufficient to cover the private parts. The males wear one white strip of cloth, called generally a dhoti, which is tied from below the navel down to the leg, and a small turban about two or three cubits long is tied on the side of the head, so that the whole skull of the head and the hair are visible. And the females wear one strip of cloth called a sari, half of it is wrapped round from below the navel to the leg, and the other half being drawn across a side is thrown down the neck. They are bareheaded, and do not wear any other cloth; nor do they wear shoes and stockings. Both males and females daily rub mustard oil over their bodies, and bathe in tanks and rivers. The Bengali females do not observe parda, and go out of their houses for the performance of evaucations and other household duties. And the wildness and habitation of this country are similar, in that the people erect huts of thatch, made up of bamboos and straw. Their utensils are generally earthen, and few are of copper. Whenever quitting one place they migrate to another, straightway they erect a thatched hut, similar to their former one, and collect earthen utensils. Most of their habitations are in jungles and forests, so that their huts are encircled with trees. And in case one of the huts catches fire, all the huts are burnt down, and after the conflagration they get no trace of their habitations, except through trees which surrounded their huts. Most of them travel by water, especially in the rainy season, in which season they keep boats, small and large, for journeys, and for going to and fro. For travelling by land, they have conveyances, such as singhasan and palki and jowalah. Elephants are captured in some parts of the country; good horses are not procurable, and, if had, they cost much. A curious sort of boat is made in this country for capturing forts. And it is in this wise: the boat is large, and

district. Here we get a glimpse of the old fiscal system in regard to its account-branch. In the collection-branch of the Musalmans fiscal system, shigdars (corrupted into Hindu family names Sikdars) presided over Mahals, Majmuahdars (corrupted into Hindu family names of Mosumdars) presided over a group or circle of Mahals or a Turf, and over an aggregate of Mahals or Turfs, corresponding to a modern District, an Amil presided, and over an aggregate of Districts or a Division, the Districts, there was a local Diwan. The last two functionaries were generally Musalmans, whilst the first two subordinate functionaries were almost invariably Hindus.

1 "Singhasan" of our author corresponds to Abul Fasıl's "Sukhasan" in the Ain. (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. 2, p. 126)
the prow of it, which is called in the dialect of the country qalīhī, is made so high that when it is placed alongside the wall of a fort, people from the boat can get on to the wall from it, and enter the fort. And a kind of carpet is manufactured from the linseed plant, which is very pretty and much liked. And precious stones, pearls, jasper, and ruby do not exist in this country. From other countries these are imported into the ports of this Sūbah. And the best fruit of this country is mango, which in some parts is large, sweet, and without strigns, and tasty, and has a small stone. And the tree of three years' growth—of the height of a man—bears fruit. And large oranges, which are called kaunī, and small oranges, which are called nārangi, grow well in this country. And varieties of citrons are available. And lemons, pineapples, coconuts, betelnuts, palm-fruits, jack-fruits and plantains have no end. And grapes and melons, &c., do not grow here; though the seeds of melons and grafts of vines have been often planted in this country, they have never thrived. Sugarcanes, good, delicate and sweet, red, white and black in colour, grow here in abundance. Ginger and pepper in some parts grow abundantly, and betel leaves also grow in abundance, and silk is also produced well and in abundance here. Good silk-stuffs are manufactured in this country, and cotton-fabrics of good quality are turned out here. Rivers, small and large, are plenty in this country, and the practice of digging tanks is very common. People in this country seldom drink the water of wells, because everywhere the water of tanks and rivers is found in abundance. And generally the water of wells is salt, but with a little digging of the soil water comes out.

And the best of rivers is the Ganges (Gang), which rises from the northern mountains of Hindūstān at the point called Goṃ Mukhāh, flows through the provinces of Hindūstān, Fārakhābād, Alāhābād, and Behār into Bengal, and in Bengal at a place called Qāṣīhātā,1 within the Sarkār of Bārbakābād, it is named Pāddā. From this place, a branch of the Ganges separates, flows down Murāhidābād, and at Nadiāh joins the Jalāngā bād, and then flows into the sea. This branch is called Bhāgrati, and it goes towards Chittagong, flowing through the sea. The Ganges at Alāhābād joins the rivers Jōnn (or Jamnā) and Sūrṣati, and near

1 Qāṣīhātā mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ām and quoted by our author appears to be Hajrahātti, on the left bank of the Podda, now also a ferry place, near the entrance of the Bural river, below Rampūr Boṣālia.
Hājipūr it unites also with the Gandak, the Sarū and the Son, and becomes very broad. And the place where the three rivers unite is called Tirbinī by Hindus, and its sanctity in the eye of the Hindus is immeasurable. And the Ganges, Sūrsati, and Joun or (Jamma), in flowing towards Chittagong and the sea, branch off in a thousand rivulets. And Hindus have written volumes on the sanctity of these rivers. Considering the water of these rivers sacred, they fancy that bathing there washes off the sins of a lifetime; especially bathing at certain ghāts of the Ganges, such as Benāras, Alāhabād, and Hardwār, is regarded as very sacred. The rich amongst the Hindu, getting their supplies of the Ganges water from long distances, take particular care of it, and on certain auspicious days, worship the same. The truth of the matter is, that the water of the Ganges, in sweetness, lightness, and tastenness has no equal, and the water of this river, however long kept, does not stink. There is no river bigger than it in Bengal.

And another of the big rivers of Bengal is the Brahmaputrā, which flows from the regions of Khaṭā towards Koch, and thence by the way of Bāzābā flows down into the sea. In the environs of Chittagong, it is called the Megna. The smaller rivers are countless. On both banks of most of the rivers, paddy is cultivated. Another feature of this country, unlike that of other countries of Hindūstān, is that they cut grafts of mango and lemon-trees, and plant them, and these, in the very first year, bear fruit.

SECTION III.—RELATING TO A DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN TOWNS AND FOUNDATION OF CERTAIN CITIES IN THE COUNTRY OF BENGAL.

The city of Lakhnauti, which in past times was the Capital of Bengal, was founded by Sangaldib. It is said that at the time when Firūz Bāi, the Rājah of Hindūstān, being defeated by Rustam Dastan,1 fled to Tirhūt, and from there fleeing to the mountains of Jhārkhand 2 and Gondwārah,3 died, Rustam Dastan, who

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1 Dastan was the title of Rustam, the Persian Hercules—otherwise called Rustam Zal.
2 "Jharkand" was the name by which, what we now call, "Chutia Nagpur" was known in Muhammadan times; whilst "Bharkundah" denoted "Sonthal Parganas including Birbhum."
3 I think "Gondwārah" in the text here is a copyist's mistake for "Gondwanah" which has been identified with the "Central Provinces," of which the capital is Garha-Katanga (Jabalpur).
was displeased with his insolence, not bestowing the kingdom of Hindūstān on the Rājah’s children, awarded the sovereignty of Hindūstān to a Hindū, named Sūraj. Sūraj became a powerful Rājah, subjugated the kingdom of the Dakhin and also the kingdom of Bengal. When Sūraj died and the sovereignty passed to his son, Bahraj, disturbances occurring in all parts of the kingdom, ambition showed itself in every head, and at length a Brahmin, named Kēdār, coming out from the mountains of Sawālik, and becoming victorious after fightings possessed himself of the reins of sovereignty. Towards the end of his reign, a person named Sangaldīb, emerging from the environs of Kuch, which adjoins the limits of Bengal, brought to his subjection, first, the countries of Bengal and Behār, and then fighting against Kēdār became victorious, and building the city of Lakhnautī, made it his capital. And for

1 It is worthy of note that there is a town called Sūraj-garh (or fort of Sūraj) in Monghyr district, on the southern banks of the Ganges, and close to Mauanagar, where there is also an old Muhammadan Khanqah founded by Mahabat Jang.

2 In Firishta, ‘Shangal.’ In the list of Hindu kings given in the Ain-i-Akbarī, I do not find this name.

3 The authentic history of the city begins with its conquest in 1198 A.C. (594 A.H.) by the Muhammadans, who made it their first capital in Bengal. (See Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, p. 151, Pers. Text). This was the period when were erected numerous mosques and other Muhammadan buildings. (See Hunt. Imp. Gazetxeer, Vol. III, p. 338, also Ravenshaw’s and Creighton’s “Ruins of Gaur.”) When the Musulman kings of Bengal established their independence, they transferred the seat of government to Sunargaon and Pandua. Pandua was soon after deserted, and the royal residence re-transferred to Gaur, whilst Sunargaon continued as capital of East Bengal. Minhājus Sūraj visited the city in 641 H. or 1245 A.C., and gives an account of it in his Tabaqat-i-Nasirī. (p. 162, Pers. Text) Abūl Faṣl in the Ain notices it (see p. 123, Vol. 2, Ain, Jar. Tr.), and states that the city was known in his time both as Lakhnauti and Gaur, and that the latter epithet was changed to “Jinnatabad” by Emperor Humāyun. Badaīnī (p. 58, Vol. 1, Pers. Text) states that Bakhtiyar Ghori founded a city and named it after himself ‘Gaur.’ The capital was shifted in Sulaiman Karanān’s time further westward to Tandā. During the conquest of Bengal by the Mughuls under the Emperor Akbar, Gaur again became the headquarters of the Mughal Government, and the Mughal Imperialists under Munaim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, the first Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, occupied it. A pestilence, however, broke out, in course of which Munaim died—and also thousands of troops and people daily (see pp. 318 and 376, Ain, Vol. 1, Bloch’s Tr. and Bādaīnī, Vol. 2, 4
two thousand years it remained the Capital of Bengal. In the
time of the Mughal Emperors it became ruined, and instead of it
Tandāh became the Viceregal Capital. Afterwards Tandāh was
also ruined, and Jahangîrnagar, and lastly Murshidâbâd, became
the Viceregal Capital. The reason for the name of Gaur is un-
known, but it is guessed that in the period of the rule of the son
of Nojgoriah, perhaps this name was given. And Emperor
Humâyun, considering Gaur an inauspicious name, changed it to
Jinntâbâd. This city at present is in complete ruin, and has
become the haunt of lions and tigers. Excepting traces of gate
of the fort, and dilapidated buildings, and the mosque, and founda-
tions of the building of Qadam-Rasûl, nothing else exists.

The place where monarchs dwelt in gardens with friends,
Has become the abode of crows and vultures and the haunt
of lions and jackals!

Gaur contained a large fort, traces whereof are still visi-
ble. On the eastern side of the city are the lakes of Jhathiâh and
Bhatiah and other lakes, and the embankment\(^1\) continues from this
to this time, though it was stronger and kept out the flood of water
in the rainy season, when the city was in a flourishing condition.
At present, in the rainy season, boats pass across it, and every-
thing is inundated. Towards the north of the Fort, to the dis-
p. 317), and the Mughul metropolis of Bengal was removed to Tandāh, and
thence shortly after to Rajmahal or Akbarnagar, which remained the capital
of Bengal, until it was removed to Dacca or Jahangîrnagar, and lastly to
Murshidâbâd. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton places the inhabited area of Gaur at
20 square miles, containing over 600,000 souls. The author of Khutbat
Jahannuma notes the following principal buildings as still existing:—

1. The Qadam-Rasûl, a square, one-domed building in the enclosure of the
Fort, erected by Sulṭan Naṣrat Shâh, son of Sulṭan Allaudin Hussain Shâh in
987 A.H. (1580 A.C.).

2. The Minar, north-east of the Qadam-Rasûl, built by Sulṭan Firuz Shâh.
The height of the Minar is about 50 cubits, and its circumference about 6

When I visited Gaur from Maldâh in 1887 I found also portions of its
rampart, the gateway, and the Qadam-Rasûl building yet extant.

\(^1\) The embanked road a bridge is described in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (p. 180).
It connected Lakhnauti with Lakhnur in Har on the western side, and
Lakhnauti with Desauto in Barind on the eastern side, and was constructed by
Hussamuddin Iwuz alias Sulṭan Ghiasuddin.
tance of one kos, a large building of ancient times existed, and also a tank called Peāsbāri—The water whereof was noxious, whoever drank it became attacked with bowl-diseases and died. It is said that in past times, criminals were imprisoned in that tank, and by drinking the water of it they immediately died. And Emperor Akbar, taking pity, put a stop to this form of punishment.

CITY OF MURSHIDĀBĀD.

The city of Murshidābād1 is a large town situate on the banks of the river Bhāgirathī. Both banks of the river are populated.

1 Murshidābād was the latest Muhammadan Capital of Bengal, its immediate predecessor for over 100 years being Dacca or Jahāngirnagar, in Eastern Bengal. In 1704 A.C., Murshid Quli Khān also known as Jāfar Khān (then the Mughul Diwan) falling out with Prince Azīm-us-shāhīn, the Mughul Viceroy or Nawab at Dacca, transferred the seat of government from Dacca to the little town of Makhsūsābād, and named the place after himself “Murshidābād.” After the battle of Plassey in 1757 A.C., Clive on entering Murshidābād describes it thus: “This city is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London... The inhabitants, if inclined to destroy the Europeans, might have done so with sticks and stones.” Even after the battle of Plassey, Murshidābād remained for some years the seat of administration. The result of the battle of Plassey was at the time appreciated both by Clive and the people, for the reason that it ended the misrule of Sirajudaula, who had rendered himself obnoxious both to the people and the English by his youthful pranks and vagaries; it was not regarded at the time as interfering with Muslima sovereignty: it merely affected the substitution of a new Nawab (Mīr Jāfar) for Sirajudaula. In 1765, the East India Company received the grant of Diwanī or financial administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa from the Mughul Emperor of Delhi, Shāh Alam, and in the following year Lord Clive, as the Emperor’s Diwan, presided in person at the Punja, or annual collection and settlement of revenues. On this occasion, the young Nawāb Nazim (as administrative and military representative of the Mughul Emperor of Delhi) sat on the masnad, with the Diwan (Lord Clive) on his right hand. The work of administration still remained in the hands of Muhammadan officials. In 1772, Warren Hastings removed the Supreme, Civil, and Criminal Courts from Murshidābād to Calcutta, but after three years the Criminal court (Nisāmat Adalat) was re-transferred to Murshidābād, and it was only in 1790, under Lord Cornwallis, that the entire revenue, civil, and criminal staff were posted in Calcutta. The Murshidābād Mint, the recognized emblem of metropolitan supremacy, was abolished in 1799. Thenceforth, Murshidābād has been left only as the residence of the Nawāb, a descendant of Mīr Jāfar, and now it has ceased to be of importance.
In the beginning, a merchant named Makhsūs Khān built a serai or guest-house there, and called the place Makhsūsābād. The houses of a few shop-keepers were placed there. In the reign of Emperor Aurangzib Alamgir, Nawāb Jāfar Khān Nasiri, who held the office of Diwān of Orissa, received the title of Kārṭalab Khān and obtained the office of Diwān of Bengal. After his arrival at Jabāngirnagar, otherwise called Dhākā (Dacca), which at that time was the Viceregal Capital and where from before Prince Azim-u-shāh, who had been appointed Vicereign by Emperor Aurangzib (as will be setforth here after) lived, finding that he (Jāfar Khān) could not pull on with the Prince, put forward the pretext that the mahals of Bengal were at a long distance from that place (Dacca), separated himself from association with the Prince, and established himself at Makhsūsābād, and placed there the Āmlās of Zemindārs, and Qānūngos and other officials employed in connection with the Revenue Administration of Crowlands. And at Dughmirah, which was quite a wilderness, he erected a palace, established the Board of Revenue (Dewāngūnāh) and the Court of Exchequer, and made collections of the Imperial revenue. And when he was appointed permanently Sūbāsdar (Vicereign) of Bengal and Orissa in addition to the office of Diwan, with the title of Murshid Quli Khān and with the gift of a valuable Khil'at, and of the standard and the Naqārah (a royal drum) and the advancement of Mansab, on arrival at Makhsūsābād, he improved the city, and called it after his own name “Murshidābād.” And establishing a mint there, he had the words “struck at Murshidābād” inscribed on the coins. From that time, this city became the Viceregal seat. It is a beautiful city. Its inhabitants, in the society of the Sūbāsdārs, being thrown into contact with the people of Delhi, in point of refinement of manners and conversation, resemble the people of Hindūstān, unlike those of other parts of Bengal. Amongst its buildings, none that was seen was noteworthy, except the Imāmbarah building, which was erected by

1 It may be of interest to note here that the following mint towns existed in Bengal during the earlier Muhammadan kings: (1) Lakhnauti, (2) Firangābād (Pandīsh), (3) Sātgāon, (4) Shahr-i-Nāw (not identified), (5) Sādraspur, (6) Sunargāon, (7) Mussamābād (i.e., Sylhet or Mymensingh), (8) Fārsābād (Faridpur town), (9) Khalīfatābād (Bagerhat town in Jessore), and (10) Husainabad (probably close to Gaur) "See Thomas’ "Initial Coinage" and Blochmann’s Contributions."
Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah. Its praise is beyond description; its equal is not to be found in the whole of Hindūstān. Although at present one-tenth of it does not exist, yet a remnant of it is a fair specimen of the original edifice. These two verses of Maulāna ‘Urfa Shīrāzī,\(^1\) (May peace of God be on him!) being found to be apposite to the present case, are transcribed below:

How much of morning is known to the dwellers at its gate,
    In that in its neighbourhood, the sunset has no access;
Wonderful is the fairness of the building, that in gazing at it,
The glance does not turn back to the socket from the sight of the wall!

And the palaces of Mutijhil\(^2\) and Hirājihl, which were most beautiful, at present have been dug up from their foundations, and are in complete ruin.

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PORTS OF HŪGHĻĪ AND SĀṬGĀŌN.

The Ports of Hūghlī and Sāṭgāōn\(^5\) are at a distance of half a kāroh from each other. In former times, Sāṭgāōn was a large city, thickly populated, and was the seat of a Governor. And the factories of the Christian Portugese, and of other traders were also there. When Sāṭgāōn fell into ruin owing to its river siltiing up, the port of Hūghlī became populous. The Fanjārs of

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\(^1\) Urfa was a famous Persian poet of Shirāz, attached to the Court of Emperor Jahangir. He possessed poetical genius of a high order, and was much appreciated by the Emperor. I published an English translation of some of his "Odes" or "Qasaid," many years ago.

\(^2\) The palace of Mutijhil was for several years, after the installation of Nawab Mīr Jāfar, the residence of the British Political Resident attached to the Court of the Nawāb Nāzīm of Bengal.

\(^5\) Sāṭgāōn, the ancient royal port or "Ganges Regia" of Bengal. It lay at the point of junction of the Hūghlī and the holy Saraswāti. The river Saraswāti silted up during the first-half of the sixteenth century, and the Portuguese merchants found that the harbour of Sāṭgāōn was no longer practicable, and accordingly fixed their port at Gholaṭhā in 1587, a few miles lower down on the same east bank of the river. Gholaṭhā soon became the chief emporium, and took the name of the river, that is, Hūghlī town or port. Sāṭgāōn is now become a petty village, though when I visited it from Hūghlī in 1888, I found traces of a ruined mosque. The first mention of Sāṭgāōn that I find in Muhammadan history is in the reign of Sultan Ghiaṣuddīn Tughluk Shāh who invaded Bengal to chastise Bahadur Shāh, King of Sunargāōn. (See pp 45-46 Tarikh-i-Firuzshāhī).
this port had always been appointed directly by the Emperors of Delhi, and had little concern with the Nāzsims or Viceroyes of Bengal. Nawāb Jāfar Khān brought the office of Faujdār of this port within his jurisdiction, as an appendage to the Nizāmat and Diwāni of Bengal, as will be mentioned hereafter, if God pleases. And in that the abovementioned Nawāb placed the centre of the financial resources of the country of Bengal upon the customs-duties levied from traders, he maintained peaceful and liberal relations with the merchants of England, China, Persia, and Tūrān, and beyond the legitimate imports he did not levy one dam oppressively or against the established usage. Hence the port of Hūghli, in his time, became more populous than before. And merchants of all the ports of Arabia and Ajam,¹ and English Christians who were ship-owners and wealthy Mughuls made their quarters there; but the credit of the Mughul merchants was greater than that of merchants belonging to other classes. The English were absolutely prohibited from erecting towers and building bāzārs and forts and moats. After this, when oppression and extortion of the Faujdārs increased, the port of Hūghli declined, and Calcutta owing to the liberality and protection afforded by the English, and the lightness of the duties levied there, became populous.

THE CITY OF CALCUTTA.

The City of Calcutta² in past times was a village in a tālūqāh endowed in favour of Kālī, which is the name of an idol which is there. Inasmuch as in the language of Bengal, 'Karta' and

¹ Ajam. The Arabs divided the races of the world into the Arabis and the Ajamis or non-Arabs. Persia Proper was called Irak-i-Ajam.

² In 1596 A.C., it is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbarī as a rent-paying village named "Kalikatta" under Sarkār Sātgāon. (See Aīn, p. 141, Vol. 2, Jar. Tr.) In 1686, in consequence of a rupture with the Musulmān authorities at Hūghli port, the English merchants, led by their Chief, Job Charnock, were obliged to quit their factory there and to retreat to Sūzanātī (now a northern quarter of Calcutta). Their new settlement soon extended itself southwards first over the village of "Kalikatta" (between the present Customs-House and the Mint) and subsequently over the village of Gobindpūr (which existed to the south of the present site of Fort William). In 1689, it became the headquarters of the servants of the East India Company employed in Bengal factories. In 1696, the original Fort William was built, being replaced by a
"Kata" means "master" or "lord," therefore this village was named Kālikatā, meaning that its owner was Kāli. Gradually, by a process of the modulation of the tongue, the altīf and the ca being dropped it was called Kalkata. The following is the account of the foundation of this city and the establishment of the English factory there. In the period of the Nizamat of Nawāb Jāfār Khān, the factory of the English Company, which existed in the port of Hūghli, close to Lakhoghat and Mughulpūrah, suddenly after sunset when the English Chiefs were at dinner commenced crumbling down; the English Chiefs harum-scarum ran out, and saved themselves from this whirlpool of destruction. But all their chattels and properties were washed away by the tide. Many cattle and some human beings also perished. Mr. Charnock, the English Chief, purchasing the garden of Benāres, the Company's Gumāshtā, which was situate in Lakhoghat, adjoining to the town, cut down its trees, and laid the foundation of a factory, and commenced erecting two-storeyed and three-storeyed buildings. When the boundary walls were completed and they were about to roof them with the main beams, the nobility and the gentry of the Sayyid and Mughul tribes, who consisted of rich merchants, represented to Mīr Nāṣir, Faujdar of Hūghli, that when the strangers would get upon the terraces of their high buildings, it would interfere with the sanctity and privacy of their ladies and families. The Faujdār communicated the gist of this state of things to Nawāb Jāfār Khān, and subsequently deputed there all the Mughals and the whole of the nobility and the gentry. These, in the presence of the Nawāb, set forth their grievances. Nawāb Jāfār Khān despatched an order to the Faujdar prohibiting absolutely the English from placing a brick over a brick and from laying a timber over a timber. The Faujdār, directly on the receipt of the order of prohibition, directed that none of the masons and new one in 1742, the above three villages being purchased in 1700 from Prince Azam, son of Emperor Aurangzeb. In 1756, the town was sacked and Fort William captured by Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah, who changed its name to Allīnagar. In January 1757 it was re-taken by the English under Admirals Watson and Olive. A new fort, the present Fort William, was commenced by Clive, but it was finished in 1773, when the maidan was also opened out. In this connection, it may be added, that the author of the "Seirul Mutakherin," though hostile to Sirāju-d-daulah, and though a contemporary historian, does not say a word about the "Black Hole" affair!
carpenters should do work in connection with the buildings, and in consequence the buildings remained incomplete. Mr. Charnock, getting enraged, prepared to fight. But as he had a small force and except one ship, no other ships were then there, and besides the authority of Nawâb Jâtâr Khân was overawing, and the Mughals were numerous, and the powerful Faujdâr was on their side, seeing no good in shaking hands and feet, of necessity, raised the anchor of the ship. And directing from the top of the deck of the ship a lens-burner towards the populous part of the town alongside the bank of the river including Chandanagore, he set it on fire and started. The Faujdâr, in order to enquire into this matter, wrote to the officer in charge of the garrison of Makhwa to the effect that the ship should not be allowed to pass on. The above officer placed across the river an iron chain, every link whereof was ten seers in weight, and which had been kept ready alongside the wall of the fort for the purpose of blocking the passage of the boats of the Arracanese and Magh enemies, by being drawn from one bank of the river to the other. The ship on arriving at the chain got blocked, and could not move down further. Mr. Charnock cut up the chain with an English sword and effected his passage through, and sailed down with the ship to the sea, and started for the country of the Dakhin. In that, the Emperor Aurangzeb at that time was in the Dakhin, and the Mahratta free-booters had cut off supplies of food-grains from all sides, a great famine occurred amongst the Imperial troops. The Chief of the (English) factory in the Karnatik supplied the Imperial army with food-stuffs, carrying the same on board the ships, and thus rendered loyal and good service. The Emperor Aurangzeb being pleased with the English, enquired as to what the English Company prayed for. The English Chief petitioned for the grant of a Sanad (Royal patent), permitting the erection of factories in the Imperial dominions, and especially the erection of the Bengal factory. The petition was granted by the Emperor, and an Imperial Farman (patent) was issued, remitting all customs on ships of the English Company, and directing the levy from them of Rs. 3,000, by way of tribute to the Royal Customs-house, and permitting the erection of a factory. Mr. Charnock, with the Imperial Farman and orders, returned from the Dakhin to Bengal, and at a place called Chânak (Barrackpûr)
landed. He sent agents with presents, tribute, and gifts, &c., to Nawāb Jāfar Khān, and obtained permission to build a factory at Calcutta, in accordance with the Imperial Sanad, and building a new factory there, devoted himself to the improvement of the town, and opened trading transactions with Bengal. To this day the factory is notable.

Calcutta is a large city on the banks of the river Bhāgirathi. It is a large port, and the commercial emporium of the English Company, and is subject to them. Small ships, called sloops, always every year come to that port from China, England, and other parts, and many remain there. At present, this city is the place of residence of the English Chiefs, and officers and employés. The buildings are solidly made of lime and brick. As its soil is damp and salt, from proximity to the sea, the buildings of that city are two-storeyed and three-storeyed. The lower rooms are unfit for dwelling. The buildings are constructed after those of England; they are well-ventilated, commodious, and lofty. The roads of that city are broad and paved with pounded brick. And besides the English Chiefs, the Bengalis, the Armenians, &c., there are also rich merchants. The water of wells in this city, owing to salt, is unfit for drinking, and if anyone drinks it, he suffers much. In summer and rainy seasons, the water of the river also become bitter and salt; but the water of tanks, which are plenty, is drunk. The sea is forty Kāłak distant from this place; within every day and night the water of the river has one flow and one ebb. At times of full moon, for three days, the tide comes furiously once in course of a day and night. It shows a wonderful condition and a strange furiousness. It drives across the banks many boats, and wrecks them, but those which are not on the sides of the rivers are left undamaged. Consequently, on that day, at that place boats, both small and large, are left without anchor. This tide in the language of Bengal is called bān, and the tide which occurs daily is called jōr. An earthen fort has been erected to the south, outside the city. The English are wonderful in ventors. To relate its praise is difficult; one ought to see it, to appreciate it. Viewed externally from any of the four sides, the quadrangular rampart looks low like the slopes of tanks; but viewed internally, it looks lofty. Inside the fort, there are large and lofty buildings. Wonderful workmanship has been displayed in the construction of the fort; and other curious and rare workmanships are visible in
this city. In point of beauty of its edifices and the novelty of its arts, no city is equal to it, barring Dehli, which is unique. But its drawback is that its air is putrid, its water salt, and its soil so damp that the ground, though protected by roof, and cemented with brick and lime, is damp owing to excessive moisture, and the doors and walls, to the height of two or three cubits, are also wet and damp. For four months of winter, the climate is not very unhealthy, but during eight months of summer and rainy seasons, it is very unhealthy. At the present day, when since a few years the countries of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa have passed into the possession of the Chiefs of the English Company, this city has become the seat of Government of these dominions. The head of these Chiefs, who is styled Governor-General, resides in this city, and his deputies are appointed and sent out to each district, and remit to Calcutta the revenue-collections from each district.\(^1\) The officers of the Board of Revenue are in Calcutta.

Wonderful is the City of Calcutta in Bengal;
For it is a model of China and England.
Its buildings please the heart and the soul,
And tower to the height of the air.
A master-hand has wrought such workmanship in it,
That everything is as paint and everything beautiful.
From the exquisite workmanship of the English,
Reason, in contemplating it, becomes confounded.

\(^1\) Until 1707, when Calcutta was first declared a Presidency, it had been dependent on the older English settlement at Madras. From 1707 to 1773 it was on an equal footing with presidencies at Madras and Bombay. In 1773, an Act of Parliament was passed, under which it was declared that the Presidency of Calcutta should exercise a sort of general control over other possessions of the English East India Company, that the Chief of the Presidency of Calcutta should be called Governor-General. In 1772, Warren Hastings had given into the hands of the servants of the East India Company the general administration of Bengal which had hitherto been in the hands of Muhammadan Nizamat officials, and had removed the Treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The latter town thus became both the capital of Bengal and the seat of Supreme Government. In 1834, the Governor-General of Bengal was created Governor-General of India, and was allowed to appoint a Deputy-Governor of Bengal to manage the affairs of Bengal in his absence. In 1854, a separate Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

(See Wilson's *Early Annals of the "English in Bengal,"* Buckland's "Bengal under Lieutenant-Governors."
The hat-wearing English dwell in it,  
They are all truthful and well-behaved.  
The dwellings are like these, the dwellers are like those,  
How far can I detail their praises?  
Its streets are clean and paved,  
The air every morning passes through and sweeps them.  
In every alley moonlike faces move about,  
Robed in pretty and clean dresses.  
Their faces are bright with radiance, like the moon,  
You might say the moon has become the earth-trotter.  
One is like the moon, another is like Jupiter,  
Another is like Venus in effulgence.  
When large numbers, like wandering stars, stroll about,  
The alleys resemble the milky-way.  
You see, if you go to bazar,  
The rare goods of the world there.  
All the articles that exist in four quarters of the globe,  
You find in its bazar, without search.  
If I were to depict the people of art therein,  
The pen would fail to pourtray such a picture.  
But it is well known to all, [England.  
That pre-eminence in workmanship pertains to China and  
Its plain is level like the surface of the sky,  
Roads are fixed on it, like the equator.  
People, whilst promenading in gardens,  
Like wandering stars, meet each other in their walks.  
Such a city in the country of the Bengalis,  
No one had seen, no one had heard of.

Chandannagor1 (Chandernagor) alias Farāshdungalī, is twelve kāroh distant from Calcutta. The factory of the Christian French is situated there. It is a small town on the bank of the river Bhagirati. There is a French Chief there. He is the administrator of the affairs and mercantile concerns of that town. The English Chiefs have no authority there. Similarly at Chūcharāh (Chinsūrāh ²), the Dutch hold authority.

1 Chandanagore, founded as a small French settlement in 1673, rose to mercantile importance under Dupleix in the middle of the eighteenth century.
² In the seventeenth century, the Dutch merchants who had hitherto resided at Sāgion and Hūghli ports, founded their factory and port at Chinsūrāh, a little below Hūghli town.
Chūcharah, or Chinsurāh, which adjoins the port of Hāghli, is to the south of that port, and is one karah to the north of Chandernagor. And similarly Chirampūr (Sirampur) is on the banks of the same river, opposite to Chānā's Barackpur. The factory of the Danes is there, and it is also called Dinamārāzgar. In these places, besides the owners of the factories, no one else has authority.

TOWN OF PURNIAH. 8

In former times it was called Pargana-i-nahih. Rupees 32,000 were its revenue collections. Since the Rāja-i- Birnagar also had a force of 15,000 cavalry and infantry, and other inhabitants of that part of the Chandīāl tribe, &c., were refractory and of plundering propensity, and used to ambush and rob the travellers, therefore on the limits of the Mirang, the fort of Jālādíādah, to a distance of two karah's from Purniah, was erected, and a commandant, in charge of the fort, was posted there. In compliance with the period of Naṣab Saif Khá, governor of Amīr Khá, the elder who enjoyed the same name, his father and were descended from Syeds and illustrious houses, and had royal connections, Naṣab Jāfār Khá applied to Emperor Azāz for the former's deposition, and receiving his of Khá was deposed for the purpose of inquiring the Rāja-i- Birnagar 6 and other mal-

- The distance in the seventeenth century from the factory and port at Serampur, about eight miles south of Chandernagor.

8 In the thirteenth century Purinah fell into the arms of the Muhammadans. Such is Purinah as described in the Nizām-ul-Mustawfi, as remaining nine months with revenue 4,875 rupees. — tran. of Am. T. Vols. 1, 2, p. 184. Under the administration of Naṣab Saif Khá, contemporary of Naṣab Jīfār Khá, the Theory of Bengal it attained the height of its prosperity. Its manufactures, in 1816, ran into a farce, and many, if not nearly all its inhabitants, who had nearly died out when I was at Purinah in 1845.

8 The tract of country between the northern limits of Purinah district and the foot of Nepal Proper is locally known as the Mirang.

8 Naṣab of the fort still stand. It is now in the remembrance of Mr. Forbes of Purinah, a few miles to the north of Purinah railway station.


8 Birnagar is now a mile under the Sub-Manager of the Dārvikhsā Raj at Purinah.
contents of that part of the country. Nawāb Jāfar Khān, considering the arrival of such a person to be an acquisition, conferred the office of Faujdar of Zila' Purniāh and that of Commandant of Jalālgadāb upon him, and also settled on him the Pargana of Birnagar alias Dharpūr, and Gūndwārah, which is in the province of Behar, pertaining to Purniāh, and also the mahals of the Jāgir forming an appendage to the office of Commandant of the above Fort. The aforesaid Khān, being appointed independent ruler of the district, after much fighting expelled Dūrjan Singh, son of Bir Shāh, the Rājāh of Birnagar, who was disloyal and refractory, and brought the aforesaid pargana under his subjection, and having thoroughly chastised the other malcontents freed the roads from all perils. He represented the state of affairs to the Emperor, and submitted that the mahals were small, and that his stay in this mahal was unremunerative. In consequence, the Emperor Aurangzeb wrote to Jāfar Khān as follows: “I have sent to you a lion, putting him in a cage. If he does not get his food, he is certain to give you trouble.” The aforesaid Nawāb, who regarded the stay of such a person to be a boon, remitted all the outstanding revenue due from him, and made concession in view of the suitable maintenance of his rank and station. The above Khān, following the example of Jāfar Khān, imprisoned all the zamindars of that district, and did not omit any means of realising the revenue. So that realising eighteen lakhs of rupees from those mahals, he appropriated them to his own use, and day by day the strength of his government and finances and of his army increased. And making peace with the zamindars of the Mūrang, he commenced to cut jungles and to bring them under cultivation. Bringing under cultivation half the wastes up to the foot of the mountains of the Mūrang, and placing it under his rule, he enlarged his country and his resources. And Jāfar Khān, seeing and hearing of it, used to connive. At present, Purniāh is a large city, and the rivers Kūsi and Sūnra pass through it. Its soil is low and full of water. In the rainy season the floods rush down from the moun-

1 At present each of these forms a police circle.
2 Several Dūrjan Singhs are mentioned in the Alamgīrnāmah. One Bir Singh, Zamindar of Srinagar, is also mentioned in it.
3 It did not appear to me so when I was at Purniāh in 1888. The old town or city appeared to me to have got into complete ruin, and very little trace of its former opulence and prosperity existed.
tains of the Mūrang, and the fields and wastes are inundated. Much of the cultivation is consigned to destruction by the floods. Paddy, wheat, pulse and mustard-seed and other food-grains and all kinds of corn grow in abundance. And oil and turmeric and saltpetre, both of water and fire, and pepper, and large cardamom and cassia-leaf and very large trees of ebony, are produced well there. And the flowers of jasmine and bela and the red-rose and other flowers that grow there possess exquisite scents. The mountains of the Mūrang are six days' journey to the north of Purniah. The Mūrangī wood, which is called Bahadāri, is obtained from those mountains. From the top of the mountains, the road towards Nepal and Kashmir is very close, but it is very undulating. Half the mahals of Purniah pertain to the annexes of the province of Behār; but Purniah itself is within Bengal. It is a cold country and the climate of that tract is insalubrious and incongenial. Tumours of the throat in men and women generally, as well as in wild beasts and birds, are common in that country. Masonry buildings are few, excepting the Fort, the Lāl Bāgh, and some others. Formerly, Sarnāh was more populous than Purniah. And Gandāh-golah (Caragola), on the banks of the Ganges, was the resort of traders and mahajans from various places. Owing to cheapness of food-grains and comforts, landholders and travellers and professional men came from every part, and dwelt there. And very often boundary disputes led to fightings with the Rājah of the Mūrang. Saif Khān, every year, used to go to Murshidābād for visiting Nawāb Jāfar Khān. The above Nawāb used to treat him like a brother. Whenever a disturbance occurred in that district, the aforesaid Nawāb used to send troops for assistance. From Gandāh-golah (Caragola) and the banks of the Ganges to the Mūrang, the tract of Purniah is about ten days' journey in extent. And from the mountains of the Mūrang, a route leads to Kuch-Behār and Assam. And the tribute of the Rājah of the Mūrang was paid in game.

1 and 2 No traces of these could be found by me, when I was at Purniah in 1898.

5 A fair is still held annually at Caragola, and is largely attended by Nepalese, Bhutas and other hill-tribes, though not to the same extent as before.

* Three routes to Kuch Behar and Assam are described in the Alamgir-namah (p. 683).
DHAKAH (OR DACCA) *alias* JAHANGIRNAGAR.¹

This city is on the banks of the Budhiganga, and the Ganges, named Padma, flows three *karok* or *kos* distant from this city. In past times it was known by this name. During the sovereignty of Nuru-d-din Muhammad Jahangir, the Emperor, the city was called Jahangirnagar. From that time till about the end of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, this city was the

¹ Dacca or Jahangirnagar was the Musalmân Viceregal Capital of Bengal during Mughul rule in India for a century, before it was shifted to Murshidabad by Murshid Quli Khan in 1704 A.C. In 1610 A.C., Islam Khan, the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal, shifted the Viceregal Capital from Rajmahal, or Akbarnagar, to Dacca. This transfer of capital appears to have been decided upon, because the Musalmân dominions in Bengal had considerably extended eastward, and Rajmahal ceased to occupy a central position, and also because Mugh and Arracanese incursions from Arrakan had become frequent. To effectually guard against the latter, a powerful fleet was constructed and maintained at Dacca and on the rivers Padma and Megna; and colonies of Musalmân feudal barons (most of whom have now died out or sunk into ploughmen) were planted throughout Eastern Bengal, especially at places of strategic importance, in order to hold in check all diazoral Afghan elements, and to prevent their intriguing with the Mughal raiders. Except for about sixteen years, when Prince Shah Shuja re-transferred the Viceregal Capital to Rajmahal, Dacca remained the Viceregal Capital of Bengal throughout the seventeenth century under three illustrious Mughul Emperors, viz., Jahangir, Shâh Jahân, and Aurangzeb. The most notable amongst the Mughul Viceroys of Dacca were Islam Khan,米尔 Juñla, the General of Aurangzeb, and Shusat Khan (nephew of Empress Nur Jahan). The latter two Nawâbs are still remembered for their encouragement of architecture, and for their construction of great public works conducive to the material improvement of the people. Whilst the great achievement of the first was the breaking of the last neck of Afghan opposition. The suburb of Dacca, it is related, extended northwards for a distance of 15 miles, now covered with dense jungles. The muslin manufacture of Dacca, once so famous, has now nearly died out. The old fort, erected in the reign of Emperor Jahangir, has disappeared. The only old public buildings now remaining are the Katra, built by Shâh Shuja in 1645, and the palace of Lal Bâgh, both of these also being in ruins. (See Taylor's Topography of Dacca and Dr. Wise's History of Dacca). Dacca, or Dhakka, occurs in the Akbarnâmâ as an Imperial Thana in 1584 the mahal to which it belonged is named "Dhakka Bazun;" it pertained in those early days to Sarkar Basûha. (See Ain-i-Akbari Jarrett's Trans., Vol. 2, Fasc. II, p. 188). Dacca, though it has lost its former Viceregal magnificence and opulence, has not yet sunk into an ordinary Bengal town, by reason of its being the residence of the present liberal and public-spirited Nawâbs of Dacca,)
Viceregal Capital of Bengal. Since the period of his Nizāmat, when Nawāb Jāfar Khān made Mārs'hidābād the seat of government, the latter became the Viceregal seat. At present on behalf of the Chiefs of the English Company, there is a district officer at Jāhāngīrnagar. White muslin is excellently manufactured there.

SARKĀR SUNARGAON.

Sārkār Sunargaon is to a distance of six kayb to the southeast of Jāhāngīrnagar. A species of very fine muslin is manufactured there. And in the Mouzā of Kathrahānsūndar there is a reservoir of water; whatever clothes are washed there are turned into white linen.

1 Sunargaon City, close to Dacca to the south-east, was long an ancient Musalman Capital of Bengal. To this place in 1281 A.C. (see p. 87 Tarīkh-i-Fīrus Shahi by Barnī) Emperor Balbān from Delhi came, and pursued Tughral, who had proclaimed himself Sultan Mughisuddin in 1279 A.C.; and about 610 A.H. (1214 A.C.) it was together with Bang (East Bengal) subdued (Tabaqat-i-Nasirī, Pers: text, p 183) by Sultan Ghasiuddin, one of the immediate successors of Bahkhtiār Khilji. Sunargaon is a place of melancholy historical interest, for it was here that the line of Balbāni kings of Bengal (1282 to 1331 A.C.) ended, and it was also here that the last Balbāni sovereign of Bengal, Bahādur Shāh, in 1331 A.C., under the order of Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlāk, was captured, put to death, and his skin stuffed and paraded throughout the Emperor’s dominions. Subsequently, in 1338 A.C., the first Independent Musalman king of Bengal, named Fakhruddin Abl Muzaffar Mubarāk Shāh, proclaimed his independence at Sunargaon, where he resided and minted coins Thomas’ "Initial Coinage" and Tarīkh-i-Fīrus-Shahi, p. 480). Mubarāk Shāh’s son, Ghazi Shāh (third Independent king), also resided at Sunargaon, and minted coins there. In 1352 A.C., Hāji Ilyas or Sultan Shamsuddin Abl Muzaffar Ilyas Shāh (fourth Independent king) established himself at Sunargaon (Thomas’ "Initial Coinage") and there founded a new dynasty of Independent Bengal kings, who (with an interruption only of about forty years) continued to rule over Bengal for over a century (1352 to 1495 A.C.), and divided their residence between Gaur and Sunargaon. It was to Sunargaon that the illustrious poet of Shīrāz, Hāfiz, sent his famous ghazi to Sultan Ghiaussuddin (son of Sikandar Shāh and grand-son of Ilyas Shāh), when the latter invited the poet to his Royal Court at Sunargaon. Sunargaon has now become an insignificant village, without a single trace of its former regal splendour. (See also Dr. Wise’s note on Sunargaon, J.A.S., 1874, p. 82).
ISLĀMĀBĀD alias CHĀTGAON.¹

Islamābād alias Chātgaon (Chittagong), from ancient times, has been a large town, and its environs are forests of trees. It is south-east of Murshidabad on the seacoast, and in ancient times it was a large port. The traders of every country—especially the ships of the Christians—used to frequent it. But at present, since Calcutta is a large port, all other ports of Bengal have fallen into decay. It is said that ships which founder in other parts of the sea re-appear in front of Chittagong; it rests with the narrator to prove this. The ebb and flow of the sea occurs also here. And the fighting-cocks of that tract are well known.

SARKĀR BOGLĀ.²

Sarkār Baglā was also a fort on the seacoast, and around it was a forest of trees. And the ebb and flow of the sea also occurs there, similarly to what occurs at other places on the seaside and in the environs of Calcutta. In the twenty-ninth year of the accession to the throne of Emperor Akbar, one hour of the day was remaining, when a strange flood occurred, in consequence of which the whole town was submerged. The Rajā of that town, getting on a boat, escaped. For five hours the fury of the storm, and lightning and thunder, and tumult of the sea lasted. Two lakhs of human beings and cattle were engulfed in the sea of annihilation.

¹ Chittagong was found to be in the hands of King Fakhruddin of Sunargaon about 1350 A.C., when Ibn-i-Batutah visited it. It was re-subdued by King Naaret Shāh, son of Husain Shāh, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. In Todar Mal's rent-roll, it is assessed at Rs. 295,607, and the Sarkar is shown as including seven mahals. During the struggle for supremacy in Bengal between Afghans and Mughals in the seventeenth century, it temporarily slipped out of Moslem hands, and had to be re-conquered in 1664 A.C. by Nawāb Shaista Khān, Emperor Aurangzeb's Viceroy at Dacca, who named it Islamābād (See the charming description of the re-conquest of Chittagong, in the Alamgirnāmah, pp. 940-956.) Chittagong was, from very early times, an important place of trade, and the early Portuguese traders called it "Porto Grando."

² Sirka Bogla or Bakla in Abul Fazl's Ṣin is stated to have contained four mahals, and its revenue was Rs. 178,756. It comprised portions of the Backergunj and Sundarban districts and the southernmost portions of the Dacca district. The author of the Seiral Mutakherin calls it Sarkār Hughla.
SARKAR RANGPUR AND Ghorāghāt.

Rāngpūr and Ghorāghāt.—Here silk is produced, and Tangan ponies, coming from the mountains of Bhutan, sell. A fruit called Lathan of the size of walnuts, and with the taste of pomegranates, and containing three seeds, grows there.

SARKAR MAHMUDĀBAD.

Sarkar Mahmudabad was a fort, and in its environs were rivers. In the period when Sher Shāh conquered Bengal, a num-

1 Sarkar Ghoraghāt comprised portions of Dinajpur, Rangpūr, and Bogra districts. Being the northern frontier district skirting Koch-Bohar, numerous colonies of Afghan and Mughal chiefs were planted there under the feudal system, with large jagir lands under each. Many of the mahals bear purely Muhammadan names, such as Bazī Zafar Shāhī, Bazī Fanāl Shāhī, Nasratābād, Bayzīdābād, Taalūk Husain, Taaluk Ahmad Khān, Kabul, Majdul Hussain Shāhī. The Sarkar produced much raw silk. Eighty-four mahals; revenue, Rs. 202,077. The old Musalmān military outpost of Deocote near Ganga Rampur was in this Sarkar. It was established in the time of Bakhtīar Khilji (see Blochmann’s Contr., I.A.S., 1873, p 215, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p156, Aīn-i-Akbari, Vol II, p 135 and Vol I, p 370). After the battle of Patna, 982 A.H., when Daud retired to Orissa, (Badaoni, p 184, Vol II), his generals Kalapalu and Babu Mankli proceeded to Ghoraghāt, (Badaoni, p 192). Akbar’s general, Majnun Khan, died at Ghoraghāt.

2 Sarkar Mahmudābad, named after one of the Sultān Mahmud Shāhs of Bengal, comprised north-eastern Nadiya, north-eastern Jessore, and western Faridpur. Eighty-eight mahals; revenue Rs. 290,256. Its principal mahals were Santor, Naldo, Mahmunshahī, and Nasratshahī. When Akbar’s army in 1574 under Muḥammad Khan-i-Khanān invaded Bengal, Mirād Khān, another Imperialist-General, invaded South-Eastern Bengal. He conquered, says the Akbar-namah, Sarkars Bakla and Fathabad (Faridpūr) and settled and died there. It is remarkable that close to Faridpūr there is a village (now a railway station) called Khan-Khanānpūr, which probably was the residence of Mirād Khān, and which again is close to a place called Rājbari (probably the seat of the old Rajahs). His sons were treacherously murdered at a feast to which they were invited by Mukund, the Rajah of Bhusna and Fatahabad. (See Aīn-i-Akbari, p 374, Bloch. Trans.) During the reigns of Jahangir and Shāh Jahān, Satrujit, son of Mukund, gave trouble, and at length in Shāh Jahān’s reign was captured and executed at Dhaka (1636 A.D.) Nawāb Jāfar Khān about 1772 broke up this Sarkar, and annexed part of it to Rajahali and part to the new Chuklah of Bhusna. Bhusna lies near Bonmoolin and Dakhinbari, ancient Mughal colonies, and it is curious that west of it, on the Nabaganga, we find Satrujitpur close to an ancient Mughal colony, at Alūkdi; whilst opposite to Faridpūr we find Mukund-chor, which is again close to “Khan-
ber of elephants belonging to the Rājah of that place escaped into the jungles; ever since which elephants are to be obtained in those jungles. And pepper also grows in those parts.

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SARKĀR BARBĀKĀBĀD.¹

Bārbakābād. A good stuff called Ganga{jal} is manufactured there, and large oranges also thrive there.

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SARKĀR BĀZŪḤĀ.²

Sarkār Bāzūḥā is a forest of trees, these being trees of ebony which are used in construction of buildings and boats. And mines of iron are also found in that tract.

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SARKĀR SILHAT.³

Sarkār Silhat is a mountainous region, woollen shields are very well made there; they are famous for their beauty through-

¹ Sarkār Barbakābād, so named after Barbak Shāh, King of Bengal. It extended from Sarkar Lukhnapti, or Gaur, along the Padma to Bagūra, and comprised portions of Malda, Dinajpūr, Rajshāhī, and Bogra. Its clothes were well known, especially the stuffs called khāca. Thirty-eight mahals; revenue Rs 436,383. (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 133, and Blochmann’s Contr., J.A.S., 1873, p. 217.)

² Sarkār Bazūḥā extended from the limits of Sarkar Barbakābād, and included portions of Rājshāhī, Bogra, Pabna, and Maimansingh, and reached in the south a little beyond the town of Dacca. Thirty-two mahals; revenue Rs 987,021. (See Ain, Vol. II, p. 137.)

³ Sarkār Silhat adjoining to Sarkar Bazūḥā, chiefly extended east of the Surma river. The country was conquered by Musalmans led by a warrior-saint called Shāh Jallāl in the end of the fourteenth century, when the Afghan King Shamsuddin ruled over Bengal with his capital at Gaur. Shāh Jallāl’s shrine in Silhat town still exists. Silhat supplied Lodia with munuchs, and Jahangir issued an edict forbidding people of Silhat from castrating boys. Eight mahals; revenue Rs 167,032 (Ain, Vol. II, p. 139, Blochmann’s Contr., J.A.S., 1873, pp. 216, 235, 278).
out the empire of Hindustān. And delicious fruits—such as oranges, &c., are obtained. And the China-root is also procured from that tract, and the aloes-wood abounds in its mountains. It is said that in the last month of the rainy season, the ‘ūd tree is felled and is left in water and exposed to the air, then whatever shoots forth is utilised, and what decays is thrown away. A kind of small bird called Banūraj, which is black in colour, and has red eyes and long tail, and parti-coloured, pretty, and long wings, is easily snared and tamed there. It catches the note of every animal that it hears. Similarly, Shirganj is the name of another bird; it is not different from Banūraj in any way, except in this that the legs and the beak of Shirganj are red. Both these are flesh-eaters, and prey on small birds like sparrows, &c.

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SARKĀR SHARĪFĀBAD.¹

Large cows, able to carry heavy loads, and large goats, and large fighting-cocks are bred there.

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SARKĀR MADARAN.²

Sarkār Madāran, is on the southern limit of the kingdom of Bengal. There is a mine of small diamond there.

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AKBARNĀGAR.³

Akbarnāgar alias Rājmahal, is on the banks of the Ganges. Formerly it was a large and populous city. And a Faujdār of

¹ Sarkār Sharīfābad comprised south-eastern portions of Birbhum and a large portion of Burdwan, including Burdwan town. Twenty-six mahals; revenue Rs. 562,218. (Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 139).

² Sarkar Madāran extended from Nagor in Western Birbhūm over Rani-ganj, along the Damādar to above Burdwan, and thence from there over Khand Ghosh, Jahānābād, Chandrakona (western Hugli district) to Mandaṅghāt, at the mouth of the Rājpūral river. Sixteen mahals; revenue Rs. 285,086 (See Āin, Vol. II, p. 141).

³ Sher Shāh had already made plans to shift the seat of Government of Bengal from Tundah to Ágmahal, but this was carried out by Rājāh Mān Singh, Akbar’s Governor of Bengal, who named the place Rājmahal, and subsequently Akbarnāgar, after Emperor Akbar. Before Mān Singh, Daīd, the last Afghan King of Bengal, had fortified Ágmahal (984 A.H.) in his
rank, on behalf of the Nāzim of Bengal, resided there. At present it is in complete dilapidation and ruin.

MÄLDAH.

The town of Mälkah is on the banks of the river Mahānanda. At a distance of three karoh towards the north, is situate holy Pandūah, which contains the sacred shrine of Hazrat Mahḵūm Shāh Jaļāl Tabrizī (May God sanctify his shrine!) and the last stand against Mughuls under Khān Jahan, Akbar’s general (Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 229). Subsequently, in the time of Jahangir, Rajmahal was the scene of a sanguinary battle between Prince Shāh Jahan and Jahangir’s Viceroy of Bengal, Ibrahim Khān Fartah Jang, who was killed (Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangirī, p. 221). It was for about twenty years the Viceregal Capital of Bengal, under Prince Shāh Shuja, who adorned the city with beautiful marble-palaces, no trace of which, however, now exists.—(See Ain-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 340).

1 As early as 1686 A.C., the English East India Company, with permission of Emperor Aurangzeb, established a silk factory here, and in 1770 A.C., English bazaar, close to Mälkah, was fixed upon as the Commercial residency. Mälkah is mentioned in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri: “When I (Jahangir) was prince, I had made a promise to Mr. Ziyaudeen of Taswin, a Saif Syed, who has since received the title of Mustafā Khan, to give him and his children Pargana Mälkah, a well-known Pargana in Bengal. This promise was now performed (1617 A.C.)”—See J.A.S., 1873, p. 2152.

2 Pandua, like Gaur, is situate in the district of Mälkah. ‘Ali Mubarak had his capital at Pandua, and the third independent Musalmān Afghan King of Bengal, named Shamsuddin Ilyas Shāh, fortified the place, and permanently removed the headquarters there about 1555 A.C. Panduah for over 50 years remained the Capital of Bengal, during the reigns of seven Afghan independent Kings of Bengal, after which the capital was in 1446 A.C. during the reign of Naṣiruddin Mahfūz Shāh re-transferred to Gaur, which was retained by Muhammadans for about three centuries as their capital. The principal buildings at Panduah are the mausoleums of Mahfūz Shāh Jallāl and his grandson Qub Shāh, the Golden Mosque (1555 A.C.) with wall of granite, and ten domes of brick, the Ekakh Mosque containing the grave of Ghiasuddin II, the fifth Musalmān independent King of Bengal, the Adina Mosque (fourteenth century) characterised by Mr. Fergusson as the most remarkable example of Pathan architecture, and the Satargah (seventy towered) palace. Panduah was once famous for its manufacture of indigenous paper, but this industry has now died out. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton gives a detailed description of the ruins of Panduah, and the Khurshid Jahānnumah (an analysis of which Mr. Beveridge has published) supplements it.

3 Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi was a disciple of Said Tabrizi, a viceroy of Shahabuddin Shurawardi, and a friend of Khwajah Qutbuddin and Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariah. Shaikh Najmuddin, Shaikh-ul-Islam at Delhi, bore him
sacred mausoleum of Ḥaẓrat Nūr Qutbū-l-ʿĀlam Bangālī (May God illuminate his tomb!), which are places of pilgrimage for the people, and resorts of the indigent and the afflicted, and are channels of various boons. For instance, every traveller and beggar who arrives there, and stops therein the night, is not allowed to cook his food for three meals. The servants there supply him from the public store-house, either with cooked food, or with rice, pulse, salt, oil, meat and tobacco, according to his position in life. And every year in the month of Shab-i-barāt or Zilhajh, whichever of these months falls in the dry season, a fair attended by a large number of people is held, so much so that lakhs of people from distances of fifteen and twenty days' journey, such as Hüglī, Silhat and Jahāngirnagar, &c., come and congregate, and benefit by pilgrimage. And in Māldah and in its environs, good silk-stuff as well as a kind of cotton-stuff of the sort of muslin is manufactured. Plenty of silk-worms are found in its environs, and raw silk is turned out. And for a period of time, the factory of the English Company has been fixed on the other side of the Mahānanda. They buy cotton and silk piece-goods, made to order of the chiefs of the English Company, who make advances of money in the shape of bai 'sallam. Raw silk is also manufactured in the factory. And since two or three years, an indigo-factory has been erected, close to the above factory. The Company manufactures and purchases indigo, loads it on ships, and exports it to its own country. Similarly, close to the ruins of Gaur, in the village of Goāmālī, another masonry-built factory has been erected; at it also indigo is manufactured. Although a description of the town of Māldah was not necessary, yet as since two years my master, Mr. George Udny (May his fortune always last) has been holding here the office of the Chief of the Factory of the Company, and also since in this place this humble servant has been engaged in the composition and compilation of this book, the above narrative has been given.3

enmity; so the saint went to Bengal. His tomb is in the port of Dev Mahal (or Maldivesia).—See Din-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 386.

1 Shāiḥ Nūr Qutbū-l-ʿĀlam was son and vicegerent of Shāiḥ Alan-l-Ḥuq (the latter having been vicegerent of Shāiḥ Akhī Siraj). He was a mystic of eminence, and died in A.H. 808 (A.C. 1405) and was buried at Panduiah.—See Din, Vol. II, p. 371.

2 Note on Sarkars of Bengal (principally compiled from Blochmann's Contribu-
SECTION IV.—A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THE RULE OF THE RAJAN (THE HINDU CHIEFS), IN ANCIENT TIMES, IN THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.

Since by the landable endeavours of Bang, son of Hind, the dominions of Bengal were populated, his descendants, one after

...itions, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Tarih-i-Firuz Shahi, Ain-i-Akbari, Badoani, Thomas’s Initial coinage, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, Badshahnamah, and Alamgirnamah.)

Before proceeding to the next section, it may be noted here that our author has not described all the Sarkars or old Musalman administrative divisions or districts of Bengal.

Bengal before Muhammadan conquest in 1198 A.C. consisted of five Divisions, namely (1) Radha, the tract south of the Ganges and west of the Hugli; (2) Bagdi, the deltaic tract of the Ganges; (3) Bauca, the tract to the east and beyond the delta; (4) Bareandra, the tracts to the north of the Padda and between the Katriya and Mahananda rivers, and (5) Mithila, the country west of the Mahananda (See Hamilton’s “Hindustan”). These Divisions appear to have been under different Hindu Rajas or petty chieftains, who had no cohesion amongst them, and were under no allegiance to any central authority, and whose form of government was patriarchal.

When Bakhtiar Khilji with eighteen troopers stormed Nadia, then the Hindu capital of Bengal, and conquered Bengal, in 1198 A.C. (594 A.H.), he appears to have conquered Mithila, Bareandra, Radha, and the north-western portion of Bagdi. This tract was named Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti after its capital, Lakhnauti city. Its extent is roughly described in 1245 A.C. (641 A.H.) in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 162, when its author Mihajin-u-Siraj, visited Lakhnauti. Minhaj says that the Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti lies to both sides of the Ganges, and consists of two wings, the eastern one is called Bareandra, to which Deokot belongs, and the western called Rāl (Radha) to which Lakhnauti belongs, that on one side the town of Lakhnauti is connected with Deokot, and on the other side with Lakhnor by a causeway or embanked road, ten days’ distance. Deokot has been identified with an old fort, now known simply as Damdama, on the left branch of the Purnababa, south of Dinajpur, and close to Gangarampur. Bang or East Bengal appears to have been subdued in 1214 A.C. (610 A.H.) by Sultān Ghausuddin, an immediate successor of Bakhtiar Khilji (Tabaqat, p. 163). During the rule of the Independent Musalman Kings of Bengal (1338 to 1538 A.C.), the extent of the kingdom of Bangala or Bengal was much more apparently than what is described in the Ain-i-Akbari, and in the rent-roll of Bengal prepared by Akbar’s Finance Ministers, Khwajah Muzaffar Ali and Todar Mall in 1592 A.C. (See J.A.S., 1873, p. 254, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri and Tarih-i-Firuz Shahi, Thomas’s ‘Initial Coinage’). In Akbar’s rent-roll, the following 10, Sarkars are mentioned as composing the kingdom of Bengal Proper:
another, rendering them habitable in a beautiful form, ruled over

Sarkars North and East of the Ganges.

1. Sarkar Lakhnauti or Jennatabad extending from Teliagadhi (near Col-
gong), including a few mahals now belonging to Bhagalpur and Purnea dis-
tricts, and the whole of Maldah district. Sixty-six mahals; khalsa revenue, 
Rs. 4,71,174.

2. Sarkar Purnea, comprising a great portion of the present district of 
Purnea, as far as the Mahananda. Nine mahals; revenue Rs. 1,60,319.

3. Sarkar Tajpur, extending over eastern Purnea, east of the Mahananda 
and western Dinajpur. Twenty-nine mahals; revenue Rs. 1,62,096.

4. Sarkar Panjrap, north-east of the town of Dinajpur, comprising a large 
part of Dinajpur district. Twenty-one mahals; revenue Rs. 1,45,081.

5. Sarkar Choraghat, comprising portions of Dinajpur, Bangpur, and Bogra 
districts, as far as the Brahmaputra. Eighty-four mahals; revenue 
Rs. 2,02,077.

6. Sarkar Barbakabadd, comprising portions of Maldah, Dinajpur and 
large portions of Rajshahi and Bogra. Thirty-eight mahals; revenue 
Rs. 4,36,289.

7. Sarkar Bazubha comprising portions of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Maiman-
singh, and reaching a little beyond the town of Dacca in the south. Thirty-two 
mahals; revenue Rs. 9,87,921.

8. Sarkar Sihat. Eight mahals; revenue Rs. 1,67,032.

9. Sarkar Sunargaon, extending to both sides of the Megna and the 
Brahmaputra, including portions of western Tipperah, eastern Dacca, Maiman-
singh and Noakhali. Fifty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 2,58,233.—(See also Dr. 
Wise's 'note on Sunargaon,' J.A.S., 1874, No. 1, p. 82).

10. Sarkar Chatgam. Seven mahals; revenue, Rs. 2,85,607.

Sarkars in the Delta of the Ganges.

11. Sarkar Satgaaon comprised a small portion to the west of the Hugli, 
whilst a large portion comprised the modern districts of the 24-Parganas to 
the Kabadak river, western Nadia, south-western Murshidabad, and extended 
in the south to Hatigaon below Diamond Harbour. To this Sarkar belonged 
mahal Kalkatta (Calcutta) which together with 2 other mahals paid in 1532 
a land revenue of Rs. 23,405. Fifty-three mahals; revenue Rs. 4,18,118.—See 
also J.A.S., 1870, p. 280.

12. Sarkar Mahmudabad, so called after Mahmud Shah, King of Bengal 
(848 A.H.), comprising north-eastern Nadia, north-eastern Jessore, and 
western Faridpur. Eighty-eight mahals; revenue, Rs. 2,90,256.

13. Sarkar Khilifatbadd, comprising southern Jessore and western Baqir-
ganj (Bacergange). The Sarkar is so named after the haveli perganah 
Khilifatbad (or 'clearance of Khalifah' Khan Jahan) near Bagerhat. The 
largest mahal of this Sarkar was Jessar (Jessore) or Jaspur. Thirty-five 
mahals; revenue, Rs. 135,053. In this Sarkar is also Alspur, which Professor 
Blochmann surmises to have been the residence of Sultan Alauddin Husain 
Shaikh, before the latter became King of Bengal.
the country. The first person who presided over the sovereignty

14. Sarkar Fathabad, so called after Fath Shah, King of Bengal (886 A.H.) comprising a small portion of Jessore, a large part of Faridpur, northern Baqirganj, a portion of Dhaka district, the island of Dakhin Shahbaspur, and Sondip, at the mouth of the Megna. The town of Faridpur lies in the haveli pargana of Fathabad. 31 mahals; revenue Rs. 1,99,339.

15. Sarkar Bakla or Bogla, south-east of the preceding, comprised portions of Baqirganj and Dhaka districts. Four mahals; revenue Rs. 1,78,756.

Sarkars South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirati (Hugli.)

16. Sarkar Udner, or Tandah, comprising the greater portion of Murshidabad district, with portion of Birbhum. Fifty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 6,01,985. Sulaiman Shah Kararani, the last but one of the Afghan Kings of Bengal, moved the seat of Government to Tandah from Gaur in 1664 A.C., that is, 11 years before the ruin of the latter.—(As-R-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 130n.)

17. Sarkar Sharifabad, south of the preceding, comprising remaining portions of Birbhum, and a large portion of Burdwan districts, including the town of Burdwan. Twenty-six mahals; revenue Rs. 5,62,216.

18. Sarkar Salimnabad, so called after Sulaiman Shah, King of Bengal, comprising a few southern parganas in the modern districts of Nadia, Burdwan and the whole north of Hugli district. Pandua on the E. I. R. belonged to this Sarkar. The chief town of the Sarkar called Salimnabad (afterwards changed to Salimabad) was on the left bank of the Damudar, south-east of the town of Burdwan. Thirty-one mahals; revenue Rs. 4,40,769.

19. Sarkar Madarjan, extended in a semicircle from Nagor in western Birbhum, over Raniganj along the Damudar to above Burdwan, and from there over Khund Ghosh, Jalnaabad, Chandrakona (western Hugli district) to Mandalghat at the mouth of the Rupnarain river. Sixteen mahals; revenue Rs. 2,35,085.

The above 10 Sarkars which made up Bengal Proper in 1582, paid a revenue on khalsa lands (crown lands) inclusive of a few duties on salt, hats, and fisheries, of Rs. 6,3,37,052. According to Grant the value of jagir lands was fixed at Rs. 4,348,992, so that in 1582 A.C. and from before it, Rs. 10,685,944 was the total revenue of Bengal.—(See J.A.S., 1873, p. 219). This was levied from ryots in specie, as the equivalent of the sixth share of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as his share.—(See As-R-i-Akbari). pp. 55 and 63, Vol. 2. This rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahangir. Under Shah Jahain, the boundaries of Bengal were extended on the south-west, Medinipur and Hijli having been annexed to Bengal, and in the east and north-east by conquests in Tipperah and Koch Hajo; and when Prince Shuja was made Governor of Bengal he made about 1658 A.C., a new rent-roll which showed 34 Sarkars and 1,350 mahals, and a total revenue, in khalsa and jagir lands, of Rs. 1,81,15,907.—(See J.A.S., 1873, p. 219). Shuja’s rent-roll remained in force till 1723 A.C., an addition having been made after the re-conquest of Chittagong, and conquest of Assam and Koch Behar in Aurangzeb’s time. In
of the country of Bengal was Rājāh Bhāgirat,¹ of the Khatri tribe. For a long period he held the sovereignty of Bengal. At length he went to Delhi and was killed with Darjūdhan² in the wars of the Mahābhārat. His period of rule was 250 years. After this, 23 persons amongst his descendants, one after another, ruled for a period of nearly 2,200 years.³ After that, the sovereignty passed that year, Nawāb Jafar Khān (Murshid Quli Khān) prepared his 'Kāmil Jama’ Tumari’ or ‘perfect rent-roll,’ in which Bengal was divided into 34 Sarkars, forming 13 chaklahs, and subdivided into 1,660 parganas, with a revenue of Rs. 1,42,88,186. After the rule of Nawab Jafar Khān, Abwab revenue (impostas as fees, &c.), appeared in the books. In the time of Shuja Khan, Nawab Jafar’s successor, the Abwabs (see Blochmann’s Contributions and Grant’s report) amounted to Rs. 21,72,952, and they rapidly increased under Nawabs Ali Vardi Khan and Kasim Khan, so that when the E.I. Company in 1765 acquired the Dewani from Emperor Shāh Alam, the net amount of all revenue collected in Bengal Proper was (see Grant’s report) Rs. 2,56,24,223.

I respectfully differ, however, from Professor Blochmann’s conclusions on one point. He would seem to suggest that the above extent of territory with the above Revenue, as gathered from Todar Mal’s rent-roll prepared in 1682 and also from the Ain-i-Akbari, Iqbalnamah, Padshahnamah and Alamgirnamah, might be taken to represent the territorial and fiscal strength of the Musliman Bengal kingdom of pre-Mughal times—(J.A.S., 1873, p. 214). This inference is vitiated, in view of the fact that the Musliman Bengal kingdom in pre-Mughal times included for the most part the whole of north Behar, and, under several Musliman Bengal rulers, also south Behar as far westward as Sarkars Mungher and Behar, besides Orissa. This consideration would indicate that the territorial and financial strength of the Musliman Bengal kingdom in pre-Mughal times was greater than what is arrived at in Professor Blochmann’s conclusions. In the Ain-i-Akbari, Orissa is included in the Sūbāh of Bengal, Orissa consisting of 5 Sarkars. Thus, the Sūbāh of Bengal is described as consisting of 24 Sarkars (that is, including 5 Sarkars of Orissa), and 787 mahals, and the revenue is stated to be Rs. 1,49,61,482-15-7.—(See Ain, Vol. II, p. 129). Mutaład Khan who was attached to Emperor Jahangir’s Court, in his account of the seventh year of Jahangir’s reign, states that the revenue of Bengal was one Kror and fifty laks in rupees.—(Vide Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, p. 60).

¹ Rājāh Bhagirath or Bhagdat, son of Narak, had his capital at the city of Pragataspur (identified with the modern Ganhati), is described in the Mahābhārat as espousing the cause of Darjūdhan, and as being slain by the victorious Arjūn. According to the Ain-i-Akbari, p. 144, Vol. 2, Bhagirat or Bhagdat had twenty-three successors in his dynasty.
² According to the Ain, p. 147, Darjūdhan.
³ This is the period during which his dynasty ruled. In the Ain, p. 144, 2418 years.
from his family to Noj Gouriah, who belonged to the Kyesth
tribe, and for 250 years he and his eight descendants ruled.
The fortune of sovereignty passed from his family also to Adisur,
who was also a Kyesth, and eleven persons, including himself and
his descendants, ascending the throne, ruled for 714 years over the
Kingdom of Bengal. And afterwards the sovereignty passing from
his family to Bhupal Kyesth, the latter with his descendants,
forming ten persons, ruled over this kingdom for a period of 698
years. When their fortune decayed, Sukh Sen Kyesth with his
descendants, numbering seven persons, ruled over the Kingdom of
Bengal (Bangalab) for 160 years. And these sixty-one persons
ruled absolutely over this kingdom for a period of 4,240 years.
And when the period of their fortune was over, their fortune
ended. Sukh Sen, of the Boido caste, became ruler, and after
ruling for three years over this kingdom, died. After this, Ballal Sen, who built the fort of Gaur, occupied the throne
of sovereignty for fifty years, and died. After this, Lakhman
Sen for seven years, after him Madhu Sen for ten years, after
him Kaisu Sen for fifteen years, after him Sadah Sen for
eighteen years, and after him Nanj for three years ruled. When
the turns of these were over, Raja Lakhmania, son of Lakhman,
sat on the throne. At that time, the seat of government of the
Kais of Bengal was Nadia, and this Nadia is a well-known
city, and a seat of Hindu learning. At present, though compared
with the past, it is dilapidated and in ruin, still it is famous for its
learning. The astrologers of that place, who were known over the
world for their proficiency in astrology and soothsayings, unitedly

1 In the Ain, p. 145, “Bhoj Gauria,”
2 In the Ain, p. 145, “520 years.”
3 In the Ain, “Adisur.”
4 In the Ain, p. 146, “106 years.”
5 In the Ain, “45 44” years.
6 In the Ain, “Sukh Sin.” He is not described as a Boido.
7 In the Ain, “Nanah.”
8 In Ferishta, “Lakhmanah”; in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri “Lakhmaniah.”
9 In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, “Nadiah” or “new isle.” According to current
legends, it was founded in 1063 A.C. by Lakhman Sen, son of Ballal Sen, who
resided partly at Gaur, and principally at Bikrampur, in Dacca district.
Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji in 594 A.H or 1198 A.C. stormed the fort of
Nadia, and conquered Bengal with eighteen troopers—a sad commentary
on the feebleness of the Hindu Rajah!
at the time of delivery, informed Lakhmanâ's mother, that at this hour, an unlucky child would be born, who would bring about bad luck and misfortune, and that if it be born after two hours, it would succeed to the throne. This heroine ordered that both her legs should be bound together, and she should be suspended with her head downwards; and after two hours she came down, and the child was brought forth at the auspicious moment, but its mother died. Râjâh Lakhmanâ for eighty years occupied the throne. In justice, he had no equal, and in liberality he had no match. It is said that his gifts amounted to no less than one hundred thousand. Towards the end of his life, when the perfection of the period of his sovereignty approached decay, the astrologers of that place said to Râjâh Lakhmanâ: "From our knowledge of astrology, we have come to know, that shortly your sovereignty would come to an end, and that your religion would cease to be current in this kingdom." Rai Lakhmanâ, not regarding this prediction as truthful, put the cotton of neglect and ignorance in his ear, but many of the élite of that city secretly moved away to different places. And this prediction was fulfilled by the invasion of Malik Ikhtiarû-d-dîn Muhammad Bakhtîar Khilji, as will be soon related hereafter.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE DOMINATION OF CERTAIN HINDU RAIS OVER THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL, AND OF THE CAUSE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF IDOL-WORSHIP IN HINDUSTAN.

Be it not hidden that, in ancient times, the Rais of the Kingdom of Bengal (Bangâlah) were powerful, and of high rank and dignity; and did not owe allegiance to the Maharâjâh of Hindûstân, who ruled over the throne at Delhi. For instance, Sûraj, the

1 This account is repeated in several Musalmân histories, such as Tabaqat-i-Naiyri, Ferishta, Ain-i-Akbari. The Tabaqat, p. 151, being the nearest contemporary record, may be specially referred to, especially as its author, Minhâjû-s-Siraj, shortly after, in 641 A.H. visited Lakhnânti. One had courtes means.

2 Minhâjû-s-Siraj in the Tabaqat, pp 150 and 151, pays a high eulogium to this Râjâh, and extols his virtues and liberality, and ends up by saying: "May God lessen his punishment in the next world!" Verily, Minhâj was himself liberal in his views!

3 In Ferishta (Per. text), Vol. I, p. 121, Bahñâj, father of Sûraj, is described as descended from Noah. It is worthy of note, that in the district of Mônghyr,
who was a powerful Rājāh, subjugated the Kingdom of Dakhin (Dakin). At that time, his deputies commenced grasping and usurping; and in the Kingdom of Hindūstān, idol-worship dates from his time. It is said that, in the beginning, Hind, having seen and heard from his father Hām, son of Noah (peace be on him!) devoted himself to the worship of God; and that his children also, in the same manner, worshipped God, until, in the time of Rai Mahārāj, a person coming from Persia perverted the people of Hindūstān to sun-worship. I fluxen of time, some became star-worshippers, and others fire-worshippers. In the time of Rai Sūraj, a Brahmin, coming from the mountains of Jharkand, entered his service, and taught the Hindūs idol-worship, and preached that everyone preparing a gold or silver or stone image of his father and grandfather, should devote himself to its worship; and this practice became more common than other practices. And at the present day in the religious practice of Hindū, the worship of idols, and of the sun, and of fire is very common. Some say that fire-worship was introduced by Ibrahim Zardasht in

on the southern bank of the Ganges, near Maulanagar, there is a town called “Sūrajgarh,” or “fort of Sūraj.” Might not this place have been the birthplace or seat of government of Rājāh Sūraj in the text? The locality is one which would facilitate his excursion into the Dakhin through the defiles of the Vindhya range, of which the text speaks.

1 This is apparently a mistake in the text for “Rai Bahdaj,” who is mentioned in Feriha as the father of Rai Sūraj, and as a descendant of Noah.

2 We meet with the name of “Jharkand” in the “Akbarnamah”; it was the Musalmān appellation of “Chutia Nagpur” just as Bharkund was the Musalmān appellation of “Sonthal Parganna.”

The Aryans must have fallen very low in the scale of spiritualism, to have needed lessons in religion from a preceptor hailing from Chutia Nagpūr, who was apparently a Dravidian or Sonthal Brahman.

This impiement of “spiritual light” from the defiles of Chutia Nagpūr tract, in the time of Rājāh Sūraj, strengthens my surmise that Sūrajgarh, which is not far from Chutia Nagpūr, was the home or residence of Rājāh Sūraj. It may also be noted that the Southales worship images of their ancestors, which worship is referred to in the text.

3 Zaidasht or Zartasht or Zaradasht is the name of a person descended from Manūchāhar, and a disciple of Tyagorai. During the reign of Emperor Gāshthaep of Persia he claimed to be a prophet, and introduced fire-worship. The Magians regard him as a prophet, and say that his name was Ibrahim, and consider his book the Zend (or Zendavarta), as a revealed book. He is supposed to have been the Zoroaster of the Greeks.
the time of Gaśṭasp,¹ Emperor of Persia, and spread to Kābul and Sistān and throughout the empire of Persia, and that, in process of time, the kingdom of Bengal became subject to the Rais of Hindūstān, and the Rais of Bengal paid revenue and sundry tributes. After this, Shangaldīp,² emerging from the environs of Koch,³ became victorious over Kīrār, and founded the city of Gaur, and made it the seat of government, and for a period ruled over the Kingdom of Bengal and the whole empire of Hindūstān. When Shangaldīp collected four thousand elephants, one lāk cavalry, and four laks of infantry, the breeze of insolence wafted in the recesses of his brain, and he ceased to pay tribute to the Emperors of Persia,⁴ as was hitherto the practice with the Rais of Hindūstān. And when Afrāsīāb⁵ deputed some one to demand the tribute, he rebuked and insulted him. Afrāsīāb flew into rage, and despatched his General, Piran-visah, with fifty thousand

¹ Gaśṭasp or Kashtap was the Darīs Hystaspus of the Greeks, and belonged to the Kaśmīr dynasty; his son, Isfandīr, was the Xerxes of the Greeks, and his grandson, Bahman, was the Artaxerxes Longimannus of the Greeks. (See Naṣīḥ-i-Khusravī, p. 59).
² In Ferishta, "Shangaldīp" is called "Shangal," and so in the text in another place. In Ferishta (Persian text), Vol. 2, p. 283, the following account of Shangaldīp or Shangal appears: "Shangal, towards the close of the reign of Rājāh Kedār Brahman, emerging from the environs of Koch (Koch Behar) won a victory over Kedār, and founded the City of Lakhnauti, which is otherwise known as Gaur. Shangal mobilized a force of four thousand elephants, one lāk cavalry, and five laks infantry, and stopped paying tribute to Afrasīāb, the King of Tūrān or Tartary or Scythia. Becoming enraged, Afrasīāb deputed his generalissimo, Piran-Visah, with fifty thousand cavalry, to chastise Shangal." The rest of the account of Ferishta tallies with that in the text.
³ Koch Behar used to be known in early days as the tract of the "Koch tribe" or simply as "Koch."
⁴ "Iran" or Persia here in the text is evidently a mistake for "Tūrān" or Tartary or Scythia, of which Afrāsīāb was monarch. This indicates the subjection of India (like Persia) to the Scythians at a remote period.
⁵ Afrāsīāb (conqueror of Persia) was an ancient king of Tūrān or Tartary or Scythia. He was a Mongol by birth. He conquered Persia, killed Nazar with his own hand, and reigned there for about twelve years, about seven centuries before the Christian era, but was subsequently driven beyond the Oxus by a famous chief called Zalsar. Afrāsīāb again overran Persia, but was at last defeated and slain in Arzibijān by Zalsar and his celebrated son, Rustam, the Persian Hercules. Afrāsīāyab appears, however, to have been a family surname, like the Pharaonahs, the Ptolemys, the Cōmarsa.
Mongols, thirsty for blood. In the mountains of Koch, near the limits of Ghorāghat, in Bengal, an engagement took place; for two days and nights the fighting continued. Although the Mongols displayed deeds of bravery, and put to the sword fifty thousand of the enemy, yet owing to the overwhelming numbers of the Indian army, they could effect nothing. The Mongols also lost eighteen thousand of their numbers, and on the third day, seeing symptoms of defeat on the forehead of their condition, they retreated. And as the Indian army was victorious, and the Mongol's country was distant, the Mongols gave up fighting, and retiring into the mountains, secured a strong place, where they entrenched themselves, and sent to Afrāsiāb an account narrating the state of things. At that time, Afrāsiāb was in the town of Gangdūgh, which is situate midway between Khātā and China, and is distant a month's journey on the other side from Khānba-ligh.¹ On the simple receipt of the account, and being apprised of the state of things, he marched swiftly to the aid of the Mongols, with one lak chosen cavalry. And at a time, when Shangal, summoning together the Rāis of the surrounding countries, was pressing the siege hard against Pirān, and was about to put all to the sword, he (Afrāsiāb) attacked him on the way. The Hindūs, on the first onslaught, losing heart and feeling paralysed, dispersed, like the constellation of the bear. Pirān, relieved from the anxiety of the siege, paid his obeisance to Afrāsiāb. Afrāsiāb threw down on the soil of annihilation as many of the Hindu army as he could. And Shangal with the remnants being vanquished, retreated to the town of Lakhnauti, and owing to the pursuit of Afrāsiāb, could not prolong his stay at Lakhnauti more than a day, and took refuge in the hills of Tirhūt. And the Mongols, ravaging the Kingdom of Bengal, spared no trace of fertility. And when Afrāsiāb planned an expedition towards the hills of Tirhūt, Shangal begged forgiveness for his misbehaviour through wise envoys, and presented himself before Afrāsiāb with a sword and a winding-sheet, and prayed for leave to go to the country of Turān. Afrāsiāb, being pleased, bestowed the Kingdom of Bengal and the whole empire of Hindūstān on Shangal's son, and carried Shangal in his company, and in the battle of Hāmā-

¹ The capital of China used to be called in those days “Khanbaligh,” or “City of the Great Khān.”
wāran Shangal was killed at the hands of Rustam. And in the reign of Rājāh Jaichand, owing to whose neglect, decay had overtaken several provinces of Hindūstān, and for years Hindūstān did not see its normal state, ruin was visible over the whole empire of India. At that time, certain Rājāhs of Bengal, finding an opportunity, and grasping at dominion, became independent. And when Für (Porus), who was a relation of the Rājāh of Kumāyūn, emerged, he first subjugated the province of Kumāyūn, and then capturing in battle Rājāh Dahnā, brother of Jaichand, who had founded Dehli, subjugated Kanūj, and after this he marched with his force towards Bengal, and brought it to his subjection, up to the confines of the sea. And this Porus is he, who was killed at the

1 Rustam, the Persian Hercules. He was a successful general under the first kings of the Kārānian dynasty, in their wars of defence against the incursions into Persia of the Turanian or Scythian monarchs. For a graphic account of these stirring warfares between the Scythians or Turanians or Mongolians and Iranians or Persians, see “Shahānāmah” of Firdausi, the Homer of the East. It is worthy of note that Firdausi, in his immortal Persian epic, gives also the name of an Indian prince as Shangal, in connection with the adventures of Bahram Gaur, a Persian monarch of the Sassanian dynasty, who reigned in the middle of the fourth century. Perhaps, this later Shangal was a descendant of the original Shangal taken captive by Afrāsiāb, the Sassanian monarch. In this connection, it may also be noted for grasping chronological relations referred to in the text, that there were the following four dynasties of old Persian kings: (1) Peshadrians, including the Kainmuras, the Jamsheids, and the Faridūns; (2) the Kain米兰s, founded by Kalkubad about 600 B.C., including Khusru or Kai Khusrau, Bahman, and Darah or Darius &c. (3) Ashkanides, including Hormuz, &c., &c. (4) the Sassanians, founded in 202 A.C. by Artashes Babegan, including Bahram Gaur and Naushirvan, &c. (See Namai-Khusruan, a short Persian History of Persia by Mīrza Muhammad).

2 At the time when Suljūn Mu'izzuddin Muhammad Sam alias Shahābuddin Ghori, made incursions into Hindūstān, Rājāh Jaichand Rathor ruled at Kanauj and Benares, and Rājāh Pethanra Tonwar ruled at Delhi. Tabagat, p. 120.

3 But it must be noted that there is in the text (probably owing to mistake of the copyist of the original manuscript text) a confusion in the sequence of events related.

4 In the neighbourhood of the Panjab, Alexander gave battle to the Hindū prince, Purus, who had advanced from Kanauj, and put him to rout.

5 Abūl Faţīd in the Āin says: "A part of the northern mountains of the Subah of Delhi is called Kumayun. Here are mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, and borax. Here are also found the musk-deer and the Kūlās cow and silkworms." Āin-i-Akbārī, Vol. 2, p. 280.
hands of Alexander. After this, Rājah Madiw Rāthor,¹ like whom there had been few such powerful Rajahs in Hindustan, marching with his forces, conquered the Kingdom of Lakhnauti, and allotted it to his nephews, and after introducing perfect methods of government, returned to Kanauj with immense booty. And, in efflux of time, the Rajahs of Bengal aggraven asserting independence, continued to rule peacefully.²

Inasmuch as the object of the author is to chronicle the history of the Musalman sovereigns, therefore, not busying himself with the details of the affairs of the Hindū Rāis, he reins back the graceful steed of the black pen of writing from striding this valley, and gives it permission to canter towards relating and reciting the details of the history of the Muhammadan rulers and sovereigns.


¹ In Ferishta, “Ramdeo Rathor.”
² Most of these legends and traditions regarding Bengal and India of pre-Moslem times have been borrowed by our author from Ferishta. For the most part, they consist of a huge mass of mythological fictions, to extract a few grains of sober historical truth wherefrom, I must leave to more competent hands. Yet it is worthy of note (as our author’s narrative indicates) that India and Bengal in very early times had political connection of some sort with Scythia and (through the latter) with Persia. It is probable that ethnologically, these Scythian incursions resulted to a great extent in an admixture of Scythian and Aryau races in India, which admixture was further complicated by the subsequent Dravidian incursions from the south.
CHAPTER I.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RULE OF THE MUSALMAN RULERS WHO RULED OVER THIS KINGDOM OF BENGAL, AS VICEROYS OF THE EMPERORS OF DELHI.

Be it not hidden from the enlightened hearts of those who enquire into the histories of Musalman sovereigns and rulers, that the commencement of the effulgence of the sun of the Muhammadan faith in the Kingdom of Bengal, dates from the period of the reign of Sultan Qutbu-d-din Aibak.¹ Emperor of

¹ This period extended from 1198 A.C. to 1338 A.C.
² This is not quite accurate. Bengal was conquered by Bakhtiar Khalji-al-Ghasi (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 140), in 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. (for the discussion of the date, see Tabaqat, p. 150, and Blochmann's contribution to history of Bengal), whilst Emperor Shahabuddin Ghori alias Muizuddin Muhammad Sam was yet alive, and whilst Qutbuddin Aibak ruled at Delhi, as the latter's Indian Viceroy, that is, only 7 years after the Musalman occupation of Delhi, which took place in 587 A.H. or 1191 A.C. (Tabaqat, pp. 139, 140 and 138). He was called "Aibak," because his little finger was feeble or paralyzed (Tabaqat, p. 138), whilst according to another account, "Aibak" signified the "brilliant chief." His name is preserved in his capital by the Qutb mosque and by the Qutb Minar, though these were erected to commemorate other more or less forgotten worthies. Bakhtiar Khalji in the first instance conquered Bengal on his own initiative, though he acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of Shahabuddin and subsequently of Qutbuddin, when the latter mounted the throne of Delhi (Tabaqat, p. 140). That this was so, appears from the circumstance that in the list of Maluks and Sulhans under Shahabuddin alias Muizin-d-din contained in Tabaqat (pp. 140 and 137), Bakhtiar is assigned a co-ordinate position with Qutbuddin. In this connection, it is worth noting that owing to a popular and common fallacy, these early pre-Mughul Moslem rulers of India have been described as "Pathan rulers of India." As pointed out by Major Raverty in his translation of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, neither the Ghoris, nor their slaves, "the Slave-kings of Delhi," nor the Tugluks, nor the Khaljis were Afghans or "Pathans," but that they were all Turkish tribes. (See also Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 150, where the expression "Turkiz" or "Turks" is constantly employed, with reference to the first Musalman conquerors of Behar and Bengal).
Delhi. And the origin of the title “Aibak” is that his little finger was feeble; hence he was called ‘Aibak.’ When Sultān Quṭbu-d-dīn in 590 A.H. wrested by force the fort of Kol from the Hindus, and captured one thousand horses and an immense booty, the news spread that Sultān Mui’zu-d-dīn Muhammad Sām, also called Sultān Shabābu-d-dīn, had planned expeditions for the conquests of Kanūj and Banāras. Sultan Quṭbu-d-dīn marched forward from Kol to receive him, presented to him the booty of Kol with other valuables, and becoming recipient of a special Khila’t, formed the vanguard of the imperial forces, and marched ahead. And engaging in battle with the forces of the Rajah of Banāras, he routed them, and at length, slaying on the battle-field Rajah Jaichand, the Rajah of Banāras, he became victorious. Sultān Shabābu-d-dīn, marching with a force from the rear, moved up and entered the city of Banāras, and pillaging the whole of that tract up to the confines of Bengal, carried off as booty incalculable treasures and jewels. The Sultān then returned to Ghazni. And the Kingdom of Bengal as an adjunct of the Empire of Delhi, was left in the hands of Quṭbu-d-dīn. Sultān Quṭbu-d-dīn entrusted to Malik Ightiāru-d-dīn Muhammad Bakhtīār Khilji the Viceroyalty of the Provinces of Behar and Lakhnauati.1 Muhammad Bakhtīār, who was one of the

According to the ‘Masalik-ul-Mumalik,’ says Major Haverty in an article in A.S.J. for 1875, No. 1, p. 37, “the Khiljī are a tribe of Turks which in former times settled in Garmisir, between Sijistan and the region of Hind. They are in appearance and dress like Turks, and observe the customs of that race, and all speak the Turkish language.” The Khaljis or Khiljis have been by several writers erroneously confounded with the Afghan tribe of “Ghalzis” or “Ghiljas.” The first Afghan or ‘Pathan’ who sat on the throne of Delhi was Sultān Bahul of the Lodī tribe, the thirtieth Musalmān ruler of India, counting from Quṭbuddin Aibak.

1 It is worthy of note that in the times of Bakhtīār Khilji and his immediate successors, South Behar was included in the Bengal or Lakhnaut, Viceroyalty. South Behar was separated from the Bengal Viceroyalty in 622 H. by Emperor Almahā who placed it under a distinct governor, named Alauddin Janī. On withdrawal of the Emperor, Behar was again annexed by the Bengal ruler, Ghiasuddin (see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 153). It continued to be a part of the Bengal Kingdom till 1820, when Emperor Ghiasuddin Tughlak again separated it. Behar belonged to the Shargī Kingdom of Jaunpur from 1397 A.C.; again under Ibrahim, Bahadur Khan, son of Governor Darya Khān, assumed independence in Behar, with the title of Shāh Muhammad, and about 1498 A.C. or about 903 A.H. South Behar
Darbār, a white rogue elephant was brought to the White Castle (Qasr-i-Sufed). Muhammad Bakhtīār tying up the loin of his garment on the waist, came out to the field, struck the elephant’s trunk with a mace, when the elephant ran away roaring. All the spectators, including those assembled, and the envious, raising shouts of applause to the sky, were confounded. The Sultān bestowing on Malik Muhammad Bakhtīār special Khilāt and many gifts, ordered the nobles to bestow on him presents, so that all the nobles gave him numerous largesses. Muhammad Bakhtīār, in the same assembly, adding his own quota to all the largesses, distributed the same amongst those present. In short, at this time, the Viceroyalty of the Kingdoms of Behār and Lakhnauti was bestowed on him; and with peace of mind, having gained his object, he proceeded to the metropolis of Delhi. That year¹ Malik Bakhtīār, bringing to subjugation the Sūbah of Behār, engaged in introducing administrative arrangements, and the second year coming to the Kingdom of Bengal, he planted military outposts in every place, and set out for the town of Nadia, which at that time was the Capital of the Rajahs of Bengal. The Rajah of that place, whose name was Ῥάγκκία, and who had reigned for eighty years over that Kingdom, was at the time taking his food.²

¹ The second year after his conquest of Behar, Bakhtīār Khilji set out for Bengal, stormed Nadia, and conquered Bengal. Therefore, the conquest of Behar took place in 592 A.H. or 1196 A.C.

² The text is not strictly in accord with the account given in the Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī which is the most reliable and the nearest contemporary account for the period. Whilst in the service of the feudatory of Oudh (Tabaqat, Pers. text, p. 147), Bakhtīār reconnoitered Behar for one or two years, and carried off much plunder. Qutb-u-din, the Delhi Viceroy, then called Bakhtīār to Lahore tardily recognized his merits, and loaded him with presents. Bakhtīār returned to Behar, and conquered it, and carrying off again a large booty, presented himself to Qutb-u-din at Delhi, where he had to undergo a gladiatorial ordeal at the White Castle (Qasr-i-Sufed of Delhi), and then receiving presents from Qutb-u-din, returned to Behar, and the second year after his conquest of Behar, he invaded and conquered Bengal, storming and sacking Nadia, and establishing himself at the village or mowas of Lakhnauti (Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī, p. 151). This would indicate that Lakhnauti was founded by him, and was distinct from Gaur, though possibly close to it.

³ The Tabaqat (Pers. text, p. 151) states that the Rajah (Lakhmanīc) was then sitting in his inner apartments, with his food set before him in gold and silver plates, when the sudden inrush of Bakhtīār Khilji with eighteen troopers, struck terror, and the Rajah ran out bare-foot by a back-door, and fled to
Suddenly, Muhammad Bakhtiar, with eighteen horsemen, made an onslaught, so that before the Râjâh was aware, Bakhtiar burst inside the palace, and unsheathing from the scabbard his sword that lightened and thundered, engaged in fighting, and put the harvest of the life of many to his thundering and flashing sword. Rajah Lakhmaniâ getting confounded by the tumult of this affair, left behind all his treasures and servants and soldiers, and slipped out bare-foot by a back-door, and embarking on a boat, fled towards Kâmrûp. Muhammad Bakhtiar sweeping the town with the broom of devastation, completely demolished it, and making anew the city of Lakhnauti, which from ancient times was the seat of Gov¬ernment of Bengal, his own metropolis, he ruled over Bengal peacefully, introduced the Khatbâh, and minted coin in the name of Sultân Qutb-u-d-din, and strove to put in practice the ordinances of the Muhammadan religion. From that Sanknat and Bang, his treasures, harem, slaves and servants and women and elephants all falling into Bakhtiar’s hands.

Some copies of the Tabaqat-i-Nâširi have ‘Saknat’ and also ‘Sanknat.’ Tabaqat-i-Akbari has "Jagannath." According to other and more reliable accounts, the Râjâh fled from Nadiah to Bik rampur, south-east of Dacca. I think therefore "كنك ربنك" in the printed text of the Tabaqat-i-Nâširi is a copyist’s mistake for "سكرنك بنك," meaning the Râjâh’s “Bengal Residence” which was at Bik rampur from before.

Kamrûd (or Kâmrûp) as well as Sanknat and Bang is mentioned in the Tabaqat (Pers. text, p. 150), in connection with the previous flight from Nadiah of Brahman and Sahas who hearing of Bakhtiar’s prowess and of his conquest of Behar, anticipated Bakhtiar’s invasion of Bengal, and had advised the Râjâh to shift with all his troops and people from Nadiah to his residence in East Bengal (at Bik rampur). The astrologers had also prepared the Râjâh for Bakhtiar’s conquest. But the Râjâh was deaf to all advice, whilst the Brahman and Sahas had fled. It is opposed to the probabilities of the case that the subsequent defeat of the Râjâh by eighteen troopers of Bakhtiar was brought about by any foul play or stratagem from one side or the other; because the Râjâh was a good, noble and generous prince, and the idol of his people, and even the Muslim historian (author of the Tabaqat-i-Nâširi) pays him a glowing tribute. (See Tabaqat, p. 149).

Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji was not a military marauder or a religious fanatic. He was, no doubt, a champion of Islam, but at the same time combined in himself all the qualities of a great general and a wise statesman. We read in the Tabaqat-i-Nâširi (Pers. text, p. 151), that both in Behar and Bengal, just after their conquest, he established Mosques, Colleges, Khanaqs
Muhammad Bakhtiar sending across his forces by that bridge, and posting two commandants for its protection, planned to advance. The Rajah of Kamrup, dissuading him from an advance, said that if he (Muhammad Bakhtiar) would postpone his march to Tibbat that year, and next year collecting an adequate force would advance towards it in full strength “I too would be the pioneer of the Moslem force, and would tighten up the waist of self-sacrifice.” Muhammad Bakhtiar absolutely unheeding this advice, advanced, and after sixteen days, reached the country of Tibbat. The battle commenced with an attack on a fort which had been built by king Garshasp, and was very strong. Many of the Moslem force tasted the potion of death, and nothing was gained. And from the people of that place who had been taken prisoners, it was ascertained that at a distance of five farsang from that fort, was a large and populous city. Fifty thousand Mongolian cavalry thirsty for blood and archers were assembled in that city. Every day in the market of that city, nearly a thousand or five hundred Mongolian horses sold, and were sent thence to Lakhnauti. And they said “you have an impracticable scheme in your head with this small force.” Muhammad Bakhtiar, becoming apprised of this state of affairs, became ashamed of his plan, and, without attaining his end, retreated. And since the inhabitants of those environs, setting fire to the fodder and food-grains, had removed their chattels to the ambuscades of the rocks, at the time of this retreat, for fifteen days, the soldiers did not see a handful of food-grains, nor did the cattle see one bushel of fodder.

1 In the Tabaqat-i-Naviri (Pers. text, p. 153), this march is thus related: “After leaving a Turkish officer and a Khilji officer with a large body of troops to guard the bridge... Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji with his army for fifteen days marched across high hills and low defiles, and on the sixteenth day (from his march from the bridge) descended into the open plain of Tibbat, and passed many populous villages, ... and after some eight hours’ hard fighting, entrenched himself in a fort there.”

2 The Tabaqat-i-Naviri names the city Kambatan. Bakhtiar Khilji’s march from the bridge was northward for sixteen days.

3 The fair at Nik-mardan, 40 miles north-west of Dinajpur, attracts every year a large number of hill-ponies, which go thence to other places in Bengal and elsewhere.

4 In 15 days Bakhtiar Khilji retreated from the hills of Tibbat into the plains of Kamrup. According to Major Raverty, from the hills of Darjeeling, Bakhtiar Khilji had advanced through Sikkim into Tibbat towards the Sangpu.
Neither human beings saw any bread except the circular disc of the sun. 
Nor did the cattle see any fodder except the rainbow!

From excessive hunger the soldiers devoured flesh of horses and horses preferring death to life placed their necks under their daggers. In short, in this straitened condition, they reached the bridge. Since those two commandants quarrelling with each other had deserted their posts at the head of the bridge, the people of that country had destroyed the bridge. At the sight of this destruction, the heart of the high and the low suddenly broke, like the Chinese cup. Muhammad Bakhtiar engulfed in the sea of confusion and perplexity, despaired of every resource. After much striving, he got news that in the neighbourhood there was a very large temple, and that idols of gold and silver were placed there in great pomp. It is said that there was an idol in the temple which weighed a thousand maunds. In short, Muhammad Bakhtiar with his force took refuge in this temple, and was busy improvising means for crossing the river. The Râjah of Kâm-rûp had ordered all his troops and subjects of that country to commit depredations. The people of that country, sending out force after force, engaged in besieging the temple, and from all sides posting in the ground bamboo-made lances, and tying one to the other, turned them into the shape of walls. Muhammad Bakhtiar saw that all chance of escape was slipping out of his hands, and that the knife was reaching the bone, so at once with his force issuing out of the temple and making a sortie, he broke through the stockade of bamboos, and cutting through his way, rescued himself from the hard-pressed siege. The infidels of that country pursued him to the banks of the river, and stretched their hands to plunder and slaughter, so that some by the sharpness of the sword and others by the inundation of water, were engulfed in the sea of destruction. The Musalmân soldiers on reaching the river-banks stood perplexed. Suddenly, one of the soldiers plunged with his horse into the river, and went about one arrow-shot, when another soldier seeing this, plunged similarly into the river. As the river had a sandy bed, with a little movement, all

1 Very likely, the temple of Mahumati in Kâmrûp district.
2 It would appear that the Râjah of Kâmrûp who had offered his services to Bakhtiar Khilji, in the end turned out treacherous.
were drowned. Only Muhammad Bakhtiār with one thousand cavalry (and according to another account, with three hundred cavalry) succeeded in crossing over; the rest met with a watery grave. After Muhammad Bakhtiār had crossed safely over the tumultuous river with a small force, from excessive rage and humiliation, in that the females and the children of the slaughtered and the drowned from alleys and terraces abused and cursed him, he got an attack of consumption, and reaching Deokot, died. And according to other accounts, Ali Mardān Khilji, who was one of his officers, during that illness, slew Bakhtiār, and raised the standard of sovereignty over the kingdom of Lakhnauti. The period of Malik Ikhtiārū-d-dīn Muhammad Bakhtiār’s rule over Bengal was twelve years. When Muhammad Bakhtiār passed

1 For a discussion of the route of Bakhtiār Khilji’s expedition into Tibbat, and of his retreat therefrom, see Raverty’s notes in his translation of Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī, and Blochmann’s Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal, J.A.S. for 1875, No. 2, Part I, p. 288.

Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī (Pers. printed text, p. 156) states that Bakhtiār Khilji successfully swam across the river with only one hundred troopers, whilst all the rest of his army were drowned.

2 Deokot or Damdamah, near Gangarūmpur, south of Dinajpur, was the northern Muslim Military outpost in the time of Bakhtiār Khilji, who had set out for Tibbat either from Deokot or Lakhnauti.

3 Ali Mardān assassinated Muhammad Bakhtiār Khilji in 606 A.H. (1210 A.C.) at Deokot. This date is arrived at if Bengal was conquered in 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. by Bakhtiār Khilji, as the best accounts would indicate, and also if he reigned for 12 years over Bengal. Professor Blochmann mentions 602 A.H. as the date of Bakhtiār’s assassination, but he accepts 594 A.H. as the date of the Bengal conquest—which involves chronological contradiction.

Mr. Thomas in his “Initial Coinage of Bengal” states that Ali Mardān assumed independence under the title of Alauddin when Qutbuddin Aibak died in Lahore in 607 A.H. Thus allowing 8 months for Malik Azuddin’s rule, Bakhtiār Khilji appears to have been assassinated about the middle of 608 A.H.—the date previously arrived at by me.

In Badsoni, it is stated that Muhammad Bakhtiār Khilji returned to Deokot from Tibbat with only some three hundred troopers, the rest of his expeditionary force having perished, and fell ill from vexation, and was attacked with hectic fever, and used to say “no doubt Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin has met with an accident, that fortune has gone so against me.” And when he became weak from illness, Ali Mardan, one of Muhammad Bakhtiār’s principal officers, arrived at Deokot, and finding him bed-ridden, pulled down the sheet from his face, and despatched
from the rule of this transitory world into the eternal world, Malik ʿAza d-din Khilji succeeded to the rule over Bengal. Eight months had not passed, when ʿAli Mardan Khilji slew him.

RULE OF ʿALI MARDAN KHILJI IN BENGAL.

After the assassination of ʿAzz-ud-din, his assassin, ʿAli Mardan Khilji became ruler of Bengal, styled himself Sultan ʿAlau-d-din, him with one blow of a dagger. The above account is rendered thus by the Tabaqat-i-Nisiri, the nearest contemporary account, (Pers. text, I p. 156):—When Bakhtiar Khilji with about one hundred troopers only made good his escape across the river, ʿAli Mihc with his relatives rendered good services, and conducted Bakhtiar Khilji towards Deokot. On arrival at Deokot, from excessive humiliation Bakhtiar fell ill and shut himself up, and did not ride out in the streets, for whenever he did so, widows and orphans of the soldiers and officers that had fallen, used to curse and abuse him from the terraces and the streets. Bakhtiar would say "Some mishap must have befallen Sultan Muizzuddin, for the tide of fortune to have thus turned against me." And it was a fact, for at that time Sultan Muizzuddin had fallen at the hands of an assassin (a Gharak). From excessive humiliation, Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji fell ill and was confined to his bed, and at length died. And according to another account, one of his officers ʿAli Mardan Khilji who was bold and ferocious, and held the fief of Deokot, on hearing the news of Bakhtiar's illness, came to Deokot, found him lying in bed, threw aside the sheet from his face, and slew him."

1 His name was Malik ʿAzuddin Muhammad Shiran Khilji (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Pers. text p. 157). The following account of him is summarised from Tabaqat, the nearest contemporary account: "Muhammad Shiran and Ahmad Iran were two brothers, both being Khilji noblemen, and in the service of Bakhtiar. When Bakhtiar led his expedition towards Tibbat, he sent the above two brothers with an army towards Lakhnanti and Jajnagar (Orissa). When these heard the news of Bakhtiar's assassination, they returned to Deokot, and after performing funeral ceremonies, proceeded towards Narkot (not identified, but must have lain not far from Deokot) which was held in fief by ʿAli Mardan Khilji. They captured the latter, and placed him in charge of the Kotwal (the police commissioner) of that place, named Baba Kotwal Iepahani, and returned to Deokot. Muhammad Shiran was an energetic man endowed with noble qualities. At the conquest of Nudah, he had rendered good service by capturing elephants. As he was head of the Khilji oligarchy, all the Khilji nobles acknowledged him as their chief and paid homage to him. In the meantime, Ali Mardan Khilji made good his escape, proceeded to Delhi, and persuaded Sultan Qubuddin to depute from Oudh Qaimam Rumi to Lakhnanti, in order to put down the Khilji oligarchy in Bengal. Hussamuddin Iwaz who held the fief of Kanktori (Kangor, near-
and introduced the Khatbah and the coin in his own name.\(^1\) The breeze of insolence and vanity blew into the recesses of his brain, and he commenced oppressions and innovations. Two years he continued to rule, at length when the Imperial army from Delhi arrived, all the Khiljis making a common cause with the Imperial army avenged the murder of 'Azu-d-din. After this, the rule of this kingdom passed to Ghiāšu-d-din Khilji.

**RULE OF GHIĀSHU-D-DIN KHILJĪ IN BENGAL.**

Ghiāshu-d-din Khilji\(^2\) succeeded to the rule of Bengal. In that year 607 A.H., Sultan Quṭbu-d-din, whilst playing at polo at Deokot) from Bakhtīār Khilji, went ahead to receive Qaimaz Bāmī, and in the latter’s company proceeded to Deokot, and on the initiative of Qaimaz, received the sieg of Deokot. When Qaimaz was returning from Deokot, Muhammad Shīrān and other Khilji nobles collected together, and attempted to re-take Deokot. Qaimaz came back, fought with the Khilji nobility and Muhammad Shīrān, who being defeated, dispersed, quarrelled amongst themselves near Makidah (Masidah, a perganah south-east of Deokot) and Mantosh (Santosh, a perganah south-east of Deokot), and Muhammad Shīrān was slain. He lies buried at Santosh (on the banks of the Atrai river).

\(^1\) 'Ali Mardān Khilji, assassin of Bakhtīār Khilji and Azuddin Khilji, ruled from 607 A.H. to 609 or 610 A.H. and assumed independence and title of Sultan 'Alauddin, on the death of Quṭbu-d-din Aibak. In Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri it is stated that he recited the Khatbah; but Badani states that he minted also coins in his own name. [I have not yet seen any of his coins. Mr. Thomas in his ‘Initial Coinage of Bengal’ notices the coins of Abanuddin’s successor, Ghiassuddin, struck in A.H. 616, sec J.A’s, p. 364, p. 1, Vol. XLI for 1878]. It is also stated in Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri (Pers. text, p. 159), that from excessive insolence, he divided the country of Irān and Türān amongst his adherents, and no one dared to suggest that those dominions did not pertain to him. One person complained of poverty to Alaudin, who enquired whence he came. On learning he came from Ispahan, he ordered his ministers to write out a document assigning lands in Ispahan to him!

It is stated in Tabaqat, that on escape from the custody of the Kotwal of Narkot, Ali Mardān went to Sultan Quṭbu-d-din, and received the Viceroyalty of Lakhnauti. When he crossed the Kosi river, Hussamuddin from Deokot received him, conducted him to Deokot, where Ali Mardān was formally installed in power. He was cruel and ferocious, killed many Khilji nobles, and the native chieftains trembled under him. The subjects as well as the soldiers were in disgust with him.

\(^2\) His real name was Hussamuddin Iwaz-bin Al-Husain. He was a noble of Khilji and Garmis, and on joining Bakhtīār Khilji was first ap-
Lahor, fell from his horse, and died, and his son, Aram Shāh, mounted the throne of Delhī, and the Empire fell into decay. Ghiśu-d-din establishing completely his rule over this province, pointed to Sīf of Kangor, (which lay south-east of Deokot) and next promoted to charge of the important northern military outpost of Deokot. On the appointment of Ali Mardan Khilji to the rule of Bengal, he advanced to receive the new Viceroy on the banks of the Kosi river, and helped in the latter's installation at Deokot. On the assassination by the Khilji nobles of Ali Mardan, who had since the death of Emperor Qutbuddin Aibak assumed independence, Hussamuddin was elected chief of the Khilji oligarchy in Bengal in 609 or 610 A.H. Seeing the feebleness of Qutbuddin's successor, Aram Shāh, Hussamu-d-din assumed independence, made Lakhnauti his capital, and assumed the title of Sultan Ghiśu-d-din about 612 A.H., and minted coins in his own name. Mr. Thomas in his "Initial Coinage of Bengal" notices several coins of Sultan Ghiśu-d-din struck at Gaur or Lakhnauti between 614 and 620 A.H. An examination of these coins indicates the interesting and curious fact that Ghiśu-d-din had put himself in communication with the Khalifa of Bagdad so far back as 620 A.H. (that is, earlier than Emperor Altamsh of Delhi who obtained similar honour in 626 A.H.) and obtained a pontifical patent, recognizing the sovereign of Bengal amongst the Moslem hierarchy of the world. This circumstance, as suggested by Mr. Thomas, would also indicate that in those days there was freer sea and ocean intercourse between the Musalmans along the shores of Bengal and the Arabs of the sea-ports of Basrah and Bagdad, than between Musalmans of more inland places in India and the Arabs of the aforesaid seaports.

In 622 A.H., Emperor Altamsh from Delhi invaded Bengal, and on Sultan Ghiśuddin paying him tribute, peace was concluded. In 624 A.H. Sultan Nāṣiruddin, eldest son of Emperor Altamsh, invaded Lakhnauti, whilst Ghiśuddin was engaged at Kamrup and Bang (East Bengal), and fought a battle with Sultan Ghiśuddin, on the latter's return, and killed the latter, and succeeded to the rule over Bengal in a semi-sovereign capacity, with the approval of his father, Emperor Altamsh. It is stated that Sultan Ghiśuddin extended and consolidated the Moslem sovereignty in Bengal, and extended his empire over Jajnagar (Orrissa), Bang (East Bengal), Kamrūd (or Kamrup, Western Assam), and Tirhut (see Tabaqt-i-Naṣirī, Pers. text, p. 163.) Minhaju-Sirāj, Author of Tabaqt-i-Naṣirī who visited Lakhnauti shortly after in 641 A.H. and appreciated the material improvements effected by Ghiśuddin, pays him a high tribute (Pers. text, p. 161), a tribute which in 627 A.H. Emperor Altamsh had also paid to the memory of this good and great sovereign, by decreeing that Ghiśuddin should in his grave be styled as a Sultan. Amongst his public works, Tabaqt-i-Naṣirī mentions that he founded the Fort of Baskot (Basankot near Gaur), established mosques, and Public Halls, &c.
introduced the Khutbah and the coin in his own name, and to some extent arrogating to himself the sovereign power, he ruled over this country. And when the throne of Delhi by the accession of Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamsh received eclat in the year 622 A.H., the latter marched with his forces to Behār, and invaded Lakhnauti. Sultān Ghiāṣu-d-din not finding strength in himself to stand an encounter, presented to the Emperor thirty-eight elephants, eighty thousand rupees, together with various valuables and other presents, and enlisted himself amongst the adherents of the Emperor. Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamsh introducing there the Khutbah and the coin in his own name and bestowing on his eldest son the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din, and entrusting to him the rule over the kingdom of Lakhnauti, and presenting to him the royal umbrella and staff, himself returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Sultān Ghiāṣu-d-din was just and liberal, and the period of his rule was twelve years.

RULE OF SULTĀN NĀṢIRU-D-DĪN, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMSU-D-DĪN ALTAMSH, EMPEROR OF DELHI.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din succeeded to the rule of Bengal. After the return of Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamsh towards Delhi, Ghiāṣu-d-din who had gone towards the kingdom of Kamrup, returning, raised the standard of revolt. Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din killed him after a bloody engagement, and obtaining much booty, sent many valuables and presents of this country to many of his acquaintances at Delhi, and for three years and some months he continued to rule over Bengal. In the year 626 A.H., at Lakhnauti, he tasted the untasty lotion of death.1 And Hussāmu-d-din Khilji2

1 His body was brought to Delhi, and enshrined by the loving father in a beautiful mausoleum (known as the mausoleum of Sultān Ghāzī), about three miles west of the celebrated Qutb Minar. In the inscription on the mausoleum, Nāṣiruddin is entitled “Emperor of the East,” or “Malik-ul-Malak-ul-Sharq.” Emperor Altamsh so much loved the memory of his eldest son (the King of Bengal) that he bestowed his name (i.e., Nāṣiruddin) on his (Emperor’s) younger son who afterwards mounted the throne of Delhi, after whom Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī is named.

2 In Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī, “Balka Malik Khilji.” The correct name appears to be Malik Ikhshiruddin Balka, who assumed the title of Donlat Shih, and minted coins. Mr. Thomas in his “Initial Coinage of Bengal” notices
who was one of the nobles of Md. Bakhtiar succeeded to the rule of Bengal.

RULE OF 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHĀN.

When Sultan Shamsu-d-din Altamaḥ heard the news of the death of his beloved son, he observed the necessary ceremonies of mourning, and in the year 627 A. H. for the purpose of quenching the fire of insurrection which had appeared in Bengal after the death of Nasiru-d-din, proceeded to Lakhnauti, and after fighting with Malik Hussamu-d-din Khilji, who raising insurrection had brought about complete disorder in the government of Bengal, captured him. After weeding out the root of insurrection, and quelling the tumult of rebellion, he assigned the rule of that kingdom to Izzul-mulk Malik 'Alau-d-din Khan. And the latter devoting himself to the subjugation and administration of the country enforced in this country the Imperial Kutubah and coin. After ruling three years, he was recalled.

RULE OF SAIFU-D-DĪN TURK. 2

After supercession of Izzu-l-mulk 'Alau-d-din, Saifu-d-din Turk received the Royal patent of Viceroyalty of Bengal. He, a coin of Doulat Shāh struck in 627 A.H. To put down Doulat Shāh, Emperor Altamaḥ personally invaded Bengal for the second time in 627 A. H., defeated Doulat Shāh or Ikhtiaruddin Balka, and entrusted the government of Bengal to Alauddin Khān or Alauddin Jāni. (Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, Pers. text, p. 174).

1 In Badoni, "Malik Alauddin Khān," in Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri "Alauddin Jāni." After his first invasion of Bengal, in 622 A.H., Sultan Shamsuddin Altamaḥ separated Behar from Bengal, which was under Sultan Ghiasuddin, and left Alauddin Jāni as its Governor. On Altamaḥ's withdrawal, Sultan Ghiasuddin wrested Behar again from Alauddin Jāni, and hence the second invasion of Bengal by Emperor Altamaḥ's son.

2 The following account of him is abridged by me from Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, the nearest contemporary account (Pers. text, p. 238):— "Malik Saifuddin Aibak Ighantat was a Turk of Khatā; he was a noble Malik, and was endowed with excellent qualities. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, King of Bengal, (son of Emperor Altamaḥ), purchased him, and kept him in his company, first appointing him as Amir-ul-Majlis (Lord Chamberlain) and then conferring on him the seal of Sarsati. Subsequently, for his good services, he was appointed Governor of Behar, and next promoted to the
too, occupied the Viceregal throne for three years, when he died of poison.

RULE OF IZZU-D-DIN TUGHAN KHAN.¹

Since the juggling sky at that time had thrown the reins of Viceroyalty of Bengal (Lakhnauti), when Alauddin Jani, the Bengal Viceroy, was recalled. He captured several elephants in Vilayet-i-Bang (East Bengal), sent them as presents to the Delhi Emperor (Shamsuddin Altamah) and received the title of Ighantat.

¹ The following account of him is summarised by me from Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, the nearest contemporary account (Pers. text, p. 242):—Malik Tughan Khan Turki was comely in appearance, and noble in heart. He hailed from Khata. He was liberal and generous, endowed with noble qualities; in liberality and generosity, and in conciliating and winning over people, he had no match in the army. When the Sultān (Emperor Altamah) purchased him, he first became the Royal cup-bearer, next he was appointed Secretary and Keeper of the Imperial Seal (Dawat Dar). He lost the Imperial jewelled ink-pot, and was degraded to the office of Chashnigir (a taster to a prince), and after a long time, was appointed Superintendent of the Imperial stables (Amir-i-Akhur); and after some time, was appointed feudatory of Badaon, and next appointed Governor of Behar, when Lakhnauti (Bengal) was conferred on Ighantat Saifuddin Aibak. At length when Saifuddin died, Tughan Khan was appointed to the vacant Bengal (Lakhnauti) Viceroyalty. After the death of Sultān Naṣiruddin Mahmūd (son of Emperor Altamah, and Viceroy of Bengal), between Tughan Khan and the feudatory of Lakhnauti named Lakor Aibak, who enjoyed the title of Aur Khan, ill-feeling broke out. Tughan Khan fought with Lakor Aibak before the fort of Basankot, close to Lakhnauti, defeated and killed the latter, and subdued both wings of Lakhnauti, one being in Badi on the side of Lakor (probably Naor) and the other being in Bariad, on the side of Deokot. At this time, Empress Razia ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, and Tughan Khan sent envoys with presents to Delhi, and received in return Imperial presents sent in charge of Qazi Jallaluddin. Tughan proceeded from Lakhnauti to Tirhut district, and acquired much booty and treasure. When Sultan Muizuddin Bahram Shah ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, Tughan Khan sent the former also presents. When Sultan Alauddin succeeded Bahram Shah, Bahauddin Hulal Sundari invaded Oudh, Manikpur, and Karah and cast eyes on the eastern provinces, and so Tughan Khan went to Karah and Manikpur, (to conciliate Bahauddin and to turn him back), and in Oudh met Minhuj-a-Siraj, (author of Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri), and with the latter went back to Lakhnauti in 641 A.H. At this time the Rajah of Jaj Nagar (Orissa) committed depredations in Lakhnauti. Tughan Khan that year, by way of reprisal, invaded Jaj Nagar (Minhuj-a-Siraj accompanying him) and reached and stormed the fort of Baktasura,
the empire of Delhi into the hands of Sultan Razia, daughter of Sultan Shamsu-d-din Altamsh, during her reign, the Viceroyalty, which is on the Orissa frontier. Fighting ensued, and the Muslims were defeated. Tughlan Khan returned to Lakhnauti, sent Sharfa-i-mulk Aghari to the Emperor of Delhi, to seek for help. Under Emperor's order, a large army led by Tamar Khan Qamruddin Qiran, feudatory of Oudh, was sent to Lakhnauti, in order to repel and chastise the infidels of Jajnagar (Orissa). The Rajah of Jajnagar invaded Lakhnauti, owing to Muslims in the previous expedition having demolished the Orissa fort of Katasan (or Baktasan). The Orissans first took Lakor (probably Nagor), and slaughtered a large body of Muslims including the Commandant of Lakor, named Fakhrul Mulk Karimuddin, and then approached the gate of Lakhnauti, but after fighting retreated. Then between Tughlan Khan and Tamar Khan ill-feeling ensued, and they fought against each other, and on both sides many were killed. By the intercession of Minhaju-s-Siraj (author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri) peace was brought about between the two, on condition that Lakhnauti would be left to Tamar Khan, and Tughlan Khan with his treasures and elephants and effects would retire to Delhi. Tughlan did so (in his company being Minhaju-s-Siraj); the Emperor loaded him with presents, bestowed on him the Governorship of Oudh, whilst Tamar Khan held the Bengal Viceroyalty. On the same night, both died, Tamar Khan at Lakhnauti, and Tughlan in Oudh!"

It would appear from the above that the invasion of Bengal by Mughals under Changiz Khan referred to in the text, is a myth and a mistake for the invasion of Lakhnauti by the Hindus of Jajnagar (Orissa). The mistake is repeated in many histories, but Tabaqat's account is the most reliable, as its author was an eye-witness of the affair.

1 The daughter of Emperor Altamsh, named Razia, ascended the throne of Delhi in accordance with her father's wishes in 634 A.H. (1236 A.C.) The sight of an unveiled Moslem Empress seated on the Imperial throne of Delhi, struck all Indo-Moslem eyes in those days as a curious phenomenon, and hence our author's expression, "Juggling sky." She reigned for three years from 1236 A.C. to 1239 A.C. According to Badaoni, the Empress was endowed with excellent qualities, and was brave, generous and intelligent. She followed the path of equity and the principles of justice, and set in order the affairs which had remained in confusion during the brief reign of her step-brother Sultan Ruknuddin Firuz Shah. She set before her the pursuit of beneficence as the object of her ambition, and made Nizamul Junaidi, Chief Vizier. The Empress came out of the curtain, wore masculine garments, such as a tunic and a Kullah, and sat on the throne. According to Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, she was put to death by the Hindus. She was learned in the Quran, industrious in public business, firm and energetic in every crisis. Indeed, she was a great woman and a great Queen.
of Lakhnauti was bestowed on Izza-d-din Tughan Khan. The latter devoted himself to the administration of the country, and for a period was successful. When in the year 639 A.H. Sultan Alau-d-din Masud ascended the throne of Delhi, Tughan Khan sent many presents and valuables to the Emperor of Delhi in charge of Sharafu-l-Mulk Sanqari, and the Emperor sent to Izza-d-din Tughan Khan in charge of Qazi Jalalu-d-din, Governor of Oudh, a ruby-laid umbrella and a special robe of honour. And in the year 642 A.H., thirty thousand Mughal soldiers of Changiz Khan, making an incursion into the kingdom of Lakhnauti through the passes of the northern mountains, created much confusion. Malik Izza-d-din sent an account of this to Sultan Alau-d-din. On hearing of this, the Emperor despatched to Lakhnauti a large force under Malik Qarabeg Tamar Khan, who was one of the servants of Khwajah Tash, for assisting Tughan Khan. At the time of engagement, the Mughal forces not being able to give battle returned to their country, vanquished. In the meantime, on certain occasions between Izza-d-din Tughan Khan and Malik Qarabeg Tamar Khan, dissension set in; consequently, Sultan Alau-d-din, in accordance with the saying “Two rulers cannot rule over one country,” appointed Malik Qarabeg Tamar Khan to be ruler of Lakhnauti, and recalled to Delhi Malik Izza-d-din Tughan Khan. Tughan Khan ruled for 13 years and some months.

RULE OF MALIK QARABEG TAMAR KHAN.1

After supercession of Malik Izza-d-din Tughan Khan, Qarabeg Tamar Khan, becoming ruler of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, set

1 Malik Qarabeg Tamar Khan or Qamru-d-din Qiran Tamar Khan was Governor of Bengal from 642 A.H. to 644 A.H., when he died.

An account of his career in Bengal already appears in a previous note. His previous career may, however, be noticed here. I summarise it from Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Pers. text, p. 247), which is a contemporary account:—

“Malik Tamar Khan Turk was virtuous and polished in manners, very energetic and generous and active and brave. He had a handsome appearance. Sultan Shamsu-d-din Altamah purchased him for 50,000 chital, appointed him Deputy Superintendent of the Royal Stables, whilst Tughan Khan was the Chief Superintendent. In the reign of Empress Razia, he became fendatory of Kannuj, and fought in the expedition against Kahwar and Malwah, and rendered good services. He received sief of Karah, and also did good
himself to administrative affairs. After ruling ten years, he died. And in the reign of Emperor Nāṣiru-d-dīn Mahmūd, son of Sultan Shamsu-d-dīn Altamsh in the year 655 H. the Viceroyalty of Lakhnauti was entrusted to Malik Jalālu-d-dīn Khān.

RULE OF MALIK JALALU-D-DĪN KHĀN.²

When Malik Jalālu-d-dīn Khān succeeded to the Viceroyalty of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, he ruled over it for a year more or less, and in the year 656 A.H. he was succeeded, and Arsalān Khān was appointed Viceroy of that province.

RULE OF ARSALĀN KHĀN.³

When Arsalān Khan became Viceroy of Lakhnauti, he devoted himself to administrative matters. He asserted some amount of independence. In the year 657 A.H., he sent two elephants and much jewellery and rare stuffs to Sultan Nāṣiru-d-dīn, and shortly after died at Lakhnauti.

service there. On the death of Nāṣiru-d-dīn, he was appointed Governor of Oudh. Whilst at Oudh, he invaded all the eastern tracts including Tīrā, and carried off immense booty. He was thence sent to Lakhnauti to help Tughan Khān in repelling the Ooriya invasion, and after that settled down in Bengal as its Viceroy.

¹ After him the Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī is named; it is a general history of India from the commencement of Muslim Rule down to 658 A.H. (1260 A.C.) Sultan Nāṣiru-d-dīn succeeded Sultan Alau-d-dīn to the throne of Delhi in 1246 A.C. His Vizier was Ghiyasu-d-dīn Balban (afterwards Emperor Balban). Of the six years which intervened between 658 A.H. and 664 A.H. (the date of assumption of sovereignty by Emperor Balban) there is no known historical work. The Tarikh Firis Shahi of Ziau-d-dīn Barni only began from Ghiyasu-d-dīn Balban's reign. Emperor Balban reigned from 1265 to 1287 A.C.

² Jalaluddin Masūd, Malik Jānī Khilji Khan, became Governor of Bengal in 656 A.H.

³ Izzu-d-dīn Balban was Governor of Bengal in 657 A.H., in which year he was attacked by Taju-d-dīn Arsalān Khān Sanjar-i-Khwārizmī, who was subsequently captured or killed at Lakhnauti by Izzu-d-dīn. Hence Taju-d-dīn Arsalān Khān cannot count amongst Governors of Bengal (see Blochmann’s Contr. to Hist. and Geog. of Bengal, and Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī, Pers. text, p. 267).
of the expedition, and also Viceroy of Lakhnauti, together with other nobles, such as Tamar Khan Shamsi, Malik Tuju-d-din, son of 'Ali Khan,1 and Jamāla-d-din Qandahārī, for destroying Tughral. And when Malik Aftakin with a large force crossed the river Sro, and marched towards Lakhnauti, Tughral, too, with a large force came to encounter him. In that, in bravery and generosity, he was matchless, some nobles and soldiers deserting Amin Khan joined Tughral, so that on the day of engagement the force of Amin Khan was routed. And when Amin Khan being vanquished retreated to Oudh, the Emperor hearing of this became anxious and perplexed, ordered that Amin Khan should be hanged at the gate of Oudh, and afterwards appointed Malik Tarmina with a large force for destroying Tughral. And Tughral making a bold attack vanquished this force also, and obtained much booty.

Owing to strength of fortune,
that rampant lion,
Twice routed the army of the enemy.

Sultān Ghiašu-d-din, on hearing this bad news, became dejected and anxious, and made kingly efforts, and boldly resolved to march out himself, and ordered that numerous boats should be kept ready in the rivers Jum and Ganges, and he himself on the pretext of a hunting excursion went towards Sanām and Samanāh. Appointing Malik Sūnjaj to be governor of Samanah, he took his young son, Bughrā Khan, with a select force in his own company, and passed from Samanah to Doáb. Leaving Malik-i-Umarah-Fakhru-d-din Kotwal to rule as Viceroy at Dehli in his absence, he crossed the Ganges, and not heeding that it was the rainy season, by forced marches, proceeded towards Lakhnauti. Tughral who in this interval had collected his efficient troops, marched in state towards Jājnagar with his treasures and a large army, and planned to take it and to encamp there, and subsequently to return to Lakhnauti, when the Emperor would return to Dehli. But when the Emperor reached Lakhnauti, after staying there a few days, he despatched General Hassāmu-d-din Vakil-dar Bāṛbag (Secretary of State), who was the grandfather of the author of the Tārikh-i-Firuz Shahi, to subjugate the

1 In Tārikh-i-Firuz Shahi, "Qutlugh Khan Shamsi,"
kingdom of Lakhnauti, and the Emperor himself marched towards Jajnagar, to chastise Tughral. At the time, when the Emperor reached the confines of Sunargoon, Bhuj Rāi, who was the Zamin-
dar of that place, enrolled himself in the ranks of the Imperial
adherents, and promised that in case Tughral attempted to escape
across the river, he would prevent his doing so. But when the
Emperor swiftly passing from that place marched several stages,
the trace of Tughral was lost, and no one could give a clue to his
whereabouts. The Emperor ordered Malik Bārbak Baras that
he should march ahead ten or twelve Karoh with seven thousand
chosen cavalry. Although these tried every means of pursuit and
search, they could obtain no trace of Tughral. One day, Malik
Muhammad Tirandāz, the ruler of Koel, and his brother, Malik
Munqaddar, separating themselves from the vanguard force, with
thirty or forty troopers marched ahead. Suddenly, on a field they
came across some grocers. Arresting these, they made enquiries,
and in order to frighten them, they commenced slaughter by
breaking the neck of one; then the others cried out:—"If your object
is to obtain goods and provisions, whatever we have, you may take;
but spare our lives." Malik Muhammad Tirandāz said: "We
have no concern with your goods and stores: our object is to
ascertain the whereabouts of Tughral. If you show the way, your
lives and things would be spared; otherwise whatever will befal
you, will be the consequence of your misconduct." The grocers
said: "We carried food-grains to the camp of Tughral, and now

1 From the manner of description given here, the Jajnagar here referred
to would seem not to be in Orissa, but some place in East Bengal (probably
Tipperah). For an exhaustive and interesting discussion on "Jajnagar,"
see Blochmann's "Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal."

2 In Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, "Dannaj Râi," (p. 87).

3 Probably the river Brahmaputra or Megna is meant. Sunargoon is situate
on the banks of the Brahmaputra, 12 miles S. E. of Dacca. For a contempo-
rary and graphic description of Emperor Ghiaasu-d-din Balban's expedition
to Bengal, see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi (pp. 85-94 Pers. text.)

4 In Ferighat, "Barbaq Barlas," in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi "Barik Bagtaraas."

5 In Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. ("Malik Muhammad Sherandâz," p. 88).

6 Koel is a tehsîl in Aligarh District.

7 From the description given, Tughral alias Sultan Mughisud-d-din would
appear to have pitched his tent at the time on the western banks of the
Brahmaputra not very far from Sunargoon. Or, one might imagine him
at this point of time having shifted his tent further eastward to the
western bank of the Megna, opposite perhaps to the old ferry of Maniknagar
we are returning from there. Between you and Tughral, there is
a distance of half a farsakh. To-day he is encamping there; to-
morrow he will march to Jājnagar.‖ Malik Muhammad Tirandāz
sent the grocers with two troopers to Malik Bārbak Baras, and sent
word that after ascertaining the truth from the grocers, he should
march up swiftly, so that Tughral might not march to the
Vilāyet of Jājnagar which is in the kingdom of Bengal, and leag-
ing with the people of that part, might not hide himself in a
jungle. And he himself with troopers went forward, and saw
the tent of Tughral, and his army resting in false security, and
his elephants and horses grazing about. Availing himself of the
opportunity, he rushed with his cavalry towards the camp of
Tughral. No one opposed their progress, fancying that they
were officers attached to the army of Tughral. When they
arrived in front of Tughral's tent, all of a sudden drawing their
swords, they killed every one they found in the Audience-Hall,
and shouted out that the kingdom of Bengal pertained to the
Empire of Balban. Tughral fancied that the Emperor had him-
self arrived. Becoming totally confounded, he slipped out in
great perplexity by the bath-room door, and mounting an un-
saddled horse, and not mustering his own adherents, owing to
great confusion of mind, he intended to plunge into the river near
the soldiers' quarters, and then to swim across to Jājnagar. As
misfortune would have it, owing to the disappearance of Tughral,
all his officers, soldiers and followers turned towards different
directions. And Malik Muqaddar, at whose hands the slaughter
of Tughral had been destined, marched in pursuit of Tughral,
and encountered him on the river-bank. Then Malik Muqaddar
shot a shooting arrow at Tughral's shoulder, dismounted the latter
from his horse, and himself dismounting from his own horse, sever-
ed Tughral's head from the body. Seeing that the followers of
Tughral were searching for their master, Malik Muqaddar hid
Tughral's head in the mud by the river-side, and flung his body
into the river, and pulling off his own garments, he set himself to
washing them. At this moment, Tughral's soldiers arrived,

across the river, or somewhere close to the modern Bhoyrab Bazar ferry,
seriously planning to cross over on boats from the Dacca side to the Tipperah
tract (which has been identified here with Jājnagar), with the old and
powerful Emperor of Delhi (Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Balban) shadowing him. This Jā-
nagar, therefore, in Bengal, is different from Jājnagar in Orissa.
shouting out "Lord of the world! Lord of the world!" and
searched for Tughral. Not finding him, they took to their heels.

They shot an arrow at his heart,¹
Dismounted him from his horse, and cut off his head.
When Tughral at that place was killed owing to his in-
alertness,

One shout arose from every side.
The adherents of Tughral were completely routed,
From the absence of their leader, they were all cowed down.

At this time Malik Bārbak Bārans² arrived, and Muqaddar run-
ning forward announced the joyful tidings of the victory. Malik
Bārbak applauding him sent a despatch to the Emperor, announcing
the victory, together with the head of Tughral. On the following
day, together with the booty and prisoners of Tughral’s army, he
proceeded himself to the Emperor, and narrated the story of the
victory. And Malik Muhammad Tirandāz³ was promoted to the
first rank, and his brother Malik Muqaddar⁴ received the title of
Tughral-kush ("Tughral-slayer"), and was raised to the peerage.
Sultān Ghīās-ud-dīn Balban after this marched back to Lakhnauti,
and set himself to the work of chastisement. Along both sides of
the road passing through the market-place of the City, putting up
scaffolds, the Emperor hanged such adherents of Tughral as had
been taken prisoners, and capturing their women and children,
wherever found, he had them slaughtered at Lakhnauti, after
putting them to indescribable tortures. Till that time, none of
the Emperors of Dohli had slaughtered the children and women
of miscreants.⁵ After this, the Emperor bestowed the kingdom of

¹ These verses, with slight variations, have been borrowed very
probably from Amir Khunra, the post-laureate of Emperor Ghīās-ud-dīn
Balban.
² In Tarīkh Firuz Shāhī (p. 88.) Malik Barbak Bektars.
³ In Tarīkh Firuz Shāhī (p. 88) Malik Muhammad Shindzāz.
⁴ From Tarīkh Firuz Shāhī (pp. 88, 90 and 91) Malik Muqaddar and
Tughral-kush would seem to be two different individuals.
⁵ The author of Tarīkh Firuz Shāhī remarks that on both sides of the
principal bazaar of Lakhnauti that was more than one karch long, scaffolds
were set up, and men, women and children were hanged. Such cruelty,
sorrowfully remarks Zian-ud-dīn Bāni, had never before been perpetrated by
Musalmans sovereigns of Delhi. (See pp. 81-92 Tarīkh Firuz Shāhī).
Lakhnauti on his own son, Bughrā Khān, giving him at the same time the treasures, etc., and other valuables of Tughral that

1 Bughrā Khān, younger son of Emperor Balban, assumed the royal title of Sultan Nasīrū-d-din at his elevation to the throne of Bengal. He was the first of a succession of Balbani Kings who ruled over Bengal, from 1282 A.C. to 1381 A.C. (or 681 A.H. to 781 A.H.) and had mostly their court at Sunargaon near Dacca. Nasīrū-d-din Bughrā Khān, son of Emperor Balban, reigned over Bengal from 681 H. to 691 (1282 A.C. to 1292 A.C.) and was succeeded by his son Ruknū-d-din who assumed the title of Sultan Kai-Kaus. From inscriptions found at Gangarampur and Khagol, near Lakhisarai, he appears to have been alive in 697 H. (A.C. 1297). Mr. Thomas has published coins of this King bearing the dates 691, 693, 694, 695 A.H. He appears to have been succeeded by his brother who reigned under the name of Shamsū-d-din Fīruz Shāh. Fīruz Shāh had several sons, namely, Bughrā Khān, Nasīrū-d-din, Ghiasū-d-din or Bahadur Khān, Qutlu Khān, and Hatim Khān. The third son, Ghiasū-d-din, made conquests in Eastern Bengal, established himself at Sunargaon near Dacca, and struck coins from 1291 A.C. under the name of Bahadur Shāh. The fifth son Hatim Khān was in 1309 and 1315 A.C. Governor of Oudh. Fīruz Shāh died in 718 H. (1318 A.C.) Quarrels then broke out between the several sons of Fīruz Shāh, who was succeeded by his eldest son who took the title of Shāhabud-din Bughrā Shāh who ruled at Lakhnauti in 1318-19. Soon after his accession, Bughrā Shāh was defeated by his brother Bahadur Shāh who reigned at Sunargaon. Bughrā Shāh and his brother Nasīrū-d-din took refuge with Emperor Tughluk Shāh who in 1320 had mounted the throne of Delhi. Qutlu Khān, another brother, was killed by Bahadur Shāh who was now supreme King over Bengal and Behar, and held a magnificent Court at Sunargaon.

At the instigation of Bughrā Shāh and Nasīrū-d-din, the fugitives (says Ibn Batutah), Emperor Tughluk Shāh invaded Bengal. When the Imperial army left Delhi, Bahadur Shāh retired to Sunargaon, whilst Nasīrū-d-din joining the Emperor at Tirhut came with the latter to Lakhnauti, when the Emperor confirmed Nasīrū-d-din as Governor of Lakhnauti. The Emperor sent his adopted son Tatar Khān, Governor of Zafarabad (near Jaunpur) with an army to operate against Sultan Bahadur Shāh, who was captured and sent to Delhi with a chain round his neck. At this time, also, two additional distinct Provinces in Bengal were constituted, viz., Sunargaon and Satgaon, each being placed under a Military Governor; whilst Behar was separated from Bengal. Sunargaon was placed under Tatar Khān.

With the accidental death of Emperor Tughlak Shāh and the accession of his successor Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak, other changes took place in the administration of Bengal. The new Emperor released Bahadur Shāh, allowed him to return to Sunargaon, on condition that the Bengal coinage was to bear the joint names of Bahadur Shāh and the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak, and also that in the Khutbah the names of both were to
had been captured, except the elephants; and conferring on him
the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din, he placed on the son’s head the
royal umbrella, and allowed also the Khutbah to be recited and the
coin to be minted in his name. And at the time of departure, the
Emperor giving his son some parting advice,1 said: “It is not
discreet for the king of Lakhnauti, be he a relation or a stranger,
to quarrel with or rebel against the Emperor of Delhi. And if
the Emperor of Delhi marches to Lakhnauti, the ruler of Lakhnauti
should retreating take refuge in some distant corner, and when
the Emperor of Delhi withdraws, he should return to Lakhnauti,
and resume his work. And in the levy of revenue from sub-
jects, he should observe the middle course, that is, he should
not levy such a low amount, that they should become refractory
and disloyal, nor such an excessive amount, that they should be
ground down and oppressed. And he should pay such an amount
of salary to his officers, that it may suffice for them from year
to year, and that they may not be pinched in regard to their
necessary expenses. In matters of administration, he should take
counsel with wise people who are sincere and loyal; and in the
enforcement of orders, he should abstain from self-indulgence, and
be recited. Tatar Khān who was hitherto Military Governor of Sunargaon,
received the title of Bahram Khān, and was stationed at Sunargaon at the
Court of Bahadur Shāh, as a sort of Imperial Resident. Nāṣiru-d-din was
continued as Subordinate Governor of Lakhnauti.

In 726 A.H. (1326 A.C.), Nāṣiru-d-din died, and Muhammad Shāh
appointed Malik Bidar Khilji as Governor of Lakhnauti with the title of
Qadr Khān. Bahadur Shāh, the king, at Sunargaon, attempted soon after
to throw off all outward signs of allegiance to the Emperor, who sent an
army to Bahram’s assistance. Bahadur Shāh, the last Bengal Balban;
sovereign, and the last royal representative of the house of Emperor Ghiasu-
d-din Balban, was defeated and put to death about 731 A.H. or 1331
A.C. Bengal remained Imperialist till the death of Bahram Khān in 1338
A.C., when Fakhru-d-din successfully revolted, killed Qadr Khān and
established the independence of Bengal. (See Blochmann’s contribution
to History of Bengal, Thomae’ Initial coinage, Ibn-i-Batutah, Tarikh

1 The pieces of solemn advice given by Emperor Balban to his son
Bughra Khān, at the time of former’s departure from Bengal, are set forth
in detail in the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi (pp. 95 to 105), and will repay perusal.
They contain golden rules for the conduct of sovereigns, and indicate that
this Musalman Emperor cherished a noble and exalted ideal of kingly duties
and responsibilities.
should not act unjustly from selfishness. In the care for the condition of the army, he should not be negligent, and he should consider it incumbent upon himself to show them considerateness and to win their hearts, and he should not allow negligence and indolence to intervene. And whoever tempts you away from this course, you should look upon him as your enemy, and you should not listen to his talk. You should seek protection with persons who relinquishing this world, have dedicated themselves to God's service.

Help from the old hems of saints,
Is stronger than the strength of a hundred walls of Alexander."

After this, bidding adieu to his son, the Emperor returned to Delhi, by forced marches, after three months. The period of the rule of Tughral in Bengal was twenty-five years and some months.

RULE OF BUGHRA KHAN, Styled SULTAN NASIRU-D-DIN, Son of Emperor Ghiasu-D-Din Balban.

When Sultan Nasiru-d-din became ruler of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, after some time, his elder brother who was named Sultan Muhammad and was known as Khan-i-Shahid was killed at Multan, fighting against the Mughals. And Sultan Ghiasu-d-din Balban who was much attached to him, became dejected by his death, and summoned Sultan Nasiru-d-din from Lakhnauti. When the latter reached Delhi, after observing the necessary mourning ceremonies for his elder brother, he attempted to console the heart of his father. The Emperor said: "The death of your brother has made me sick and feeble, and soon the time of

1 In Tarikh Firuz Shahi (p. 107), "after three years."

2 Sultan Muhammad, eldest son of Emperor Ghiasu-d-din Balban, was Imperial Viceroy of Multan Province or Vilayet at this time. This Prince was brave, gallant and accomplished, and he fell gallantly fighting between Lahore and Dibalpur against the Mughal hordes under Tamar from Central Asia who were harrying at this time the North-Western frontier of India. Hence the Prince is styled "Khan-i-Shahid" or "Martyred Prince or Chief." His death was a great shock to the aged Emperor. (See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 109-10). The Prince was a patron of learning, and to his court at Multan were attached the celebrated poets, Amir Khusran and Amir Hasan, for whose biographical sketch, see Badauni, Vol. 1, pp. 200-201.
my departure from the world shall approach. At this time, your separation from me is not proper, because besides yourself, I have no other heir. Your son, Kaiqubād, and your nephew, Kai Khusraw, are young, and have no experience of life. Should the Empire fall into their hands, they would be incapable of defending it, and you would have to pay homage to either who might ascend the throne of Delhi. Therefore, it is meet that you should remain with me." Naṣīrū-d-dīn, according to his father's request, remained with his father. But on seeing his father regain some health, he quickly under pretext of hunting went out of the city, and without taking leave of the Emperor returned to Lakhnauti. The Emperor, being affected at this, again fell ill, and in the year 685 A.H., passed from this transitory world. And when Sultān Muizzū-d-dīn Kaiqubād, after the death of his grand-father, at the age of eighteen years, mounted the throne of Delhi, in consequence of youth, indulging in frivolties and dissipations, he became unmindful of the affairs of the Empire, excepting women and wine. And Malik Nizāmu-d-dīn setting himself to the destruction of the Balbani family, induced Muizzū-d-dīn to call his cousin Kaikhusrau from Multān, and to kill him on the way, and to dismiss many of the loyal Umarā. Sultān Naṣīrū-d-dīn Buqhrā Khān at Lakhnauti, on receiving news of the negligence of his son, and of the overbearing influence of Malik Nizāmu-d-dīn, wrote to his son letters containing instructions, and by insinuations and hints, advised

1 Ziauddin Barni, author of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī (p. 121) states that shortly before his death in 686 A.H. (1287 A.C.), the aged and venerable Emperor Ghiasū-d-dīn Balban summoned to his presence in his palace in Delhi, Malik-ul-Umara Fakhru-d-dīn Kotwal (or police commissioner) of Delhi, Khwajah Hussain Baṣri, the Vizier or Prime Minister, and some others, and instructed them to place Kai Khusrau, son of Sultān Muḥammad, on the throne. After the Emperor's death, however, the Kotwal and his party placed Kaiqubād, son of Sultān Naṣīrū-d-dīn Buqhrā Khān (King of Bengal, and second son of the Emperor) on the throne. The personnel of Sultān Muizzū-d-dīn Kaiqubād's administration consisted of (1) Malik-ul-Umara Kotwal of Delhi, (2) Nizamū-d-dīn, nephew of Malik-ul-Umara, who became Dadhig or Chief Justice, and subsequently Wazir or Prime Minister, (3) Malik Quamu-d-dīn who became Wakildar or Administrator-General. Emperor Kaiqubād, who was a boy of seventeen years, was addicted to pleasures, and spent most of his time in the charming pleasure-villa of Kilukhari, in the suburbs of Delhi. Nizamū-d-dīn the Wazir who now assumed the title of Nizamū-l-Mulk, set about devising means to destroy the house of Balban (see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, p. 132)
him to beware of the wily enemy in the person of Nizamu-d-din. It was of no use. In despair, two years after the death of Emperor Balban, in the year 687 A.H., with the object of conquering the province of Delhi, and chastising his son, Nasiru-d-din Baghara Khan marched with his army. On reaching Behar, Sultan Nasiru-d-din passing from Behar to the banks of the river Saru, encamped.¹

The standards of the Emperor of the world were pitched On the banks of the Ghaagar, in the environs of the town. The Ghagar was on one side, and the Saru on the other, From excessive heat, the soldiers foamed from their mouths. The sword-casting East from yonder side of the river Became bright as if the sun had risen; On the banks of the river, the marshalling of the forces Flashed like two Suns from two sides.

At length, after nearing each other, Sultan Nasiru-d-din, abandoning the idea of the conquest of Delhi, made overtures for peace. And Sultan Muizu-d-din, owing to the instigation of Malik Nizama-d-din, refused to make peace, and prepared to fight. After negotiations had proceeded for three days' between the contending parties, on the fourth day, Sultan Nasiru-d-din with his own hand wrote:—

"Son! I have a great longing to meet you. I have no further strength of self-restraint in your separation. If you show a way by which I am consumed by the fire of misfortune, may behold

¹ The text here is rather confused. In Forishta, the rendering is as follows: "When Sultan Muizu-d-din Kaiqubad heard of the intention of his father (Sultan Nasiru-d-din Baghara Khan, King of Bengal) and of the latter's arrival in Behar, he (Emperor Kaiqubad), too, arrayed his forces, and in the hottest part of the year reached the banks of the Ghaagar river, and halted. And Sultan Nasiru-d-din, on hearing of the news, advanced from Behar, reached the banks of the river Saru, and halted." The meeting between Sultan Nasiru-d-din Baghara Khan and his son the Emperor Kaiqubad is immortalized in the pages of "Qiranu-s-Sadain" by Amir Khurasan, the celebrated poet of Delhi. The camp of the father was on the bank of the river Saru or Saru or Sarju, the old river boundary-line between the Mussulman Kingdom of Bengal (which included Behar in those days) and the Empire of Delhi, and the camp of the son was on the opposite banks of the Sro. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 141. The Qiranu-s-Sadain fixes the meeting-place at Ajudheya on the banks of the Ghaagar."
you, and, Jacob-like, if once more my eye which has become blind, becomes bright by the sight of Joseph, no harm shall betide to your sovereignty and enjoyment." The Sultan wound up this message with the following verse:

"Although paradise is a happy region,
Nothing is better than the joy of union."

Sultan Muizu-d-din being touched by the perusal of his father's letter desired to proceed unattended, to meet his father. Nizamud-d-din used dissuasion, and arranged that the Emperor, with all Imperial pomp and paraphernalia, should for the purpose of meeting his father march from the bank of the river Ghagar towards a plain, and then encamp on the bank of the Saru. And it was also arranged that out of regard for the rank of the Emperor of Delhi, Nasiru-d-din crossing the Saru should come to visit Kaiqubad, who should remain seated on the throne. Then Bugha Khan embarking on a boat crossed the river, and proceeded to the tent of Muizu-d-din Kauqubad. Kauqubad being overpowered by feelings dismounted from the throne, prostrated himself on his father's feet, and both the father and the son embracing each other, and giving each other kisses on the head and the face shed tears. After this, the father catching the hand of the son, placed the latter on the throne, and desired to stand in front of it. The son descending from the throne placed the father on it, and himself respectfully sat before him; and ceremonies of rejoicings were performed. After a while, Sultan Nasiru-d-din left, and crossing the river returned to his tent. From both sides gifts were exchanged. Several days successively, Sultan Nasiru-d-din went to meet his son, and both were in each other's company. And on the day of departure, after speaking some words of advice, and taking his son in the lap, he departed, and weeping and crying returned to his own camp. That day he ate no food, and told his confidants: "To-day I have bid the last farewell to my son."

1 It is stated that on the day of departure, Sultan Nasiru-d-din Bugha Khan exhorted his son, Emperor Kaiqubad, to attend to prayer and to observe the fast of Ramzan, taught him certain regulations and fixed rules of sovereignty, warned him against excesses in wine and neglect of State matters, rebuked him for killing Kai Khusraa and other noted Amirs and Malaks of Ghiyasu-d-din Baibak, and advised him to dismiss Nizamu-d-din alia# Niramul Mulk, the Wuzir. (See Tariikh-i-Firuz-Shahi, pp. 144 to 156).
Then marching back from that place, he returned to his kingdom. And when Sultan Muizudd-d-din Kaiqubad at the end of 689 A.H. was slain,1 and the Empire was transferred from the Qhorian dynasty to the Khilji family, and Sultan Jalalu-d-din Khilji 2 mounted the throne of Delhi, Sultan Nasirudd-d-din seeing no alternative except profession of loyalty and submission put aside the royal umbrella and the Khutbah, conducted himself like other nobles, and remained contented with the sief of Lakhnauti. Till the reigns of Sultan Alau-d-din and Sultan Quṭbu-d-din,3 Sultan Nasirudd-d-din Bughra Khan conducted himself in this wise. The period of the rule of Sultan Nasirudd-d-din in Bengal was six years.

**RULE OF BAḤADUR SHĀH.**

In the reign of Sultan 'Alau-d-din, Baḥādur Khān who was one of the connexions 4 of Sultan Nasirudd-d-din, and was one of the leading nobles of Sultan 'Alau-d-din, was entrusted with the Viceroyalty of Bengal. For many years he occupied the Viceroyal throne, and enforced the recital of the Khutbah and the minting

1 See Tarih-i-Firuz Shahi, p 173. According to other accounts Emperor Kaiqubad was poisoned at the instigation of the Amir-ul-Umara who was in league with Jallalu-d-din Khilji. With him (Kaiqubad) ended the Balbani dynasty in Delhi, but, as will be observed in these pages, it lingered for a longer period in the Bengal Kingdom in the persons of the Balbani Kings of Bengal.

2 Sultan Jallalu-d-din Khilji is said to have been descended from Qalej Khān, son-in-law of Changiz Khān. He was Governor of Samannah and held the office of State Secretary (Arzi Mamalik) in the Cabinet of Emperor Kaiqubad. Jallalu-d-din ascended the Delhi throne in 1290 A.C. or 689 A.H. and with him commenced the Khilji dynasty which continued to reign over India till 1320 A.C. During his reign, Muhammadan conquests were extended into Southern India through the prowess of his nephew, Alanudd-d-din Khilji. See Tarih-i-Firuz Shahi pp. 170-174, Badaoni, p 167, vol. 1. Badaoni states that "Qalij" and "Khilji" were different, and that "Khilji" was one of the children of Yafus, son of Noah.

3 Sultan Quṭbu-d-din Khilji was son of Sultan Alau-d-din Khilji. See Tarih-i-Firuz Shahi p. 408 and 381.

4 In respect of the weak rule in Bengal of Sultan Nasirudd-d-din Bughra Shah (son of Emperor Balban), Ziaudd-d-din Barni (p. 189) relates that Emperor Jalalu-d-din’s favourite mode of disposing of dacoits captured in the Delhi territory, was to send them in shiploads to Bengal, where they were let loose.
of coins after the names of the Emperors of Delhi. During the reign, however, of Sultan Qutbuddin Khilji, he usurped the sovereignty of Bengal, and proclaiming himself Bahadur Shãh, introduced the Khutbah and the coin in the kingdom of Bengal after his own name, and commenced oppressions. For some time, he passed in this wise. But when the Empire of Delhi passed to Ghiasuddin Tughlak Shãh, in the year 724 A.H. petitions from Lakhnauti describing the oppressions of the rulers of that country were received. Sultan Tughlak Shãh with an efficient army marched towards Bengal. When he reached Tirhut, Sultan Nasiruddin Shãh whose fief had not been confiscated during Alauddin's reign owing to his good conduct and who resided in a corner of Lakhnauti, not finding strength in himself to contend against Tughlak Shãh, submitted to his fate, marched from Lakhnauti to Tirhut, and presenting himself before the Emperor offered

1 On the defeat of Khusran Khan, (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 420 and 421) the nobles placed Ghazi-ul-Mulk on the throne of Delhi. Ghazi-ul-Mulk then assumed the title of Ghiasuddin Tughlak Shãh. His father was a Turkish slave, named Malik, of Sultan Ghiasuddin Balban, and his mother was of a Punjab family. Brave, noble, and magnanimous, he was the founder of the Tughlak dynasty which reigned for ninety-four years at Delhi (13.0-1414 A.C.). He founded the city of Tughlakabad, about 4 miles east of Delhi. He reigned from 1320 to 1324 A.C. In order to put down the assumption of entire independence by Bahadur Shãh at Sunargao in Bengal, Ghiasuddin Tughlak marched to Sunargao, fought a decisive engagement, took Bahadur Shãh a prisoner, and marched back with the latter towards Delhi, storming the fort of Tirhut, and leaving Nasiruddin as Governor of Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti. Ghiasuddin divided Bengal into three provinces, namely (1) Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti, (2) Vilayet-i-Sâtgäon. (3) Vilayet-i-Sunargao, placing each under a distinct Governor, and placing a Viceroy (stationed at Sunargao) over all the Governors. Tarikh-i-Firuz-Sahi p. 451.

2 This Nasiruddin was a grandson of Sultan Nasiruddin Bughresha Shãh, son of Emperor Balban. He was Governor of Lakhnauti, but had been ousted by his brother Bahadur Shãh, king of Bengal, who held his court at Sunargao. This Nasiruddin and another brother Bughresha Khan had taken refuge at the time with the Emperor of Delhi (Tughlak Shãh) who at their instigation invaded Bengal to chastise their brother, Bahadur Shãh (king of Bengal). The text, however, is misleading, and would incorrectly indicate that the Nasiruddin here referred to is Sultan Nasiruddin Bughresha Shãh, king of Bengal (son of Emperor Balban). See, however, Blochmann's "Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal" and Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 450-451.
numerous presents. Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlak Shah treated him honourably, bestowed on him the Royal Umbrella and the Royal Staff, and ratified according to the old custom the continuance of Sultan Nasiruddin's sief. And bringing to his presence Bahadur Shah who, had proved hostile, the Emperor enrolled him in the ranks of nobles. He, too, submitting to the Emperor, behaved like one of the nobles. Emperor Ghiyasuddin, appointing his adopted son, Tatar Khan, Governor of Sunargaoon, and entrusting to Nasiruddin the over-lordship of Sunargaoon, Gaur and Bengal, returned to Delhi.1 But soon after, Sultan Nasiruddin died. The period of the rule of Bahadur Shah in Bengal was thirty-eight years.

RULE OF QADR KHAN.

When Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlak Shah returned from Bengal, before he could reach Delhi, on the way, in the month of Rabia-ul-Awwal in the year 725 A.H., he perished under the roof of a newly built pavilion. His son, Ulagh Khan 2, ascended the throne of Delhi and proclaiming himself Muhammad Shah bestowed on all the nobles offices and Jagirs, and bestowing the title of Qadr

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1 This text is not quite accurate on all points. See note ante regarding the fortunes of the Balbani dynasty in Bengal.
2 Ulagh Khan or Alagh Khan alias Fakhruddin Junna, nephew and son-in-law of Emperor Ghiyasuddin Tughlak Shah, on the death of the latter by the accidental fall of the roof of a newly erected pavilion, ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlak in 725 A.H. An accomplished scholar, a general of the first order, a man of consummate ability, his eccentricity and visionary schemes marred his success as a sovereign. His great ambition was to extend his empire over the world, and to be a second Alexander. He fruitlessly threw away the pick of his splendid army for the invasion of Persia and the conquest of China. Though the fertility of his genius evolved and organised a revenue system, his financial eccentricity in establishing a fixed currency of copper coins completely disorganised it. He received an embassy from the Khalifa of Egypt, who sent out to him the investiture of Royalty. In his reign a severe famine broke out in Delhi, and in consequence there was a general exodus of its population to Bengal. He restored Bahadur Shah to the kingdom of Sunargaoon on certain conditions, but subsequently deposed him. In his reign, Bengal became independent under Fakhruddin. (See Tariikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 438, 453, 457 to 461, 473, 475, 478, 80, 492.)
Khān on Malik Bedār Khilji, who was one of his leading nobles, he assigned to him the country of Lakhnauti, which had fallen vacant by the death of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn. And giving the title of Bahram Khān to Tātar Khān, whom Tughlak Shāh had appointed Governor of Sunārgāon, and who was an adopted brother of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, and bestowing on him in one day one hundred elephants and one thousand horses and one karor gold coins, and conferring on him the royal umbrella and the staff, and making him Viceroy of Bengal and Sunārgāon, he sent him to Bengal with all honours. And after fourteen years' administration of that country, Qadr Khān was killed at the hands of his servant, Fakhru-d-dīn, as will be related hereafter.
CHAPTER II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INDEPENDENT MUSALMAN KINGS WHO IN THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL MOUNTED THE THRONE, AND RECITED THE KHUTBAH AFTER THEIR OWN NAMES.

It ought to be known that from the reign of Sultan Quṭbuddin Aibak to the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Md. Tughlak Shāh, seventeen Emperors ruled at Delhi for a period of one hundred and fifty years, and that in the kingdom of Bengal its rulers exercised authority as Viceroy of the Emperors of Delhi, and that the Khutbah and the coins of the Emperors of Delhi were current in Bengal. If any of the Viceroyals rebelling introduced the Khutbah and the coins after their own names, the Emperors of Delhi considering their chastisement necessary, swiftly punished them. In the reign of Muhammad Shāh, Qadr Khān, being appointed Governor of Lakhnauti, for fourteen years administered the affairs of that State. Then Malik Fakhru-d-din, who was Qadr Khān's Armour-Superintendent, meddling in administrative matters, obtained much influence, and, resolving in mind to usurp the Viceroyalty, watched for an opportunity. Finding Qadr Khān off his guard, Fakhru-d-din revolted, killed his own master, and became Viceroy of the kingdom of Bengal. When the Empire of Muhammad Shāh, the Emperor of Delhi, fell into complete decay, aiming in his mind amongst other things at the Emperor's capture, Fakhru-d-din withdrew his hand from submission to the Emperor of Delhi, and proclaimed himself king. The Emperor of Delhi, owing to confusion in his own

1 The period of the Independent Musalman Kings of Bengal lasted from 1338 to 1538 A.C., and began with Fakhru-d-din Abul Muzaffar Mubarak Shāh, who was Sulahdar or armour-bearer to Bahram Khān, the Governor of Sunarqān. On his master's death in 739 H. or 1338 A.C., Fakhru killed Qadr Khān, Governor of Lakhnauti, and subdued provinces of Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sunargaon, and assumed independence under the title of Fakhruddin (Tarikh-
Empire, could not direct his attention towards the kingdom of Bengal. From that time, the kingdom of Bengal became independent and distinct from the Delhi Empire. Fakhru-d-din was the first king who had the Khutbah of sovereignty recited after his own name in the Kingdom of Bengal.¹

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF SULTĀN FAKHRU-D-DĪN.

When Sultān Fakhru-d-din ascended the throne of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, he sent out his officer Mukhalis Khān with an efficient army for the subjugation of the outlying provinces of Bengal. Malik ‘Ali Mubārik, the generalissimo of Qadr Khān, encountered him with a large army, and after much fighting killed Mukhalis Khān, and routed the latter’s entire force. Sultān Fakhru-d-din who had just become king, and was not confident of the loyalty of his officers, did not venture to attack

¹ This was in 1338 A.C.
'Ali Mubārik. And Malik 'Ali Mubārik collecting a large army proclaimed himself Sultan 'Alāu-d-din, marched with his forces against Sultan Fakhrū-d-din, and, in the a year 741 A.H., after fighting captured him, and slaying him, avenged the murder of Qadr Khān.

Ye murdered, whom hast thou murdered, that to-day they have murdered thee?

To-morrow they will kill him who has to-day killed thee.

After this, Sultan 'Alāu-d-din, after leaving an efficient force to garrison Lakhnauti, himself proceeded to subjugate the outlying provinces of Bengal. The rule of Sultan Fakhrū-d-din lasted two years and five months.

THE ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF 'ALĪ MUBĀRIK STYLED SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DIN.¹

It is said that in the beginning Malik 'Ali Mubārik was one of the trusty servants of Malik Firuz Rajab. And Malik Firuz was

¹ The account in Badāawi (vol. I, p. 230 Pers. (text) gives a different version. Badāawi states as follows:—On the death of Bahram Khān, Governor of Sunargaon, in 739 A.H., Malik Fakhrūddin who was his Siyāḍar or Quartermaster General, revolted, assumed the title of Fakhrūddin, and fought against Qadr Khān, Governor of Lakhnauti, and was defeated. A second time, Fakhrūddin fought against Qadr Khān, and defeated the latter (Qadr Khān's own soldiers killing Qadr Khān), established his rule over Sunargaon Province, and detached his officer Mukhaliq to operate against Lakhnauti. Ali Mubārik, Adjutant General (Arīz-i-lāshkar) of the Army of Qadr Khān killed Mukhaliq, established his own independence (in Lakhnauti), and sent out letters to the Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak, who sent out Malik Yusaf, who died on his way to Bengal. After this, the Emperor being engaged with other affairs, did not send out any others to Bengal. For State reasons (observing the hostility of Fakhrūddin of Sunargaon) Ali Mubārik in Lakhnauti assumed regal honours and the title of Sultan Alan-d-din. Malik Ilyas Haji, who was a tribal chief and a military commander, after some days, in collusion with certain Omara and Maliks of Lakhnauti, killed Alan-d-din, and himself assumed the title of Shamsu-d-din. In 741 A.H., the Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak marched to Sunargaon, captured Fakhrūddin, brought him to Lakhnauti, and killed him, and then retired to Delhi. Thenceforth Shamsu-d-din Ilyas Haji ruled independently over Bengal.

² His name appears from his coins (published in Thomas’ “Initial Coinage”), to be Alan-d-din Abūl Muzaffar ‘Ali Shāh. His capital appears to have
a nephew of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlak Shah, and a cousin of Sultan Muhammad Shah. When Sultan Muhammad Shah ascended the throne of Delhi, in the first year of his reign, he appointed Malik Firuz to be his Secretary. At that time, some misdemeanour came to pass on the part of Haji Ilyas, foster-brother of Ali Mubarak, and owing to that he (Haji Ilyas) escaped from Delhi. When Malik Firuz demanded him from Ali Mubarak, the latter searched for him. When no trace of his whereabouts was obtained, Ali Mubarak informed Malik Firuz of his escape. Malik Firuz remonstrating with him, banished him also from his presence. Ali Mubarak started for Bengal. On the way he saw in a dream Hazrat Shah Makhdum Jalaluddin-din Tabrizi (may God sanctify his sepulchre!) and showing submissiveness and humility pleased the saint, who said: “We have bestowed on you the Subah of Bengal, but you should build for us a shrine.” Ali Mubarak agreeing to this, enquired in what place the shrine was required to be built. The saint replied: “In the town of Pandiah, at a place where thou shalt find three bricks, one over the other, and one fresh hundred-loaved rose beneath those bricks; at that place the shrine should be built.” When he reached Bengal, entering the service of Qadr Khan he stayed there, until gradually he became generalissimo of Qadr Khan’s army. And when Malik Fakhruddin revolting against Qadr Khan, and killing his benefactor, assumed the reins of sovereignty, Ali Mubarak proclaiming himself Sultan Alauddin and drawing his forces against Fakhruddin, as has been mentioned before, avenged the murder of his benefactor, by slaying Fakhruddin. With great promptitude, posting a garrison at Lakhnauti, Sultan Alauddin turned his attention to the conquest of other provinces of Bengal. When he introduced the Khutbah and the

boon at Pandiah, from the circumstance that his coins appear all to have been minted at Firuzabad (i.e., Pandiah). Indeed, Pandiah is known as ‘Ali Shah’s capital.’

Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi was a disciple of Shaikh Said Tabrizi. After travelling for some time, he joined Shaikh Shabuddin and became the latter’s Khalifa or chief disciple. He was a great friend of Khwajah Qutbuddin and Shaikh Bahanddin. Shaikh Najmuddin the junior who was at the time Shaikh-ul-Islam of Delhi, bore ill-feeling towards him, and made false accusations against his piety and character, and so Jalaluddin retired to Bengal. He is buried at the port of Deomahal (Maldive) See Seir, Vol. I, p. 231 and Ain.

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coin of the kingdom of Bengal after his own name, becoming intoxicated with luxury and success, he forgot the injunction of the saint, so that one night he saw in a dream the saint, who said: "'Alāū-d-dīn, you have obtained the kingdom of Bengal, but forgotten my bidding." 'Alāū-d-dīn on the following day searching for the bricks, and finding them agreeably to the directions of the saint, erected there a shrine, the trace whereof exists up to this time. At that time Hāji Ilyās also came to Pandūh. Sultān 'Alāū-d-dīn for some time kept him a prisoner, but by the intercession of Ilyās's mother, who was the nurse of Sultān 'Alāū-d-dīn, he released him, and giving him an important position admitted him to his presence. Hāji Ilyās in a short time gaining over the army to his side, one day with the help of eunuchs slew Sultān 'Alāū-d-dīn, and proclaiming himself Shamsu-d-dīn Bhangrah usurped the provinces of Lakhnauti and Bengal. The reign of Sultān 'Alāū-d-dīn lasted one year and five months.

REIGN OF HĀJI ILYAS STYLED SULTĀN SHAMSU-D-DĪN.

When Sultān 'Alāū-d-dīn was killed, and the sovereignty of Bengal passed to Hāji Ilyās 'Alāī, proclaiming himself Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn he mounted the throne in the holy city of Pandūh.1 As he took much bhang, he was called Shamsu-d-dīn Bhangrah. In conciliating the people, and winning the heart of the army, he put forth noble efforts. After a while, mustering an army, he went to Jāñagar, and from there obtaining many valuables and presents and large elephants, returned to his capital. And owing to the decay which had set in in the Empire of Delhi from the

1 Pandūh is situate 12 miles north of English Bazar in Maldah district. From the beginning of the reign of Shamsūddin Ilyās to the end of the reign of Rājah Kans, six kings ruled there for a period of 52 years, from 743 to 795 A.H. But perhaps 'Alī Mubārik should also be included amongst the kings who ruled at Pandūh. His reign appears to have commenced in 741 A.H. (1340 A.C.) Professor Blochmann calls Pandūh 'Ali Shāh’s capital (J.A.S.B., XLII, 254) and Professor Blochmann’s statement seems to be supported by the narrative of our author, viz., the statement about 'Alī Mubārik building a shrine of the saint Jallāūddīn at Pandūh, and also about Shamsūddin Ilyās’s arrival at Pandūh. In 795 A.H. (1393), king Jallāūddīn (son of Rājah Kans) who became a Muhammedan, removed the capital back again to Gaur or Lakhnauti.
time of Sultan Muhammad Shāh, for thirteen years the Emperors of Delhi did not turn their attention to Bengal. Sultan Shamsud-din with absolute independence devoted himself to the administrative affairs of Bengal, subjugated gradually all the tracts up to the limits of Banaras, and enhanced more than before his pomp and power, until the throne of Delhi passed to Firuz Shāh, son

1 Hājī Iyās first appears to have in 746 A.H. made himself master of Western Bengal, whilst at that time Ikhtiarud Din Abul Muzaffar Ghazi Shāh (son of Mubarak Shāh) still reigned at Sunargaon in Eastern Bengal. Hājī Iyās shortly after (753 A.H.) subdued Eastern Bengal also, and established himself at Sunargaon, and founded a dynasty which continued (with a brief break) to reign over Bengal till 906 A.H. or nearly a century and a half. He extended his western boundaries as far as Benares, founded Hajipur, and though Firuz Shāh Tughlak the Emperor led an expedition into Bengal to punish him, he had to return unsuccessful. For Iyās Shāh's coinage, see Thomas's Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S., 1867, pp. 57, 58.

The nearest contemporary account of this King will be found in Tarikhi-Firuz Shāhi p. 586 by Ziauddin Barni and Siraj Aftī p. 77.

2 Sultan Firuz Shāh Tughlak alias Malik Firuz Bārbak was a son of an uncle of Mahammad Shāh Tughlak, and a nephew of Ghiasu-d-din Tughlak Shāh. His father was Rajab Siālūr who abandoning all worldly affairs, became a saint. When fifty years old, in 755 A.H., he was crowned as Emperor of Hindustan. He was a wise, noble and enlightened sovereign. He paid special attention to improvement of agriculture and of the economical condition of the country. He reformed the administration of justice, put down oppressions and corruption, lightly assessed land-revenue, and regulated its assessment according to the produce of the lands assessed and also according to the capacity of the tenant to bear the assessment, and abolished octroi duties. He established thirty colleges, founded five hospitals and dispensaries, erected forty cathedral mosques and two hundred caravanserais, twenty monasteries, one hundred palaces and villas, and one hundred and fifty-two baths, and numerous gardens, and bridges. In the environs of Hāni, he erected a fort called Hisar-i-Firuz, and joined it by means of a canal with the river Jumna. His greatest work was the old Jumna canal; this canal drew its water from the Jumna, near a point where it leaves the mountains, and connected that river with the Ghaggar and the Satlej by means of irrigation channels, spreading fertility all around. He caused the translation of several Sanskrit works into Persian, and encouraged learning and the learned. He was the recipient of a Royal investiture from Abū Fathāl Khalīf of Egypt. He reigned from 1381 to 88 A.C. The Tughlak dynasty ended in 1414 A.C., the Empire being shattered by the invasion of Timur in 1398 A.C., during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh Tughlak, the last real Tughlak king. (See Tarikhi-Firuz Shāhi pp. 548 570 by Ziauddin Barni, and by Shams-i-Seraj).
of Rajab, who attempted to re-conquer Bengal. It is said that at that time Sultân Shamsu-d-din built a bath, similar to the Shamsi bath of Delhi. Sultân Firûz Shâh who was furious with anger against Shâmsu-d-din, in the year 754 A.H., set out for Lakhnauti, and after forced marches reached close to the city of Pandûah, which was then the metropolis of Bengal. The Emperor encamped at a place which is still called Firûzpûrabad,¹ and riding from that place besieged the Fort of Pandûah. Sultân Shamsu-d-din leaving his son with an army in the fort of Pandûah, entrenched himself in the fort of Ekdâlah which was very impregnable. Firûz Shâh, not oppressing the people of Pandûah, captured in battle the son of Sultân Shamsu-d-din, and marched towards the fort of Ekdâlah.²

(END OF FASC. I.)

(FASC. II.)

On the first day, a bloody engagement took place. After that, for twenty-two days, he besieged the Fort.³ Not succeeding, Firuz Shâh resolved to transfer his camp to the bank

¹ Firuzabadpur is a mistake here for Firuzabad, close to Pandûah.
² Mr. Westmacott places Ekdâlah near Dinajpur, whilst Mr. Beveridge places it near Dacca. For a discussion on the site of the fort of Ekdâlah, also see Blochmann's Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal, J.A.S., 1873, p. 213 and also Mr. Beveridge's Analysis of "Khurshid Jahan Numa."

In Tarikh-i-Firuz Shâh by Zia 'Barni, Ekdâlah is described as follows (Pers. text, p. 588): "Ekdâlah is the name of a mouza close to Panduah; on one side of it is a river, and on another a jungle." Zia 'Barni is a contemporary historian for the period; therefore, this description given by him fixes the site of the Fort of Ekdâlah near Panduah, and sets at rest all the speculations to the contrary raised by Mr. Beveridge (in his Analysis of Khurshid Jahan Numa) who fixes it near the Bhowal jungle in Dacca district, and also by Mr. Westmacott who would place it towards Dinajpur. Professor Blochmann is inclined to treat 'Ekdâlah' as a generic name, referring to several places. See J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 212-213. Rennell gives another Ekdâlah north of Dacca "map of Hindustan." Shams-i-Siraj in his Tarikh-Firuz Shâhi (Pers. text p. 73) calls it the "isles of Ekdâlah."

³ The first expedition of Emperor Firuz Shâh Tughlak into Bengal (in 754 A.H. = 1353 A.C.) is fully and humourously described by Zia 'Barni, a contemporary historian, in the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shâhi (Pers. text, p. 586), who
of the Ganges. Then, alone, he searched for a proper camping ground. Sultan Shamsu-d-din thinking that Firuz Shāh closes his history with a narrative of this expedition and of the events up to the sixth year of Firuz Shāh’s reign. The object of the expedition was to punish Sultan Shamsu-d-din Haji Ilyās who had invaded and ravaged Tirhut and harried the frontier (then the Sro river) between the Bengal Kingdom and the Delhi Empire. The Emperor set out from Delhi on 10th Shawal 754 A.H., reached Oudh, crossed the Sro river, when Ilyās Shāh withdrew to Tirhut. The Emperor crossing the Sro, marched through Arsa-i-Kharosah (not identified) and Gorakpūr, the Rajahs who offered him homage and enlisted themselves on his side. Ilyās Shāh then returned from Tirhut to Pandūah, the Emperor following him towards Lakhnauti and Pandūah, after traversing Jagat or Jakat (not identified) and Tirhut (the Rajahs who offered also paid homage to the Emperor). Ilyās Shāh on approach of the Emperor to Pandūah, retired to Fort Ekdalāh, where he entrenched himself. The Emperor did not plunder Pandūah, but left its population unmolested, crossed the river in front of the fort Ekdalāh, and laid siege to it for several days. He had scruples about destroying promiscuously the garrison of the Fort, so he made a feint retreating movement back across the river, which resulted in drawing out Ilyās Shāh from the Fort. A battle was fought, the Bengal army in which elephants formed a prominent feature was defeated, and the Imperialists captured forty-four Bengal elephants, &c., &c. On finding that the rainy season was approaching, the Emperor by forced marches (after appointing Collectors in Tirhut district) returned to Delhi, which was reached on 12th Shaban 755 A.H. or 1354 A.C.

This first expedition is also narrated by Shams Siraj Aṣf, another nearly contemporary historian, who continued Barī’s Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī. (See Pers. MSS., text p. 76). From this account, the following additional interesting facts are gleaned:—

1. That Firuz Shāh sailed to Bengal in one thousand flotilla of war-vessels, and his route lay across the Sro, the Ganges and the Kosi rivers, that his expeditionary force consisted of 70,000 Khanāns and Malūks, two lakhs infantry, 60,000 cavalry, besides an elephant-corps.

2. That when Firuz Shāh crossed the Kosi river, Ilyās Shāh, king of Bengal, retired from Pandūah to Ekdalāh, which is called here the “Isles of Ekdalāh.”

3. That Firuz Shāh laid siege to the fort of Ekdalāh for several days, and nothing decisive occurring, made a feint retreating movement westward seven krokh or Kos from Ekdalāh, when Ilyās Shāh thinking Firuz Shāh was retreating, came out of the fort Ekdalāh, advanced, and attacked the Imperialists, who defeated and killed one lak of the Bengal army, and captured 50 Bengal elephants.

4. That then Ilyās Shāh escaped again to the Fort of Ekdalāh, which was about to be stormed by the Imperialists, when the females of the garrison uncovering their heads, exhibited themselves, and raised loud lamentations,
had marched to retire, came out of the fort, and mustered his forces.

Owing to the sword and the arrow and the spear and the gun,
The market of fighting became warm on both sides.
The bodies of heroes were emptied of their souls;
Like roses, on their faces, budded forth wounds.

After much slaughter on both sides, a large number of people were killed and destroyed. At length, the breeze of victory wafted on the standard of Firuz Shâh, and Shamsu-d-din being overpowered fled, and sought refuge in the Fort. Forty-four elephants which he had brought from Jajnagar, together with the Royal Umbrella and the standard and other regal chattels and paraphernalia, fell into the hands of the soldiers of Firuz Shâh. It is said that at that time the Saint Shaikh Râja Biyâbâni\(^1\) in whom Sultân Shamsu-d-din had great faith, died. Sultân Shamsu-d-din coming out of the Fort, in the guise of a mendicant, joined the Shaikh’s funeral. After finishing the obsequies, he rode alone to see Firuz Shâh, and without the latter recognizing him, returned to the Fort. When the Sultân came to know about it, he expressed regret. In short, when the period of siege was protracted, and the rainy season set in, in that in the rains, the country of Bengal becomes one sheet of water, and cause for anxiety arises, Sultân Firuz Shâh made overtures for peace. Sultân Shamsu-d-din, who was hard-pressed by the siege, partially made his submission, and also sought for peace. Firuz Shâh, releasing the son of Sultân Shamsu-d-din together with other prisoners of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, raised the standard of return. And in the year 755 A.H., Sultân Shamsu-d-din sent many presents and numerous rarities, in charge of wise envoys, to Sultân Firuz Shâh. The latter also showing attentions to the envoys, sent them back. And since Sultân Shamsu-d-din had which softened the heart of Firuz Shâh, who abandoned the work of destruction.

5. That before marching back towards Delhi, Firuz Shâh halted for some days at Pandua, named it “Firuzabad,” introduced there the Khâtâb after his own name, and also named “Ekdalah” “Asâdpur.”
6. That Firuz Shâh’s expedition lasted eleven months.

\(^1\) He died in 1353 A.C. (754 A.H.) when Emperor Firuz Shâh besieged Sultân Shamsu-d-din Haji Iyâs in Ekdalah Fort.
great anxiety from Firuz Shāh, consequently in 757 A.H., the former sent to Delhi wise and sagacious envoys, and sought for peace. Firuz Shāh agreeing, returned the envoys loaded with honours. From that time, the boundaries between the Kingdoms of Delhi and Bengal were delimited; and the Emperors of Delhi adhering to the terms of the treaty, never meddled with the Kings of Bengal, and by mutual exchange of presents on both sides, they maintained friendly relations between the two kingdoms. And in the year 758 A.H., Sultan Shāmsu-d-din again sent from Bengal Malik Tāju-d-din with some nobles, in the form of an embassy, with many presents and gifts to Delhi. Sultan Firuz Shāh bestowing attentions on the envoys more than before, after some days, sent in return to Sultan Shāmsu-d-din Arab and Turkish horses, together with other valuable presents, in charge of Malik Saifu-d-din Shāhnaafil. In the meantime, Sultan Shāmsu-d-din had died in Bengal. Malik Tāju-d-din and Malik Saifu-d-din had approached Behar, when they heard the news of the death of Sultan Shāmsu-d-din. Malik Saifu-d-din communicated this intelligence to Delhi, and agreeably to the order of the Emperor, he gave away the horses and the presents in lieu of the pay due to the Imperial soldiers stationed in Behar. Malik Tāju-d-din returned to Bengal. The reign of Shāmsu-d-din lasted 16 years and some months.

THE REIGN OF SIKANDAR SHĀH, SON OF SHĀMSU-D-DĪN.

When Sultan Shāmsu-d-din Bhangra passed away from this fleeting world, on the third day, with the consent of the nobles

1 Regarding coinage of Ilyās Shāh, see Thomas's Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S., 1867, pp. 57-59.

"Having in 746 become master of Western Bengal, Ilyās Shāh in 753 A.H. established himself at Sunargaon, near Dacca, and thus founded a dynasty which with an exception of about forty years in the beginning of the ninth century of the Hijrah, continued to rule over Bengal till 886 A.H." (Blochmann's Contribution, J.A.S., 1873, p. 254).

His coins (see p. 58, J.A.S. for 1867), disclose the interesting fact that several of them were minted at Sunargaon (which is termed on the coins Hazrat Jalalul Sunargaon or the Illustrious Royal Residence of Sunargaon), bearing dates A.H. 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758. His name on the coins is "Shamsu-d-din Abul Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh."
and the generals, his eldest son, Sikandar Shāh, ascended the throne of Bengal, and spreading the hem of justice and generosity on the heads of the people, proclaimed joyful tidings of peace and security. And deeming it expedient to conciliate Sultan Firuz Shāh, he sent, in the shape of presents, fifty elephants with sundry rarities. In the meantime, Firuz Shāh, Emperor of Delhi, in the year 760 A.H. marched to subjugate the kingdom of Bengal.

1 The object of this second expedition of Emperor Firuz Shāh into Bengal in 760 A.H. (1359 A.C.) was to reinstate Zafar Khān (son-in-law of Sultan Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shāh, king of Sunargaon) on the throne of Sunargaon. See details in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī by Shams Sirāj Afīf (Pers. MS. text, p. 97). From it, it appears that the Musalman throne of Sunargaon was more ancient than the Musalman throne of Pandua, that on Firuz Shāh’s return from Bengal after his first expedition (this would necessitate a slight modification of Professor Blochmann’s date in n: 1 ante p. 103) Shamsuddin Iyās Shāh sailed and reached Sunargaon in a few days. At that time (755 A.H. or 1354 A.C.) Sultan Fakhr-ud-din was reigning in security at Sunargaon. Shamsuddin took him by surprise, captured and slew him, and usurped the Sunargaon Kingdom, in addition to his Kingdom of Lakhnauti and Pandua.

At that time Zafar Khan, son-in-law of Fakhruddin who was touring out in the interior of Sunargaon, to collect revenue and to locally enquire into the conduct of collectors of revenue, heard the above news, sailed on a ship from Sunargaon by the ocean-route to Thatah and thence proceeded to Delhi, and sought help from Firuz Shāh. Peace was concluded with Sikandar Shāh, on the latter agreeing to reinstate Zafar Khān in the kingdom of Sunargaon—which however did not come to pass, as Zafar Khān preferred to go back to Delhi. Like Iyās Shāh, Sikandar took refuge in the Fort of Ekdalāh. From Bengal, Firuz Shāh invaded Jajāngar (Orissa), defeated the Rajah who made his submission, carried off the idol of Jaganath to Delhi, (p. 119) and captured many elephants. The Emperor’s stay in Bengal and Jajungar during this expedition covered 2 years and 7 months (p. 121). In this connection, an interesting description of Jajungar is given by Shams Sirāj Afīf (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, Pers. MS. text, p. 115, and in Muntakhībāl Tawarikh (Pers. text, p. 247, Vol. I, Fasc. III, ). Bearing in mind what Zia ‘Barni states regarding Jajungar in connection with Emperor Bulban’s expedition to Sunargaon, I am inclined to agree with Professor Blochmann that there were two Jajungars: one in Orissa, and another towards Tipperah. The account in Muntakhība Tawarikh referred to above, is slightly different from that in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī by Shams Siraj Afīf. Badoni in Muntakhib states that Firuz Shāh after completing his second expedition into Bengal (760 A.H.) returned from Pandua by forced marches to Jajungur (p. 247, Muntakhib Pers. text, Vol. I, Fasc. III), where he spent the rainy season, and that at the end of this year, by way of Behar, he marched into Jajungar (Orissa), passing through Sāthi-gāra, Barāna, and crossing the Mahandri river (the Rajah of Barānas
When he reached Zafarābād, the rains setting in, the Emperor encamped there, and sent envoys to Sīkandar Shāh. Sīkandar Shāh was in anxiety about the aim of the Emperor of Delhi, when Firuz Shāh’s envoys arrived. Sīkandar Shāh immediately sent his aid-de-camp together with five elephants and other presents, and opened negotiations for peace; but these resulted in nothing. After the rainy season was over, Sultān Firuz Shāh marched to Lakhnauti. When the Sultān encamped in the environs of Panduah, Sīkandar Shāh feeling that he was no match for the Sultān followed his father’s tactics, and entrenched himself in the Fort of Ekdālāh. Firuz Shāh pressed the siege hard. When the garrison was reduced to straits, Sīkandar Shāh sending forty elephants together with other goods and presents and numerous rareties, and agreeing to pay an annual tribute, sought for peace. Firuz Shāh accepting these returned to Delhi. After this for some years, Sīkandar Shāh with absolute independence gave full rein to enjoyments. And in the year 766 A.H., he built the Adina mosque; but before he could finish it, death overtook him, and the mosque remained half finished. Some trace of the mosque still exists in the jungles of Panduah, at a distance of one karoh from the town. The Author of this history has seen it. In fleeing to Telinga and the Rajah of Sathghira fleeing into a distant corner) marched into the territory of Rajah Prihan Deo, who sent to the Emperor as tribute 32 elephants, besides other valuable presents, and thence the Emperor marched on hunting expeditions into the forests of Padmāvati and Piremtola which contained powerful and big elephants, bagged three live elephants, and killed two elephants, and in 762 A.H. returned to Delhi victorious.

The account in Tarīkh-i-Firuz Shahi by Shams-i-Siraj is more reliable, as Siraj’s father was with Firuz Shah during the expedition (p. 115)—Siraj correctly mentions ‘Banaresi’ (which means evidently ‘Katak Banares’, therefore, Badaonis ‘Baranasi’ appears to be an error), also names ‘Adabah’ as Rai of Jajnagar, also “Rai Shaniy,” also ‘Rai Thud.’ The Rajah of Jajnagar owned ships, elephants, and lofty palaces constructed of stone, and laid out with gardens. (p. 116).

1 Zafarabad lies on the right bank of the Gunti, a little below Jaunpur, which lies on the left bank. The maps give instead “Jaffarabad,” which is a corruption of “Zaffarabad.” Zaffarabad is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari as a pargana in Sarkar Jaunpur under the Subah of Ilahabad (Allahabad)—Jarrett’s Tr., Ain., Vol. II, p. 164.

2 This beautiful mosque is at Panduah. Its inscription has been published in J.A.S.B., 1873, p. 257. The inscription was written in 770 A.H. (1369 A.C.)
truth, it is a beautiful mosque, and an enormous sum must have
been expended on its erection. One ought to be thankful for his
efforts. It is said that Sikandar Shāh had seventeen sons by his
first wife, and by his second wife he had one son, named Ghiās-
d-din, who, in polish of manners and other qualities, was superior
to his other brothers, and was proficient in the art of government.
Consequently, the first wife kindling the fire of envy and jealousy
and wishing the destruction of Ghiās-d-din, sought for an
opportunity to injure him. One day, finding an opportunity, she
respectfully placed the hand on her chest, in the presence of the
king, and desired to state her object. The king guessing from
the manner of the wife said: "Speak out what thou hast to say."
The wife said: "I would submit my prayer, if the king would
take an oath to fulfil it and try his best to fulfil it." The king
swore to fulfil it, and indulging in a bit of hyperbole said: "Un-
bosom the desire that thou hast, and make thy lip the mirror of
the dust of thy heart." The shrewd queen said: "I am in great
anxiety, in consequence of the conduct of Ghiās-d-din. He
is scheming to mount the throne, by killing the king and de-
stroying my sons. Although he is in the position of a son to me,
and I do not wish that he should be killed, yet as the safeguar-
ding of the life of the king is incumbent, you should not let slip
from the hand the rein of alertness, but provide previously
against any mishap. The best course would be that you should
imprison him, or blind his eyes." The king on hearing this
became perturbed, and said, "What is this aim of thine
which thou hast mingled with the liquid of my welfare?,
and what is this fire of envy that thou hast mixed with
solicitude for me? Thou feelest no shame that thou hast
seventeen sons, whilst the other frail lady has only this one
son. What you do not like for yourself, do not desire unto
others." The queen again anxiously said: "Envy and jealousy
have nothing to do with my suggestion. The duty that I thought
incumbent upon myself in the interests of thy well-being, I have
discharged; after this, my sovereign is at liberty to do what he
pleases." The king putting the padlock of silence on the portal
of the tongue, kept quiet, and said within himself, "As Ghiās-
d-din is a dutiful son and possesses capacity for ruling, even if he
seeks to take my life, let it be so! Happy it is, if the son is
dutiful. But if he is undutiful, may he perish!" After this, he
put the reins of authority entirely into the hands of Sultān Ghiāsu-d-din. But Ghiāsu-d-din, who suspected always the wiles and stratagems of the queen, one day on the pretext of hunting escaped towards Sunārgāon, and in a short time mobilising a large army, demanded the throne from his father. Shortly after, in order to wrest the kingdom, he marched with a large army from Sunārgāon, and encamped at Sunārgadā. From the other side, the father also with a powerful army advanced. On the next day, on the battlefield of Goālpāra, both sides marshalling their forces prepared to fight.

The son shewed malice towards the father:
Blood flowed from the perturbed heart.
The father snapped the ties of kindness and affection:
You might say that love had vanished from the world.

Although Ghiāsu-d-din had given strict orders to his soldiers and commanders that to the utmost they should capture the king alive, but as fate willed otherwise, Sikandar Shāh was unknowingly killed at the hands of one of the commanders of Ghiāsu-d-din. Whilst still the slayer was standing at his head, one amongst them seeing Sikandar Shāh killed, enquired as to who had killed him. He said: “I have killed him;” the other man said, “You felt no pity for Sultān Sikandar.” Then both in fright went to Ghiāsu-d-din and said: “In case we fear that by restraining our hands, we may be killed, can we kill him?” Ghiāsu-d-din said: “Certainly you may kill him,” and after some reflection he said: “Apparently, thou hast killed the king.” The slayer said: “Yes, unknowingly I inflicted a cut with the spear on the heart of the king. Still he has some remnants of life.” Ghiāsu-d-din proceeded swiftly, dismounted from the horse, and placed the head of the father on his lap, and tears trickled down and he said: “Father, open thy eyes, and express.

n Ghiāsu-

1 Not identified, but it must have been close to Sunargac
2 Identified by Professor Blochmann to be a village in Pandua, S.-W. of it (J.A.S., 1873, p. 256). But Dr. Wise: “Notes on Sunargaon” (J. A. S. for 1874, p. 85) correct: H. Jafargunj in Dacca district, and nearly opposite to the Ganges and the Baruna. “Eight years ago,” says Dr. Wise, the tomb was pointed out in the above neighbourhood.”
wish, that I may fulfil it." The king opened his eyes, and said:
"My life's work is over; the kingdom is welcome to thee.

May you prosper in your sovereignty,
As I have quitted the world."

After he said this, the bird of his soul flew away. Ghiāsu-
d-din seeing no good in tarrying further, left behind some nobles
to attend to the obsequies of his father, and himself rode forward
towards Pandua, and ascended the throne. The reign of
Sikandar Shāh 1 lasted nine years and some months. He was a
contemporary of the saint 'Alaul Haq. 2

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THE REIGN OF GHIĀSU-D-DĪN, 3 SON OF SIKANDAR SHĀH.

When Sikandar Shāh was laid in the grave, the throne of
Bengal received eclat from the accession of Sultan Ghiāsu-d-din.
First blinding the eyes of his step-brothers, he sent them to their
mother, and freed himself from anxiety as to the wiles of his
brothers. After this, he commenced dispensing justice, and
throughout his life lived at rest and ease. It is related that once
Sultan Ghiāsu-d-din falling seriously ill despaired of life, and
selected three maids from his harem, one named Sarv, the

1 For his coinage see Thomas's Initial Coinage (J.A.S., 1867, pt. II).
His name from coins (see pp. 65-67 J.A.S., 1867), appears to be "Abul
Majahid Sikandar Shāh." Some of his coins are of Sunnargaoon mint.

2 Shaikh 'Alauddin Alau Haq died on the 1st Rajab, 800 A.H. or 20th
Rajah, 1398, and his tomb is at Pandua. A short biographical sketch
of this saint is given by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.B., p. 262 for 1873.
Shaikh Nuruddin Nūr Qutb Alam who died in 851
A.H., and lies buried at Pandua. Nūr Qutb Alam was succeeded
by Shaikh Anvar.

3 'Alauddin, he is called "Ghiāsu-d-din Abūl Muzaffar Asam Shāh."
Initiai Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S. for 1867, pp. 66-69). His
coins minted at Suarzamabad in Eastern Bengal, and he held
his court, during the lifetime of his father, Sikandar Shāh, against
the Mughals. His court was an asylum for the learned and the cultured,
just and righteous sovereign, and a man of light and
refined the illustrious Persian poet Hafiz to his court. His
regnian (See pl. 8 in J.A.S. 1874, p. 85.)
second named Gul, and the third named Lalak, to perform the last bathing ceremony. When God granted him recovery, considering them auspicious he bestowed attentions on them more than before. The other maids from envy used to taunt them about the bathing, so that one day whilst the king was in a jolly mood, they related to him this affair. The king recited the following line—

ساقی - حذیفہ سرورگل ولائے میرود

"Cup-bearer, this is the story of Saru (the cypress) Gul (the Rose) and Lalak (the Tulip").

The second line of the verse could not be supplied, and none of the poets attached to court could supply it. Then the king writing this line, sent it with an envoy to Shamsu-d-din Hāfiz to Shiraz. Hāfiz 1 quickly supplied the next line:

این بحث با ثلاثة غزال میرود

("This story relates to the three bathers"). This 2nd line is not devoid of ingenious excellencies, and he sent also another ghazal in his name. The king in return bestowed on him valuable presents. These two lines are from that ghazal:

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیسان هدن
زین فنده پارسی که به بنگاله میرود
حافظ زیور امپراتور سلطان غیاث دین
خامش مشر که گار تو پز تاها میرود

(Translation). The parrots of Hindustan shall all be sugar-shedding

From this Persian sugar-candy that goes forth to Bengal. Hāfiz, from the yearning for the company of Sultān Ghiasu-
d-din,

Best not; for thy (this) lyric is the outcome of lamentation.

1 Hafiz the renowned Persian poet of Shiraz died in 791 A.H.
2 Translation of first two lines by Jarret (See Ain p. 148 Vol. 2)

"And now shall India's parroquets on sugar revel all,
In this sweet Persian lyric that is borne to far Bengal."
In short, Sultan Ghiānū-d-din was a good ruler, and adhered strictly to the injunctions of the sacred law. For instance, it is related that one day whilst at arrow-shooting, the king’s arrow accidentally hit a widow’s son. The widow sought for redress from Qāzi Sirāju-d-din. The Qāzi was in anxiety; for if he showed partiality towards the king, he would be held culpable before the tribunal of God, and if he did not do so, the summoning of the king would be a difficult affair. After much deliberation, he sent a peon to summon the king, and himself sat on the tribunal of justice, placing a whip underneath the masnad. When the Qāzi’s peon reached the palace, finding access to the king impossible, he commenced shouting out the call to prayer (Azan). The king hearing this untimely call to prayer, ordered the Muszzin (caller to prayer) to be brought to his presence. When the Royal servants carried the latter to the royal presence, the king enquired as to this untimely call to prayer. He (peon) said: “Qāzi Sirāju-d-din has deputed me, in order that I may take the king to the tribunal of justice. Since access to the king was difficult, I adopted this device to obtain access. Now get up, and come to the tribunal. The widow’s son whom you wounded with an arrow, is the complainant.” The king immediately got up, and concealing a small sword under his arm-pit, set out. When he appeared before the Qāzi, the latter not at all paying attention to the king, said: “Consulate the heart of this old woman.” The king consoled her in a way that he could, and said: “Qāzi, now the old woman is satisfied.” Then the Qāzi turning to the old woman enquired, “Have you received redress and been satisfied?” The woman said: “Yes, I am satisfied.” Then the Qāzi got up in great delight, and showing respect to the king, seated him on the masnad. The king drawing out the sword from his arm-pit said: “Qāzi, in obedience to the injunctions of the sacred Law, I have appeared at your tribunal. If to-day I found you deviating by one hair-breadth from adherence to the injunctions of the Law, with this very sword I should have severed your head. God be thanked, that everything has been all-right.” The Qāzi also drew his whip from underneath the masnad, and said: “Sire, if to-day I found thee in the least transgressing the injunctions of the sacred

1 Commutation or compounding of certain offences is permitted by the Muhammadan Law, as is also permitted (though to a more limited extent) by the present English Criminal Procedure Law of India.
Law, by God, with this very whip I should have turned your back red and black"¹ and added—

"A calamity had come but has ended well." The king, being pleased, bestowing gifts and presents on the Qāzi, returned. The king from the beginning had great faith in the Saint Nur Qutubul 'Alam, and was his contemporary and fellow-student; for both took their lessons from Shaikh Hamidu-d-din ² Kunjnasheen Nagori. At length, in the year 775 A.H., by the stratagems of Rajah Kans who was a zamindar in that part, the king was treacherously killed. The reign of Ghiāsu-d-din lasted seven years and some months, and according to another account, it lasted sixteen years, five months and three days.³

REIGN OF SAIFU-D-DĪN STYLED SULTĀNU-S-SALĀTĪN.⁴

When Sultan Ghiāsu-d-din passed from the narrow human frame into the wide space of the soul, the nobles and the generals

¹ This story speaks volumes in favour of the purity of the administration of justice that must have prevailed in the latter part of the fourteenth century under the Musalman régime in Bengal. History fails to furnish an instance that can surpass this, in exemplifying the honesty and sense of duty of a humble peon, the judicial fearlessness and integrity of a judge, and the law-abiding nature of a king.

² Shaikh Hamid of Nagor belonged to Nagor in Jodhpur.

³ For Coinage of this King, see Thomas's Initial Coinage, J.A.S.B., 1887, pp. 68-70.

From the circumstance that his early coins were struck at the mint-town of Maazzamabad (territory whereof has been identified to have extended from the Megna to north-eastern Maimansingh and the right bank of the Surma), it would appear that he first acquired power in Eastern Bengal, and reigned first at Sunargaon, from which place according to the Biyaz he marched out to fight against his father, Sikandar Sháh, who reigned at Pandua. Sultan Ghiāsu-d-din must have invited Hafiz to his court at Sunargaon, (as Hafiz died in 791 A.H.) when, according to Sikandar Sháh’s coins noticed by Mr. Thomas, Sikandar Sháh yet ruled at Pandua. (See also J.A.S. for 1873, p. 258).

⁴ On the coins he is called Saifu-d-din Abul Majahid Hamzah Sháh, son of Asam Sháh (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 259). Ferahta says: “The Rajahs of the country did not draw their heads out of the yoke of obedience, and did not
of the army placed his son, Saifu-d-din, on the paternal throne styling him Sulṭān-u-s-Salaṭīn.

One goes out, and another comes in in his place:
The world is never left without a master.

He was sober in character, and generous and brave. He reigned over Bengal for ten years, and in the year 785 A.H. he died, and according to another account, he reigned three years and seven months and five days. God knows the truth

REIGN OF SHAMS-U-D-DIN,1 SON OF SULTĀNU-S-SALĀTĪN.

After the death of Sulṭānu-s-Salātīn, his son, Shamsu-d-din, with the consent of the councillors and members of Government, ascended the throne, and according to ancient usages he observed the ceremonies attendant on assumption of sovereignty, and for a period was at ease and comfort. In the year 788 A.H. either by some natural disease, or by the stratagem of Rajah KĀns, who at that time had become very powerful, he died. Some have written that this Shamsu-d-din was not an actual but adopted son of Sulṭānu-s-Salātīn, and that his name was Shahābu-d-din. Either way, he reigned for three years, four months, and six days. And the true account is, that Rajah KĀns who was zamindār of Bāthuriah2 attacking him, slew him, and usurped the throne.

neglect or delay in paying revenue to him." According to the Tabaqat, he reigned 10 years. The coins discovered of him, were struck at Firuzabad (or Panduah).

1 Ferishta says, that as the king was young and weak in intellect, an infidel named Rajah KĀns, who was attached to the court, usurped the executive and collection of taxes. The Tabaqat says that the king died after a quiet and peaceful reign of three years and a few months.

Professor Blochmann identifies this king (whose coins have not been discovered) with king Shahabu-d-din Abūl Musaffar Bayazīd Shāh, whose coins are noticed by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S., p. 263, for 1873. Bayazīd Shāh, according to Professor Blochmann's theory, was "a puppet king—a benami transaction," whilst Rajah KĀns ruled over Bengal.

2 Professor Blochmann says (J.A.S.B., p. 263 for 1873):—

"The name of Bāthuriah does not occur in the Ain, nor have I seen it before the time of Rennel's Atlas (1779) in which the name of Bāthuriah is
USURPATION OF RAJAH KĀNSI ZAMINDAR.

When Sultān Shamsu-d-din died, Rajah Kāns a Hindū Zamindar, subjugating the whole kingdom of Bengal, seated himself on the throne, and commenced oppressions, and seeking to destroy the Musalmans, slew many of their learned and holy men. His aim was to extirpate Islām from his dominions. It is said one day Shaikh Badrul Islām, father of Shaikh Muinu-d-din ‘Abbās, sat down before that wretch, without saluting him. Thereupon he said: “Shaikh, why did you not salute me?” The Shaikh said: “It is not becoming for the learned to salute infidels, especially a cruel and blood-shedding infidel, like thee, who has shed the blood of Musalmans.” On hearing this, that unholy infidel kept silent, and, coiling like the serpent, aimed at killing him. One day he sat in a house which had a low and narrow entrance, and summoned in the Shaikh. When the Shaikh arrived, he guessed the Rajah’s object, so he first put out his legs inside, and afterwards not bending the head, entered. That

given to a large district east of Maldah, bounded in the west by the Mahananda river and the Parnabaha, its tributary, in the south by the left bank of the Ganges, in the east by the Karataya, and in the north by Dinajpur and Ghoraghat. Bhaturiah therefore is the district to both sides of the Atrai river.” Professor Blochmann (J.A.S.B. for 1875, p. 287), identifies “Bhaturiah” as part of old Barendra, in Rajshahi proper, between Amrūl and Bagura, and signifying Northern Rajshahi Proper including Tahirpur. Professor Blochmann also considers, that the name “Rajshahi” is connected with Rajah Kāns, who was a Rajah-Šāh, that is, a Hindu Rajah who ascended a Musalmān throne.

1 The Tabaqat-i-Akbar merely notices Kāns’s usurpation. Ferishta says that though not a Musalmān, Kāns was a friend (Sic.) of Musalmāns. The Riyaz gives the best account, based perhaps on local traditions. Mr. Westminster inaccurately identifies “Rajah Kāns” of Bhathuriah with Rajah Ganesh of Dinajpur.” Professor Blochmann (I think correctly) identifies “Rajah Kāns” with “Rajah Kāns Narayan” of Tahirpur which latter is included in Bhathuriah. (See J.A.S.B., p. 287 for 1875).

Rajah Kāns does not appear to have issued coins in his own name, but during his régime, posthumous coins of Azam Šāh (noticed by Hon’ble Sir E. C. Bayley in J.A.S., 1874, p 294n.) and coins in the name of Shahabudin Bayazid Šāh, a puppet king or a benami king (noticed by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 268), were issued.

Rajah Kāns from the testimony of coins appears to have reigned from 810 A.H. to 817 A.H. or 1407 to 1414 A.C. but he appears to have actually usurped the government earlier in 808 A.H.
infidel flew into rage, and ordered that the Shaikh should be placed in a line with his brothers. Immediately, the Shaikh was killed, and the rest of the learned that very day were placed on a boat and drowned in the river. The Saint Nūr Quṭb-ull-‘Ālam becoming impatient by reason of the oppressions of that infidel and his slaughter of the Musalmans, wrote as follows to Sulğān Ibrahim Sharqi 1 who ruled at that time up to the limits of Behār: “The ruler of this country, named Kāns, is an infidel. He is committing oppressions, and shedding blood. He has killed many of the learned and holy men, and destroyed them. At present, he is aiming to kill the remainder of the Musalmans, and to extirpate Islām from this country. Since to help and protect Musalmans, is a duty incumbent on Muselman sovereigns, accordingly I intrude on your valuable time with these few lines. I pray for your auspicious arrival here, for the sake of the residents of this country, and also in order to oblige me, so that Musalmans may be rescued from the oppressive load of this tyrant. Peace

1 Shamsu-d-dīn Ibrahim Shāh Sharqi, king of Jaunpur, reigned from 804 to 845 A.H. (1401-1441 A.C.) The Sharqi kingdom was created in 795 A.H. by Sulṭān Mahmūd, son of Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shāh, son of Sulṭān Muhammad, son of Sultan Firuz Shāh Tughluq, owing to the increasing feebleness of the Delhi Empire. The Sharqi kingdom, extended from Qanuj to Behar. Mahmūd first bestowed the title of Sulṭān-us-Sharqi on Malik Sarwar, a sultan who already held the title of Khajah-Jahan. The following table will be useful:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.C.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khajah Jahan ...</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mubark Shāh ...</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamsu-d-dīn Ibrahim Shāh</td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmūd Shāh ...</td>
<td>845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Shāh ...</td>
<td>856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain ...</td>
<td>856</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last took refuge in the court of Alam-d-dīn Husain Shāh, king of Bengal about 900 A.-H. or 1497 B.C. Jaunpur continued to be governed by the Lodi dynasty till the defeat and death of Ibrāhim, grandson of Bahlol at Paniput by Babar in 1428 A.C. A local kingdom was for a short time established under Bahadur Khān, governor of Behar; it was recovered by Humayun, passed again into the hands of Sher Shāh and his son Salīm Shāh. Jaunpur continued under the Afghans until Akbar in the 4th year of his reign took possession of it through Ali Quli Khan. In 1576, the vice-regal court was removed to Allahabad, and Jaunpur was thenceforth governed by a Naqīsm — See Jarrett’s Tr. of Ain, Vol II, pp. 169-170, and also Badauni, Vol. I, pp. 264, 272, 273, 310, 307, Pers. text.
be on you." When this letter reached Sultān Ibrahim, the latter opened it with great respect, and read it. Qāzi Shahābū-d-din 1 Jaunpuri who was one of the scholars of the time, and the chief of the body of the learned men, and who was highly respected by Sultān Ibrahim who used to seat him on a silver chair on auspicious occasions, also used his great persuasions and said: "You ought to set out quickly; for in this invasion both worldly and religious benefits are to be obtained, namely the country of Bengal will be subjugated, and you would also meet the Saint Shaikh Nūr Quṭbu-l-'Alam, who is the fountain-head of both worldly and eternal boons, and you would also be doing a pious deed by avenging the oppression of Muhammadans." Sultān Ibrāhīm pitching out his tents struck the kettle-drum of march, and making forced marches, in a short time, with a powerful army reached Bengal, and encamped at Firuzpur. 2 Rajah Kāns, on hearing this news, was confounded, and hastened to wait on the Saint Quṭbu-l-'Alam. Showing submissiveness and humility, and weeping, the Rajah said: "Pray, draw the pen of forgiveness across the page of the offences of this sinner, and dissuade Sultān Ibrāhīm from subjugating this country." The Saint replied: "In order to intercede on behalf of an oppressive infidel, I cannot stand in the way of a Musalman sovereign, especially of one who has come out at my desire and request." In despair, Kāns prostrated his head on the feet of the Saint, and added, "Whatever the Saint may bid, I am willing to submit thereto." The Saint said: "So long as thou dost not embrace the Musalman religion, I cannot intercede for thee." Kāns assented to this condition, but his wife casting that misguided man into the well of misguidance, prevented his conversion to Islām. At length, Kāns brought to the presence of the Saint his son named Jadū who was twelve years old, and said: "I have become old, and desire to retire from the world. You may convert to Islām this

1 "Qāzi Shahābū-d-din, a sage of Hindustan, flourished in the time (of Ibrahim Shāh). He was born at Delhi and in that city acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the inductive sciences and traditional lore, and at the time of the arrival of Timur, he set out for Jaunpur in the company of his master Manlana Khwajīgi who was the successor of Nasiru-d-din Cherīgī of Delhi, and then continued his progress and became the envy of his time."—Ain-i-Akbarī (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, pp. 169-170).

2 i.e., Panduah.
son of mine, and then bestow on him the kingdom of Bengal." The saint Quṭbu-l-‘Alam, taking out from his own mouth some chewed betel, put it into Jadū’s mouth, and making him pronounce the creed of the Musalman faith, converted him to Islam, and naming him Jalālu-d-din, had the fact proclaimed in the city, and caused the Khudba of the kingdom to be recited after his name. The ordinances of the sacred Muhammadan law from that day were again put in force. After this, the saint Quṭbu-l-‘Alam went to meet Sultan Ibrahim, and after making apologies, prayed that the latter might withdraw. The Sultan was annoyed at this request, and turned his face towards Qazi Shahabu-d-din. The Qazi said: "Saint, the king has come here at your requisition; and now you yourself siding with Kāns, appear as his agent; what is your aim?" The Saint said: "At that time (when I made the requisition) an oppressive ruler was tyrannising over the Musalmans; now owing to the auspicious arrival of the Sultan, he has embraced the Muhammadan faith. The Jihād (or holy war) is unjoined against infidels, not against Musalmans." The Qazi, finding no answer, kept quiet. But as the Sultan's temper was irritated, in order to soothe the Sultan, the Qazi commenced testing the learning and miracles of the saint, and was discomfitted. After much questions and answers, the Saint said: "To view with contempt saints and to try to test them, ends in nothing but discomfiture. Before long, thou shalt die in a wretched plight." And the saint at the same time cast an angry glance towards the Sultan. In short, the Sultan, annoyed and vexed, returned to Jaunpūr. It is said that shortly after Sultan Ibrahim and Qazi Shahabu-d-din Jaunpuri died.

'Whoever quarrels with saints, suffers.'

Rajah Kāns hearing that Sultan Ibrahim had died, displaced Sultan Jalālu-d-din, and himself re-ascended the throne. According to the injunctions of his false creed, the Rajah prepared several gold-figures of cows, shaved in Jalālu-d-din through their mouths, and pulled him out from their buttock-sides, and then distributed the gold of those cow-figures among the Brahmins, and thus perverted his son to his own creed. As Jalālu-d-din, however, had been converted by the Saint Quṭbu-l-‘Alam, he did not abandon his faith in Islam, and the persuasions of the infidels had no effect
on his heart. And Rajah Kāns again unfurling the standard of misbehaviour, attempted to destroy and extirpate Muhammadans. When his cruelties passed all bounds, one day Shaikh Anwār, son of the Saint Quli-al-ʿAlam, complained to his father of the oppressions of that tyrant, and said: “It is a matter of regret that in spite of such a holy saint of the time as yourself, Musalmans should be oppressed and ground down by the hand of this infidel.” The saint at that time was absorbed in prayer and devotion. On hearing this utterance of his son, the saint was enraged, and replied: “This tyranny shall cease only, when thy blood shall be shed on the earth.” Shaikh Anwār knew full well that whatever fell from the lips of his holy father, was sure to come to pass, and so after a moment, said: “What you have said about me, is meet and proper; but in respect of my nephew, Shaikh Zāhid, what is your will?” The saint said: “The drum of the virtues of Zāhid shall resound till resurrection-day.” In short, Rajah Kāns extending more than before his oppressions and cruelties, gradually oppressed the servants and dependants of the saint himself, plundered their effects and chattels, imprisoned Shaikh Anwār and Shaikh Zāhid. As he had heard the Saints' prophecy about Shaikh Zāhid, not daring to kill him, he banished both to Sunārgān, and sent orders to his agents there, that after ascertaining from them the whereabouts of the hidden treasures of their fathers and grandfathers, they should slay both. And on the Shaikh’s arrival at Sunārgān, they perpetrated many cruelties, yet not finding any clue to the hidden treasures which did not exist, first they murdered Shaikh Anwār, and when they attempted to take the life of Shaikh Zāhid, the latter stated that in a certain village a large cauldron was hidden. When they dug it up, they found a large chatty, but did not find more than one gold coin in it. They enquired, “What has become of the rest?” Zāhid said: “Apparently some one has stolen it.” And this affair was the outcome of a miracle. It is said that on the very day and at the very moment when Anwār was murdered at Sunārgān, and his sacred blood shed on the earth, Rajah Kāns passed away from his sovereignty to hell. According to some accounts, his son, Jalālu-d-din, who was in prison leagued with his father's servants, and slew him. The rule and tyranny of that heathen lasted seven years.
THE REIGN OF JALĀLU-D-DĪN, SON OF RAJAH KĀNS.

After this, Jalālu-d-dīn mounted the throne with full independence. He converted, contrary to his father, many infidels to the Moslem faith, and compelled the Hindūs who had tasted of the gold-made figures of cows, to eat beef. And calling back the saint Shaikh Zāhid from Sunārgāon, he paid him every respect and honour, and rendering him services, was very often in attendance on him. He managed the affairs of Government in an efficient manner. In his reign, people passed their lives in ease and comfort. It is said that in his time the town of Panduah became so populous that it cannot be described. At Gaur, he erected a mosque, a reservoir, the Jalāli tank and a caravanserai. The city of Gaur commenced being re-populated in his time. He reigned for seventeen years. In the year 812 A.H. he removed the capital back again to Gaur. To this day, a large tower exists over his mausoleum at Panduah. The graves of his wife and his son lie by the sides of his mausoleum.

REIGN OF AHMAD SHĀH, SON OF JALĀLU-D-DĪN.

When Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn was laid in the grave, his son Ahmad Shāh, with the consent of the nobles and the generals of the army, ascended the throne, in succession to his father. As he was very peevish, oppressive and blood-thirsty, he shed blood for

1 He is described in coins (see J.A.S.B., p. 267, for 1873), as Jalālu-d-dīn Abul Musaffir Muhammad Shāh. His reign probably lasted from 817 to 834 A.H. (1413 to 1430 A.C.) Some of his coins were struck at the mint-town of Sunārgāon. He resided at Panduah, but in 822 A.H. built a Palace at Gaur, and shifted his residence to the latter place. Panduah also became very populous in his time.

2 The date is a mistake for 822 A.H.

3 His name as appearing on his coins is Shamsu-d-dīn Abul Mujahid Ahmad Shāh. He reigned for 16 years from 834 to 850 A.H. (that is 1430–1446 A.C.)

The Tabaqat states that he reigned for sixteen years, and died in 830 A.H. Stewart says he reigned for eighteen years. Ferishta says he was a good and generous king, whilst Riyāz states he was a tyrant. With Ahmad Shāh ended the dynasty of Rajah Kāns, and commenced the restoration of the Ilyās Shāhi dynasty. (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 268).
nothing, and used to cut open the bodies of pregnant women. When his oppressions reached the utmost limits, and the low and the high were exasperated to desperation by his tyranny, Shādi Khān and Naṣir Khān who were his two slaves and held the rank of nobles intrigued, and killed Ahmad Shāh; and this event occurred in 830 A.H. His reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years.

REIGN OF NAṢIR KHĀN, THE SLAVE.

When the throne became vacant by the murder of Ahmad Shāh, Shādi Khān desired to put Naṣir Khān out of the way and to become himself the Administrator-General of the kingdom. Naṣir Khān, guessing his design, forestalled him, and slew Shādi Khān, and boldly placing himself on the throne, commenced to enforce orders. The nobles and the Malik of Ahmad Shāh not submitting to him, slew him. His reign lasted seven days, and according to another account, half a day.

REIGN OF NAṢIR SHĀH. 1

When Naṣir Khān the slave in retribution for his misdeeds was killed, the nobles and the generals leaguing together, raised to the throne one of the grand-sons of Sultān Shamsu-d-din Bhangra who had capacity for this onerous charge, styling him

1 His name, as appearing on his coins, is Naṣiru-d-dīn Abū Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh. With him commenced the restoration of the Ilyās Shāhi dynasty in Bengal. He reigned for thirty-two years in peace (this peace being probably due to the wars that then prevailed between Jaunpur and Delhi), and according to another account for not more than twenty-seven years, and died in A.H. 862. In the histories, he is simply called Naṣir Shāh. Dates of his reign, as ascertained from coins and inscriptions, are 846; 861; 863; whilst the earliest dates ascertained for the reign of Barbak Shāh, Mahmūd Shāh’s successor, is 865. Mahmūd Shāh therefore must have reigned till the beginning of 864 A.H. If his reign lasted twenty-seven years, this would put back the commencement of his reign to 836 (the year in which Maradun’s Ahmad Shāh’s coin was struck), and render Mahmūd Shāh an opposition king during 14 years of Ahmad Shāh’s reign which is doubtful. Inscriptions of this king from Satgaon, Dacca, and Gaur have been published. (See J.A.S. for 1873, pp. 269, 271 and for 1872, p. 108).
Nāṣir Shāh. Nāṣir Shāh conducted himself with justice and liberality, so that the people, both young and old, were contented, and the wounds of oppression inflicted by Ahmad Shāh were healed. The buildings of Gaur and the Fort there, were erected by this high-ranked king. Reigning thirty-two years over Bengal, he passed away like others before him from the world, and according to another account, his reign did not exceed twenty-seven years.

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REIGN OF BARBAK SHĀH,¹ SON OF NĀṢIRU-D-DĪN.

When Nāṣir Shāh died, his son Barbak Shāh mounted the throne. He was a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign. In his time, the soldiers were happy and contented, and he also spent his life in comfort and ease. He died in 879 A.H. His reign lasted seventeen or sixteen years.

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REIGN OF YŪSUF SHĀH.

After the death of Barbak Shāh, his son Yūsuf Shāh with the consent of the nobles and the élite of the kingdom ascended the throne. He was a sovereign of gentle temperament, solicitous for the welfare of his subjects, and virtuous and learned and pious. He reigned seven years and six months, and died in 887 A.H.²

¹ The coins do not give his full name, which however appears from inscriptions (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 272), to have been Baknu-d-din Abul Mujahid Barbak Shāh. His reign commenced in 864 A.H., and as appears from the Tribeni inscriptions (published by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.B. for 1870, p. 290), before that, he ruled as Governor of South-Western Bengal in 860 A.H. The Dinajpur inscription (published by Mr. Westmacott in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 272), proves that Barbak Shāh undoubtedly reigned as king in Bengal in 865 A.H. (1460 A.C.)

² His name from inscriptions (published in J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 275) appears to be Shamsu-d-din Abul Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh. He appears to have reigned from 879 to 886 A.H., when he died. From his inscriptions found at Pandua, Hazrat Pandua, and Gaur, the following dates of his reign have been ascertained, namely, A.H. 882, 884, 885 (that is 1477, 1479, 1480 A.C.)

Ferishta says he was a scholar who charged the Ulema to see the law of the Prophet duly observed. “No one dared to drink wine” (Blochmann's Contr. J.A.S. for 1873, p. 276).
REIGN OF FATH SHAH, SON OF YUSUF SHAH.

After the death of Yusuf Shah, his son Sikandar Shah, ascended the throne. He had a little touch of lunacy. As he had no capacity for this important function, the nobles and the leaders deliberating that very day surmounted him, and raised to the throne another son of Yusuf Shah, named Fath Shah. The latter was wise and sagacious. Observing with wisdom the usages of the rulers and sovereigns of the past, and bestowing on the nobles dignities according to their individual ranks, he pursued a liberal policy towards his subjects. In his reign, the gates of happiness and comfort were thrown open to the people of Bengal. It was then the established custom in Bengal for five thousand paiks to turn out every night with music, and for the king to go out for a while in the morning to receive their salute, and then to give them leave to depart, a new corps of paiks relieving them. One day, the eunuch of Fath Shah, bearing the name of Barbag, leagued with the paiks, and slew Fath Shah. This event took place in the year 896 A.H. Fath Shah's reign lasted seven years and five months.

REIGN OF BARBAG, THE EUNUCH, Styled SULTAN SHAHZADA.

Barbag the eunuch, the faithless miscreant, after slaying his own master, placed himself on the throne, according to the saying—

When a forest is untenanted, jackals give themselves the airs of lions.

1 Stewart calls him a "youth of the royal family"; other histories say nothing about his relationship. The Ain-i-Akbari gives him half a day; the Tabaqat gives him two and a half days; Farishta gives no period, and Stewart gives him two months (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 281).

2 His name from coins and inscriptions (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 281) appears to be Jalsu d-din Abul Muazzam Fath Shah. He appears from histories to have reigned from 887 to 896 A.H.; but inscriptions and coins show that he reigned in 886 A.H. Some of his coins were struck at Fathabad (Faridpur town) in 886 and 892 A.H. These together with the inscriptions on Baba Salih's mosque at Bandar, near Dacca (dated 886 A.H. or 1482 A.C.), of Bikraimpur (Dacca District) on Adam Shahid's mosque (dated 888 A.H. or 1488), of Sunargoon on Mugharabud-daulah-din's mosque (dated 889 or 1484 A.C.), are published in J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 282-285), and fix the dates of his reign. Fathabad (or Faridpur town) is named after him.
He styled himself Sultān Shāhzādā. He collected together eunuchs from all places; and bestowing largesses on low people, won them over to his side, and attempted to enhance his rank and power. Finding that only his own peers would come within his clutches, he tried to destroy the high and influential nobles. Out of these, the premier-nobleman, Malik Andil, the Abyssinian, who was on the frontiers, becoming apprised of the eunuch's designs, planned to set his own capable son on the throne, and to finish off the eunuch's life-work. At that time, the doomed eunuch thought of summoning Malik Andil, in order to imprison him by means of a trap; then he issued orders summoning him. Malik Andil guessing the real significance of the summons, with a large number proceeded to meet the eunuch. Since the Malik observed great precaution in his ingress to and egross from the darbar, the eunuch despaired of destroying him. In consequence, one day, the eunuch arranging an entertainment, showed great intimacy towards Malik Andil, and placing a Qorān, said: "Place your hand on the Holy Book, and vow that you will not injure me." Malik Andil vowed, "So long as you are on the throne, I shall do you no injury." Inasmuch as all the people were designing to destroy that miscreant eunuch, Malik Andil also schemed to avenge the murder of his benefactor, and leagues with the porters sought for an opportunity. One night, whilst that miscreant was intoxicated by excessive indulgence in liquor, and lay asleep on the throne, Malik Andil, being led in by the porters, entered the harem, to kill the eunuch. When he found the latter asleep on the throne, he hesitated, on recollecting his vow. Suddenly, that miscreant over whom a fatality was hanging, by the will of Providence which flings one from the throne of pride down to the dust of degradation, and places on another's head the crown of sovereignty, owing to his intoxication from liquor, slipped down from the throne. Malik Andil was delighted at this incident, and drew his sword on him, but did not succeed in despatching him. Sultān Shāhzādā, awaking, and seeing himself in front of an unsheathed sword, seized Malik Andil, and being strong, in the wrestling, threw down the latter, and sat on his chest. Malik Andil who held tightly the hair of the eunuch's head, did not let it go, but shouted out to Yugrūsh Khān who was standing outside the room, to come up quickly. Yugrūsh Khān, the Turk, with a number of Abyssinians, instantly
came in, and finding Malik Andil underneath the eunuch, hesitated in attacking with the sword. In the interval of search, the lights had fallen under the hands and feet of the two wrestlers and had got extinguished, and all was dark. Malik Andil shouted out to Yugrushi Khan, "I am holding the hair of the eunuch's head, and he is so broad and robust, that his body has become in a way my shield; do not hesitate to strike with your sword, since it will not penetrate through, and even if it does, it does not matter; for I and a hundred thousand like me can die in avenging the death of our late master." Yugrushi Khan gently inflicted some strokes with his sword on the back and shoulder of Sultan Shahzada, who feigned being dead. Malik Andil then got up, and along with Yugrushi Khan and the Abyssinians, went out, and Tawachi Bashie, entering the bed-room of Sultan Shahzada, lighted up the lamp. Sultan Shahzada, fancying him to be Malik Andil, before the lamp was lit, from fear not mounting the throne, had escaped into a cellar. Tawachi Bashie proceeding towards the cellar, entered it; then again Sultan Shahzada feigned being dead. The Bashie cried out: "It is a pity that rebels have killed my master, and ruined the kingdom." Sultan Shahzada, fancying him to be one of his own loyal adherents, cried out: "Look here, hold your peace, for I am alive," and enquired where Malik Andil was. Tawachi said: "Thinking that he has killed the king, he has returned home with peace of mind." Sultan Shahzada told him, "go out, call together the nobles and set them to fetch Malik Andil's head, after killing him, and place watchmen in charge of the gates, warning them to be armed and on the alert." Tawachi the Abyssinian replied: "Very well, now I go to effect a radical cure." Coming out, he quickly told the whole affair to Malik Andil, who again went in, and inflicting cuts with the dagger, finished off the eunuch's life, and leaving his corpse in that cellar, locked it, and coming out sent a person to summon Khan Jahân, the Vizier. And after the arrival of the Vizier, he held a council for the election of a king. And since the son of Fath Shah was only two years old, the nobles were diffident as to how he could be placed on the throne, so that, in the morning, all the nobles being of one mind went to the house of the widow-queen of Fath Shah, related to her the story of the night, and said: "As the prince is a child, you should appoint one to manage the affairs of Government, until
the prince comes of age.” The queen, on learning their anxiety, knew what to say. She said: “I have made a vow to God that I would bestow the kingdom on the person who kills the murderer of Fath Shāh.”<sup>1</sup> Malik Andil, at first, declined to accept the burden of kingdom, but afterwards, when all the nobles collecting in that assembly unanimously besought him, he mounted the throne. The period of Sultan Shāhzāda’s reign according to one account was eight months, and, according to another account, two and a half months. After this incident in connection with Sultan Shāhzāda, for some years, it became the ruling practice in Bengal that whoever slew the ruling king, and got an opportunity to seat himself on the throne, became recipient of homage and submission of the people, who did not protest against his installation.<sup>3</sup> In one pamphlet, the period of the rule of Sultan Shāhzāda is stated to be six months. God knows the truth.

REIGN OF MALIK ANDIL, THE ABYSSINIAN,styled FīRUZ SHĀH.<sup>3</sup>

When Malik Andil the Abyssinian, by his good fortune, took in lap the bride of the sovereignty of Bengal, he styled himself

<sup>1</sup> This affords another instance to illustrate the great influence exercised by Musalman ladies in the past, and the chivalrous deference paid to their wishes by Musalmans.

<sup>2</sup> “The pretorian band of Abyssinians, which Barbak Shāh had introduced into Bengal, became from the protectors of the dynasty the masters of the kingdom, and eunuchs were the actual rulers of the country... What royalty at that time was in Bengal is well described by Abul Fazl, who says that after the murder of Fath Shāh, low hirelings flourished; and Ferishta sarcastically remarks that the people would obey him who had killed a king and usurped the throne.” Blochmann’s Contri. (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 286).

With Sultan Shāhzāda begins a succession of Habshi or Abyssinian kings, which terminated only with the rise of the Husaini dynasty of Bengal.

<sup>3</sup> His name, as appearing on his coins (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 288), is Saif-ad-din Abul Muazzafir Fīruz Shāh. He was an Abyssinian or Habshi, and reigned from 893 to 895 A.H. (according to the testimony of coins); whilst histories give (incorrectly) the year of his death to be 899. He was (according to Rizb) the premier nobleman and a generalissimo under Fath Shāh. He proved a wise king.
Firuz Shāh, and proceeding to the metropolis of Gaur established himself there. In the directions of justice and liberality, he put forth noble efforts, and secured for his subjects peace and comfort. In that, during the time he was a noble, Malik Audil had done great and heroic deeds, both his soldiers and subjects dreaded him, and did not lean towards disaffection. In liberality and generosity, he was matchless. In a short time, he bestowed on the poor the treasures and largesses of past sovereigns, who had hoarded the same with considerable exertions and pains. It is said that on one occasion in one day he bestowed on the poor one lak of rupees. The members of Government did not like this lavishness, and used to say to one another: "This Abyssinian does not appreciate the value of the money which has fallen into his hands, without toil and labour. We ought to set about discovering a means by which he might be taught the value of money, and to withhold his hand from useless extravagance and lavishness." Then they collected that treasure on the floor, that the king might behold it with his own eyes, and appreciating its value, might attach value to it. When the king saw the treasure, he enquired: "Why is this treasure left in this place?" The members of Government said: "This is the same treasure that you allotted to the poor." The king said: "How can this amount suffice? Add another lak to it." The members of Government, getting confounded, distributed the treasure amongst the beggars. Malik Audil, after reigning for three years, in 899 A.H. fell ill, and the light of his life was extinguished by the breeze of death. But the more reliable account is, that Firuz Shāh also was slain at the hands of the Paiks. A mosque, a tower and a reservoir in the city of Gaur, were erected by him.

1 For a humourous description of the cowardice of the Bengal Paiks (an Infantry corps of Bengal) in the time of Sulṭān Iyās Shāh (1339 A.C.), see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi by Zia' Bārnī (Pers. text, Fasc. 7, p. 593), from which the following is translated: "And the well-known Bengal Paiks who for years dubbed themselves "Abu Bengal," and gave themselves martial airs, and proclaimed their readiness to sacrifice their lives for Iyās Shāh the Bhang-eater, and used to attend that maniac of a monarch, in the company of the dusky-looking Bengali Rajahs—at the time of actual warfare, put from fear their fingers into their mouths, ceased to be on the alert, threw down their swords and arrows, rubbed their foreheads on the ground, and were all put to the sword (by the army of Emperor Firūz Shāh Tughlak)."
THE REIGN OF SULTAN MAHMUD, SON OF FIRUZ SHAH.

When Firuz Shâh passed to the secret-house of non-existence, the nobles and the ministers placed on the throne his eldest son, named Mahmud. And an Abyssinian slave, named Habash Khan, became the Administrator-General of financial and administrative affairs, and his influence so completely pervaded all affairs of government, that, except a bare title, nothing of sovereignty was left to Mahmud Shâh, and the latter was compelled to live in this way, until another Abyssinian, who was called Sidi Badr Diwana, despairing of his ways, killed Habash Khan, and himself became the Administrator of the affairs of government. After some time, leaguing with the commandant of the Faiks, at night-time, he killed Mahmud Shâh, and next morning with the concurrence of the nobles of the palace, who were in league with him, he ascended the throne, assuming the title of Muzaffar Shâh. The reign of Mahmud Shâh lasted one year. And in the history of Haji Muhammad Qandahari, it is related that Sultan Mahmud Shâh 1 was a son of Fath Shâh, Jashn Khan, 2 a slave of Barbag Shâh, under order of Sultan Firuz Shâh, trained him up; and after the death of Sultan Firuz Shâh, Sultan Mahmud was placed on the throne. After six months had passed, Habash Khan, harboured notions of sovereignty in his head. Malik Badr Diwana killing Habash Khan, as has been related before, himself mounted the throne.

THE REIGN OF SIDÎ BADR, STYLED MUZAFFAR SHÂH.

When Muzaffar Shâh mounted the throne in the city of Gaur, being very blood-thirsty and audacious, he slew many of the

1 His name from coins and inscriptions (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 289), appears to be Nasiru-d-din Abû Muḥâhid Mahmūd Shâh. Though the histories generally call him a son of Firuz Shâh, the account of Haji Muhammad Qandahari referred to in the text, namely, that Mahmud Shâh was a son of Fath Shâh, appears to be more reliable. Mahmud Shâh reigned in 896 A.H.

2 “Jashn Khan” in the text is evidently a copyist’s mistake for “Habash Khan,” an eunuch-slave of Barbag Shâh, who according to Haji Muhammad Qandahari, was entrusted by Firuz Shâh with the bringing up of Mahmud Shâh, who was only two years old, when his father Fath Shâh died, and Malik Andil Firuz Shâh ascended the throne, with the consent of Fath Shâh’s queen.
learned and the pious and the nobility of the city, and also killed
the infidel Rajalis who were opposed to the sovereigns of Bengal.
He bestowed on Syed Husain Sharif Māki the office of Vizier,
and made him Administrator of the affairs of Government. And
he became assiduous in hoarding treasure, and by the counsel
of Syed Husain, he cut down pay of soldiers, and set about
building a treasury, and he committed oppressions in the
collection of revenue. Consequently the people, receiving in-
juries at the hands of Muzaffar Shāh, became disgusted with
him. Gradually, Syed Husain’s mind was also changed, so that
matters came to this pass, that in the year 903 A.H., most of the
principal noblemen, seceding from the king, went out of the city,
whilst Sultān Muzaffar Shāh with five thousand Abyssinians and,
three thousand Afghāns and Bengalis entrenched himself in the
fort of Gaur. For a period of four months, between the people
inside, and outside, the city, fightings raged, and daily a large
number of people were killed.¹ It is said that, during the period
Sultān Muzaffar was entrenched in the fort, whenever any one
was captured and brought before him, he used to kill him with the
sword with his own hand, with a ferocity characteristic of the
Abyssinians, so that the number of people killed by him amounted
to four thousand. At length, Muzaffar Shāh,² sallying out with
his force from the city, gave battle to the nobles, whose leader
was Syed Husain Sharif; and from both sides, twenty thousand
men fell, either by the sword or the arrow.

¹ This sanguinary civil war in Bengal, about the end of the fifteenth
century, between the Royalists on one side and the people on the other, headed
by the nobles, reminds one of a similar war between king John and his barons
in England, and illustrates that the people in Bengal were not “dumb, driven
cattle,” but that they had sufficient political life and strength and powers of
organization to control the monarchy, when its acts exceeded all constitutional
boundaries, as set by the Sharīʿ or Muhammadan law. Indeed, Moslem monarchies,
wherever established, (barring individual aberrations) have been constitutional in the strict sense of the word, from the time, when, in the seventh
century, the first Khalifate was established in Arabia (see Sir W. Muir’s

² His name on inscriptions and coins (published in J.A.S.B. for 1873,
pp. 289-290), appears to be Shamsu-d-din Abu-Nasr Muzaffar Shāh. His
inscriptions and coins show that he reigned from 896 to 899 A.H. (that is,
from 1491 A.C. to 1494 A.C.) Histories allot to his reign three years and five
months. He was an Abyssinian, and his original name was Sidi Badr.
The field was heaped up with the slaughtered:
You might say another rampart had been raised!

At length, the zephyr of victory wafted on the standard of the nobles. Muzaffar Shāh, with a number of his associates and adherents, was killed on the field. And according to the statement of Haji Muhammad Qadahari, during that time, from the beginning to the end of the war, one lakh and twenty thousand people, of both Musalman and Hindu persuasions, passed to the regions of destruction. And Syed Husain Sharif Maki, gaining the throne, raised the standard of sovereignty. And in the history of Nizam-u-d-din Ahmad, it is related that when the people got disgusted with the misconduct of Muzaffar Shāh, Syed Sharif Maki becoming aware of this state of national disgust, won over to his side the Commandant of the Household troops and, one night, with thirteen men entering the inner chambers, slew Muzaffar Shāh, and next morning mounted the throne, and proclaimed himself Sulṭān ‘Alāu-d-din. The reign of Muzaffar Shāh lasted three years and five months. A mosque, amongst his other buildings, exists at Gaur.

THE REIGN OF ‘ALAU-D-DIN SYED HUSAIN SHARIF MAKI.

Syed Husain Sharif Maki, during the period of his Vizirat, used to treat the people with affability. He used to tell them:

1 Nizām-u-d-din Ahmad was Bakhshi under Akbar, and was a patron of the historian Badāuni. Nizām-u-d-din completed his history called Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī in 1590 A.C.; he is the first writer who gives a concise connected account of the Independent Musalman kings of Bengal from 1388 A.C. to 1538 A.C.

2 His name on coins and inscriptions (vide J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 292-293), is “Alau-d-din Abīl Muzzafar Husain Shāh, son of Syed Ashraf-al-Husaini.” Nowhere on coins and inscriptions is he called “Sharif Maki,” as in the text. The Tabaqat-i-Akbarī simply calls him “Alauddin”; Feriṣhta erroneously calls him “Syed Sharif Maki”; whilst Stewart incorrectly calls him “Sharif Mecca.” He reigned from 899 to 927 A.H. (according to coins and inscriptions). The Riyās states that Alauddin, after arriving as an adventurer in Bengal, settled at a place called Chandpur in Badha district (Western Bengal), but Professor Blochmann (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 228 n.) is inclined to identify the Chandpur in question near ‘Alaipur or ‘Alau-d-din’s town,’ on the Bharih, east of Khulna, in Jessore district, as the place where the Husain dynasty of Bengal
“Muzaffar Shâh is very stingy, and rude in behaviour. Although I advise him to attend to the happiness of the army and the independent kings had its adopted home, because Husain Shâh first obtained power in the adjacent district of Farîdpur or Fathâshâbad (which latter at the time was included in, or rather included portions of, Jessore), where his first coins were struck in 899 A.H. (Mâsâdeh's pl. XXXVIII, No. DCCLXXIX), and also because Husain Shâh's son, Nasrat Shâh, erected a mint at the neighbouring place of Khalifatâbad (or Bagerhat, formerly in Jessore district) and minted there coins in the lifetime of his father in 922 A.H. (see p. 507, J.A.S.B. for 1873 and pl. IX, No. 10). Another circumstance which also supports the above theory of Professor Blochmann about the locale of Alau-ddîn Hussain Shâh's adopted home, appears to be this, that the names of Husain Shâh, his brother Yusuf Shâh, and his sons Nasrat Shâh, and Mahmûd Shâh, are found in connection with several parganas of Jessore (Jasur) district (as formerly constituted, before its being split up into Pabna, Khulna and Faridpur districts), such as parganas Nasratâshâhî and Mahmûdâshâhî and Yusuf-Shâhî, and Mahmûdabad (a whole Sirka or including Northern Jessore or Jasur and Bosmah). In regard to Alandûn Husain Shâh, Professor Blochmann observes (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 291) that "of the reign of no king of Bengal—perhaps of all Upper India before the middle of the 10th century—do we possess so many inscriptions. Whilst the names of other Bengal kings scarcely ever occur in legends, and remain even unrecognized in the geographical names of the country, the name of 'Husain Shâh the Good' is still remembered from the frontiers of Orissa to the Brahmaputra." This great and good king extended his empire into Orissa, into Assam, into Chittagong, and reigned over all north Behar, and all south Behar up to the western limits of Sarkar Monglyr, where his son Danyal erected a vault over the shrine of Peer Nafr. (See Tabaqat-i-Akbarî and also Badonî, Vol. I, p. 371). A cathedral mosque amongst his other edifices was erected by this king, in 907 A.H. at Machâhn, opposite to Farîdpur in Dâkakh; the inscription of this mosque appears in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 293. The Husain Shâhî dynasty consisted of four sovereigns: (1) Alandûn Husain Shâh who reigned from 899 to 922 A.H. (2) Alau-d-dîn's son, Našîru-d-dîn Abul Muzaffar Nasrat Shâh (929 to 939). (3) Alau-d-dîn Firûz Shâh (939), a son of No. 2, and (4) Ghiasu-d-dîn Mahmûd Shâh, (940-945 A.H.) the last independent king of Bengal, who was defeated by Sher Shâh's army at Gaur under Jalal Khân and Khwâs Khân in 944 A.H. or 1338 A.D. That is, for forty-four years, this Husainî dynasty consisting of four kings, reigned over Bengal. (See J.A.S.B. for 1872, p 332). The Tabaqat-i-Akbarî's notice of Bengal closes with an account of the reign of Nasrat Shâh, the second king of the above Hussainî dynasty. The fourth king of the Hussainî dynasty, it may be of interest to remark, is the "El Ray Mamûd de Bengali" of the Portuguese, who described Gaur, the capital at the time, as being "three leagues in length, well-fortified and with wide and straight roads, along which rows of trees were planted to shade the people." This Mahmûd Shâh died in 945 A.H. at Colgong (Kâhalgaon), where he lies buried.
nobility, and dissuade him from evil pursuits, it is all in vain; for he is simply bent on hoarding wealth." In consequence, the nobles looked upon Husain as their friend, patron and sympathiser. As his virtues and Muzaffar Shāh's vices were known to the public and to the elite, on the day that Muzaffar Shāh was slain, all the nobles held a council for the purpose of electing a king, and favoured the installation of Syed Sharif Maki, and said, "If we elect you king, in what way will you conduct yourself towards us?" Sharif Maki said: "I will meet all your wishes, and immediately I will allot to you whatever may be found over-ground in the city, whilst all that is under-ground I will appropriate to myself." The patricians as well as the plebeians fell in with this tempting offer, and hurried out to pillage the city of Gaur, which at this time eclipsed Cairo (in point of wealth).

In this way, a city was pillaged:
You might say, it was swept by the broom of plunder.

Syed Sharif Maki by this easy contrivance, seized the umbrella of sovereignty, and introduced the Khutba and the coin in his own name. Historians write that his name was Syed Sharif Maki,¹ and that when he ascended the throne, he styled himself 'Alau-d-dīn. But I note that throughout the kingdom of Bengal and in the neighbourhood of Gaur, his name as Husain Shāh is on the lips of the élite and the mass. Since I did not find the name of Husain Shāh in history, I was in doubt. After much research, by deciphering wordings of inscriptions which exist up to this day, and are engraved on the ruins of the City of Gaur, on the stone of the large gate-way of the Qadam Rasūl building,² and on the Golden Mosque, and also on some other shrines, which are amongst the edifices erected by Sultan Husain Shāh and his sons Naṣrat Shāh and

¹ The Tabaqat-i-Akbari and Badaoni (p. 317 vol. 1) simply call him Alauddin (which however was obviously the Julūs name), Perishta erroneously calls him "Sayid Sharif Maki," whilst Stewart incorrectly calls him "Shiref Mecca," erroneously led no doubt by the remark of the 'Riyaz' whose author thinks that Husain's father or one of his ancestors might perhaps have been a Shirif of Mecca. The Alamgirnamah (p. 730) calls him Husain Shāh.

² The inscription dated 937 A.H. on the Qadam Rasūl building at Gaur is published in J.A.B.B. for 1872, p. 338; in it Naṣrat Shāh is described as son of Husain Shāh, son of Syed Ashrafal Husaini.
Mahmūd Shāh, it appears that Syed ‘Alā‘-d-din Abūl Muzaffar Husain Shāh is the son of Syed Ashraful-Hussaini. In regard to the months and years of Syed Sharif Maki’s period, all these inscriptions tally, and thus all doubts are set at rest. It appears that apparently his venerable father—Syed Ashraful Husaini—was Sharif of Makka; hence the son also was known as Sharif-i-Maki; or else, his name was Syed Ḥusain. In a pamphlet, I have noticed that Ḥusain Shāh and his brother Yusuf, together with their father, Sayyid Ashraful Ḥusaini, were residents of the town of Tarmūz. By chance, they came to Bengal, and stayed in the mouzā of Chandpur in the zillā of Raḍha, and both the brothers took their lessons from the Qāzi of that place. On knowing their noble pedigree, the Qāzi married his daughter to Ḥusain Shāh. After this, he entered the service of Muẓaffar Shāh, and reached the office of Vizier, as has been related before. When he ascended the throne in the city of Gaur, after some days, he forbade the people from the pillage of the city, and when they did not cease, he slaughtered twelve thousand plunderers; then these stayed their hands from the work of pillage. And making search, he found much of the hidden treasures including thirteen hundred plates of gold. From ancient times, the custom in the country of Lakhnauti and East Bengal was that rich people preparing plates of gold, used to take their food thereon, and on days of carnivals and festivities, whoever displayed a large number of golden plates, became the object of pre-eminence. And this custom up to this time prevails amongst the rich and high-ranked people. Sultān ‘Alā‘-d-din Ḥusain Shāh, since he was a wise and sagacious sovereign, shewed considerateness towards the influential nobles, and raised his select officers to high positions and trusty offices. And he prohibited the Paiks—whose faithlessness and regicides had become characteristic—from guarding the Palace, and totally disbanded them, so that no harm might befall him. And in place of the Paiks, in the Guard-room and on the Band-stand, he appointed other body-guards. And he also expelled totally the Abyssini-ans from his entire dominions.

1 A town in Turkestan.
2 That is, the Western Bengal tract. See however, note 13 to p. 49, where Professor Blochmann identifies Chandpur, near Alairpur on the Bhairab, in Jessore district.
Since these Abyssinians were notorious for their wickedness, regicides and infamous conduct, obtaining no footing in Jaunpur and Hindustan, they went to Gujar and the Dakhin. Sultan Alau-d-din Husain Shâh, girding up the waist of justice, unlike other kings of Bengal, removed his seat of government to Ekdâla, which adjoins the city of Gaur. And excepting Husain Shâh, no one amongst the kings of Bengal made his seat of government anywhere, except at Pandua and the city of Gaur. As he was himself of noble descent, according to the saying, "Every thing turns back to its origin" he took the Syeds, Mughals and Afghans by the hand, and sent efficient District Officers to different places, so that peace in the country being secured, anarchy and revolutions which had occurred during the period of the Abyssinian kings, etc., vanished; and all disloyal elements were reduced to order. And subjugating the Rajas of the onirous and conquering up to Orissa, he levied tribute. After this, he planned to conquer Assam, which is north-east of Bengal. With an overwhelming army consisting of infantry and a numerous fleet, he marched towards that kingdom, and conquered it. And conquering the whole of that country up to Kamrup, Kamta and other districts which were subject to powerful Rajas, like Rup Narain, and Mal Kunwar, and Gasa Lakhan and Lachmi Narain and others, he collected much wealth from the conquered tracts; and the Afghans demolishing those Rajas' buildings, erected new buildings. The Raja of Assam not being able to oppose him, relinquishing his country, fled to the mountains. The king, leaving his son with a large army to

1 This was Prince Danyal (incorrectly known as Dulal Ghazi). This invasion of Assam took place in 1498 A.C. See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 335. Particulars of this invasion of Assam in 1498 A.C. or 908-9 A.H. are given in the Alamgirnamah pp. 730 and 731 and the Assam Buranji (J.A.S., for 1874, p. 281). Husain Shâh's conquest of Kamrup and Kamta (western Assam) is also chronicled in a contemporaneous inscription of 907 A.H. (1501 A.C.) in a Madrasah or College founded by Husain Shâh at Gaur. This inscription is also published in J.A.S., for 1874, p. 308. Husain Shâh's first Governor of Western Assam or Kamrup was his son, Prince Danyal,—the same prince who erected the vault over the shrine of Pir Nafa in Monghyr fort in 903 A.C., whilst returning from a mission on behalf of his father to meet Sultan Sikandar Lodi in Behar, and immediately before setting out on this Assam expedition (Badauni, p. 317 Vol. 1). He was followed as Governor of Assam by Musanndar Ghazi, who was succeeded by Sultan Ghiau-d-din who introduced a colony of Muhammadans into Assam.
complete the settlement of the conquered country, returned triumphant and victorious to Bengal. After the withdrawal of the king, his son devoted himself to the pacification and defences of the conquered country. But when the rainy season set in, owing to floods, the roads and tracks became closed; and the Rajah with his adherents issued from the hills, surrounded the Royal army, engaged in warfare, cut off supplies of provisions, and in a short time put all to the sword. And the king, erecting a fort on the bank of the river Bhatah, bestowed great efforts on the improvement and advancement of the Kingdom of Bengal. And erecting and establishing Mosques and Rest-houses at different places in every district, he conferred numerous gifts on saints and recluse. And for the maintenance of the Rest-house in connection with the eminent saint, Nur Qutb-ud-Din, he endowed several villages, and every year, from Ekdalā, which was the seat of his government, he used to come to Pandua, for pilgrimage to the bright shrine of that holy saint. And because of his meed-worthy courteous and affable deportment, and owing to the exuberance of his good sense and wisdom, he ruled for a long period with complete independence. In the year 900 A.H., Sultan Husain Sharqi, ruler of the Jaunpūr kingdom, on being defeated and pursued by Sultan Sikandar, proceeded to Colong (Kahlgaon), and took shelter with Sultan Ala‘uddin Husain Shāh. The latter, paying regard to the refugee’s rank, provided him with means of comfort, so that relinquishing anxieties and cares of sovereignty, Sultan Husain Sharqi passed the rest of his life at the above place. Towards the end of ‘Ala‘uddin’s reign, Muḥammad Babar the Emperor invaded Hindustan. Sultan Ḥusain Shāh, in the year 927 A.H., died a natural death. His reign lasted 27 years, and according to some, 24 years,

1 Stewart has ‘bateh,’ and says it is the name of a stream, which also bears the name of Gandak. I do not know how far Stewart is correct.

2 He also founded Madrasahs or Colleges for the advancement of learning, as is evidenced by the testimony of the contemporaneous inscription of 907 A.H. published in J.A.S.B., for 1874, p. 303. This inscription opens with the remarkable saying of the Prophet, “Search after knowledge even as far as China.”

3 See note p. 46
4 See Badaun, p. 316, Vol. I.
and according to others, 29 years and 5 months. Amongst the sovereigns of Bengal, none has been equal to 'Alāū-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. And traces of his beneficence in this country are well-known to all. He had eighteen sons. Naṣrat Shāh, after his father, became king of Bengal.

THE REIGN OF NAṢRAT SHĀH,¹ SON OF 'ALĀŪ-D-DĪN ḤUSAIN SHĀH.

When Sulṭān 'Alāū-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh died, the adherents of the kingdom and the members of the government placed on the throne his eldest son, named Naṣrat Shāh, commonly known as Naṣīb Shāh, who was wise and just, and well-behaved, and in affairs of administration was more proficient than his other brothers. The most laudable work that he performed was that, instead of imprisoning his brothers, he doubled the offices which had been conferred on the latter by their father. And capturing the Rajah of Tirhūt, he killed him. And he set two officers named 'Alāū-d-dīn and Makhdum 'Alim, otherwise known as Shāh 'Alim, and who were sons-in-law of Ḥusain Shāh, for the conquest of the limits of Tirhūt and Ḥajipur,² and posted them there. And when Emperor Babar, killing Sulṭān Ibrāhīm,³ son of Sulṭān

¹ His name, as appearing on his coins and inscriptions, is Nāṣīr-u-d-dīn Abūl Muzaffar Naṣrat Shāh. (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 296 and 297). Historians call him also Naṣīb Shāh, (Badaoni, p. 348), but perhaps whilst as a prince, he held the name of Naṣīb Khān. He appears to have reconquered Chittagong Tract (see Tarīkh-i-Hamīdī and J.A.S. for 1873, p. 336), and to have subdued Tirhūt and Ḥajipur tracts in North Behar—and to have also held temporary sway over Azimgarh in the N.-W. Provinces (see Sikandarpūr Azimgarh inscription published in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 296). Kharīd mentioned in this inscription is on the right bank of the Ghagra river.

² Ḥajipur was long the head-quarters of the Bengal Governors of Behar from the time of Ḥāji Ilyās, and was founded by Ḥāji Ilyās alias Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās, king of Bengal. It sank in importance with the transfer of the head-quarters to Patna, on the establishment of Mughal rule under Emperor Akbar.

³ Ibrāhīm Lodi, son of Sikandar Lodi and grandson of Bahlol Lodi, was defeated and killed by Babar at the decisive battle of Panipat in 1526 A.C. or 932 A.H. See the graphic description of this decisive battle in Badaoni (Pers. text, Vol. I, pp. 334–336.) By this great battle, the sovereignty of
Sikandar Lodi, conquered the great empire of Hindustan, many of the Afgān Omra escaping, sought refuge with Naṣrat Shāh. And at length, Sulṭān Maḥmūd,¹ brother of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, being expelled from his kingdom, came to Bengal. Naṣrat Shāh showing kindness to every one, bestowed on all pargannahs and villages, in accordance with their respective rank and condition, and consistently with the resources of his kingdom. And he married Sulṭān Ibrāhīm’s daughter, who had also come to Bengal. And planning the subjugation of the Mughal forces, he despatched Qūṭb Khān with a large force towards the environs of Bharaich.² And the latter fought several battles with the Mughals, and for a period the contending forces were bivouacked there, fighting. But Khān Zamān,³ son-in-law of Emperor Babar, had conquered up to Jaunpūr, and when in the year 930 A.H., Emperor Babar came to Jaunpūr, and brought to his subjugation all its limits and environs, and planned to march to Bengal and to bring it also under his domination, Naṣrat Shāh, foreseeing the result, sent valuable presents and gifts in charge of wise envoys, and offered submission. Emperor Babar, in view of the exigencies of the times, made peace with Naṣrat Shāh, and retired. When Emperor Babar died on the 5th of the month of Jamādi-l-Awal India was transferred from Afghan hands to those of the Mughals. Strange enough to add, this revolution was effected by the intrigues of Afghan officers and Omra of Ibrāhīm who had joined Babar, and invited the latter to India. (Bahāmī, Pers. text, p. 331, Vol. I). No doubt, it was a penalty paid by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm for his ill-treatment of his brothers, officers and noblemen, whom he constantly distrusted and disgraced.

¹ Sulṭān Maḥmūd was a son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi. He was set up as a King by Ḥusayn Khān Mewati and Rana Sanka, and induced to fight with Babar who defeated him. After defeat, he lived at Chitor, whence he was brought by Afghans to Behar, and proclaimed its King. Sher Khān joined him, but subsequently deserted him in favour of Mughals, who defeated him. From Patna, he fled to Orissa, where he died in 949 A.H. (See Bahāmī, pp. 361 and 338, Vol. I).

² Sarkar Bharainch is included in the Subah of Oudh, and is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akhbar (Jarrett’s Tr., Vol. II, p. 93).

This was the furthest western incursion made by the Musalmān kings of Bengal (barring of course Sher Shāh, who from king of Bengal rose to be Emperor of all India).

³ See p. 139 Bloom. Tr., Ain, Vol. I. From Bahāmī’s account (p. 338, Vol. I), the conquest of Jaunpur appears to have been made by Humayun, during Babar’s lifetime, in Bahāmī (p. 344, Vol. I), Md. Zaman Mirza.
937 A.H., and Emperor Humâyün ascended the throne of Delhi, it was rumoured that the Emperor of Delhi was planning the conquest of Bengal. Consequently, Naṣrat Shāh in the year 939 A.H., in view of demonstrating his sincerity and friendship, sent rare presents in charge of Malik Marjân, the eunuch, to Sultān Bahādūr Gujratī. Malik Marjân met Sultān Bahādūr in the fort of Mandu, and became the recipient of a special Khilفاt. In the meantime, Naṣrat Shāh, in spite of his being a Syed, indulged in dissipations and sundry oppressions, to detail which would be to harrow the feelings of all. And a world was grinding under his tyranny. In that interval, Naṣrat Shāh rode to Aknakah, in the city of Guur, in order to visit the tomb of his father. As will would have it, there he punished an eunuch for some fault. From fear of life, this eunuch leagued with other eunuchs, and murdered Naṣrat Shāh on his return to the palace, in the year 943 A.H. His reign lasted 16 years, and according to some, 13 years, and according to others, less than 13 years. The foundations of the building of Qadam Rasūl in the year 939, and the Golden mosque commonly called the Sona Musjid in the year 932 A.H., were laid by him, and these with their shattered doors and walls exist to this day, amongst the buildings of Naṣrat Shāh, sou of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-din Ḥusain Shāh, amidst the ruins of Gaar. And the foundation of the luminous shrine of the saint Makhdum Akhi Sirajü-d-din at Sādu-l-Jālpur is also amongst the noble relics of that monarch.

1 He reigned in Gujaratt from 1526 A.C. to 1536 A.C.—see Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 261, and Badaoni, pp. 344 to 347, Vol. I.
2 This building was in fair order when I visited Guur in 1887. It is a square one-domed building in the enclosure of the Fort. Its length from east to west is 24 cubits, and its breadth is the same. The Bhangarai flows to the west of it, about a distance of 30 ṭlaqūt. This building was erected by Naṣrat Shāh in 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.). Inside the mosque under the dome, there is a footprint of the Arabian prophet on a piece of stone, which is said to have been formerly at Pandunah in the Chišāhāna of the Saint Jallala-u-d-din Tabrizi, who is supposed to have brought it from Arabia.
3 The inscription on the building is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 336.
4 The date on the inscription is however, 937 A.H. (See J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 338).
5 See Ravonshaw’s and Crichton’s “Ruins of Guur.”
6 He was a Saint of Guur. He came as a boy to Nizam-u-d-din Anliah of
[Note by the author, Salām: In all the inscriptions that engraved on stones exist to this time, the king’s name is mentioned as Naṣrat Shāh, son of Sultān ‘Alā‘-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. In histories, his name is mentioned as Naṣib Shāh. Apparently, this is a corruption or a mistake, in that there is no room for mistake in the inscriptions engraved on stones.]

REIGN OF FĪRÚZ SHĀH,¹ SON OF NAṢRAT SHĀH.

When Naṣrat Shāh drank the disagreeable syrup of death, his son, Fīrūz Shāh, by the counsels of the grandees, ascended the throne. He had reigned for three² years, when Sultān Māhāmūd Bengalī, who was one of the eighteen sons of Sultān ‘Alā‘-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, and whom Naṣrat Shāh had installed to the rank of a nobleman, and who in the life-time of Naṣrat, conducted himself like an ameer, finding an opportunity, slew Fīrūz Shāh, and ascended the throne by right of inheritance from his father.

Delhi and in course of time acquired great learning. He was then sent to Bengal, where he died in 758 A.H. or 1357 A.C. After Nizamu-d-dīn’s death (according to the Haft I qīm), he went to Lakhnauti—(See J.A.S. for 1873 p. 260).

Naṣrat Shāh could not have laid the foundation of the Saint’s shrine; he could have only repaired and improved it, for the inscription on the shrine (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 294), shews that its door was built by Naṣrat Shāh’s father, Sultān ‘Alau-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, in 916 A.H. (A.C. 1510).

Akhī’s pupil was the Saint Alau-l-Huq, father of the Saint Nūr Quṭb ‘Alam of history.

Akhī was a contemporary of Shamsu-d-dīn Abū Muzaffar Iyās Shāh, King of Bengal.

¹ His name appears to be ‘Alau-d-dīn Abū Muzaffar Fīrūz Shāh, both on his coins and his inscriptions (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 297). He reigned for only one year (939 A.H.) when he was slain by his uncle Māhāmūd Shāh the next King. This would also put back the date of Naṣrat Shāh’s murder to end of 938 or beginning of 939 A.H.; but Badaoni’s account (p. 348, Vol. I), renders it doubtful.

² “Three years,” is evidently a copyist’s mistake, for Stewart who bases his history on the Biyaz, mentions “three months” which he must have found in his copy of the MS. of the Biyaz, and which appears otherwise more consistent, chronologically.
REIGN OF SULTÁN MAHMÚD,¹ SON OF 'ALAU-D-DÍN.

When Maḥmūd Shāh ascended the throne, Makhdūm ʿAlam, his brother-in-law, who was Governor of Hājīpur, raised the standard of rebellion, and intrigued and allied himself with Sher Khān, who was in the tract of Behar.² Maḥmūd Shāh deputed ʿQūṭ Khān, Commandant of Monghyr, to conquer the Province of Behar, and to chastise Makhdūm ʿAlam. Sher Khān made efforts to conclude peace, but they were of no avail; and at length, by the concurrence of the Afghāns, resolving to die, he determined to fight. When the two forces closed together, a great battle ensued. ʿQūṭ Khān was killed in the battle, and Sher Khān, obtaining his elephants and baggage, became powerful. After this, Makhdūm ʿAlam, in order to avenge himself, or to usurp the throne, raised the standard of rebellion, and fighting with Maḥmūd Shāh, was killed. And Sher Khān Afghān instantly, who had usurped the throne of Delhi,³ drew his force towards Bengal. The nobles of Bengal, guarding the passes of Teliagadhi

¹ The name of this King as appearing on his coins and inscriptions is Ghiyās-ud-dīn Abul Muzaffar Maḥmūd Shāh (See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 339, and for 1873 p. 298). He was the last Independent King of Bengal, and reigned from 940 to 944 A.H. He is the “El Rey Mamud de Bangala,” with whom the Portuguese Alfonso de Mello made a treaty. At this time, Sher Khān and his brother ʿAdil Khān had deserted the Mughal cause, and gone over to the side of the King of Bengal. But subsequently Sher Khān on the pretext of avenging the murder of Firuz Shāh, made war on Maḥmūd Shāh, besieged him at Gaūr, and Maḥmūd Shāh fled to Colgong (Kahalgaon), where he died in 945 A.H. (1538 A.C.) of injuries received on the battle-field. (See Badaoni, p. 348, Vol. 1).

² The town of Behar is meant. It appears that at this time both Sarkar Monghyr in South Behar and the whole of North Behar were subject to the Bengal kings, and Hājīpur was the head-quarters from a long time of the Bengal Governor of North Behar. West of Sarkar Monghyr in South Behar, which was subject to the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur, on the decay of the latter kingdom, fell into the hands of semi-independent Afghan chiefs, including Darīa Khān, his son Bahadur Khān (who proclaimed himself Sultan Muḥammad), Sultan Maḥmūd, and Sher Khān. At this time, as the text shews, Makhdūm ʿAlam, Maḥmūd Shāh’s brother-in-law, who was his Governor of North Behar, and had his head-quarters at Hājīpur, also rebelled against his sovereign, and intrigued with Sher Khān (afterwards Sher Shāh). (See Badaoni, pp. 360, 355, 361, Vol. 1).

³ How Sher Shāh acquired the Delhi Empire, is related in Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhī, and also in Badaoni, and the Akbarnamah.
and Sakrigali for one month continued fighting. At length, the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali were captured, and Sher Khān entered Bengal, and Maḥmūd Shāh, drawing his force, encountered the former, when a great battle ensued. Sultān Maḥmūd, being vanquished in the field, entrenched himself in the citadel, and sent a message to Emperor Humāyun in Delhi, seeking for help. Humāyun Shāh in the year 944 A.H. turned towards the conquest of the province of Jaunpur. Since at that time, Sher Khān was in Bengal, Emperor Humāyun going to the foot of the fort of Chunar, laid siege to it. Ghazi Khān Sūr, who was in the fort on behalf of Sher Khān, raised the standard of opposition, and for six months the siege was protracted. By the efforts of Rūmī Khān, ladders being mounted, the fort was scaled and captured by Humāyun. Sher Khān also put forth grand efforts for capturing the fort of Gaur, and the garrison were hardpressed. But as in the meantime one of the zamindars of Behar, becoming refractory, raised disturbance, Sher Khān, finding it inexpedient to halt at Gaur, left his son, Jallāl Khān, and Khawās Khān, one of his trusty nobles, to besiege the fort of Gaur, whilst he himself marched back to Behar. And Jallāl Khān, son of Sher Khān, skirmished with Maḥmūd Shāh, so that the garrison were reduced to straits, and food-grains became scarce in the city. On Sunday, the 13th of the month of Farvardi, corresponding to the 6th of Zil-Qadhi, 944 A.H., Jallāl

1 These passes are close to Colgong, and are now traversed by the E.I. Railway line. They were in those days considered the 'key' to Bengal. They were fortified under Sher Shāh's order by Qutb Khān, son of Sher Khān and Khawās Khān, slave of Sher Khān. (See Badaoni, p. 340, Vol. I).

2 In the Āin-i-Akbarī, under the Sūbah of Allahabad, Chunar is described "as a stone-fort in the summit of a hill, scarcely equalled for its loftiness and strength." The river Ganges flows at its foot—Āin-i-Akbarī (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. 2, p. 159).

3 It is stated that its siege by Emperor Humāyun commenced on 8th January, 1538 A.C. As its siege lasted six months, and as it was stormed before Gaur fell (on 6th April, 1538 A.C.) into the hands of Sher Shāh's general, Khawās Khān, the siege of Chunar must have commenced in October 1537 A.C. (See Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhī), or it may be that the fall of Gaur took place in July 1538 A.C. (See Badaoni, pp. 348 and 349, Vol. I).

4 See p. 441 Blochmann's Trans. of Āin, Vol. I, p. 441, and Badaoni, p. 348, Vol. I. Chunar was captured by Humāyun in 943 A.H.

5 This corresponds to 6th April, 1538 A.C.
Khân with other grandees, such as Khawâs Khân, etc., struck up the kettle-drum of battle. Sultan Mahmûd, who was hard-pressed by the siege, sallying out of the fort, advanced to fight. Since the period of his fortune had turned to declension, and the luck of Sher Khân assisted the latter, Sultan Mahmûd, unable to cope in battle, escaping by the way of Bhata,¹ fled, and Mahmûd Shâh’s sons were taken prisoners; and the fort of Gaûr, together with other booty, fell into the hands of Jalâl Khân, son of Sher Khân. Jalâl Khân and Khawâs Khân, entering the fort, engaged in slaughter and capture and plunder of the garrison. And Sher Khân also, being set free from the disturbance in Behar, pursued Sultan Mahmûd. When they closed each other, Sultan Mahmûd was obliged to fight, and receiving a serious wound, fled from the battle-field. Sher Khân, victorious and triumphant, spurred on to Gaûr, and became master of Bengal. The Cathedral Mosque at S’adu-l-lâhpûr,² amongst the buildings of Sultan Mahmûd, son of Sultan ‘Alâû-d-din ʿUsain Shâh, exists to this day. From the inscriptions engraved on it, it appears that he was a son of Sultan ‘Alâû-d-din ʿUsain Shâh. The period of his reign appears to have lasted five years.³

ACCESSION OF NAŚIRU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD HUMĀYUN PÂDŠÂH TO THE THRONE OF GAÛR.

Sultan Mahmûd, fleeing wounded from the battle with Sher Khân, turned to meet Sultan Muhammad Humâyûn, the Emperor. At the time when Sultan Humâyûn the Emperor captured the fort of Chunar, Sultan Mahmûd arriving at Darvishpûra,⁴ and meeting the Emperor, and using much cajolery and persuasion, requested the Emperor to invade Bengal. The Emperor, taking pity on Mahmûd, left Mirzâ Dost Beg⁵ in charge of the fort of

¹ See note ante.
² This was a quarter of Gaûr. The inscription on this mosque is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 339.
³ The fate of Mahmûd Shâh is fully described in the Tarîkh-i-Sher Shâhi, of which the Hon’ble Sir Edward Clive Bayley has published a translation in Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s History of India, IV, pp. 360-364.
⁴ I have not identified this place; but it must have been close to Chunar.
⁵ In Badaksh (p. 348, Vol. I), it is stated that when the King of Bengal
Chunar, and in the beginning of 945 A.H.\(^1\) raised the standard of march towards the conquest of Bengal. Sher Khān,\(^2\) learning about this, despatched Jallāl Khān and Khawās Khān to defend the pass of Teliagadhi, which leads to Bengal. And this Teliagadhi and Sakrigali is a place between the provinces of Behar and Bengal, it is very impregnable; it is flanked on one side by a lofty hill and a dense forest which are quite impassable, and on another side by the river Ganges, to ford which is very difficult. Emperor Humāyūn detached Jahāngir Beg\(^3\) Mughal to capture Teliagadhi and Sakrigali. On the day that Jahāngir Beg reached that place, just after he had dismounted, Jallāl Khān and Khawās Khān, marching up quickly with an efficient force, attacked him. The Mughal forces, unable to cope, were vanquished, and Jahāngir Beg, getting wounded, in a hapless condition, retreated to the Emperor's camp.\(^4\) But when Emperor Humāyūn himself marched up to Teliagadhi and Sakrigali, Jallāl Khān and Khawās Khān, seeing their inability to stand the Emperor's onslaught, fled towards the hills, and from thence, to Sher Khān at Gair. The Imperial army, forcing its way easily through that narrow defile, marched up, stage by stage. And when the Imperial camp halted at Kohal Gāon (Colgong), Maḥmūd Shāh, who was in the company of the Emperor, heard that his two sons who had been taken prisoners by Jallāl Khān, had been slain. From this grief and affliction, he pined away

(named erroneously Nasib Shāh, which should be Maḥmūd Shāh) getting wounded in the war against Sher Shāh, came and met the Emperor (Humāyūn), and invoked his help, the latter left Mir Hindu Beg Quchin in charge of Jaunpur province, and marched (from Chunar) towards Bengal, forcing the pass of Teliagadhi, which was fortified and held by Qūb Khān and Khawas Khan (son and servant respectively of Sher Shāh).

\(^1\) i.e., 1538 A.C.

\(^2\) Sher Khān or Sher Shāh was at this time at Gair and had made himself master of it. (See Badaoni, pp. 348 and 349, Vol. I). Mughal historians, to please the Mughal Emperors, invariably bolittle Sher Shāh by calling him “Sher Khān.” Sher Shāh finally defeated Humāyūn (Jarrett's Tr., Ain, p. 421, and Badaoni, pp 354 and 356, Vol. I) near Kanauj in A.H. 947 (A.C. 1540), when Humāyūn fled to Sindh.

\(^3\) He is mentioned as Governor of Bengal under Humāyūn (vide Blochmann's Tr., Ain-i-Akbari, and also the text, Fasc. 1, p. 331, and also Badaoni, p. 352, Vol. I.)

\(^4\) This must have been near Colgong (Kahlganou), at the time.
day by day, and in a short time died.\textsuperscript{1} And since Sher Khān, on hearing about the approach of the Imperial forces, became anxious, he removed the treasures of the kings of Gaur and Bengal, fled towards Rādhā,\textsuperscript{2} and from thence towards the hills of Jhārkhand.\textsuperscript{3} Emperor Humāyūn captured without opposition the city of Gaur,\textsuperscript{4} which was the capital of Bengal, and owing to the ominous nature of its name, he changed it to Jinnatabad, and introduced the Imperial Khutba and coin. The ports of Sunārgāon and Chātgaon (Chittagong), etc., came into the possession of the Emperor. For some time, the Emperor lived in ease and comfort, and did not pursue Sher Khān, and made light of the enemy. Three months had not yet passed, since his stay in that city, when owing to the badness of the climate of that place, many horses and camels died, and many soldiers fell ill. Suddenly, the news was received that the Afgāns, marching by way of Jhārkhand, had captured the fort of Rohtas,\textsuperscript{5} and that leaving a force for the defence of the fort, Sher Khān himself had marched to Monghyr, and had put to the sword the Emperor's grandees who were there. And the news of the successful rebellion of Mirzā Hindal which had come to pass at Delhi,\textsuperscript{6} was also received. The Emperor becoming anxious on the a receipt of the

\textsuperscript{1} Mahmūd Shāh, the last Independent Musalman king of Bengal, died at Culdong in 1538 A.C.
\textsuperscript{2} This was the name which Western Bengal bore under Hindu Rajas.
\textsuperscript{3} Chota Nagpūr tract was so called during Moslem rule in India.
\textsuperscript{4} Humāyūn captured Gaur, about July 1538. Humāyūn stayed at Gaur for three months, that is, till September 1538 A.C., and named the place Jinnatabad. (See Badaoni, p. 349, Vol. I).
\textsuperscript{5} This important fort in South Behar was captured by Sher Shāh in 945 A.H. or about September 1538 A.C. by an ingenious stratagem. (See Badaoni, p. 349, Vol. I). Sher Khan induced the Rajah of Rohtās to give shelter to his family in the Fort, and then sent in there two thousand armed Afghans in māhās or palanquins; these latter killed the Rajah and his soldiers, and easily captured the Fort for Sher Shāh.
\textsuperscript{6} In Firīshṭa occurs the following: “At this time news was received that Mirza Hindal had raised the standard of rebellion in Agra and Mewāt, had caused the Khutba to be recited after his own name, and had killed Shaikh Bahlal” (Vol. I, p. 428, Pers. text). Delhi mentioned here therefore appears to be a mistake for Agra, as appears also from the text which follows. (See Badaoni, p. 350, Vol. I).
news from Delhi, appointed Jahangir Quli Beg\textsuperscript{1} Governor of Bengal, and leaving Ibrāhim Beg, who was one of the principal Omra, with five thousand select cavalry in the former's company, himself swiftly marched back towards Agra. This happened in 946 A.H.

THE ACCESSION OF SHER SHAH\textsuperscript{2} TO THE THRONE, IN THE CITY OF GAUR.

When Emperor Humāyun in the year 946 A.H. withdrew towards Agra, Sher Khān, apprised of the unpreparedness of the Imperial army and of the rebellion of Mirzā Hindal, set out from the fort of Rohtas with a large army. And at the time, when the Imperial camp arrived at Chausa, capturing the high way, for three months Sher Khān bivouacked facing it,\textsuperscript{3} and caused as much harassment as he could. At length, by way of treachery and stratagem, sending to the Emperor Shālik Khalil, the well-known saint who was his spiritual guide, Sher Khān sought

\textsuperscript{1} In Badaoni (p. 350, Vol. I). “Jahangir Beg Mughal.”

\textsuperscript{2} His regal style was Faridu-d-din Abul Mu'azzar Sher Shāh. He reigned from 944 to 952 A.H. or 1538 to 1545 A.C. He lies buried at Sahasrām (Sasseram) in Behar. His first Governor of Bengal, Khizr Khān, who married a daughter of Maḥmūd Shāh III, king of Bengal, was replaced by Qūz Fazīl, of Agra. Those who care to know the life and career of this remarkable Sovereign, will find a full account in Badaoni (Vol. 1, pp. 356 to 374). A man of learning and wonderful resources, a dashing soldier, a general of high order (always ready to avail himself of all stratagems and tactics in war), a politician of keen diplomacy, when he mounted the throne, he exhibited the highest qualities of a statesman and a beneficent sovereign. Moderate and scientific in his revenue-assessments, liberal in his gifts, Jagirs and benefactions, generous in supporting learning and the learned, wise in his army-reforms (copied subsequently by Akbar) munificent in laying down trunk roads, planting trees, sinking wells, establishing caravanserais, building Mosques, Madrasahs and Khāngaks, and erecting bridges, few Indo-Moslem Kings come up to his level. He administered justice so vigorously that he impressed his personality on all, and established thorough peace, so that, says Badaoni (p. 363, Vol. I), no dacoit or robber would dare to touch a gold plate, though it might be left on the road by an old woman, during her sleep.

\textsuperscript{3} Sher Khān had encamped on the right bank of the river between Chausa and Baksar. The river here is called Thorā Nadi. The battle of Chausa was fought on 9th Safar 946 A.H. or 26th June, 1539 A.C. (See Badaoni, pp. 361 and 352, Vol. I).
for peace. The Emperor, owing to the exigencies of the times, accepted his overtures, and it was agreed that Bengal and the fort of Rohtas would continue in the possession of Sher Khan, and that the latter would put forth no further pretensions, but that the Imperial coin and Khutba would be in force in those provinces. Sher Khan, taking his oath on the holy Qur'an, accepted these terms; and the Imperial army were re-assured by this oath. But Sher Khan, on the following day, with an efficient and well-equipped Afghan force, taking the Imperial army by surprise, did not allow it time to rally into ranks, and after fighting became victorious, and closed the ferries where boats were moored. Owing to this cause, the king as well as the beggar, the high as well as the low, became dispirited and straitened, and being hardpressed by the Afghans, plunged pell-mell into the river Ganges, so that besides the Hindustanis, nearly twenty thousand Mughals got drowned. The Emperor also, plunging into the river, with the help of a water-carrier, with great difficulty crossed over to the bank of safety, and with a small number of followers, the cup of whose lives was not yet full to the brim, set out for Agra. Sher Khan, after gaining this strange victory, returned to Bengal, fought repeatedly with Jahangir Quli Beg, and at length by way of deception and treachery, invited him to his presence, and slew him and his retinue. And putting to the sword the remainder of the Imperial army who were at other places, he introduced the Khutba and the coin after his own name, and brought the provinces of Bengal and Behar absolutely under his domination. And from that time he assumed the title of Sher Shah, and that year devoting himself to the

1 Rather the overtures for peace were made by Humayun, who sent Mulla Muhammad Aziz for the purpose to Sher Khan, who was then at Chansa. At the time, Sher Khan with his sleeves stuck up and with a spade in hand, in grilling weather, was digging a trench, and fortifying the place. On seeing the Mulla, he sat down on the bare ground, and in reply to the Mulla said: “Tell this one word on my behalf to the Emperor, that he seeks war, and not his soldiers, whilst I do not seek war, but my soldiers do.” Sher Shah then sent to the Emperor his spiritual guide Shaikh Khalil, a descendant of Shaikh Farid Ganj Shakar. (See Badauri, pp. 350 and 351, Vol. I).

2 After defeating Humayun at Chansa on 26th June, 1539 A.C. (9th Safar, 946 A.H.) Sher Khan marched to Gafr, slew Humayun’s Governor, Jahangir Quli Beg, and assumed the same year at Gafr the royal title of Farid ud-din Abul Muzaffar Sher Shah, and struck coins. Sher Shah stayed
settlement of his kingdom, attained great power and pomp. At the end of the year, leaving Khizr Khan to rule over Bengal, he himself started for Agra. And from that side, Humayun's force, despite the fraternal dissensions, consisting of one hundred thousand soldiers, marched forward to encounter him. And in the year 947 A.H. on the tenth day of the month of Muharram, in the neighbourhood of Qanaaj, on the banks of the river Ganges, the contending hosts faced each other. And whilst the Mughal forces were preparing to encamp at this stage, nearly fifty thousand Afghan cavalry dashed up. The Imperial army, without fighting, was routed, and Sher Shah chasing it up to the river, marched forward to Agra.

RULE OF KHIZR KHAN AT GAUR.

When Khizr Khan was appointed Governor of Bengal on behalf of Sher Shah, he married a daughter of one of the kings of Bengal, and in his mode of living, and in his paraphernalia of comforts and luxuries, observed the kingly mode. And when Sher Shah at Agra came to know about this, exercising foresight, he deemed it proper to adopt remedial measures against the disease before it shewed itself, and swiftly marched to Bengal. And when Khizr Khan went forward to receive him, Sher Shah imprisoning him, divided the province of Bengal amongst several tribal chiefs, and appointed Qazi Fazilat, who was one of the learned scholars of Agra, and who was distinguished for his virtues, honesty and trustworthiness, to be the over-lord, and entrusting to his hands the power of making peace and war in the country, he himself returned to Agra.  

1 Corresponding to the year 1540 A.C. See description of battle of Qanaaj in Badaoni, p. 364, Vol. I.

2 He married a daughter of Mahmud Shah III, the late king of Bengal, and gave himself royal airs, in consequence of which Sher Shah promptly removed him, and appointed Qazi Fazilat as Governor of Bengal in his place. (See Badaoni, p. 365, Vol. I).

3 In 948 A.H. Khizr Khan was deposed at Gaur by Sher Shah. Sher Shah had political insight of a high order. The administrative arrange-
ACCOUNT OF THE OVER-LORDSHIP OF MUHAMMAD KHAN SUR IN BENGAL.

When in the year 952 A.H., Sher Shah, in capturing the fort of Kalinjar, by the will of Providence, was accidentally burnt by the explosion of the gunpowder of a mine that had been laid underneath the rampart, and his younger son, named Jalal Khan, ascended the throne of Delhi and assumed the title of Islam Shah, popularly known as Salim Shah, Muhammad Khan Sur, who was one of the principal Omras and a connexion of Salim Shah, and who was renowned for his justice and equity and courteous deportment, was appointed Governor of Bengal. And for some years until the end of Salim Shah’s reign he continued so, after which he raised the standard of rebellion, and turned towards the

ments that he introduced at this time in Bengal, i.e., of placing different tribal chiefs to rule over different territorial divisions would indicate that he was fully alive to the policy “Divide and rule.” His installation of Qazi Fazlul, a scholar of Agra, in a position of over-lordship over these tribal chiefs, further indicates that he set a high value on learning. Sher Shah died on 12th Rabi I, 952 A.H., 3rd June, 1545, at his birthplace at Salatnam, in South Behar. See Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi for an interesting account of Sher Shah’s career, and also Badauni, p. 375, Vol. I. Firdausi and Akbarnamah.

Sher Shah was the first ruler who from a king of Bengal, became the Emperor of all India. His triumph was a triumph for Bengal whose prosperity and welfare continued to receive his special attention even after he became Emperor of India. Maghul historians generally no doubt from their delicate position have failed to appraise Sher Shah’s qualities as a statesman and as a soldier at their true worth. His reign was fruitful of military, fiscal, agricultural, coinage, currency and revenue reforms in Bengal, and also of many public works of utility, such as roads, rest-houses, bridges, fortifications, Khanqahs, colleges and wells, etc.

1 “Kalinjar is a stone fortress in Sahib Allahabad, upon heaven-reaching hill.”—Ain. During its siege in 1545 A.C., a shell rebounded from the walls into the battery where Sher Shah stood, and set fire to the gun-powder. He was severely burnt, and died next day. (Jarrett’s Tr., Ain., Vol. II. p. 1604). Ain simply says “he fell at the powder magazine when the fire opened in the fort.” (See Badauni, p. 372, Vol. I).

2 Jalal Khan assumed the royal title of Jalal-din Abul Muzaffar Islam Shah in 1545 A.C. (or 952 A.H.) He reigned from 1545 to 1553 A.C. He appointed his relative Muhammad Khan Sur as his Governor of Bengal, removing Qazi Fazilat. Islam Shah lies buried at Sussaram. He drew up a comprehensive Procedure Code, and followed the enlightened and statesman-like policy of his illustrious father. See Badauni, Vol. I. p. 374.
conquest of Chunār, Jaunpūr and Kalpi. Muhammad Shāh 'Adil, taking in his company Hemu the grocer, who was one of his leading Omra, with a large army, proceeded to encounter Muhammad Khān, and in the village of Chaparghatna, which is fifteen kro distant from Kalpi, between the two armies, a sanguinary engagement took place. Many persons on both sides were killed, and Muhammad Khān, too, was killed. The grandees who escaped from the sword fled, and rallied together at Jhosi, and installed in power Muhammad Khān's son, named Khizr.

1 "Jaunpur is a large city. Sultan Firuz Tughlak laid its foundation and named it after his cousin Fakhru-d-din Junai."—Ain:

2 Kalpi is mentioned in the Ain under Sūbah Agra (Jarrett's Tr., Vol II, p. 184).

3 Mubarak Khān killed Firuz Khān, son of Islam Shāh, and assumed (in 960 A.H. or 1553 A.C.) the title of Muhammad Shāh 'Adil. Owing to this unwarranted assassination, popularly he was known as 'Adil Shāh or simply as "Andhali" which means "the blind" in Hindustani.

In Firtha and Stewart, it is stated that Muhammad Khān Sur ruled over Bengal and North Behar wisely and beneficently till the close of the reign of Salīm Shāh; but when in 960 A.H. Muhammad 'Adilī who was addicted to debauchery and pleasures, mounted the throne, after slaying Firuz Khān, Muhammad Khān refused to pay him homage, viewing him as the assassin of his late master's son.

Muhammad Khān Sur was appointed in 952 A.H. (1545 A.C.) Governor of Bengal and North Behar by Islam Shāh, who had deposed Qāzī Fazīlī, the nominee of Shāh Shāh. Islam Shāh at the same time confirmed Miyan Sulaiman Karraranī to continue as Governor of South Behar.

4 Hemu the grocer was made a Superintendent of the Markets by Salīm Shāh, and raised to the office of Administrator-General of the Empire by Muhammad Shāh 'Adil. He was defeated by Akbar's General, Bairam Khān, in 1556 A.C. at Panipat.

5 Muhammad Khān Sur, Islam Shāh's Governor of Bengal, refused to acknowledge Muhammad 'Adilī Shāh, and himself assumed the royal title of Shāmsu-d-dīn Abul Muṣaffar Muhammad Shāh, and invaded Jaunpur and Kalpi. The battle of Chaparghatna was fought between the two in 962 A.H. (1555 A.C.) Chapparghatna is east of Kalpi, on the Jamuna river. He ruled as Islam Shāh's Governor of Bengal from 952 to 960 A.H. and reigned as king of Bengal from 960 A.H. to 962 A.H., that is from 1553 to 1555 A.C. (See Badauni, p. 432, Vol. I).

6 Jhosi is on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite to Allahabad; there Khizr Khān, son of Muhammad Shāh, who was killed in the battle of Chapparghatna, celebrated his jūlas, and assumed the royal title of Bahadur Shāh in 962 A.H. (1555 A.C.) (See Badauni, p. 433, Vol. I).
Khan. Bahadur Shah (that is, Khizr Khan), to avenge the death of his father, set about collecting his forces, subdued many of the eastern provinces, and invaded Bengal.

RULE OF KHIZR KHAN, STYLED BAHADUR SHAH.¹

When Bahadur Shah, with an efficient army, invaded Bengal, Shahbaz Khan, who, on behalf of Muhammad Shah 'Adli, was at that time Governor of Gaúr, advanced to fight. The grandees of Shahbaz Khan, seeing the overwhelming force of Bahadur Shah, deserted to the latter. Shahbaz Khan, with the remnant of the soldiery who held on to him, resolved to fight, and was slain on the battle-field.

The man whom Fortune favours,  
Who has power to vanquish?

Bahadur Shah, triumphant and victorious, captured the City of Gaur, and introduced the coin and Khutba in his own name. After this, he drew his forces against Muhammad Shah 'Adli, and a great battle was fought at a point between Surajgarha and Jahangirrah.² Muhammad Shah, receiving mortal wounds on

¹ Bahadur Shah or Khizr Khan, son of Muhammad Khan Sur alias Shamsu-d-din Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah, was installed in power at Jhosi, where Muhammad Shah’s defeated grandees and officers rallied after the battle of Chapparghatta. He reigned over Bengal as king from 962 to 968 A.H. (or 1555 to 1561 A.C.) Badaoni calls him Muhammad Bahadur. The most important event of his reign was his war with 'Adli Shah, whom he defeated at the decisive battle of Surajgarha in Monghyr district, in 964 A.H. At this battle, Sulaiman Karamani who held South Behar from Sher Shah’s reign assisted Bahadur Shah. (See Tarikh-i-Daudi and Badaoni, pp. 433-434, Vol. 1).

² Bahadur Shah was king of Bengal and North Behar from 962 to 968 A.H. (that is 1555 to 1661 A.C.) During this period, South Behar continued under its old Governor, Miyan Sulaiman Karamani.

It may be noted here that Bahadur Shah was a contemporary of Emperor Akbar who ascended the imperial throne in 963 A.H. (or 1566 A.C.)

² Jahangiriah village is close to Jamalpur railway station, in Monghyr district. Surajgarha or Surajgarha is a town close to Maulanagar, on the banks of the river Ganges, in Monghyr district.
the battle-field,\(^1\) was killed. And this Muhammed Shah alias Mubariz Khân, was a son of Nizam Khân Sur, who was a nephew of Sher Shah, and a cousin and brother-in-law of Salim Shah. After the death of Salim Shah, on the third day, slaying the former’s son, named Firuz Shah, who was his nephew, Muhammed Shah mounted the throne of Delhi, and assumed the title of Muhammad Shah ‘Adli.\(^2\) As the latter had no capacity for Government, the Afghāns nick-named him ‘Adli,’ and by a slight change of pronunciation, they called him ‘Andli.’ And ‘Andli,’ in the Hindustani language, means “the blind.” After this, Bahādur Shah, reigning over Bengal for six years, died.

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REIGN OF JALLĀLU-D-DĪN, SON OF MUḤAMMAD KHĀN.

After Bahādur Shah’s death, his brother Jallālu-d-dīn\(^3\) ascended the throne, and after five years’ reign, in the City of Gaúr, died.

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REIGN OF JALLĀLU-D-DĪN’S SON.

After Jallālu-d-dīn’s death, his son, whose name is unknown, ascending the throne, struck up the drum of brief authority, and

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\(^1\) At this battle in 964 A.H. (1557 A.C.) Bahadur Shah was assisted by Sulaimān Kararani. According to Tarikh-i-Dandi, the decisive battle was fought at the “stream of Surajgarh, near Monghyr” (which is the Kool Nadi). Professor Blochmann locates the battle-field at Fathpur village, 4 miles west of Surajgarh and the Kool nadi. Tarikh-i-Dandi inaccurately places Surajgarh one kos, more or less, from Monghyr.

\(^2\) See Badaoni, p. 384, Vol. I.

\(^3\) His royal title was Ghiau-d-din Abul Mużaffar Jallal Shah. He reigned over Bengal and North Behar from 968 to 971 A.H. (or 1561 A.C. to 1564 A.C.). During this period, Sulaimān Kararani continued as semi-independent Governor of South Behar, whilst Hajipur which had risen in importance from the time of Nasrāt Shah continued to be the head-quarters of the Bengal Governor of North Behar. Patna became the seat of Behar Governors from the time of Emperor Akbar. Sher Shah had built the Fort of Patna (see Bloch. Contr. J.A.S. for 1875, p. 302). Jallal Shah died at Gaúr in 971 A.H. With Jallal Shah and his son, ended the Sūr dynasty in Bengal. Badaoni (p. 430, Vol. I) states “that Muhammad Khān Sūr, ruler of Bengal, assumed the title of Suljān Jallalu-d-dīn, and extended the Bengal Kingdom up to Jassanpur.”
as yet more than seven months and nine days had not elapsed, when Ghiāṣu-d-dīn, slaying him, usurped the reins of the sovereignty of Bengal.

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**REIGN OF GHIĀṢU-D-DĪN.**

When Sultan Ghiāṣu-d-dīn drew to his lap the bride of the kingdom of Bengal, as yet he had not more than one year and eleven days rested on the bed of ease, when Tāj Khān Krāni gathering strength, slew him, and by means of the sharp sword conquered the kingdom.

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**REIGN OF TĀJ KHĀN KRĀNI.**

Tāj Khān Krāni was one of the grandees of Salīm Shāh, and Governor of Sambhal. At the time of the decline of Muḥammad Shāh ‘Adlī, escaping from Gwalior, he set out for Bengal. Muḥammad Shāh ‘Adlī detached a large army in pursuit of him. In the environs of Chaprampūr, which is forty kro distant from Akbarabād and thirty kro distant from Qalanuj, the two forces encountering each other, a battle was fought, when Tāj Khān being routed, retired towards Chunār. On the way, winning over certain Revenue Collectors of the Crown-lands of Muḥammad Shāh ‘Adlī, he levied from them in the shape of cash and goods whatever he could, and taking one halqāh of elephants—a halqāh consisting of 100 elephants—from the parganaa, united with his brothers, ‘Ahmād Khān and Ilyās Khān, who were Governors of certain districts alongside the

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1 Sulaimān Khān Karanī, Governor of South Behar in 971 A.H. (1564 A.C.) sent his elder brother Tāj Khān Karanānī, to Gaūr, to put down the usurper, Ghiāṣu-d-dīn. Tāj Khān killed the usurper, and established himself at Gaūr, in 971, and from 971 to 972 A.H. (1564 to 1565 A.C.) ruled as Governor of Bengal, on behalf of his brother Sulaimān Karanānī (J.A.S. for 1875, p. 295, and Badaoni, pp. 409, 420 and 421, Vol. I). Badaoni describes Tāj Khān as one of the most learned scholars of his time. He died in 972 A.H.

2 Sarkar Sambhal under the Sūbah of Delhi is mentioned in the Ain (Jarrett’s Tr., Vol. II, p. 104).

The Ain further states: “In the city of Sambhal is a temple called Hari Mandal (the temple of Viṣṇu) belonging to a Brahman, from whose descendants the tenth avatar will appear in this spot” (Jarrett’s Tr., Vol. II, p. 281).
banks of the Ganges, and of Khwaṣpur Tandaḥ, and raised the standard of rebellion. When Muḥammad Shāh ‘Adlī marched from Gwalior with his army against the Karanians, and on the bank of the Ganges, the two armies encountered each other, Hemū the grocer, who was the generalissimo of Muḥammad Shāh ‘Adlī’s army, taking with him one ḥalqāḥ of elephants, and crossing the river, and fighting, became victorious. And when Ibrāḥīm Khān Sur, who was ‘Adlī’s sister’s husband, escaping and capturing Delhi raised troubles, Muḥammad Shāh ‘Adlī was compelled to leave the Karanians, and to march back towards Delhi. And the Karanians thus became independent. And, as has been related, when Tāj Khān reduced to his subjection the City of Gaūr, after nearly nine years ruling over it, and conquering the kingdom of Bengal, like others, he died.

REIGN OF SULAIΜĀN KARANI.

In the beginning of his career, Sulaimān Karani was one of the grandees of Sher Shāh. Sher Shāh appointed him Gover-

1 Though a grocer or baqāl, Hemū rose to the office of Vizier and generalissimo under Muḥammad Shāh ‘Adlī, and exhibited great personal courage at the battle of Panipat fought in 964 A.H. between him and Akbar. He assumed the title of Kajah Bikrammadat at Delhi. He ill-treated the Afghans, who at heart despised him, and who, therefore, for the most part threw in their lot with Akbar. (See Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 13 to 16).

2 See Badaoni, Vol. I, pp. 422 to 423. During the chaos which arose during the latter part of the feeble reign of Muḥammad Shāh ‘Adlī, it was arranged between Ibrahim and Sikandar alias Ahmad Khān, that the former would rule over the Eastern Empire from Delhi to the easternmost portions of India, whilst the latter would be master of the Panjab, Multan and other western tracts.

3 According to the Akbarnamah, Badaoni and the Tabaqat-i-Akbarī, he died in 980 A.H. and reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980 A.H., or 1563 to 1572 A.C. He is sometimes called Kararani and sometimes Karani and also Kranī. It is related of him that he held every morning a devotional meeting, in company with 150 Shāikhs and Ulamas, after which he used to transact business during fixed hours, (See Bloch, Tr., Aín, p. 171, and Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 70, 173, 174 and 200), and that this practice influenced Akbar’s conduct. His conquest of Orissa (in 975 A.H. or 1567 A.C.) mainly through the efforts of his distinguished general, Kalaphar, is detailed in a following section in the text, and also in Firīghta. Akbarnamah, and Tarīkh-i-Daudi.
nor of the Sūbah of Behar, which he continued to hold in the reign of Salim Shāh. When Salim Shāh passed to the regions of eternity, in Hindustān, tribal chiefs established themselves, and in every head the ambition of sovereignty, and in every heart the aspiration of suzerainty, arose. Sulaimān Khān, after the death of his brother, Tāj Khān, established himself with full independence as king of Bengal and Behar, and abandoning the City of Gaūr, owing to the inclemency of its climate, established himself in the town of Tandah. And in the year 975 A.H., he conquered the country of Orissa, and placing it under a permanent Governor with a large army, he himself set out for the conquest of the country of Kuch Behar. He subjugated its environs and outlying parts, and whilst he was besieging its capital, he got news that the insurgents in Orissa had again raised the standard of insurrection. Thus, of necessity, he abandoned the siege of Kuch Behar town, and returned to Tandah, which was his Capital. And for some time, in a similar manner, there was commotion all over Hindustān. And when Emperor Humāyun returned to Hindustān from Persia, Sulaimān Khān, exercising foresight, sent a letter embodying sentiments of loyalty and

His principal nobleman and officer, Khān Jahan Lodī, held a conference with Akbar's general, Munim Khān-i-Khanān, in the neighbourhood of Patna, and it was arranged to recite the Khutba and strike coins in Bengal after Akbar's name (see p. 427, Bloch, Tran., Āin, and Badaoni, p. 174). In 972 A.H., Sulaimān removed his capital from Gaūr to Tandah. Akbar sent an embassy to him (Badaoni, p. 76, Vol. II).

1 Tandah was on the west side of the Ganges, nearly opposite to Gaūr.

In 972 A.H. (1564 A.C.) Sulaimān Kararani, the Afghan king of Bengal, abandoned Gaūr on account of its bad climate, and shifted the capital westward to Tandah, which was also called Khwaspūr Tandah. In 983 A.H. (1575 A.C.) Munim Khān-i-Khanān, Akbar's Širāzī, re-occupied Gaūr, where a pestilence soon broke out, and ho as well as many Mughal officers and soldiers died. (See Badaoni, pp. 216 and 217, Vol. II). About 1242 A.H. (1826 A.C.) Tandah was destroyed by floods, and disappeared into the river. Now-a-days it lies as a heap of dust about a mile from Lakhipur. (See Boer's Analysis of Khurshid Jahan Numa, J.A.S., 1895, p. 216).

2 Taking advantage of the divisions between the Afghans under Sher Shāh and the Maghals under Emperor Humāyun, Kuch Behar which had previously been subdued by Alau-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, king of Bengal, and partially re-conquered by Sulaimān Kararani rose into semi-independence in 944 A.H. under Bīsa, and became independent under Bajas Nars Narayan (962 A.H.) and Bāl Gossain (980 A.H.). Subsequently it was reconquered.
friendship, together with presents. From the other side also, owing to the exigencies of the times which called for the destruction and extirpation of the descendants and adherents of Sher Shāh, the presents and gifts were accepted, and a condescending reply containing expressions of reassurance and good-will was sent, together with a Royal manifesto, ratifying Sulaimān's continuance in his office. After this, though Sulaimān Khān continued the Khuṭba and the coin after his own name in the kingdom of Bengal,¹ he styled himself Hazrat ʿAlā (the Supreme Chief), and outwardly showing submission to Jallālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādehān, he sent occasionally presents and gifts. Nearly sixteen years ² ruling independently over Bengal, in the year 981 A.H. he died. And he was very energetic, industrious, and strict. In the history of Firigha, the reign of Tāj Khān is not given, and the reign of Sulaimān Khān is described as lasting 25 years. Since the brothers, from the beginning, held conjointly the rule of this country, and Tāj Khān came afterwards, therefore the rule of both has been ascribed to one. God knows the truth!

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REIGN OF BAYAZĪD KHĀN,³ SON OF SULAIMĀN KHĀN.

After Sulaimān's death, his son Bayazīd Khān, assuming the sovereignty, ascended the throne of Bengal. As yet more than a month had not elapsed, and according to another account, one year and six months he had ruled, when an Afghān named Hanso, who was a cousin and brother-in-law of Bayazid, attacking him,

¹ From note ante, it would appear that he ceased to do so in Akbar's time.
² From note ante, it would appear that he ruled only for ten years over Bengal, whilst he held Behar from the time of Sher Shāh.
³ He reigned in 980 A.H. or 1572 A.C. (See extract from Badaoni and the Sawanib Akbari regarding the death of Sulaimān, accession and assassination of his son Bayazid, and the installation of Bayazid's brother Dāūd, chiefly through the efforts of Lodī Khān, the premier nobleman of the Bengal kingdom (J.A.S. for 1875, pp. 304-305).

Badaoni who was a zealous Moslem remarks that 'Sulaimān conquered the town of Katak-Benaras, the mine of unbelief,' and made Jagannath (Puri) a dar-ul Islam, and ruled from Kamrup to Orissa. Sulaimān's first Viceroy of Orissa (including Katak) was Lodī Khān alīs Khān Jahan Lodī, and his first Governor of Jagannath or Puri was Qutlu Khān (see Badaoni, p. 174, Vol. II).
killed him by stratagem in the Audience-hall, and attempted to become Administrator of the affairs of the kingdom. Lodi Khan who was a principal and trusty officer of Sulaiman Khan, demurring, tried to kill him. According to a tradition, after 2½ days, the younger brother, named Daud Khan, killed Hanso, to avenge the death of his brother. Either way, after Bayazid, his brother, Daud Khan, succeeded to the throne.

REIGN OF DAUD KHAN, SON OF SULAIMAN KHAN.

When Daud Khan ascended the throne of Bengal, subduing completely all parts of Bengal, he introduced the Kauja and the coin after his own name. Owing to continual indulgence in wine and association with low and mean people, and because of numerous troops and retinue, and plethora of equipage, and abundance of effects and riches, and greatness of rank and dignity (in that he had 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, 3,300 elephants, and 140,000 infantry, consisting of musketeers, matchlockmen and rocketeers and archers, and 20,000 pieces of ordnance, most of which were battering guns, and many armed cruisers, and other

1 It is related in the Sawanah Akbari and Badaoni that Bayazid ‘in his youthful folly read the Kauja in his own name, neglected all forms of courtesy, and also ill-treated the chief nobles of his father who consequently hated him. Hanso, the son of his uncle Imad (brother of Sulaiman), who was also his brother-in-law, then killed him. Lodi Khan then killed Hanso; installed Daud. (See J.A.S. for 1875, pp. 304-806).

2 Daud Khan became king of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 980 A.H. (1672 A.C.) and reigned from 980 A.H. to 984 A.H. (1672 to 1576 A.C.), under the title of Abul Muzaffer Daud Shah. In 982 A.H. Akbar personally wrested Behar from him by storming Patna and Hajipur forts, and Daud fled to Orissa, where the battle of Mughulmari or Tukaroi north of Jalisar, was fought in 1575 A.C. between him and the Imperialists, commanded by Munim Khan-i-Khanan. Daud was defeated, and concluded the Peace of Katak, under which Bengal and Behar were ceded by him to Akbar, the latter recognizing Daud’s sovereignty over Orissa. In 983 A.H. Munim Khan-i-Khanan died of malaria at Gafr, with a large part of his army, and Daud Khan, encouraged by this circumstance, invaded Bengal, and on 15th Rabi II 948 A.H. (12th July, 1576 A.C.), was defeated by Akbar’s General, Husain Quil Khan Jahlan, at Akmahal or Rajmahal, captured and beheaded. (See Tarikh-i-Daudi, Firishta, Badaoni and Akbarnama). With Daud Khan’s death (1576 A.C.), the Kararani dynasty ended in Bengal.
implements of war, which he had ready and in store) he became haughty, and aiming at conquests caused troubles to the frontiers of the Empire of Emperor Akbar. Although the well-wishers dissuaded him from this policy, and gave him good counsel, he did not listen. And Munim Khan, styled the Khan-i-Khanan, who was Akbar's Governor of Jaunpur, and held a mansab of Panjbasari, under the order of the Emperor, turned towards the destruction and extirpation of Daud Khan, and sent in advance of himself a small body of Mughal officers. Daud Khan, on hearing of this, appointed Lodi Khan Afghan, who was his premier grandee, to oppose the Mughals. At Patna, both the armies encountered each other, and for some time were engaged in skirmishes. At length, both the factions patched up terms, and both the armies withdrew to their respective Provinces. But Emperor Akbar, declining to ratify the treaty, appointed Raja Todar Mal (after

1 He was appointed to his jagirs in Jaunpur in the 12th year of Akbar's reign, when he concluded peace with Sulaiman Kararani, king of Bengal, who promised to read the Khutba and strike coins in Akbar's name. Munim in 992 A.H. was appointed Governor of Behar (after Akbar captured Hajipur and Patna from Daud) and ordered to follow Daud into Bengal. Munim moved to Tandah, opposite to Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges, to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas. The latter followed Daud to Satgaon, whence however, Daud withdrew to Oriissa, and Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas from Satgaon invaded the district of Jassar (Jessore), where Sarmadi, a friend of Daud, had rebelled, but the Imperialists, here too met with no success, and returned to Satgaon. Muhammad Quli soon after died at Midinpur, and Munim Khan with Todar Mal invaded Oriissa, defeated Daud at the battle of Mughalamar or Tikaroi, when the Peace of Katak was concluded, under which Bengal and Behar were ceded by Daud to Akbar. Munim died of malaria at Gaur in 993 A.H. The great bridge of Jaunpur was built by him. It may also be of interest to note that another general, named Murad Khan, under Munim Khan-i-Khanan, about 992 A.H. invaded Fathabad (or Faridpur), and conquered it as well as Sarkar Bogla. This Murad Khan died at Fathabad (Faridpur) in 998 A.H., and Mukund, the zamindar of Fathabad and Bhosna, invited Murad's sons to a feast and treacherously murdered them. See Bloch, Trans., Ain, Vol. I, p. 318 and Badami, pp. 178 and 180.

2 For a biographical account, see Blochmann's Tr. of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 82. He was a Khettir by caste, and attained the mansab of Chakkar-hazari and also the office of Akbar's Naib Diwan or Deputy Finance Minister. He was very loyal to his sovereign, and Akbar held a high opinion of him. The rent-roll associated with his name and prepared under the direction of his sovereign, is well-known, and is given in the Ain-i-Akbari. (See Ain-i-
raising him to the rank of Hazāri) to the office of Administrator of Bengal, and sent him in advance of the Khan-i-Khānān, and detached other officers and soldiers under the command of the aforesaid Khan for chastising Daud Khan, and repeated his order to the Khan-i-Khānān in regard to the conquest of Behar. Since at that time, between Daud Khan and Lodi Khan, some estrangement had arisen, Lodi Khan, being displeased, opened with the Khan-i-Khānān communications of conciliation, and avowed towards Emperor Akbar sentiments of submission and loyalty. Another Afghān officer, named Qulū Khan, who bore a grudge against Lodi Khan, shaking the chain of enmity, denounced Lodi Khan before Daud Khan, stating that Lodi Khan had been in collusion with Akbar’s grandees, and that covertly he was of one mind with the latter. Daud Khan, on being apprised of this, writing a soothing letter to Lodi Khan, and bringing him over to his side, had him in his presence, and churlishly slew Lodi Khan, who was renowned for his soundness of views, sagacity, bravery and valour. Daud Khan then himself with a large army marched towards the bank of the river Sone, to encounter Akbar’s army. And at the point of the confluence of the rivers Sone, Sro and the Ganges, a great naval engagement took place.

The young and the old were tired out with the battle,
Owing to incessant shower of spears and arrows.
The hurtle of daggers rose to the skies,
Hearts were pierced, and a torrent of blood set a-flowing in the river.
The battle-axe became inlaid on the helmets of the heroes,
Like the comb of fighting cocks on the head.

At length, the fortune of Akbar triumphed, and the Afghāns being routed, took to flight, and retired to Patna. Some of their war-vessels fell into the hands of the Mughals. The Khan-i-Khānān also following up and crossing the river, marched with the greatest expedition to Patna, and investing that fort, where Daud Khan had entrenched himself, prepared to assault it.

Akbari, Vol. II, Jarrett’s Tr., p. 88, and also Vol. I, pp. 366 and 348 Blockmann’s Tr.) It would appear that this great rent-roll which has made Todar Mal so famous, was jointly prepared by him and his Chief, Muzaffar Khan, Akbar’s Chief Finance Minister or Diwan. (See Badaoni).
When the signal to assault the fort was given,
From both sides a hundred guns and muskets roared.
From the booming of the thundering guns, and their
smoke,
Like unto the sable cloud wherein the thundering angel
dwells,
From the shower of cannon-balls, like the hail,
Gushed in amidst those armies a deluge of destruction.

When this news reached Muḥammad Jallālu-d-din Akbar, he
came to realize that without his effort the conquest of the fort
of Patna was impossible. Therefore, mustering up Imperial
courage, he with all his princes and nobles set out in one thousand
fotlla of boats, placing over them covers of variegated colours,
in the thick of the rainy season. When the Emperor reached
the suburbs of Patna, he got news that ‘Aesh Khān Neāzi, who
was one of the faithful officers of Dāudd Khān, sallying out of the
fort, had been killed whilst fighting with the Khān-i-Khānān,
and that the garrison of the fort were contemplating flight. The
Emperor then detached Khān ‘Alīm 1 with a corps of 3,000 cavalry
for storming the fort of Hajipur; and the latter arriving there,
‘rested the fort from Fatih Khān, and reduced it to his own
possession. Dāudd Khān, on hearing of the fall of the fort of
Hajipur, deputed sagacious envoys to the Emperor Akbar,
asking forgiveness for his misconduct. The Emperor replied
that on his personal attendance, his crimes would be forgiven;
and in the event of his non-attendance, he might choose one out
of the following three alternatives: “(1) either he might engage
singly in a combat with me, (2) or he might send one of his
grandees to fight singly with one of my grandees, (3) or he might
send one of his war-elephants to fight singly with one of my
elephants; whoever is triumphant in either, the country shall be
his.” Dāudd Khān, on receiving this message, was frightened,
and seeing no advantage in tarrying at Patna, at night-fall slipped

1 His name was Chalam Beg. He was Humāyun’s Safarchi or table-
attendant. Humāyun sent him with Mirza Kamran to Mecca, and on the
latter’s death, he returned to India, was graciously received by Akbar who
conferred on him the title of Khān ‘Alīm. “When Akbar moved against Dāudd
Shāh in Patna, Khān ‘Alīm commanded a corps, and passing up the river on
boats towards the mouth of the Gandak, effected a landing.” (See Blochmann’s
out through the iron-gate, and getting into a boat, and leaving behind effects and equipage, fled towards Bengal. The forts of Hajipur and Patna were seized by the Imperialists, and the Emperor Akbar pursued the vanquished Afghān army to a distance of 25 kro, and 400 war-elephants of Dāud Khān, together with other equipages, fell into the hands of the Mughal heroes. Whoever (amongst the vanquished) fled, saved his life, the rest were put to the sword. The Emperor, leaving Munim Khān to subjugate the outlying provinces and to extirpate Dāud Khān, retired from Dariapur.1 When the Khān-i-Khānān reached Sakrigali, Dāud Khān becoming helpless fled to Orissa. And some of the grandees of Akbar, like Rajah Todar Mal and others, who had taken the route2 to Orissa in pursuit of him, were twice vanquished by Junaid Khān, son of Dāud Khān, Munim Khān, hearing of this, himself3 marched to Orissa. Dāud Khān advanced to encounter the latter; when both the forces approached each other, they fell into battle-array.4

1 There is a Dariapur about 2 miles south of Mokamah railway ghat station. This was probably the point up to which the Emperor Akbar advanced from Patna on boats in pursuit of Dāud Shāh, the king of Bengal. With the fall of the forts of Patna and Hajipur, (See Badaoni, pp. 160-161, Vol. II), Behar was practically lost by Dāud Shāh, who under the Peace of Katak subsequently ceded Bengal also.

2 The route appears to have been through Bardwan across Madaran and Midinipur to parganah Chittua in Orissa, where Todar Mal was subsequently joined by Munim Khān. Dāud Khān at this time advanced to Haripur lying intermediate between Orissa and Bengal (see Akbarnamah).

3 At this time the Khān-i-Khānān was at Tandah, opposite to Gaur, settling political matters. On receiving Todar Mal’s appeal for help, the Khān-i-Khānān promptly left Tandah, and quickly advanced to Orissa across Birbhūm, Bardwan and Midinipur into parganah Chittua in Orissa, where Todar Mal was.

4 See Akbarnamah, Tabaq-i-Akbarī, Badaoni, for full particulars of this battle. The Akbarnamah places the battle in a village called Takdhi or Takroi (two miles from the bank of the Soobanarka river and close to Jalesar). Professor Blochmann has traced also a village called Mughulmari (or Mughal’s Flight) close to this Takroi or Tookari. (See Blochmann’s Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 375, and also Badaoni, p. 193, Vol. II.)

Todar Mal, says Professor Blochmann “moved from Bardwan over Madaran into the pargana of Chittua, where he was subsequently joined by Munim. Dāud had taken up a strong position at Haripūr which lies between Bengal and Orissa. Battle took place on 3rd March, 1575 A.D. After the battle, Todar Mal leads the pursuit, and reaches the town of Bhadrak. Not long after he
The heroes arrayed themselves on the battle-field,
All were armed with daggers, arrows and spears.
On two sides the two armies sprang up like mountains,
One without terror, the other with terror.
All vied with each other,
And charged, and themselves were charged with guns,
  arrows and spears.
From the blood of the heroes of both the armies,
Flowed a torrent on that battle-field.
On the field fell many a slaughtered,
On both sides, towered heaps of corpses.

An Afghan named Gujra,¹ who in heroism and valour was the
Rustam of his time, and who commanded the van of Daud Khān’s
army, made a bold onslaught on the commander of the Khan-i-
Khānān’s van, named Khan-i-Alim, discomfited the Imperial
vanguard, slew Khan ‘Alim, and shook the van. And a number
of Imperialists who were between the centre and the van,
becoming discomfited by the attack of Daud Khān, reeled back to
the centre, and caused confusion. The Khan-i-Khānān, with the
small remnant of troops that yet held the ground, advanced in
front of Gujra, and by chance, Gujra and the Khan-i-Khānān
encountered each other.

When the two heroes encountered each other,
They unsheathed from both sides dazzling swords.
Now one, and then the other, inflicted sword-cuts,
Worthy of heroes.
The one did not succeed in penetrating the cuirass,
The other defended himself with a shield.
At length, by the sword of Gujra,
The body of the Khan-i-Khānān got wounded.
Other adherents came in the midst,
And intervened between the two combatants.

writes to Munim to come up and join him, as Daud had collected his troops
near Katak, and the whole Imperial army moves to Katak, where a peace
is concluded.”

¹When Bayazid was killed by Hanso, it is related in the Sawanih Akbari
that Gujra Khan attempted to raise in Behar Bayazid’s son to the throne.
It may be noted that a village called Gujarpur lies about 5 miles from Katak,
and that there is a family there that claims Gujra Khan as its ancestor.
The Khan-i-Khanan, in that plight fighting, retired from the battle-field and halted, and when the scattered Mughal forces again rallied round him, he again advanced to fight with Gujra.

When Gujra a second time came to fight,
From the aim of destiny, the bow became stretched,
When the arrow hit him clean on the forehead,
The arrow passed right through the head.
Gujra fell on the field like a mountain,
By his fall, his army became dispirited,
When fortune turned its face from Daud Khan,
From every side, misfortune hemmed him in.
Daud Khan fled from the battle,
As he no longer dreamt of victory.

Daud Khan, leaving behind the war-elephants and other armaments, in despair fled from the battle-field. And Rajah Todar Mal and other Imperial grandees marched in pursuit\(^1\) of Daud Khan. When Daud Khan reached the environs of the river Chin,\(^2\) he took refuge in the fort of Katak. Since every avenue of escape was closed, he was obliged to place his family and children inside the Fort, and then himself advanced to fight, putting the coffin on the shoulder, and preparing to die. Rajah Todar Mal communicated to the Khan Khanan the state of affairs. Although wounded, the Khan Khanan on the wings of swiftness proceeded to that place. But Daud Khan negotiated terms of peace through the mediation of one of the Omra, and

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\(^1\) It appears from the Akbarnamah that after the battle of Takroi, Todar Mal pursued Daud Khan up to Bhadrak, whilst Mun‘im Khan the Khan-i-Khanan owing to his wounds still lay behind. At this time Daud Khan collected his troops at Katak, and so Todar Mal wrote to Mun‘im Khan to come up, and Mun‘im Khan in spite of his wounds, moved up with the whole Imperial army to Katak, when the Peace of Katak was concluded. Under it, Daud Khan formally resigned the sovereignty of Jehanabad and Bengal to Akbar, retaining only Orya. The battle of Takroi (3rd March, 1575 A.C.)—called by Badauni ‘Bichwa’—was a most decisive battle, as it virtually ended Afghan supremacy in Bengal and Jehanabad, and substituted Mughal rule in its place.

\(^2\) “Chin” is apparently a抄ist’s mistake for the “Mahanadi” river. In shekista writing, the words ‘Chin’ and Mahanadi in Persian might resemble each other.
when the basis of the treaty \(^1\) was settled, he went to meet Mun'im Khān. The Khān Khānān, showing chivalry and generosity, presented to him a belt, a dagger, and a sword set in jewels, left to him the province of Orissa and Katak Benares, and himself (on behalf of the Emperor) taking possession of other parts of the kingdom, returned with triumph and pomp, entered the city of Tandah, and set himself to administer the country. Since in former days, from the time of Muḥammad Bakhtīār Khilji down to the time of Sher Shāh, Gaūr had formed the Capital of Bengal, (though owing to the climate of the latter place not suitting foreigners, the Afghāns had built Khawaśpūr Tandah for the settlement of the rulers), the Khān Khānān, setting himself to the reconstruction of the city of Gaūr, proceeded to the latter place, and built it anew, and made it his head-quarters. Soon after, owing to the badness of its climate, he fell ill, and on the 19th Rajab, 983 A.H.\(^3\) died. Dāud Khān, on hearing the news of the Khān Khānān’s death, with the assistance of the Afghāns, re-occupied Bengal and Behar, and immediately marched to wrest the city of Khawaśpūr Tandah. The Imperialists, not being able to tarry, evacuated the place. Dāud Khān with full independence resumed his former sovereignty.

THE RULE OF NAWĀB KHĀN JAHĀN IN BENGAH, AND
AN ACCOUNT OF DĀUD KHĀN’S DEATH.

When the news of Mun‘im Khān, Khān Khānān’s death reached Delhi, Emperor Akbar appointed Ḥusain Quli Khān

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\(^1\) Under this treaty of Katak, Behar and Bengal were formally ceded by Dāud Shāh, the Afghan king of Bengal, to the Mughal Emperor (Akbar), Orissa being still retained by Dāud Shāh. Badaoni gives an interesting description of the Durbar held on the occasion by Mun‘im Khān Khānān, across the Mahanadi river, opposite to the fort of Katak (Cuttack). Both Mun‘im and Dāud shewed refined chivalry and magnanimity towards each other, at this State function.

\(^2\) Corresponding to 1576 A.C.

Professor Blochmann, in his Tr. of Aīn-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 376, gives a list (compiled from the Akbarnamah) of 14 other principal Mughal officers who died at Gaūr of malaria at this time (983 A.H. or 1576 A.C.) Badaoni also gives the list.

21
Turkman, after bestowing on him the title of Ḫān Jahān,\(^1\) to the office of Governor of Bengal. And when Ḫān Jahān reached the frontiers of Bengal, Khwājah Muẓaffar Ali Turbatī,\(^2\) who was a servant of Bahrām, \(^3\) Ḫān, and, obtaining the title of Muẓaffar Ḫān, was Governor of Behār, and had come for the conquest of the Rohtas fort, joined him with the troops of Behār, Tīrhubt and Hajīpur, &c. And all the Imperialists uniting their forces, advanced to storm the fort of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali. Dāud Ḫān also with a formidable army advanced to Akmahal,\(^4\) which lies midway between Gadhi and Tandah, to fight with Ḫān Jahān. But Ḫān Jahān, by delivery of the first assault, stormed Gadhi, slaughtered about 1,500 Afghāns, and advanced towards the site where Dāud Ḫān was entrenched. When the distance

\(^1\) He was appointed in 983 A.H. (1576 A.C.) by Akbar Military Governor of Bengal, on the death of Munṭūm Ḫān Khān-i-Khānān. His second-in-command was Rajah Todar Mal. He was a sister's son of Bairam Ḫān Khān-i-Khānān. See his biographical sketch in Blochmann's Tr. of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 329, and also Māsīr-ūl-Ūmara.

At Bhagalpur, the Amīr of Bengal waited on Ḫān Jahān.

From this period the whole of Behar, including South and North Behar, was placed under a separate Mughal Governor, whilst Bengal was similarly governed by another separate Mughal Governor. The Governorship of Behar generally henceforth formed a sort of stepping-stone for the more responsible and lucrative office of Governor of Bengal (see the text).

\(^2\) "Tīrhubt" is a copyist's mistake in the text for "Turbatī." He was Akbar's Governor of Behar, and held all Behar from Chansa to Teliagadhi. He was ordered by Akbar to assist Khān Jahān, Akbar's Governor of Bengal, when the latter encountered opposition from the Afghāns under Dāud Khān, who had at this time entrenched himself in the fort of Akmahal (subsequently, Rajmahal or Akbarnagar). He was at one time Finance Minister or Dewan of Akbar, and had Todar Mal under him. He, together with his Deputy, Todar Mal, was the author of Akbar's revenue-roll called "jam-i-hāsil-i-bal," which supplanted the former revenue-roll of the Emperor, called 'Jami Raqmi,' that had existed from Bairam's time. He was previously Bairam's Dewan also. The old Jam-i-Masjid (now in ruins) of Agra was erected by him. He was killed at Tandah by Masūm Khān, the rebel. (See his full biographical sketch in Blochmann's Tr. of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 348, and also Māsīr-ūl-Ūmara).

\(^3\) "Bahrām" is a copyist's mistake in the text for "Bairam."

\(^4\) i.e., Rajmahal or Akbarnagar—Previous to Mansingh selecting it, Shāh Shāh had selected its site.
between was covered, on the 15th Muharram, 983 A.H., which was a Thursday, both the contending hosts arrayed their forces in battle-rank.

The two armies fell into battle-array;
The warriors became anxious to fight.
When the market of fight and combat became warm,
The warriors drew against each other sharp swords.
From the thundering of guns, and the raging of war-rockets,
The sky itself quaked.

Kālā Pāhār who was one of the renowned generals of Dāud Khān, attacking the right wing of Khān Jahān,1 spread consterna-
tion, and Muzaffar Khān assaulting the left wing of Dāud Khān, caused it to reel back, and simultaneously, Khān Jahān as-
saulted the centre of Dāud Khān, and a great battle commenced.

On that battle-field,² mutual fightings occurred:
Both the armies lost numbers of men.
From the numbers of the killed, mounds were raised,
And signs of the Day of Resurrection appeared.
The renowned hero, Khān Jahān, in the battle,
Reduced to dust the army of Dāud:
Whichever side he raised his sword,
He severed the head of the enemy from the body.
And from this side, Dāud with the sharp sword,
Caused havoc in the army of Khān Jāhan:
Whichever side he turned with his sword,
He felled on his feet the helmet of the enemy’s head.
If he struck a horse with his sharp sword,
It was ripped into two pieces up to the bow of the saddle.

¹ “Khān Jahān” was a title next in importance to “Khān-i-Khānān.”
² This was the decisive battle of Akmahal or Agmahal (subsequently called Rajmahal or Akbarnagar), on 15th Rabi II 984 A.H., corresponding to 12th July, 1576 A.C. It finally crushed Dāud Shāh or Dāud Khān, the last Afghan king of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and laid firmly the foundation of Mughal supremacy over those provinces, reduced Bengal to a Sābah of the Great Mughal Empire, and extinguished for ever Independent Moslem Royalty in Bengal.

See full account of this great battle in the Akbarnamah and Badonī, which are contemporary accounts.
And if he struck a spear on the chest of any person,
Its point passed right through his back:
By the strength of arm, that furious lion
Killed many, and squeezed many.
But as fortune did not favour him,
He could not stand his ground on the battle-field.
He was vanquished, and he lost his treasures and effects,
Misfortune, like a post-boy, ran towards him.

When the eagle of victory and triumph cast its shadow on
the army of Emperor Akbar, and Daud Khan fled from the battle-field, the heroes of Khan Jahân's army, not abandoning Daud's pursuit, followed him up, and at length Daud Khan was captured, and brought to Khan Jahân. The latter, considering Daud's life to be a source of disturbance and insurrection, ordered him to be killed.¹

His head was cut off with the sharp sword,
From the blood of Daud, the ground underneath reddened.
The Royal throne (of Bengal) became emptied of kings,
From Bengal, Royalty vanished!

Junaíd Khan, son of Daud Khan, who receiving a mortal wound, had fled from the battle-field, some two or three days subsequently also died. Khan Jahân reduced to subjection as much of the country as was in the possession of the Khan-i-Khānān, and sent all the elephants captured from the Afghāns, together with other booty, to Emperor Akbar. And Muzaffar Khan, striking up the kettle-drum of return, proceeded to Patnā, and in 984 A.H., turned to the conquest of the fort of Rohtas.²

¹ One cannot help noting the entire absence of chivalry on the part of this Mughal General, Khan Jahân. If he possessed one-quarter of the chivalry of his own predecessor in office, the Khan-i-Khānān, he could have never extended his hand to the perpetration of this brutality, which was as ferocious as it was ungallant. A worthy and heroic foe like Daud Shâh deserved a better fate, and it is a pity that Khan Jahân's master, the Great Akbar, should not have provided against such a misdeed, which must reflect adversely on the Emperor's memory itself.

² This renowned Fort in South Behar in 945 A.H. passed into the hands of Sher Shâh. (See Badauni for a description of it, as it existed in Akbar's time). During his reign and that of his son Salim Shâh, Fath Khan Batnî commanded the Fort. Subsequently, it came into the hands of Salai-
AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXTINGUISHMENT OF CERTAIN GRANDEES OF DAUD KHAN.

When Muzaffar Khan planned to return to Patna, on the way he detached Muhammad Ma'sum Khan to conquer Husain Khan and Afghan who was in those parts, and he causing Husain Khan to flee, came to the Parganna which was his jagir, and entered the fort. And Kalā Pahār coming with 800 corps of cavalry, besieged Ma'sum Khan. The latter seeing a breach made, battered down the rear-wall of the fort, sallied out, and gave battle to Kalā Pāhār. As ill-luck would have it, in the heat of warfare, the war-elephant of Kalā Pāhār, with its trunk, flung down Ma'sum Khan's horse, and threw down Ma'sum Khan on the ground. In the meantime, the Mughal archers hit the elephant-driver with the arrow, and the elephant, being without its driver, turned round and attacked its own army, and killed and trampled down numerous Afghans. From this cause, the Afghans were vanquished, Kalā Pāhār was killed, and his elephant turned back. The province of Orissa and Katak, Benares, the whole kingdom of Bengal and Behar, by the efforts of Khan Jāhān, were annexed to the Empire of Akbar; and the fortune of the kings of Bengal terminated, and no other king in that kingdom thenceforth minted coins, or had the Khutbah read after his name. And the leading Afghan grandees, like Husain Khan and Kalā Pāhār, as related above, were totally extinguished, and some fled to the jungles in the tracts of Bengal. 1 In the

mān Kararani and Junaid Kararani. The latter appointed Syed Muhammad Commandant of the Fort. The latter being hard-pressed by Muzzafār Khan, Mughal Governor of Behar fled to Shāhbaz Khan (who had been deputed by Akbar to chastise Rajah Gaipati Sec. Ain-i-Akbarī, Rīch. Tr., Vol. I, p. 399), and handed over the fort to him (1623 A.H.); in the same year, Akbar appointed Moula Hādī Khan Bahari Governor of Behar and Shāhbaz Khan made over the fort to him. 2 (See Rīch. Tr. of Ain, Vol. 1, p. 422).

1 He fought against a Kalā Pāhār; see particulars of his career in Bloch, Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 431 n and also in Budanī and Mawān al-Umān.

2 See p. 429, Bloch Tr., Ain, Vol. I.

3 After the battle of Akmahāl or Rajmahāla (1576 A.C.), in which the last independent Afghan King of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, named Dīmul Bīrā, was defeated and killed, Khān Jāhān proceeded to Sāgarcūk, where Din's family lived at the time defeated remnants of Din's supporters under Jamsahd and Mīrāi, and re-anneal Sāgarcūk to the Mughal Empire. Din's mother came to Khān Jāhān as a supplicant... With this defeat and death...
year 987 A.H., Khan Jahan died, and the Afghans, whose names and traces had been lost, now issued out from all corners, and tried to re-occupy and re-conquer the country. Amongst these, one principal Afghân commander, named 'Osmân Khan, combining with other Afghans, raised an insurrection. Emperor Akbar appointed Khan 'Aqīm Mirzâ Kokâ, together with other principal Omras, to the Government of Bengal and Behar. And he made meedworthy efforts to destroy and extirpate the Afghans. And when he did not succeed in completely extirpating them, Shâhbas Khan came with re-inforcements, as an auxiliary to the Imperialists; and then engagements ensued with 'Osmân Khan. The ferocious Imperialists did not stay their hands from the slaughter, capture and extirpation of the insurgent Afghans. In short, in the life-time of Akbar, the fortune of the Afghans declined, but as their extirpation was not completed by the time of the death of Emperor Akbar, which took place in 1014 A.H., 'Osmân Khan rising again, re-sharpened his sword. And mobilising nearly

of Daud, Bengal was by no means thoroughly conquered, as troubles broke out in Bhati (Sundarbans including tracts along the Megna), where the Afghans had collected under Karim Dad, Ibrahim and 'Isa Khan, whom Abul Fazi calls "Marzban-i-Bhati." (See Ain-i-Akbari, Bloch. Tr., Vol. I, pp. 330 and 343).

1 He died at a town called Sihatpur (the 'Sanitarium') which he had founded near Tanah.

2 In 988 A.H. Asis was promoted by Akbar to command of Five Thousand, received the title of Azam Khan, and was in 988 A.H. detached with a large army to Bengal and Behar, to quell disturbances. In 990 A.H. he was again sent there, when he occupied Telegadhi, the "key" to Bengal. He fought against the rebels Ma'sum-i-Kabul and Majmun Khan, and also operated against the Afghan Qutlu, who had occupied Oisaa and a portion of Bengal. He took ill, retired to Behar, leaving the command in Bengal to Shâhbas Khan Kambu. Of him, Akbar used to say "Between me and Asis is a river of milk which I cannot cross." (See Blochmann's Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 325 for details of his career and also Maasir-ul-Umara).

3 For interesting details of his career see Blochmann's Tr., Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 390 and Maasir-ul-Umara. Ma'sum Khan Kabul rebelled, fled to Bhati, and took refuge with the Marzban-i-Bhati, 'Isa Khan. Shâhbas Khan followed him to Bhati, crossed the Ganges at Khairpur (near Narain-ganj) plundered Bakhtiarpur, 'Isa Khan's residence, occupied Sunargaon and encamped on the banks of the Brahmaputra. 'Isa Khan made proposals of peace which were accepted: under it, an Imperial Resident was to stay at Sunargaon, Ma'sum was to go to Mecca, and Shâhbas was to withdraw. But these terms were not carried out, as his officers shewed insubordination, and Shâhbas had to retreat to Tanah.
20,000 Afghans, he had the Khutba in that tract read after his name, and from the pride of being at the head of numerous followers, he became aggressive. And taking no account of the Imperial officers who were stationed in this country, he raised his hand of conquest on the Imperial dominions.

Now I adorn my rarity-depicting pen with the chronicle of the accounts of the Nāzims of Bengal, who were honoured with the khil'at of the Niẓāmat of Bengal from the lofty presence of the Chaghai \(^1\) Emperors, and who raising the standard of authority, freed this country from the weeds and thorns of rebellions.

\(^1\) i.e., Mughal Emperors. See note ante.
CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF THE NĀZIMS WHO WERE APPOINTED TO THE NĪZĀMAT OF BENGAL BY THE TIMURIDE EMPERORS OF DELHI.

NĪZĀMAT OR VICEROYALTY OF RAJAH MĀN SINGH.

When on the 19th Jamādi-ul-Sāni 1014 A.H., Nuru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh, in the fort of Agra, ascended the Imperial throne, inasmuch as from official despatches, news-letters, and the correspondence of officers, news of the insurrection of 'Oṣmān Khān was continually received, on the very day of his accession, the Emperor, bestowing rich khillīat with chargal, and a sword set in jewel, and a splendid horse, appointed Rajah Mān Singh to the Nīzāmat of the Šabāh of Bengal, whilst Wazīr Khān was exalted to the office of Diwān and Auditor of this Province.¹ After their arrival in this country, the refractory 'Oṣmān advanced to fight, and a battle ensued. 'Osmān with great shrewdness opened secret negotiations. As the war was protracted, and the extirpation of the Afghāns was not accomplished, in that very year of accession, Rajah Mān Sing ² was recalled from office, and

¹ For the first time, we hear of the offices of Naṣīm and Diwan. Hitherto we heard of Military Governors, called "Sipasalara" or "Siralashkara" or "Hakims" appointed by the Mughal Emperor. It is obvious that, hitherto, Bengal under the Mughals was under a sort of Military Government, presided over by Military Governors. When the back-bone of Afghān opposition was broken, in the time of Emperor Jahāngīr, for the first time, under Mughal rule, Bengal was placed under Civil Government by the Mughal Emperors, who appointed two distinct functionaries, one being the Naṣīm (in charge of executive government) and the other, the Diwan (in charge of Revenue and Finance). This system of Government, though actually enforced in Bengal in Jahāngīr's time, must have been matured towards the end of Akbar's reign.

² He was a son of Bhagwan Das, and Akbar bestowed on him the title of "Fursand" or "Son," and raised him to the Mansab of Haft Hazari. See full
Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān Kokaltāsh was exalted to his place, being the recipient at the same time of khil’ats with a belt set in jewels, and of a horse with gold-mounted saddle. The Viceroyalty of Rajah Mān Singh lasted eight months and a few days.

NIZĀMAT OF QUṬBU-D-DĪN KHĀN.

When Quṭbu-d-dīn Kokaltāsh,1 on the 9th Safar, 1015 A.H., was honoured with the khil’at of the Nizāmat of Bengal, he was raised to the rank of a Panjḥāzārī, with 5,000 soldiers and troopers; and 2 lacs of rupees was given him for his allowance, and 3 lacs of rupees was given for the expenses of his contingent. After taking leave of the Emperor, he arrived in Bengal. As yet some months had not passed, when he was killed at the hands of ‘Ali Quli Beg Astajlū, styled Sher Afgān Khān.2 And the detail of particulars of his career in Bloch. Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 340, and also in Maasīr-ul-Umara, and Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri.

1 His name was Sheik̲h Khubā [Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān-i-Chishti] and his father was Sheik̲h Zada of Badaon, and his mother a daughter of Sheik̲h Sal̲ūm of Fathpur Sikri. He was a foster-brother of Jahāngīr, who whilst a Prince conferred upon Khubā the title of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, and made him Sūbadar of Behar. On Jahāngīr’s accession to the throne, Khubā was appointed Sūbadar of Bengal, (1015 A.H.) At that time Sher Afgān ‘Ali Quli Istajlū was tughādar (or jagirdar) of Bardwan, and his wife Mehrunnisa (afterwards Empress Nūr Jahan) was coveted by Emperor Jahāngīr. Quṭbu-d-dīn had instructions to send Sher Afgān to court, but the latter refusing to go, Quṭb went to Bardwan, where Sher Afgān came to meet him. On his approach, Quṭb lifted up his horse-whip. Sher Afgān thereon rushed with his sword against Quṭb, and inflicted a cut on his abdomen. Quṭb died, and one of his followers Ambah Khān, gave Sher Afgān a sword-cut on the head, when the latter was also killed. (Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 496 and Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri, p. 19).

2 He was safaschi or butler of Ismail II, king of Persia. After the latter’s death, he went to India, and met at Multan, Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Xhān, and received a mansab, and on arrival at court, Akbar gave him in marriage to Mehrunnisa (the future Nūr Jahan), daughter of Mirza Ghīyāt Tahrānī. Prince Salīm fell in love with her, and brought about, on his accession to the throne, Sher Afgān’s death. Sher Afgān had received Bardwan district as tughal or jagir, on Jahāngīr’s accession. His body was buried in the shrine of the saint Bahram Saqqa at Bardwan. (See Iqbalnamah, p. 22).

Four tigers had been caught, and Nūr Jahan requested Jahangir (Tuzuk, p. 186), to let her shoot them. She killed two with one bullet, and the other
this incident is this. ‘Ali Quli Beg Astajli was a butler of Shāh Ismā‘il,1 son of Shāh Tahmasp Safavi. On the death of Shāh Ismā‘il, coming to India via Qandahar, at Multan he entered the service of ‘Abdur Rahim Khan, Khan Khānān,2 who was then employed on the conquest of Thatah and Sind. The Khan Khānān informally enlisted him in the ranks of Imperial officers, and in that expedition, ‘Ali Quli showed bravery and rendered valuable services. When the Khan Khānān from that expedition returned triumphant to the Imperial presence, at his request, ‘Ali Quli was honoured with an appropriate Mansab, and at the same time, a daughter of Mirzā Ghiyās Beg Tehrānī,3 named Mehrunnisa,4 was wedded to him. And at the time when Emperor Akbar proceeded from Akbarabad (Agra) to the conquest of the Dakhin, and the Crown-Prince (Prince Salim, afterwards Emperor Jahāngir), was ordered to undertake the subjugation of the Rāna of Udaipur, ‘Ali Quli Beg was appointed as an auxiliary to the Prince. The Prince,

two with two bullets, and so one of the courtiers spoke out on the spur of the moment the verse given in the text. See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 524.

1 These were kings of Persia. See p. 97, Namāh-Khusruan.

2 He was a sepahsalar or Commander-in-Chief under Akbar. His great military services were conquests of Sindh and Gujrat. He was also an accomplished scholar, and translated into Persian Memoirs of Babar. See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 384 and Igbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, p. 287.

3 His real name was Mirza Ghiyās-d-din Muhammad, and his father was Khwajah Muhammad Sharif, who was Vazir to Tattir Sultan and his son Qasaaq Khan, and who was subsequently appointed, by Shāh Tahmasp, Vazir of Yazd. After his father’s death, Ghiyās Beg fled from Persia with two sons and one daughter. On the way at Qandahar, his wife gave birth to a daughter, named Mehrunnisa—the future world-renowned Nur Jahān, consort of Emperor Jahāngir. On his arrival at Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar appointed him Diwan of Kabul, and subsequently Diwan-i-Bayūtāt. In Jahāngir’s reign, he received the title of Itimadu-d-daulah. After the death of her first husband, Sher Afghan, at Bardwan in the fight with Qutb-d-din Khān, Jahāngir’s Governor of Bengal, Mehrunnisa was brought to court, and married in 1020 A.H. by Jahāngir, who bestowed on her first the title of Nur Mahāl and then that of Nur Jahān, her father Ghiyās Beg being at the same time advanced to the office of Prime Minister or Vakhīl-i-Kul. See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 508 and Igbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, pp. 3, 54 and 55.

4 Udaipur is mentioned by Abul Fazl in Sarkar Chitor under the Sübah of Ajmir. (See Jarrett’s Tr. of Ain, Vol. II, p. 273) It is related that a daughter of Naushirvan, the Persian king, whose wife was a daughter of Maurice of Constantinople, was married into the Udaipur Royal family.
shewing every attention to him, gave him the title of Sher Afghan, and on accession to the throne, bestowing on him a Jagir at Bardewan in the Sūbah of Bengal, he sent him there. Afterwards, when the crookedness of his conduct, his wickedness and ill-temper became known to the Emperor, the latter, whilst sending Qutb Khān to Bengal, gave the latter a hint that if he found Sher Afghan well-behaved and loyal, well and good, but if otherwise, he should send him to the Imperial presence, and that in coming if he made excuses, he should punish him. When Qutbud-din Khān reached Bengal, he was dissatisfied with Sher Afghan’s action and conduct. Although he summoned the latter to his presence, putting forward idle excuses, he did not attend. Qutbud-din Khān communicated the matter to the Emperor, who ordered that agreeably to the injunctions conveyed at the time of his departure, he should punish Sher Afghan. The above Khān, on receipt of the Imperial order, instantly marched swiftly to Bardwan. Sher Afghan on getting news of the arrival of the above Khān, advanced forward with two grooms to receive him. At the time of meeting, the soldiers of Qutbud-din Khān crowding in stood at a distance, like a ring. Sher Afghan said: “What is this treatment, and what does it mean?” The Khān told his soldiers to disperse, moved alone in Sher Afghan’s company, and commenced conversation. Sher Afghan read signs of treachery in the aspect of affairs, and forestalling the other, he thought it prudent to apply the remedy before the disease appeared, and with great agility hit Qutbud-din on the abdomen with a sword, so that the latter’s entrails came out. The Khān seizing his abdomen with both hands, shouted out: “Don’t spare him, don’t let this wretch escape.” A Kashmirian, named Aina Khān, who was one of Qutb’s principal officers, spurring his horse, struck Sher Afghan with a sword on the head. In that plight, Sher Afghan with another blow finished Aina Khān’s work. At this moment, the soldiers of Qutbud-din Khān collecting from all sides, killed Sher Afghan also, by inflicting successive cuts. Sher Afghan Khān is that person,

1 He was a stout man, and one can well imagine his pitiful posture at this moment.

2 He is called Pir Khān, also “Baibah Khān” and “Daibah Khān” in Iqbalnamah-i-Jahāngiri, p. 24.
whose widow, Nūr Jahān, as Consort of Emperor Jahāngir, is so renowned. A poet says:

\[
\text{نور جهان گرچه بصورت زن است}
\text{در صف مردان زن شیرائگی است}
\]

*Translation:*

Nūr Jahān, albeit in appearance a woman,
In the ranks of heroes, is a tiger-hunting woman.

After Qūṭbū-d-din Khān was slain, the office of Governor of the Šābah of Bengal was bestowed on Jahāngir Quli Khān, who was Governor of the Šābah of Behar; and Islām Khān was appointed Governor of Behar in the latter’s place.

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**THE NIZAMAT OF JAHĀNGIR QULĪ KHĀN.**

Towards the end of the year 1015 A.H., which was the second year of Emperor Jahāngir’s accession, Jahāngir Quli Khān, who was Governor of the Šābah of Behar, was appointed to be Governor of Bengal. And his name was Lālah Beg, and he was a slave-boy.

1 What chivalry towards women was possible under Islām in olden days even in India, is eloquently testified to by the career of Nūr Jahān, the renowned Empress, Emperor Jahāngir, her Royal Consort, used to say of her, “Before I married her, I never knew what marriage meant. I have conferred the duties of Government on her; I shall be satisfied if I have a seer of wine and half a seer of meat per diem.” With the exception of the Khutba, she received all the privileges of royalty. She sat by the side of her Consort in administering State affairs, and her name appears side by side with that of Emperor Jahangir on the Imperial favrans and coins. She took particular care of orphan girls, led the fashions of the times, and displayed aesthetic art in adorning apartments and arranging feasts. She was also a poetess. She exhibited great resourcefulness and bravery in rescuing Jahāngir from Mahābet Khān’s hands. She lies buried at Lahore near her husband. On Jahāngir’s coins, the following inscription was engraved.

\[
\text{حكم شاه جهانگیر بانیت صد زبور}
\text{بنام نور جهان باد شاه بیگم زبور}
\]

2 Note the pun here. See *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 56 and 57.
of Mirzā Ḥakīm. After the Mirzā's death, he entered the service of Emperor Akbar, who bestowed him on Prince Nūru-d-din Muḥammad Jahāngir. He was a strong-built man, and he had rendered useful services. In religious matters and in regard for justice, he was very firm. After reaching Bengal, as yet he had not fully set his hand to the work of administration, when death claimed him. His rule lasted one month and some days. When news of his death reached the Emperor, Islām Khān, son of Shaikh Badruddin Fatehpuri, who held the office of Governor of Behar, was appointed Governor of Bengal. And the Governorship of Šubah Behar and Patna was conferred on Afaq Khān, son of Shaikh Abul Faṣl ʿAllāmi.

RULE OF NAWĀB ISLĀM KHĀN, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF ‘OSMĀN KHĀN.

When in the third year of Emperor Jahāngir's accession, the Nizāmat of the Šubah of Bengal was entrusted to Islām Khān, the latter had strict orders to extinguish the fire of insurrection and rebellion that had been kindled by ‘Usmān Khān. Islām Khān on

1 Islām Khān was married to a sister (named Ladi Begam) of Abul Faṣl, Akbar's renowned Prime Minister. Islām Khān died as Governor of Bengal in 1022 A.H. (Tuzuk, p. 126). His name was Shaikh Alau-d-din Ohshti, and he was a grandson of Shaikh Salim, the Saint of Fathpūr Sikri. He received the title of Islām Khān, and was Governor of Bengal from 1015 to 1022 A.H. He shifted in 1015 A.H., the Mughal Viceregal Capital of Bengal from Tandah to Dacca. See Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, p. 33 and Mausir-ul-Umara.

2 Shaikh Abul Faṣl Allami, Akbar's friend and Prime Minister, was born on 14th January, 1561 A.C., (6th Muharram, 958 A.H.) at Agra, during the reign of Islām Shāh. He was a son of Shaikh Mubarak; held the office of Prime Minister under Akbar and actively co-operated with the latter in the enunciation of a liberal policy of toleration in the government of the mixed races subject to the Muslim Rule in India. He was a great scholar, and author of several works including the Akbarnamah and the A'in-i-Akbari. He was murdered by Bir Singh, at the instigation of Prince Salim (afterwards Emperor Jahangir) on 12th August, 1602 A.C. See his life in Biochmann's Tr. of A'in-i-Akbari, Vol. I, and also in Mausir-ul-Umara.

3 Abdur Rahman, son of Abul Faṣl Allami, received the title of Afaq Khān, and was appointed by Emperor Jahangir, in the third year of his reign, Governor of Behar, vice Islām Khān who was appointed Governor of Bengal. Iqbalnama, p. 33, and Mausir-ul-Umara.
arrival at Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca), set himself to the affairs of the administration of the country. When his good administration and his thorough grasp of the affairs of the Niẓāmat came to be known by the Emperor, the latter, in recognition of his good services, in the 4th year of accession, raised him to the rank of a Panjḥasārī, including soldiers and troopers. Islam Khān detached a large force under the command of Shaikh Kabir Shuja’īt Khān for the extirpation of ‘Osman Khān, leader of the Afghan insurrection, whilst other notable grandees, like Kishwar Khān, son of Qutb-ud-din Khān Kokah, Iftikhār Khān, Syed Adam Barha, Shaikh Aqha, Mūtaqad Khān, the sons of

1 At this time (1015 A.H.) the Capital of Bengal was transferred from Tandah to Dacca or Jahangirnagar (so called after Emperor Jahangir) by Jahangir’s Viceroy of Bengal, named Islam Khān. Dacca continued to remain henceforth the Mughal Viceregal Capital of Bengal for nearly a century (barring a few years when it was temporarily shifted to Rajmahal).

2 His name was Shaikh Kabir Oḥiahtū, and his titles were “Shujaīt Khān Rustam-i-Zaman.” In the printed Pers. text, it is inserted by mistake between “Shaikh Kabir” and “Shujaīt Khān,” thus misleading the reader to fancy that these were two individuals. See note post. He was a relation of Islam Khān-i-Oḥiahtū, Governor of Bengal, and received first the title of Shujaīt Khān from Prince Salīm, who on ascending the throne, gave him the additional title of “Rustam-i-Zaman,” on account of his services in putting down the Afghans under ‘Osman in Bengal. See p. 64, Iqbalanuhā Jahangirī and Maasir-ul-Umara.

3 His title was ‘Kishwar Khān,’ in the text it is misprinted as “Kir Khān.” His name was Shaikh Ibrahim; he was a son of Shaikh Khuba (Qutb-ud-din Khān-i-Oḥiahtū), Governor of Bengal. In 1015 A.H., he was a commander of 1,000 foot, 800 horse, and received the title of Kishwar Khān from the Emperor Jahangir. He was for some time Governor of Rohtas, and served in Bengal in 1021 A.H., under Shujaīt Khān (Shaikh Kabir Oḥiahtū) against ‘Osman Khān Lohanī, the Afghan. See Iqbalanuhā, pp. 61 and 66 and Maasir-ul-Umara.

4 See n. 1, p. 159, ante.

5 Two sons of Ahmad Beg Kabuli (see Bloch, Tr., Āin, Vol. I, pp. 465-466) named Maqbulullah Khān and Abdul Baqa, held the title of ‘Iftikhar Khān’; either of them is meant.

6 He was a grandson of Syed Mahmūd of Barha, who served Akbar. Most of the Barchi Syeds received from the Mughal Emperors the honorific distinction of ‘Khān,’ which in those days was considered the highest title of Indo-Meumel peerage, next only in rank to Princes Royal and the “Khān-i-Khanān” and “Amin-i-Umara.” (See Bloch, Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 392, and Alamīr-namah).

7 He was nephew of Shaikh Hassan or Hassu album Quqarab Khān who
Mu'azzam Khān, together with other imperial officers, were appointed his auxiliaries. When these reached the frontiers of the tract under 'Osmān, they first deputed a sagacious envoy to conciliate the refractory mind of the leader of the insurrection. They strung the precious pearl of good advice to the ear-corner of his heart. Inasmuch as that wretched man ('Osmān Khān) was by inherent nature a bad stuff, and had not the capacity of appreciating goodness, not appraising the value of this pearl of advice, he collected brickbats of vain aspirations in the vessel of his bad luck, and in the face of that shining pearl, he put forward the stature of his wild ambition, gave permission to the envoy to withdraw without accomplishing his mission, and preparing to die, spurred swiftly the horse of aggressiveness and fighting, and in 1027 A.H. was Governor of Behar. (See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, pp. 521 and 543).

1 Shaikh Bayazid (Muazzam Khān) was a grandson of Shaikh Salīm Qhīstā of Fatpur Sikri. He was made Subsadar of Delhi by Jahangir. His son Mukkaram Khān was a son-in-law and nephew of Islam Khān, Viceroy of Bengal, and served under the latter, conquered Koch Hajo and Khurdah, became Governor of Orissa and subsequently of Bengal. See Mazir-ul-Umara.

2 The tract under 'Osmān appears to have been 'Bhati,' that is the tract including the Sundarbans, the lands alongside the Brahmaputra and the Megna, in fact, the whole tract from Ghoraghat (or Bangpur) southward to the sea. His residence is mentioned in the histories (see Bloch, Āin, Vol. I, p. 520) to have been at “Kohistan-i-Dacca,” the “Vilayet-i-Dacca,” but his father 'Isa Khān’s residence (vada p. 343 of do.) is mentioned to have been at Baktarapur, close to Khizrpur. Khizrpur has been identified with a place about a mile north of modern Narailganj, close to which are ruins of the forts built by Mir Jumla, Mughal Viceroy at Dacca, in the 17th century. There is still there a Muqbarah, which is supposed to be the resting-place of one of Jahangir’s daughters. Here was the chief naval fort of Muhammadan Government, it lay at the confluence of the Ganges, the Lakhia and the Brahmaputra rivers. It is three miles west of Sunargoon, and nine miles from Dacca. About thirty miles north of Khizrpur, are two villages within a mile of each other, called “Baktarpur” and “Issurpur,” but these contain no ruins. (See J.A.S. for 1874, pp. 211-213). “Bhati” from its inaccessibility was elected as the last stronghold of the Afghans, who, sheltered amidst its jungles, cut up by numerous rivers and channels, long defied there the power of the Mughals. During the Mughal military revolt under Akbar, the chief rebel, Mas'ūm Khān Kabūlī, who was a Turbati Syed and whose uncle had been Vāsid under Humāyūn, took refuge in “Bhati,” where he fought against Musāfār and Shabbaż, and at length died in 1007 A.H. (See Bloch Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 431).
rallied his forces on the banks of a river,\(^1\) full of mud. When
news of this daring impudence reached Jahângîr’s officers, in the
seventh year of accession, towards the end of the month of Zilhâj,
1020 A.H., the latter arrayed their forces, and advanced to the field
of warfare. From the other side, ‘Osmân Khân also arrayed his
miscreant troops for battle on the field of adversity, in front of
the auspicious Imperialists. The heroes of the battle, on both
sides advancing to fight, displayed heroism and bravery.

When the fighting hosts on both sides faced each other,
They fell to fighting against each other from every side.
From the gun, the musket, the spear and the arrow,
The banquet of warfare became warm.
From excess of smoke and dust up to the sky,
The universe could not be descried.
From the din and tumult of both the armies,
The battle-field turned into the field of the Day of Resur-
rection.

\([\text{rocks,}\]

Showered from every side cannon-balls, arrows and war-
And emptied the world of heroes.
The corpses of heroes frisked in every direction,
Like slaughtered cocks, on both sides.

In the thick of the fighting, and amidst the shower of
arrows and rockets, ‘Osmân, displaying great valour, placed before
himself rogue war-elephants, and assaulted the vanguard of the
Imperialists.

The brave Imperialists advancing, grappled with their
swords and spears, and exhibited heroism worthy of a Rustam and
a Sam. Syed Adam Barha\(^2\) and Shaikh Acha\(^2\) who were
Commanders of the Imperial vanguard, fell gallantly fighting. At
this moment, the flanks of both the armies came into line.
Iftikhâr Khân,\(^3\) Commander of the left wing, and Keshwar
Khân,\(^4\) Commander of the right wing, with a large number

\(^1\) Probably this was the small Lakha river, on which modern Narsinganj
is situated, and close to which were Khisarpur and Bakhtpur. Iqbalnamah,
pp. 61 and 64.

\(^2\) The Tuzuk (p. 102) mentions that Kishwar Khân (son of Qutb-ud-din
Khân, late Governor of Bengal), Iftikhar Khân, Syed Adam Barha, Shaikh
Acha, brother’s son of Muqarrab Khân, Mu’tamid Khân, and Ihtim’am Khân
were under Shujait’s command in his fight with ‘Osmân. Syed Adam, Iftikhar,
and Shaikh Acha were killed (the Tuzuk, p. 132). Later Abdus Salam Khân, a
of adherents, were killed; and on the enemy's side also many passed to hell. 1 On seeing that some of the leaders of the Imperialists had been killed, and their ranks emptied of veterans, a second time Ḍūlmān placing before himself the rogue elephant, named Bātīha, himself mounted on a saddled elephant, personally assaulted the Imperial van, and delivered successive onsets. From the side of the Imperialists, Shujā'ī Khān, 2 with his relations and brothers, advancing to oppose him, exhibited great bravery and heroism. Many of his relations were killed, and many retreated on receiving mortal wounds. When that elephant came in front of Shujā'ī Khān, the latter spurring his horse struck it with a spear on its trunk, and with great agility drawing the sword from his waist, inflicted two successive cuts on its head; and when he came in collision with the elephant, he drew his dagger, and inflicted on it two more cuts. The elephant, from its great ferocity, not recking of these cuts, with great fury rushed up, and flung down both the rider and the horse. Shewing agility, Shujā'ī dismounted from his horse, and stood erect on the ground. At this juncture, Shujā'ī’s groom struck the trunk of the elephant with a double-edged sword, and inflicted a serious cut, causing the elephant to fall on its knees. Shujā'ī Khān, with the help of his groom, threw down the rider of the elephant, and with a dagger inflicted another cut on its trunk. The elephant roaring fiercely fled after this cut, and moving some paces fell down. Shujā'ī Khān’s horse sprang up unhurt, and the Khān mounted it again. In the meantime, another elephant attacking the Imperial standard-bearer threw him down with the standard.

son of Muazzam Khān (a former Governor of Bengal) joined the Imperialists, and pursued Ḍūlmān. See also Iqbalnamah, pp. 61 to 64.

1 The author's remark is unjust and ungraceful. The Afghans under Ḍūlmān were fighting for their homes and hearths, and did not deserve this opprobrious expression.

2 The Tuzuk calls the elephant “Gajpati,” Iqbalnamah (p. 62) “Bakhtah.”

3 His name was Shaikh Kabir-i-Ushāti, and his title was Shaikh Shujā'ī Khān Rustam-i-Zaman. He was a relative of Ḍūlmān Khān, Governor of Bengal and served under the latter in Bengal, and commanded the Imperialists in the fightings with Ḍūlmān, the Lohani Afghan. (See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p 620, and the Tuzuk, and the Maasir and Iqbalnamah, p. 64). He was subsequently appointed Governor of Behar.
Shujait Khan shouted out, “Take care, behave like a man, I am alive, and will soon advance to your rescue.” A number of troops who were round the standard-bearer took courage, inflicted serious cuts on the elephant which fled, and placed the standard-bearer on the horse again. At this time, when the battle was lingering towards its close, and many had fallen, and many being wounded were unable to move their limbs, the Imperial fortune blazed forth, and a cannon-ball hit Osmān Khan on the forehead, and levelled him straight on his horse. Though he realised that he could not survive this wound, still he heroically encouraged his soldiers to fight on. And when he read signs of defeat in the forehead of his fate, pulling back the rein of his adversary, with the last breathings of a dying man, he reached Bengal. And the triumphant Imperialists following him up to his camp, halted. Osmān expired at midnight. Wali Khan, his brother, and Mamriz Khan, his son, leaving behind the tents and the armaments, and removing his corpse, fled to their tent. Shujait Khan on hearing of this, thought of following up the enemy, but his advisers opposed the pursuit that day, on the ground that the troops were tired, the killed had to be buried, and the wounded dressed. In the meantime, Mu'taqad Khan, who was afterwards honoured with the title of Lashkar Khan, 'Abdus-Salām Khan, son of 'Abdul Mu'azzam Khan, and other officers of the Emperor arrived with a fresh reinforcement of 300 cavalry and 400 mus-
keteers. Shujāīt Khān taking this corps with him, chased the enemy. Wali Khān despairing sent the following message: "The root of this insurrection was ‘Osmān; he has met with his deserts, we are all loyal. If we receive assurance of safety, we would make our submission and would send the elephants of ‘Osmān, in the shape of tribute." Shujāīt Khān and Mu’taqad Khān, shewing chivalry, arranged terms of peace. The following day, Wali Khān and Mamriz Khān, with all their brothers and connexions, came to meet Shujāīt Khān, and presented forty-nine elephants as tribute. Shujāīt and Mu’taqad Khān, taking charge of them, moved victorious and triumphant to Islām Khān to Jahāngirnagar (Decc). Islām Khān sent a despatch containing news of the victory to the Emperor at Akbarābād (Agra). On the 16th of the month of Muḥarram 1021 A.H., this despatch reached the Emperor, and was perused. In recognition of this good service, Islām Khān was raised to the mansāb of a Shaḵḥāsāri, and Shujāīt Khān had his mansāb raised, and received the title of Rustam-i-Zamān; whilst all other Imperialists who had loyally and gallantly co-operated in the extirpation of ‘Osmān Khān, received similarly befitting mansābs. The insurrection of ‘Osmān Khān lasted eight years, and in the 7th year of the Emperor’s accession, corresponding to 1022 A.H., his subjugation was accomplished. In the 8th year of the Emperor’s accession, Islām Khān led an expedition against the Mags, who were brutes in human form. Islām Khān sent to the Emperor, in charge of his son, Ḥosḥān Khān, a number of the Mags that were captured, and in the same year (1022 A.H.) Islām Khān died in Bengal. Thereupon, the Governorship of that country was entrusted to his brother, Qāsim Khān.

NIZĀMAT OF QĀSIM KHĀN.

After the Governorship of Bengal was conferred on Qāsim Khān, brother of Islām Khān, he ruled five years and a few months, when the Assamese making an incursion into the conquered Imperial domains, captured and decoyed Syed Abū Bakr.1 Qāsim Khān failed to make a sifting enquiry into this

1 He was Commandant of a Mughal out-post on the Assam frontier at Jamdhar, under Jahangir. (See Alamgirnamah, p. 680).
affair, and was therefore superseded, and Ibrāhīm Khān Fateh Jang was appointed Naẓim in his place.

NIZĀMAT OF IBRĀHIM KHĀN, AND THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCE SHĀH JAHAN IN BENGAL.

Ibrāhīm Khān Fateh Jang,¹ in the year 1027 A.H., corresponding to the 13th year of the Emperor’s accession, received the Viceroyalty of Bengal and Orissa. He appointed his nephew, Āḥmad Beg Khān² to be Governor of Orissa, whilst he himself resided at Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), and devoted himself to the work of administration. As during his incumbency, several grave affairs came to pass, these will be briefly narrated. In the 17th year of the Emperor’s accession, corresponding to 1031 A.H., news reached Emperor Jahāngir to the effect that the King of Persia was aiming to wrest the fort of Qandahār.³ In consequence thereof, Zainul-ʿAbidin, the Pay-Master General of the Ahādī⁴ troops, communicated an order to Prince Shāh Jāhān at Burhānpur, directing the latter to march quickly to the Imperial presence with troops, artillery and elephants. The Prince marching from Burhānpur⁵ reached Mando,⁶ sent a message to the

¹ He was the youngest son of Mirza Ghīš Beg, and a brother of Empress Nur Jāhān. (See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 512).
³ In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahār, Khān Jāhān was appointed by Jahāngir Governor of Multan. In the 17th year, Shāh Akbar, king of Persia, took Qandahār, after a siege of forty days. Khān Jāhān was called to court for consultation, and it was decided that Prince Khurrām (Shāh Jāhān) should be placed at the head of the expeditionary force to reconquer Qandahār. In the meantime, Shāh Jāhān rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahār was not undertaken. See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, pp. 503-504.
⁴ They were a body of troops intermediate between the Regulars and non-Regulars and Auxiliaries. They were created under Akbar. See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 249, for a full description of Ahādī troops. Zainul-ʿAbidin was a son of Aṣaf Khān (III). See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 412.
⁵ A town in the Dakhin; it was for some time the Mughal head-quarters, during the military operations in the Dakhin.
⁶ Mando is name of a Sirkār or district as well as the name of a city in Sirkār Mando, included in the Sūbah of Malwah. (See Jarrett’s Tr. of Āin, Vol. II, p. 206).
Emperor to the effect that as the rainy season had approached, he would make Mando his rainy-season quarter, and would afterwards wait on the Emperor. He also asked for pargannah Dholpur being added to his jagir, and set Dariā Khān Afghan to take charge of it. But before the arrival of the Prince’s letter, the Emperor had negotiated the marriage of Prince Shahryar with a daughter of Nur Mahal by Sher Afghan, and at Nur Mahal’s request the aforesaid Pargannah had been bestowed on Shaharyar, and Sharifu-l-Mulk, servant of Prince Shaharyar, had taken possession of the fort of Dholpur. Soon after, Dariā Khān arrived and wanted to forcibly take possession of the fort. From both sides, the fire of conflict kindled. As luck would have it, an arrow hit Sharifu-l-Mulk on the eye, and blinded him. This mishap caused the Begam to be indignant; the fire of discord blazed up, and at the instance of the Begam, the expedition to Qandahar was entrusted to Prince Shaharyar, whilst Mirzā Rustam Safavi was appointed ‘Ataliq of the Prince and Generalissimo of

1 Dholpur lies 20 mls from Agra, near the left bank of the Chambal river. (Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 387).
2 Dariā Khān Rohilla was an officer of Shāh Jahān in the Dakhin. (See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, pp. 504-505).
3 Another name of the renowned Empress Nur Jahān, consort of Emperor Jahangir.
4 Sher Afghan was the first husband of Nur Jahān; by him she had one daughter named Ladi Begum, to whom Prince Shahryar (fifth son of Jahangir) was married. Shāh Jahān or Prince Khurram was Jahangir’s third son. Nur Jahān had no children by Jahangir.
5 That is, Empress Nur Jahān.
6 Mirzā Rustam Safavi was third son of Sultan Husain Mirza, nephew of Shāh Tahmasp king of Persia (930-956 A.H.), and Governor of Qandahar under the latter in 965 A.H. Mirzā Rustam’s daughter was married to Prince Parviz, second son of Jahangir. He invaded Qandahar, but met with no success. In 1081, Jahangir appointed him Governor of Thatha, and afterwards Shahshusari and Governor of Allahahad, and in the 21st year, Governor of Behar. He died in 1081 at Agra. His third son Mirza Hāsan-i-Safavi was Governor of Koch under Jahangir and died in 1059 A.H., and his grandson (son of Mirza Hāsan) named Mirza Safahekan was Faujdar of Jessore in Bengal. (See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, pp. 314-315 and MaaSīr-ul-Umara). Mirzanagar, a place close to Jessore town, probably was Mirza Safahekan’s Faujdar headquarters, and received its name from him. He died in 1073 A.H. Mirza Safahekan’s son, Mirza Saifuddin Safavi, accepted the titular distinction of Khān under Aurangzeb.
his army. On hearing of the blazing of the fire of discord, Shāh Jahān sent to the Emperor along with a letter Afzal Khān, son of Abul Fażl Allami, who after his dismissal from the Governorship of Behar, held the office of Diwan to the Prince, so that with the aid of cajolery and civility the storm of the dust of discord might be made to subside; and relations of amity and harmony between the Emperor and the Prince might not cease. Inasmuch as the Begam held absolute sway over the mind of the Emperor, Afzal Khān was refused an audience, and was ordered back without accomplishing his mission. And orders were passed on the Imperial Revenue-officers directing that the Mahals in the possession of Shāh Jahān, in the Sarkars of Hisar and Doab, should be transferred to Prince Shāharyār. And injunctions were issued to Prince Shāh Jahān, intimating that the Šūbaḥs of the Dakhin, and Gujrāt and Malwā were bestowed on him, and that he might rule over them, making his headquarters within those limits wherever he pleased, and directing that he should quickly despatch to the Emperor some troops for the expedition to Qandahar. And in the beginning of the month of Kheordād, in the 18th year of the Emperor's accession, in the year 1032 A.H. Āṣaf Khān, was appointed Šūbahdār of the Provinces of Bengal and Orissā. Since a daughter of Āṣaf Khān had been married to Shāh Jahān, some malicious persons imputing

1 In the Ain-i-Akbarī, Sarkar of Hisar (or Hissar Firuzah called after Emperor Firuz Shāh Tughlāk who founded the city of Hissar about 1355 A.C.), is described as one of the Sarkars or districts included in the Šūbaḥ of Delhi. This Sarkar is described as containing 27 mahals, with revenue of 52,654,905 Domes. (Jarrett's Tr. of Ain, Vol II, p. 293).
2 Under the Šūbaḥ of Lahore (Jarrett's Tr. of Ain, Vol. II, p. 316), five Doab Sarkars are mentioned. These five Sarkars were: (1) Sarkar of Bet Jalandhar Doab, (2) Sarkar of Bari Doab, (3) Sarkar of Bechman Doab, (4) Chenbat (Jech) Doab, (5) Sindh Sagur Doab.
4 See Āin, Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 195.
5 He was Mirza Abūl Husain Āṣaf Khān (IV) second son of Mirza Ghīās Beg, and brother of Empress Nur Jahān, and father of Shāh Jahān's Queen, Mumtaz Mahal or Taj Bibi, whose mausoleum, the Taj, is at Agra. He received from Shāh Jahān the title of Yaminu-d-daulah and Khān-i-Khānān Sepahsalar, and was made a commander of 9,000. He died in 1051 A.H. and was buried at Lahore, north of Jahangir's tomb. He married a daughter of Mirza Ghīās-u-dīn Ali Āṣaf Khān II. See Bloch, Tr., Āin, Vol. I, pp. 511 and 365 and Naqīv ul-Umara.
to Aṣaf Khān partiality for Shāh Jahān, induced the Begam to call from Kabul Mahabat Khan, who was an old enemy of Aṣaf Khān, and who was also ill-disposed to Shāh Jahān. And the Imperial order with the Begam’s message was sent for summoning Mahabat Khan. Mahabat Khan on arrival from Kabul, was honoured with an audience by the Emperor. Order was also passed to Sharif Khan,1 Vakil of Prince Parviz, to hasten to Court with the Prince and the Behar army. And since the Begam was anxious, owing to separation from her brother, that year on the 2nd of the month of Adar, order was given to Aṣaf Khan to return to Court. In short, on being apprised of the foregoing incidents of inattention on the part of the Emperor, and of ill-will on the part of Nur Jahān Begam, Shāh Jahān arranged that Qāzi ‘Abdul ‘Aziz proceeding to court, should represent his wishes to the Emperor, whilst he himself would follow before the arrival of Prince Parviz and the armies from different parts of the Empire, so that the dust of discord might possibly be laid. In short, the aforesaid Qāzi met the Imperial army on the banks of the river2 of Ludhiana. Inasmuch as the Emperor’s mind was enamoured of the Begam’s seductions, the Qāzi was refused access to the Emperor, and Mahabat Khān was ordered to imprison him. Soon after, Shāh Jahān also with a large army encamped at Fatehpūr, in the vicinity of Akbarābād (Agra). The Emperor marched back from Sirhind,3 and all the grandees and officers from different jagirs joined the Emperor, and before the Capital, Delhi, was reached, a numerous force collected. The vanguard of the Imperialists was entrusted to the command of ‘Abdullāh Khān,4 who was ordered to proceed one krokh in advance of the Imperial camp. But Shāh Jahān, foreseeing the result, thought that if he engaged in fighting against such a numerous army, the result might prove disastrous. Consequently, together

2 River Satlej is meant; Ludhiana town is situated on its banks. See Ain-i-Akbari, Jarrett’s Tr., Vol. II, p. 810.
3 Sarkar of Sirhind is mentioned by Abul Faṣl under Sūbaḥ Delhi in the Ain (See Jarrett’s Tr., Vol. II, p. 105). Sirhind was long the western frontier of India, and hence the name.
4 He was a Barha Syed. The Barha Syeds alone had the privilege to fight in the vanguard (or harawal).
with the Khān Khānān\(^1\) and other officers, retiring by the right-side road, he marched 20 kroh northwards. He left, however, Rajah Bikramajit\(^2\) and Dārāb Khān, son of the Khān Khānān, together with other officers, in front of the Imperialists, so that if the latter, under the direction of the Begam, led the pursuit, the aforesaid commanders might prevent their advance, till the discord subsided. On the 20th Jamādi-al-Awwal 1032 A.H., news of Shāh Jahān’s withdrawal reached the Emperor. The Begam, under the advice of Maḥabat Khān, detached Aṣaf Khān Khwājah Abul Ḥasan,\(^3\) ‘Abdullāh Khān, Lashkār Khān,\(^4\) Fedāi Khān \(^5\) and Nawāzish Khān,\(^6\) &c., with 25,000 cavalry to fight. From Shāh Jahān’s side, Rajah Bikramajit and Dārāb Khān, arraying their forces, advanced, and on both sides the fighting commenced with arrows and muskets. As ‘Abdullāh Khān \(^7\) was in intrigue with Shāh Jahān, he promised that when the two forces would encounter each other, availing himself of an opportunity, he would go over to the Prince’s side. Finding an

\(^1\) This was Khān-i-Khānān Mirza Abdur Rahim, son of Bairam Khān. See Bloch. Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 334 and Maasir-ul-Umara. When Shāh Jahān rebelled, he sided with the latter. His second son’s name was Darāb Khān, who fell into the hands of Prince Parviz and Maḥabat Khān, who killed him, wrapped his head in a table-cloth, and sent it as a present of a ‘melon’ to his father, Mirza Abdur Rahim.

\(^2\) His name was Rai Pati Das; he was a Khatri. Akbar conferred on him the title of Raja Bikramajit. He served Akbar as joint Diwan of Bengal, Diwan of Behar, and was made a commander of 5,000. Jahangir on his accession created him Mīr Atash or Superintendent of Artillery. When disturbances broke out in Gujarat, he was sent to Ahmadabad to pacify the rebels. See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 469, Bloch. Tr. and Maasir-ul-Umara.

\(^3\) The printer or editor of the text by mistake has put \(^9\) between Aṣaf Khān and Khwājah Abul Husain.

\(^4\) The title of “Lashkār Khān” was held by (1) Muḥammad Husain of Khurasan, under Akbar, (2) by Abul Hasan Mashadi under Jahangīr, and (3) by Jan Nisar Khān Yudgar Beg under Shāh Jahān. The second is meant here.

\(^5\) Mirza Rustām had the takhallus of Fidal. (See p. 314, Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I). I am not sure if he is meant here.

\(^6\) Sadullāh, son of Said Khān, Governor of Bengal, held the title of Nawāzish Khān (see Ain, Bloch. Tr., Vol. I, pp. 363-381).

\(^7\) Abdullah Khān Usbāk was made by Akbar a Panjhzari, and was sent to Malwāh with unlimited power. He ‘reigned in Mando like a king.’ See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 321 and Maasir-ul-Umara. I am not sure if he is meant here.
opportunity now, he with the greatest expedition joined Shāh Jahān's army. Rajaḥ Bikramajit who was aware of 'Abdullāh Kān's plan, with great delight went to Dārāb Kān, to inform the latter of 'Abdullāh Kān's desertion. As luck would have it, a cannon-ball hit the Rajaḥ on the forehead, and threw him down. From this mishap, the thread of the arrangement of Shāh Jahān's army was broken. Although a commander like 'Abdullāh Kān, destroying the basis of the Imperial vanguard, had joined the Prince's army, Dārāb Kān and other commanders of Shāh Jahān's army were not daring enough to hold their ground. On the Imperialists' side, the desertion of 'Abdullāh Kān, and on the Prince's side, the fall of Rajaḥ Bikramajit caused mutual confusion, and both the armies were dispirited. Towards the end of the day, both the forces withdrew to their quarters. At length, the Emperor withdrew from Akbarābād towards Ajmind, whilst Prince Shāh Jahān retired towards Mando. On the 25th of the Jamādi al-Awwal, the Emperor detached Prince Parviz with a large army to follow up Shāh Jahān; and Mahabet Kān was entrusted with the command of Prince Parviz's army. When Prince Parviz with his army, crossing the defile of Chanda 1 arrived in the Vilāyet 2 of Mando, Shāh Jahān with his army sallied out of the fort of Mando, and detached Rustam Kān 3 with a body of troops to encounter Prince Parviz. Bahāū-d-dīn Barqandāz, one of the confidants of Rustam Kān, a servant of Shāh Jahān, held treasonable correspondence with Mahabet Kān, and was waiting for an opportunity. At the time when the two armies fell into battle-array, Rustam Kān riding forward joined the Imperialists. This wretched Rustam Kān was by Shāh Jahān elevated from the manṣab of a Selābustī 4 to that of a Panjhaṣārī, and honoured with the title of Rustam Kān and appointed Governor of Gujrat, and he enjoyed the Prince's full confidence. Now that the Prince

1 It is a place mentioned under Sūbah Berar in the Ain-i-Akbari (Bloch Tr., Ain, Vol. II, p. 230), near it is Manikdrung fort.
2 There is no such Vilāyet, in the strict sense of the term; but only a Sarkar of Mando in Sūbah Malvah.
3 Rustam Kān-i-Dakhini is mentioned in the Ain, as Jagirdar of Samogarh. See Bloch Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 478.
4 “Selābustī” in the printed text seems to be a mistake or misprint for “Sihaspī.” (See Bloch Ain, Tr., Vol. I, p. 245, for a dissertation on the constitution of the Mughal Army).
appointing him generalissimo detached him to encounter Prince Parviz, the wretch shelving the obligations of so many years' kindness, joined Mahabat Khan. Owing to the occurrence of this mishap, Shāh Jahān's army got demoralised, and all confidence between each other was lost. Many, going the high-way of infidelity, fled. On hearing of this, Shāh Jahān summoned the remnant of the army to his side, crossed the river Narbada, and removed the boats to his side of the river-bank. Leaving Bairām Beg, the Pay-Master General of the Force, with a body of troops on the banks of the river, Shāh Jahān himself with the KHĀN-i-KHĀNĀN and 'Abdul-lāh Khān and others proceeded towards the fort of Asir and Burhānpur. Muḥammad Taqī Bakshi intercepting the letter of the KHĀN KHĀNĀN, which the latter had secretly despatched to Mahabat Khan, produced it before Shāh Jahān. On the top of the letter, this line was written:

مده كسم بنظیر نگاہ میداندم
ودر نه بیرد مه زراب آخرگی

Translation:

A hundred persons with their eyes watch me,
Or else I should have fled from this discomfort.

Shāh Jahān summoning the KHĀN KHĀNĀN with his son Dārāb Khān from his house, secretly showed him the letter. The latter failed to give any satisfactory explanation. Consequently, the KHĀN-i-KHĀNĀN with his son was kept in surveillance close to the Prince's quarters, and then the inauspicious presage of the line (quoted above) came to pass. Mahabat Khan sending secret letters, had diverted the KHĀN KHĀNĀN from the path of loyalty, through the persuasions of traitors. And the KHĀN KHĀNĀN, by way of advice, told Shāh Jahān that as the times were out of joint, following the saying: زماهبا تو نزارد تو باز مانه پساز (Translation: "If the times do not fall in with you, you must adjust yourself to the times") he should arrange for an armistice, as that would be expedient and desirable in the interests of humanity. Shāh Jahān deeming the extinguishing of the fire of discord to be a great achievement, called the KHĀN KHĀNĀN to his closet, and first reassured his mind in respect of him by making the latter swear by the Qorān. And the KHĀN KHĀNĀN placing his hand on the Qorān swore with vehemence that he would never play false with the
Prince, nor turn disloyal, and that he would put forth his efforts to bring about the welfare of both the parties. Thus being reassured, Sháh Jahán sent off the Khán Khánán, and kept Dáráb Khán and his sons with himself. It was also settled that the Khán Khánán should remain on this side of the river Nabáda, and by means of correspondence arrange terms of peace. When news of the conclusion of an armistice and of the departure of the Khán Khánán became known, the troops who had been stationed to guard the banks of the river, ceasing to be vigilant and alert, neglected to guard the ferries of the river. Of a night, at a time when these were asleep, a body of Imperialists plunging into the river with their horses, gallantly crossed over. A great hubbub arose, and from panic men's hands and feet were paralysed. Báiram Beg, ashamed of himself, went to Sháh Jahán. On hearing of the treachery of the Khán Khánán and of the crossing of the river Nabáda by the Imperialists, Sháh Jahán deeming it inexpedient to halt any further at Burhánpur, crossed the river Tápti, in the thick of the rains, amidst a storm-wave, and marched towards Oríssa,1 scouring the Province of Qútbu-l-Mulk.²

1 The following is extracted from Bloch Tr., Aín, as it briefly and at the same time lucidly describes Sháh Jahán's movements:—

"Sháh Jahán rebelled, returned with Mirzá Abdur Rahim Khán-i-Khánán to Mándo, and then moved to Burhánpur. On the march thither, Sháh Jahán intercepted a letter which Mirzá Abdur Rahim had secretly written to Mahábét Khán, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Dáráb Khán, and sent them to Fort Asir, but released them soon after on parole. Parvíz and Mahábét Khán had in the meantime arrived at the Nabáddá to capture Sháh Jahán. Báiram Beg, an officer of Sháh Jahán, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the Imperialists from crossing. At Mirzá Abdur Rahim's advice, Sháh Jahán proposed at this time an armistice. He made him swear on the Qurán, and sent him as ambassador to Prince Parvíz. Mahábét Khán, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and Mirzá Abdur Rahim, forgetful of his oath, joined Parvíz and did not return to Sháh Jahán, who now fled from Burhánpur, marching through Tálinkánah to Oríssa and Bengál. Mahábét and Mirzá Abdur Rahim followed him up a short distance beyond the Tápti. ... Sháh Jahán then moved into Bengál and Behár, of which he made Dáráb Khán Governor." Bloch. Tr., Aín, Vol. I, p. 387.

² In the Aín, it is stated as below:—"Tálinkánah was subject to Qútbu-l-Mulk, but for some time past has been under the Ruler of Berár." (See
AN ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCE SHAH JAHAN'S ARMY IN BENGAL, AND THE FALL OF IBRAHIM KHAN FATER JANG.

When Prince Shāh Jahān's army reached Orissa, Ahmād Beg Khān, nephew of Ibrāhīm Khān, Nāzīm of Bengal, who from before his uncle held the Deputy Governorship of Orissa, was out in the interior to chastise some Zamindārs. Suddenly hearing of the arrival of the Prince, he lost all courage, and abandoning his mission, he proceeded to Pipli which was the Headquarters of the Governor of that Province, and withdrew thence with his treasures and effects to Katak, which from Pipli is 12 kroh towards Bengal. Not finding himself strong enough to encamp even at Katak, he fled to Bardwan, and informed Ṣāleḥ Beg, nephew of Jafīr Beg, of the whole affair. Ṣāleḥ Beg did not credit the news of the arrival of Shāh Jahān in Orissa. At this time, a letter of a soothing tenour came from 'Abdullāh Khān to Ṣāleḥ Beg. The latter, not being won over, fortified the fort of Bardwan, and entrenched himself there. And when Shāh Jahān’s army arrived at Bardwan, 'Abdullāh besieged the fort, and Ṣāleḥ Beg was hard-pressed. When things came to their worst, and all hopes of relief were lost, Ṣāleḥ Beg was obliged to surrender to 'Abdullāh Khān. The Khān putting a piece of cloth round the Beg's neck, dragged him to the presence of the Prince. When this thorn was put out of the way, the banners of victory were raised aloft towards Rājmahal. When this

Jarrett's Tr., Ain, Vol. II, p. 230), Quli Qutb Shāh was the founder of the Qutb Shāhi dynasty in 1512, with Golconda as his capital. It was conquered by Aurangzeb in 1688. (See p. 238 do.)

1 This is obviously a Printer's mistake in the text for Pipli south of Cuttack. Behli (or Pipli) is mentioned in Sarkar Jalesar in the Ain (See Jarrett's Tr., Vol II, p. 142).

2 The list of grandees in the Padshahnamah describes Muhammad Shāh (or Ṣāleḥ Beg) as a son of Mirza Shāhī, and nephew of Mirza Jafar Beg As'f Khān III. (See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, pp. 411-412). As'f Khān Jafar Beg is described as a man of the greatest genius, an able financier, and a capital accountant. His intelligence was such that he could master the contents of a page by a glance; he was a great horticulturist planting and lopping off branches with own hands in his gardens. He was also a great poet. He was Vakil-i-Mulk and a Commander of Five Thousand, under Emperor Jahangir. His son Mirza Zaman-abidin is mentioned in the Ain as a commander of 1,500 with 500 horse.
news reached Ibrāhīm Khān Fateh Jang, who was Vicerey of the Sūbah of Bengal, he sank in the river of bewilderment. Although his auxiliary forces were scattered about in the tract of Magha and in other places, mustering up courage, at Akbarnagar otherwise called Rajmahal, he set himself to strengthen the fortifications, to mobilize his troops, and to arrange his forces and armaments. At this time, the message of the Prince came to him, to the following effect: "Owing to the decree of fate, whatever was predestined has passed from potentiality into action; and the victorious army has come this side. Though before the outlook of my aspiration, the extent of this Province is not wider than the area covered by the movement of a glance, yet as this tract has fallen in my course, I cannot summarily leave it. If you intend to proceed to the Imperial presence, and to stay my hand from meddling with your life, property and family, I tell you to set out in full security for Delhi; or else if you consider it expedient to tarry in this Province, select any place in this Province that may suit you, and you will be let alone there at ease and comfort." Ibrāhīm Khān in reply wrote: "The Emperor has entrusted this country to this, their old servant. So long as my head survives, I will cling to this province; so long as my life lasts, I will hold out. The beauties of my past life are known to me; how little now remains of my future life in this world? Now I have no other aspiration than that, in the discharge of my obligations for past Royal favours and in the pursuit of loyalty, I may sacrifice my life, and obtain the felicity of martyrdom." In short, Ibrāhīm Khān at first intended to shelter himself in the fort of Akbarnagar, but as the fort was large, and as he had not at his command a sufficiently large force to properly defend it from all sides, he entrenched himself in his son’s mausoleum, which had a small rampart. At this time, a body of Shāh Jahān’s troops who were detailed to garrison the Fort besieged the rampart of the mausoleum, and from both inside and outside, the fire of arrows and muskets

1 He appears to have gone at this time temporarily from Dacca (then the Maghal Viceregal Capital of Bengal) to Rajmahal.
2 That is, South-Western Behar. ‘Tract of Magha’ or South-Western Behar should not be confounded with the ‘tract of Maga’, or Arrakan.
3 I must remark Ibrāhīm Khān was uncommonly loyal for his times which were full of traitors, as the text shows.
blazed up. At the same time, Ahmad Beg Khan also arrived, and entered the rampart. By his arrival, the hearts of the besieged were somewhat encouraged. As the family and children of many of Ibrahim Khan's party were on the other side of the river, 'Abdullah Khan and Dariya Khan Afghan planned to cross the river, and array their forces on the other side. Ibrahim Khan on hearing of this, became anxious. Taking in his company Ahmad Khan, Ibrahim marched confounded to the other side, left other persons to protect the fortifications of the mausoleum, and sent in advance of himself war-vessels, so that these seizing the routes of march of the Prince's army, might prevent his crossing over.

END OF FASC. 2.

1 Mirza Ghias Beg's third son was Ibrahim Khan Fat'ah Jung. He was a brother of the Empress Nur Jahan, and through her influence, became Governor of Bengal and Behar, under Jahangir. He was killed near his son's tomb at Rajmahal, during Shah Jahan's rebellion. His son had died young, and was buried near Rajmahal, on the banks of the Ganges (Tuzuk, p. 383). His nephew, Ahmad Beg Khan, on Ibrahim's death, retreated to Dacca, where he handed over to Shah Jahan 500 elephants, and 45 lacs of rupees (Tuzuk, p 384). See also Padshahnamah 11,727 and Bloch, Tr., Ain. Vol. I, p. 511. Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri and Maastr-ul-Umara.
But before the war-vessels arrived, Daria Khan had crossed the river. Ibrahim Khan on being apprised of this, directing Ahmad Beg to cross the river, sent him to oppose Daria Khan. When the two armies encountered each other, a great battle ensued on the banks of the river, and a large number of Ahmad Beg’s comrades were killed. Ahmad Beg, not finding himself strong enough to stand his ground, retired. Ibrahim Khan with a corps of well-mounted cavalry, joined him. Daria Khan, on hearing of this, retired a few kroh, and Abdüllah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang also advancing a few kroh, under guidance of zamindars, crossed the river, and joined Daria Khan. By chance, on a site which is flanked on one side by the river and on the other by a dense jungle, they encamped, and arrayed their troops for battle. Ibrahim Khan, crossing the river Ganges, set to fight. He detached Syed Nurullah, an officer, with eight hundred cavalry to form

1 Daria Khan was a Rohilla general under Shāh Jahān. In the beginning, he was employed under Šaikh Farid, and under Šarīf-ı-Mulk, distinguished himself in the battle of Dholpur. After the battle of Benares, he deserted Shāh Jahān. (See Maasir-ı-Umara, p. 18, Vol II).

2 When Rajab Partab, Rajah of Bhojpur or Ujain (west of Arrah) revolted against the Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the 10th year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, Abdüllah Khan Firuz Jang besieged and captured Bhojpur (1046 A.H.) Partab surrendered, and was executed; his wife became a Muhammedan and was married to Abdüllah’s grandson. (See Pudshahnamah 1, b. pp. 271 to 274 and Maasir-ı-Umara, p. 777, Vol. II). Abdüllah Khan, though he was thoroughly loyal to Prince Shāh Jahān at the battle of Benares, subsequently seceded from the Prince, and submitted to Jahangir through the intercession of Khān Jahan. (See p. 248, Fasc. 8, Iqbalnamah-ı-Jahangiri).

3 One Mir Nūrullah is mentioned in the Aīn amongst the learned men of Akbar’s time. It is evident the Nūrullah in the text was a Syed of Barha; for the Syeds of Barha from Akbar’s time were enrolled in the Army, and claimed their place in battle in the van or haruol. Many of these Barha Syeds for their military or political services to the State, were honoured by the Mughal Emperors with the honorific distinction of “Khān,” which in course of time very often obliterated all traces of their being Syeds. For instance, Syed Ali Aeghar, son of Syed Mahmūd of Barha, received the title of ‘Saif Khān’ under Jahangir, his nephew Syed Jafar received the title of ‘Shajait Khān’, Syed Jafar’s nephew, Syed Sulṭān, received the title of
the van, and set Ahmad Beg Khan with seven hundred cavalry to form the centre; whilst he himself with thousands of cavalry and infantry, held the line of reserve. A great battle ensued, when the two forces encountered each other. Nurrullah being unable to stand his ground, retreated, and the fighting extended to Ahmad Beg Khan. The latter gallantly continuing the fight, was seriously wounded. Ibrahim Khan being unable to be a passive spectator of the scene, advanced rapidly. By this forward movement, the array of his force was disturbed. Many of his followers stooped to the disgrace of flight, whilst Ibrahim Khan with a few troops only advanced to the battle-field. Although the officers of his staff seizing him, wanted to drag him out from that labyrinth of destruction, he did not assent to retreat, and said: "At my time of life, this cannot be. What can be better than that, sacrificing my life, I should be reckoned amongst the loyal servants of the Emperor?" At this juncture, the enemy from all sides rushing up, inflicted on him mortal wounds. finished his work, and victory declared itself for the adherents of the fortunate Prince. And a body of men who were entrenched inside the rampart of the mausoleum, on being apprised of this, were depressed. At this time, the Prince's army set fire to a mine which they had laid under the rampart, whilst gallant and intrepid soldiers rushing up from all sides stormed the fortifications. In this assault, Abid Khan Divan and Mir Taqi Bakhti and some others were killed by arrows and muskets, and the fort was stormed. Many of the garrison of the fort fled bare-headed and bare-footed, whilst a number of people with whom the charge of their family and children was the halter of their

'Salabat Khan alias Ikhtias Khan,' the latter's cousin, Syed Muzaffar, received the title of 'Himmat Khan.' Again Syed Abdul Wahhab received the title of 'Diler Khan,' whilst Syed Khan Jahani-i-Shahjahani's son, Syed Sher Zimah, received the title of 'Muzaffar Khan;' another son, Syed Munawar, received the title of 'Lashkar Khan;' whilst his grandson, Syed Piruz, received the title of 'Ikhtias Khan.' Again, Syed Qasim flourished under the title of 'Shaabman Khan' in Aurangzeb's reign, whilst his nephew, Syed Naerat, held the title of 'Yar Khan' under Muhammad Shah. (See the Tuzuk, Padshahnamah, Maasirul-Umara, Alama-irnamah, Maasirul-Alamgiri, and also Professor Blochmann's interesting note on Barha Syeds on his Tr. of Ain Akbari, Vol I, pp. 390-392). The Maasirul-Umara mentions also one Mir Nurrullah, as a son of Mir Khailullah (p. 337, Vol. III, Maasir).
neck, came and submitted to the Prince. As Ibrahim Khān’s family and children, effects and treasures were at Jāhāngirnagar (Dacca), Shāh Jahān’s army proceeded there by river. Ahmad Beg

1 For a graphic contemporary account of this warfare, see Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri (Pers. text, Fasc. 3, pp. 218–221), and the Tāznik (p. 388). Ibrahim Khān was killed near the tomb of his son at Rajmahāl, on the banks of the Ganges. Our author appears to have borrowed his account (in an abridged form) from the Iqbalnāmah, though there are slight variations. In the text we are told that Ibrahim Khān at the battle had with him “thousands of cavalry and infantry,” whilst in the “Iqbalnāmah,” it is mentioned that Ibrahim Khān had with him only “one thousand cavalry.”

2 Ibrahim Khān Fatih Jang was a son of ‘Itamm-ud-daulah Mirza Ghiaś. His real name was Mirza Ibrahim.

In the commencement of his career, he held the office of Bakhshi and Wagia-nawvīs at Ahmadābad in Gujrāt. In the 9th year of Jahangir’s reign, he received the title of “Khān” and the mansab of hazar and pangādi, and was promoted to the office of Imperial Bakhshi, and was gradually further advanced to the rank of Panjhażvāri and to the office of Subdar (or Viceroy) of Bengal and Orissa, receiving at the same time the titles of “Ibrahim Khān Fatih Jang.” In the 10th year of Jahangir’s reign, Prince Shāh Jahān invaded Orissa and Bengal vii Telingana. On hearing of this news, Ibrahim Khān moved from Dacca (which was then the Viceroyal Capital, and where his family and treasures were) to Ackbarnagar or Rajmahal. Prince Shāh Jahān sent messengers to him, to win him over to his side, but he proved unfrocking in his loyalty to the Emperor, and fell fighting heroically in the battle of Rajmahal, near the mausoleum of his son. Ibrahim Khān’s reply to Prince Shāh Jahān, is a model of dignified and firm protest couched in the best diplomatic form of the Persian language, and is worth quoting:

فرموده‌ی حضارت ترجمان احکام اله ست ... و جان و مال و نه برخون که علت دراد. - اما کبیر نمک شناشیمو و حقوق تریزت پادشاهی سد را می‌کوشیم ... تو تنبله‌ی زمین و موسیقی - و نه قرار نریزید، خبر دادی روی خبلته بامی و پرداز ... تو تراز نمود - وجوان پادشاهی این دیار به پیام عالم زمینده اند برای زندگی مستمر سیاپی الکمک که معلوم است چه مانده ... خیر تروت درکار و لی نمایت ... و بدن درآن بازگشایی را پنجالی بپد. (See Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, p. 135).

6 At this time, the Musalmān Viceroyal Capital of Bengal continued (See Maasir, p. 135, Vol. I), to be at Dacca or Jahanigirnagar, which appears to have been so named during the Viceroyalty of Islam Khān I, owing to the decisive battle which was fought under its walls on 9th Muḥarram 1021 A.H., or 2nd March, 1612 A.C., in the seventh year of Emperor
Khān¹, nephew of Ibrahim Khān, who had gone ahead to that city, saw no resource except in surrender, and through the
Jahangir's accession, between the Afghans under Khwaja Osman Lohani, and the Mughal Imperialists under Shuja`at Khān Bostam-i-Zamān (Shaikh Kabir-i-Chishti),—a battle which finally crushed Afghan resistance in Bengal and Orissa, and firmly consolidated Mughal supremacy throughout these
Provinces. (See pp. 60-64, Fasc. 1, Pers. printed text of Iqbalnamah-i-
Jahangir, a contemporary record, and also Tasuk for fascinating descriptions
of this sanguinary and decisive battle near Dacca). Stewart wrongly places
the battle "on the banks of the Subarnarika in Orissa." Osman being stout,
rode at the battle on a rogue elephant called Bakhta. Many Imperialist
leaders, such as Syed Adam Barha, Shaikh Asha, Iftikhar Khān, Kishwar
Khān fell at the battle, which was half decided in favour of Osman, when a
chance arrow-shot wounded Osman on the forehead, and, coupled with the
arrival of Mughal reinforcement under Mu'taqiq Khān and Abdūs Salām
Khān, saved the Mughal disaster, and turned it into a victory.

It would appear that when in the 19th year of Jahangir's reign corre-
spanding to 1033 A.H. Prince Shāh Jahān rebelling against his father, invad-
ed Bengal, the Mughal Bengal Viceroy, Ibrahim Khān Fateh Jang (a relation
of Empress Nur Jahan) had moved from his capital at Dacca or Jahangir-
nagar to Rajmahal or Akbarnagar. The Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangir (p. 218, Fasc. 3,
printed text), a contemporary record, states that Ibrahim's troops were
scattered at the time on the borders of Magha, which signifies South Western
Behar. Owing to paucity of troops (the Maasir explains otherwise), Ibrahim
did not think of fortifying the fort of Rajmahal which was large, but en-
trenched himself in the mausoleum of his son, situate within the Fort and
close to the river Ganges. Shāh Jahān moved from Burhanpur in the Dakhin
across Talingana into Orissa, overran it across Pipli and Katak, and moved
to Bardwan across Sarkar Madaran, and after capturing Bardwan (where
Salih was commandant) marched up to Rajmahal, where the great battle was
fought, and after defeating Ibrahim Khān, proceeded to Dacca, whither
Ahmad Beg Khān (nephew of Ibrahim and of Empress Nur Jahan) had previ-
ously retreated after Ibrahim's death. Ahmad Beg surrendered to Shāh Jahān
at Dacca (according to the Tasuk and Maasir) with forty-five lacs of treasure
and 500 elephants. Shāh Jahān leaving Darāb Khān (son of Mirza Abdur
Rahim Khān Khanān) as Governor of Bengal, marched back westward across
Bengal, Behar and Jamnapur to Benares, where he was opposed and checked by
Mahabat Khān. (See Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangir, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, pp. 215, 216,
217, 222, 223, 228, 235, 239). Shāh Nawaz Khān was the eldest son of Abdūr
Rahim Khān-i-Khanān; his life also is given in the Maasir-ul-Umara.

¹ Ahmad Beg Khān was a son of Muhammad Sharif, and a nephew of
Ibrahim Khān Fateh Jang, the Bengal Viceroy, and of Empress Nur Jahan.
At the time of Prince Shāh Jahān's incursion into Orissa and Bengal, he was
Deputy Governor of Orissa. He was at the time engaged in an expedition
against Khurdia. On hearing of Shāh Jahān's invasion, he withdrew to Pipli
intercession of Shāh Jahān's confidants, was granted an audience with the Prince. The Prince's officers were ordered to confiscate Ibrahim Khān's treasures. Besides goods and silk-stuffs, elephants and aloes wood, ambergris and other rarities, forty laocs of rupees were confiscated. The Prince released from confinement Darāb Khān, son of the Khān-i-Khanān, who had hitherto been in prison, and exacting from him an oath, entrusted to him the Government of Bengal, and took along with him as hostages the latter's wife and a son, Shāh Nawāz Khān.1 The Prince sent Rajah Bhīm,2 son of Rajah Kāran, with a large force, as his Deputy to Patna, and he followed himself with 'Abdullah (his head-quarters), thence to Katak, and not feeling himself secure even there, marched first to Bardwan, whence he went to Rajmahal or Akbarnager, and joined his uncle Ibrahim Khān. Being defeated in the battle there, Ahmad Beg moved to Dacca (which was then the Viceroyal capital of Bengal, and where the family and treasures of Ibrahim Khān were), but was soon overtaken there by Prince Shāh Jahān, to whom he surrendered. On Shāh Jahān's accession, he was appointed Faujdar of Siwāstan. (See Māsir-ul-Umara, p. 194, Vol. I).

1 In the text there is some mistake. When Darāb Khān (second son of Mirza Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khanān) was made Governor of Bengal, Shāh Jahān took his wife, a son and a daughter, and also a son of Shāh Nawāz Khān (eldest son of the Khān-i-Khanān) as hostages (see Māsir-ul-Umara). Shāh Nawāz was not taken as a hostage, as the text would imply. Darāb was subsequently killed by Mahabat Khān, at the instance of Jahangīr. The following chronogram is given in the Māsir-ul-Umara (p. 17, Vol. II), as yielding the date of Darāb's death (1034 A.H.):

2 Rām Dās, the Kachwhā Rajpūt, was at first attached as naib in the Financial Department under Todar Mal, and soon gained Akbar's favour by his regularity and industry. Emperor Jahangīr conferred on him the title of 'Rajah Kāran,' but owing to his disgraceful flight during the wars in the Dakhin, he lost Jahangīr's favour. Jahangīr is stated to have cursed him thus:—"When thou wert in Rai Sal's service, thou hadst a tankah per diem; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amir. Do not Rajpūts think flight a disgraceful thing? Also, thy title, Rajah Kāran, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith." His sons were Nāman Dās and Dalap Dās—Bhīm Dās is not mentioned amongst his sons (see Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 483). But one Bhīm Singh is mentioned (see Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 418), amongst the grandsons of Madhu Singh, son of Rajah Bhaṅgwan Dās. This Bhīm Singh was killed in the Dakhin, in the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign. Another Rana Kāran is mentioned in the Māsir-ul-Umara (p. 201, Vol. II).
Khán and other officers. As the Şübâh of Patna was assigned as a jagir to Prince Parviz, the latter had appointed his Diwán, Mukhalas Khán, as its Governor, and Alâh Yar Khán, son of Iftikhâr Khán, and Sher Khán Afgân, as its Faujdar. On the arrival of Râjâh Bîhm, they lost courage, and had not even the boldness to shelter themselves in the fort of Patna, till the arrival of auxiliaries. They fled from Patna to Allahabad. Rajah Bîhm without movement of the sword or the spear, entered the city, and subdued the Şübâh of Behar. Shâh Jahân followed, and the Jâgirdar of that tract went to meet him. Sayd Mubârik, who was Commandant of the fort of Rohtas, leaving the fort in charge of a zamindar, hastened to pay his respects to the prince. The Prince sent Abdullah Khán with a body of troops towards the Şübâh of Allahabad, and sent Dâria Khán with another body of troops towards the Şübâh of Oudh, whilst after a while, leaving Bairâm Beg to rule over the Şübâh of Behar, the Prince himself advanced towards those parts. Before Abdullah Khán crossed the river at Chansa, Jahângir Quli Khán, son of Khán 'Azim Kokâh, who was Governor of Jaunpûr, being

1 Mukhalâs Khán was in the beginning in the service of Prince Parviz, and gradually by his merit and ability advanced himself to the office of Diwan under the Prince. He was subsequently promoted to the office of Şübadar of Patna (which was then in the tiyul or jagir of Prince Parviz). In the 10th year of Jahangir's reign, when Prince Shâh Jahân invaded Bengal and Behar vid Telingana and Orissa, and advanced towards Patna, after the fall of Ibrahim Khán Fatih Jang (the Bengal Viceroy), accompanied by Rajah Bîhm, son of Rana Amar Singh (in the text Rana Kâran), Mukhalâs Khán (though he had with him Allahyâr Khán, son of Iftikhâr Khán, and Sher Khân Afgân), instead of holding out in the fort of Patna, fled to Allahabad. After Shâh Jahân's accession, Mukhalâs Khán was appointed Faujdar of Gorakpur, and in the seventh year of Shâh Jahân's reign, was appointed a commander of Three Thousand and also Şübadar of Telingana. He died in the 10th year of Shâh Jahân's reign. (See p. 428, Vol. III, Maâir-ul-Unâra).

2 His real name was Mirza Shâmsâ, and he was the eldest son of Khán 'Azam Mirza 'Aziz Kokâh. At the end of Akbar's reign, Shâmsâ was a Commander of Two Thousand, and in the third year of Jahangir's reign, he received the title of "Jahângîr Quli Khán," vacant by the death of Jahângîr Quli Khán Lâlah Beg, Governor of Behar, and was sent to Gujrât as deputy of his father, who was Governor of Gujrât. Subsequently, Shâmsâ was made Governor of Jaunpûr. When Prince Shâh Jahân invaded Behar from Bengal, and the Prince's vanguard under Abdallah Khán Firuz Jang and Râjâh Bîhm crossed
panic-stricken, had left his post, and had fled to Mirzā Rustām 1 to Allahabad. Abdullah quickly advanced to the town of Jhosi, which is on the other side of the Ganges facing Allahabad, and encamped there. As he had taken a flotilla of large vessels with him from Bengal, with the help of cannonade crossing the river, he encamped at the pleasantly-situate city of Allahabad, whilst the main body of Shāh Jahān’s army pushed up to Jaunpūr.

PRINCE SHĀH JAHĀN’S FIGHTINGS WITH THE IMPERIAL ARMY, AND HIS WITHDRAWAL TO THE DAKHIN.

When news of Shāh Jahān’s advance towards Bengal and Orissa reached the Emperor, he sent orders to Prince Parviz and Mahabat Khān, who were in the Dakhin, to march quickly towards the Subahs of Allahabad and Behār, so that in case the Nāzim of Bengal was unable to oppose successfully the advance of Shāh Jahān’s army, they were to engage Shāh Jahān. In the meantime, news of the fall of Nawab Ibrāhim Khān Fateh Jang,

at Chausa to proceed to Allahabad, Jahangir Quli Khān fled from Jaunpur to Allahabad and joined Mirza Rustam Safavi there. He subsequently became Governor of Allahabad, and on Shāh Jahān’s accession, was appointed Governor of Sūrat and Jūnagarh. He died in 1041 A.H. at Sūrat. (See Maasir-ul-Umar, p. 524, Vol. I, Pers. text).

1 Mirza Rustam Safavi was a son of Sulṭān Husain Mirza, grandson of Shāh Ismā‘il, king of Persia. Mirza Rustam was appointed by Akbar, Governor of Multān; Akbar also made him a Paujāhārī, and gave him Multān as Jagir. One of his daughters was married to Prince Parviz, and another to Shāh Shuja’. He enjoyed great influence with Jahangir who made him a Shāhkāshāri, and also Governor of Allahabad, which he successfully held against Shāh Jahān’s General, Abdūllāh Khān, forcing the latter to retire to Jhosi. He was subsequently Governor of Behār. Shāh Jahān pensioned him off, and he died at Agra in 1051. It is worthy of interest to note that his grandson, Mirza Šafāhīkān (son of Mirza Hasan Safavi) was Faujdar of Jessore in Bengal, where he died in 1073 (see Bloch, Tr., Ain, p. 314, Vol. I). After him, I guess Mirzamangar (a seat of old Jessore Musalmans Faujdars) is named. The family still survives there, though impoverished. Šafāhīkān’s son, Mirza Šaifu-d-dīn Šafavi, accepted the title of “Khān” under Emperor Aurangzeb. (See Maasir-ul-Umar, Pers. text, p. 478, Vol. III). The Maasir (printed text) states that on the death of his father, Mirza Hasan Šafavi, Mirza Šafāhīkān was appointed Faujdar of ‘Hasr’ in Bengal, ‘Hasr’ is evidently a misprint or a misreading for ‘Jasr’ (Jessore).
Nazim of Bengal, reached the Emperor, who thereon repeated his previous orders to Prince Parviz\(^1\) and Mahabet Khan. Prince Parviz with Mahabet Khan and other officers marched towards Bengal and Behar. As the Commander of Shâh Jahân’s army, drawing the boats towards his side, had fortified the ferries of the river Gangos, some delay was caused in the arrival of the Imperialists. The Imperialists, with considerable difficulty, collected thirty flotillas of boats from the zamindars, and under the latter’s guidance selecting one ford, succeeded in crossing over. For some days, both the armies arrayed themselves in front of each other. As the Imperialists numbered 40,000, whilst Shâh Jahân’s army did not number more than 10,000, the advisers of Shah Jâhân dissuaded the Prince from offering battle. But Rajah Bhim, son of Rana Karan, unlike other advisers, displayed rashness, and with the rashness common to Rajputs insisted that he would part company, unless they agreed to fight. Prince Shâh Jahân, of necessity, considered it expedient to humour Bhim’s wishes, despite panxiety of troops, and passed orders for fighting. Both sides rallying into ranks, commenced to fight.\(^2\)

On both sides, the troops rallied into ranks, holding in hand daggers, arrows and spears.

\(^1\) Prince Parviz was the second son of Emperor Jahanâgir, and a great favourite with the latter. He imitated his father in everything, “in dress, in quaffing wine, in eating, and in night-keeping” (Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, Fasc 3, p. 279), and “never disobeyed his Imperial father’s wishes.” He died at the age of 38 years in the Dakhin, where he was employed in subjugating the country and in quelling the insurrection of Malik Amber, in 1035 A.H., that is, in the twenty-first year of Emperor Jahanâgir’s accession to the throne. He rendered also important services to his father, in opposing Shâh Jahân’s invasion of Bengal, Bohar, and Orissa, and with the help of his generalissimo, Malabet Khân, defeated Shâh Jahân at Benares, and obliged the latter to abandon Bohar, Bengal and Orissa, and to beat a hasty retreat to the Dakhin. (See pp. 233, 239, 240, 273, 279, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, Fasc 3, Pers. text, which is a contemporary record).

\(^2\) See description of this battle at Benares between the Imperialists under Prince Parviz and Mahabet Khân, and Shâh Jahân’s troops, in the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, a contemporary record, p. 233, Pers. text. Shâh Jahân was totally defeated, owing to the rashness of his favourite officer, Rajah Bhim, who himself fell fighting, being cut to pieces by the Imperialists. The Maasir-ul-Umarâ states that the battle took place on the side of Nahr-i-Tunas (Nahr-i-Tunas) in the Suburbs of Benares.
They tramped up to the field for fighting;  
Yea the fire of war blazed up.  
First from both sides, the artillery of the gunners,  
Commenced scattering fire on the hosts.  
From the smoke of the gun-waggons of the two forces,  
You might say a pitchy cloud had formed.  
The cannon-balls showered like hail,  
Yea a storm of destruction blew:  
Yea the heads and hands, the breasts and feet of the Commanders,  
Blew like wind on all sides.  
From blood, yea on every side a stream flowed,  
Yea like fish, the bodies of the heroes throbbed.  
On every side showered stone-rendering arrows;  
They passed right through every body that they lodged in.  
From swords and spears, breasts were torn to shreds;  
The corpses of heroes fell on the ground.  
But the Imperialists, like stars,  
Hemmed in on the army of the Prince.  
They surrounded the latter in that battle,  
Yea as the ring encircles the finger.  
From Shāh Jahān's army, Rajah Bhim the valorous,  
Was not cowed down by this slaughter.  
Some of his race who were his comrades,  
Hurled themselves on the enemy's force.  
They spurred their horses, yea like lions in fight,  
They drew swords, yea like water-dragons.  
By one gallant charge, they broke the enemy's ranks,  
And swiftly attacked the enemy's centre.  
Whoever stood in the way of that force,  
They hurled down his head on the dust.  
But the veteran Imperialists,  
When they saw that suddenly a calamity had come,  
Spurred on their chargers from every side,  
And attacked that elephant-like hero, Bhim.  
They cut up his body with the sword,  
And hurled him down from his steed on the dust.  
Other commanders and officers (of Shāh Jahān).  
Could not advance to his (Bhim's) rescue.

The gunners, on seeing this crisis, leaving the artillery,
fled, and the arsenal was captured by the Imperialists. Daria Khan and other Afghans and Generals ceasing to fight, decamped. The Imperialists, collecting from all sides like a circle formed by a pair of compasses, surrounded the Prince, who remained at the centre. Save and except the elephants carrying flags and standards, and select targeteers who were behind the Prince, and ‘Abdullah Khan who stood to his right-hand side at a short distance, not a single soul remained. At this moment, an arrow hit the horse of the Prince. When ‘Abdullah Khan saw that the Prince would not retire from the field, he moved up, and by use of great entreaties and exhortations, succeeded in bringing out the Prince from the field, and placing before him his own horse, induced the Prince to mount it. In short, from the battle-field up to Rohtas, the contest did not cease. As at this time, Prince Murad Baksh was born, and long marches could not be made, leaving him to the protection of God and appointing Kedmit Parast Khan and some other trusty servants to take care of him, Shah Jahân with other Princes and adherents slowly marched towards Patna and Behar. At the same time, letters were received from people in the Dakhin, especially from Malik ‘Ambar the Abyssinian

1 He was the fourth and youngest son of Shah Jahân, whose other sons were (1) Dara Shikoh, (2) Shah Shuja (3) Anrangzeb.—See p. 306, Iqbal-namah-i-Jahangiri, Fasc. 3, Pers. text.

2 He gave no end of trouble to Jahangir. His insurrection is fully described in the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, a contemporary record, Fasc. 3, pp. 234 to 238. The author of the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri pays a high tribute to his military genius and generalship, to his administrative capacity and vigorous rule in the Dakhin. (See p. 277, Fasc 3, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, Pers. text). He died at the ripe old age of eighty, holding his own against the Imperialists to the last. After Malik Ambar the Abyssinian's death, his generalissimo, Yaqút Khan the Abyssinian, together with Malik Amber's son, Fatih Khan, and other officers of Nizam-ul-Mulk, submitted to Khan Jahân, Jahangir's Viceroy or Subadar in the Dakhin, in the twenty-first year of Jahangir's accession. (See p. 260, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri).

The Maasir-ul-Umara (Vol. III, p. 7), gives some additional facts about him. It states that Malik Amber was an Abyssinian slave of the Bijapur king, Nizam Shah. When in 1609 A.H., Queen Chand Surjan or Chand Bibi was killed, and the fort of Ahmadnagar fell into the hands of Akbar's officers, and Bahadur Nizam Shâh was taken prisoner, and kept in the Gwalior fort, Malik Amber and Raju Mian proclaimed their independence. Malik Amber brought to his control the territory extending from the limits of Telengana to a point, four kroh from Ahmadnagar and eight kroh from Daulatabad. In
requesting the Prince’s return towards the Dakhin. Shāh Jahān, \(^1\) after retreat, summoned Dārāb Khān who, after taking oaths, had been left as Governor of Bengal, in order to join the Prince in his march. Dārāb Khān, owing to his disloyalty and knavery putting a wrong interpretation on his call, replied that the zamindars, surrounding him on all sides, had cut off ways of his march, and that, therefore, his egress being difficult, he begged to be excused. Shāh Jahān losing all hopes of Dārāb’s arrival, and having no body of troops capable of action, was obliged with a sorrowful heart, and in an anxious mood, after leaving Dārāb Khān’s son in charge of Abdullāh Khān, to march towards Akbar-nagar (Rajmahal). From thence carrying all household paraphernalia, which had been left there, Shāh Jahān marched back towards

1010 A.H., close to Nandirah, a battle was fought between Malik Amber and Miraʿı̀r Iraj, son of Abdur Rahım Khān-i-Khanān. Malik Amber was wounded, but the Khān-i-Khanān, knowing the adversary’s capacity, was glad to arrange terms of peace. When Akbar died, and dissensions broke out between Emperor Jahangir and his son, Prince Shāh Jahān, Malik Amber mobilising a large force encroached on Imperial territories. In consequence, during Emperor Jahangir’s reign, the Imperialists were constantly engaged in warfare against Malik Amber, who held out to the last, and died a natural death in 1035 A.H. He lies buried in a mausoleum at Daulstābād, between the Shrines of Shāh Muntajab-ud-din Zarbākhsh and Shāh Rajavi Qattāl. The author of the Masāir-ul-Umara pays a high tribute to Malik Amber, as a general and as a soldier, and also as a leader of men and as an administrator. He ruled his dominions vigorously, stamping out all turbulence, weeding out all bad characters, maintained perfect peace in his domains, and always strove for the well-being and happiness of the subjects he ruled. In the village of Kharki (which was subsequently named Aurangābād), he dug tanks, laid out public gardens, and built lofty palaces. He was liberal in charities, and very just, and very pious. A poet has written about him.

1 From the battle-field of Benares, after defeat Shāh Jahān retreated to Rohtas (up to which desultory fighting was kept up between the Imperialists and Shāh Jahān’s troops), thence marched to Patna and Behar town, and thence to Garhi or Teligaarhi fort. Whilst at Garhi, Shāh Jahān summoned his Governor of Bengal, Dārāb Khān, to join him, but the latter made excuses, whereas Shāh Jahān becoming dispirited went to Rajmahal, and retreated thence to the Dakhin (being hotly pursued by Prince Parviz and Mahabat Khān) across Saikār Madura, Midnapur, Orissa and Telengana. (See Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, Fasc. 3, pp. 239-240).

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the Dakhin by the same route that he had come. Abdullāh Khān, on knowing the disloyalty and villainy of Dārāb Khān, slew the latter’s grown-up son, and satisfied his grudge. Although Shāh Jahān sent orders to prevent the son being killed, these had no effect. When the news of Shāh Jahān’s retreat from Bengal to the Dakhin reached the Emperor, the latter ordered that Mulkhalas Khān should quickly go to Prince Parviz, who had gone to Bengal in pursuit of Shāh Jahān, and taking up the office of Susuwal (Superintendent of Revenue), should send the Prince with other leading noblemen to the Dakhin. Consequently, Prince Parviz left for the Dakhin, entrusting the Šūbāḥ of Bengal to the Jagīr of Mahābet Khān and his son Khānāhzād Khān.

THE ASSIGNMENT OF BENGAL IN JAGĪR TO MAHĀBET KHĀN 1 AND HIS SON.

When the Šūbāḥ of Bengal was assigned, in the shape of Jagīr, to Nawab Mahābet Khān and his son Khānāhzād Khān,

1 Mahābet Khān distinguished himself under Emperor Jahangīr in the long war carried on in the Dakhin. He was early attached by the Emperor to Prince Parviz, as atalīq and generalissimo, when the Prince was sent to the Dakhin to quell the insurrection there. Where Prince Shāh Jahān subsequently rebelled against his father (Emperor Jahangīr), and marching out from the Dakhin across Tālingana invaded Orissa and over-ran Bengal and Behar, the Emperor ordered Mahābet Khān along with Prince Parviz to oppose Shāh Jahān’s progress. In this, Mahābet Khān (along with Prince Parviz) completely succeeded, inflicted a crushing defeat on Shāh Jahān on the battlefield of Benares, and compelled the latter to beat a hasty retreat across Behar, Bengal and Orissa into the Dakhin. For this signal military service, Mahābet Khān received from Prince Parviz (no doubt, with the previous sanction of the Emperor) Bengal in jagīr. His head was soon turned, and he failed to send to the Emperor the war-elephants taken by him in Bengal, and also failed to remit the Imperial revenue from Bengal. For this, the Emperor summoned him to his presence for chastisement, when Mahābet Khān adopted the extraordinary and impudent step of getting at the person of the Emperor, and placing the latter for some time under surveillance—from which at length the Emperor was rescued by the bold stratagem of his Queen, Nur Jāhn Begam. Mahābet was then sent away in disgrace to Thatta, whence he went to Gujarat, and joined the rebel Prince, Shāh Jahān. (See pp. 228, 229, 235, 238, 239, 244, 245, 246, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 276, 277, Fasc. 3, Para. text Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīr, a contemporary record, and also Maasir-ul-Umar, p. 285, Vol. III).
they, parting company with Prince Parviz, marched to Bengal. And orders were given to the zamindars of that country to cease impeding Dārāb Khān, and to allow him to come. Dārāb Khān, without any impediment, came to Māhabet Khān. But when the news of Dārāb's coming to Māhabet Khān reached the Emperor, the latter sent an order to Māhabet Khān to the following effect: "What expediency dost thou see in sparing that villain? It behoves you, instantly on reading this, to send the head of that mischievous rebel to the Imperial presence." Māhabet Khān, carrying out the Emperor's order, beheaded Dārāb Khān, and sent the latter's head to the Emperor. And as Māhabet Khān had not sent to the Emperor the elephants that he had captured in Bengal, and had defaulted in payment of a large amount of the Imperial Revenue, the Emperor passed orders to the effect that 'Arab Dast Ghaibī should go to Māhabet Khān, confiscate the elephants and send them to the Emperor, and tell Māhabet Khān, that if he got proper accounts, he should submit them personally to the Emperor, and pay up all Revenue arrears to the Imperial exchequer. Māhabet Khān first sent the elephants to the Emperor, and subsequently after appointing his son Khānahzād Khān to be Šubdar of Bengal, set out to meet the Emperor with four or five thousand

From the *Maasir-ul-Umara* (p. 385, Vol. III), the following additional facts about Mahabet Khān are gleaned. His real name was Zamanah Beg, his father's name being Ghīwar Beg Kabulī. He was a Razavi Sayyid. Ghīwar Beg came from Shīrazi to Kabul, and thence to India, and entered Akbar's service, and distinguished himself in the battle of Qhitor. Zamanah Beg, in youth, entered Prince Sulīm's service as an ahdā, and soon was advanced to the office of Bakshī under the Prince. In the beginning of Jahangir's reign, Zamanah Beg was appointed to be commander of three thousand, and received the title of Mahabet Khān. He was deputed to serve with Prince Shāh Jahān in the Dakhīn, and in the 12th year of Jahangir's reign, was appointed Šubdar of Kabul. In the 17th year, dissensions broke out between Emperor Jahangir and Prince Shāh Jahān, and Mahabet Khān was recalled from Kabul. When Shāh Jahān ascended the throne, he advanced Mahabet Khān to the rank of Haft hustavī, and conferred on him the title of "Khān-i-Khānān Sipāsālār," and appointed him Šubdar of Ajmīr, and next, Šubdar of the Dakhīn. He died in 1044 A.H.

1 He appears to have been employed by Emperor Jahangir on similar missions with reference to other refractory princes and officers, such as Hosang, son of Prince Davyal, and Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khānān and Māhabet Khān. (See p. 244, *Iqbalnāma-i-Jahangīrī* Pers. text, Fasc. 3, and also *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 392, Vol. 3).
blood-thirsty Rajput cavalry, and resolved inwardly that in case any harm or injury were attempted against his honour, property or life, he with his family and children would be prepared to face martyrdom. When news of his arrival reached the Emperor, order was passed that he would not be granted an audience, so long as he did not pay up the Revenue arrears to the Imperial Exchequer, and so long as he did not redress by exercise of justice the public grievances against him. Afterwards summoning to his presence Barkhurdar, son of Khwaja1 Nakshbandi, to whom Māhābet Khān, without2 the Emperor’s approval, had betrothed his daughter, the Emperor had him disgracefully whipped and thrown into prison, with his neck bound and head bare. In the morning, Māhābet Khān rode out with his cavalry, and without making obeisance to the Emperor, in an insolent and daring manner broke open the door of the Emperor’s Private Chamber,3 entered it with four hundred or five hundred Rajputs, saluted the Emperor in hunting and travelling suit, and marched back towards his own residence.4

1 In p. 253, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, "Khwajah 'Umar Nakshbandi."

2 In the printed text, the words occur “بحم شاهنشاهی” which is obviously a mistake. The words should be “بحم شاهنشاهی.” (See p. 253, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri).

3 In the printed Persian text, there is a mistake: the word "بحم شاهنشاهی" (see p. 253, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnamah) is misprinted in the Riayas as "بحم شاهنشاهی." The Ghulamkhan or ‘Bathing Room’ was a luxury in Mughal days: it was fitted up elegantly with cooling apparatus and on sultry days, the Mughal Emperors and the Mughal Omara passed much time in it, transacting business. Thus, ‘Ghulamkhan’ gradually came to signify a ‘Private Chamber, or a ‘Khaskhana.’

4 The author of the Riayas has borrowed the account from the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri (see pp. 256-257, Fasc. 3), but in his attempt to condense it, he has rendered his account slip-shod and confused. The author of the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, named Mu‘tāmid Khān, was Jahangir’s Bakhshāhi at the time, and was an eye-witness of what occurred. From the account that he gives, it appears that the Emperor was returning at the time to Hindustan from Kabul, that he had his camp pitched on the banks of the river Bihār (or Jhelum), that he was alone there with some courtiers, such as 'Arab Dast Ghaib, Mir Mansūr Badakhshi, Jawaher Khān the Eunuch, Fīrus Khān, Khidmat Khān the Eunuch, Baland Khān, Khidmat Faren Khān, Fasih Khān, and three or four others, that all the rest of the Imperial officers and attendants including Asīf Khān the Prime Minister, had left, and crossed over to the eastern banks of the river. Seizing, therefore, this opportunity, Māhābe
In short as the Imperial army had gone towards Thatah, Māhabat Khān was ordered to join it there. In the meantime, Prince Parviz died. As Sharif Khān had entrenched himself in the fort of Thatah, Shāh Jāhān’s army marched back to the Dakhin. Māhabat Khān after reaching Thatah sent letters to Shāh Jāhān, avowing his loyalty, and Shāh Jāhān being conciliated, Māhabat Khān entered the former’s service. In consequence, the Šūbah of Bengal was transferred from Khānahzād Khān, son of Māhabat Khān, to Mukkaram Khān, son of Muazzam Khān, and the Province of Khān, leaving some Rajput troops to guard the bridge, marched up to the Imperial tent with a large number of Rajput cavalry. At the time, the Emperor was reposing in the Khaskhānā. Māhabat Khān fearlessly broke open the door, and entered it with about 500 Rajput cavalry, and paid obedience to the Emperor. The Emperor coming out of the tent, seated himself on the Imperial Palanquin, which had lain in front of the tent. Māhabat Khān came quite close to the palanquin, and addressed the Emperor as follows: “Fearing that through the vindictiveness and malice of Asif Khān, I should be disgraced, tortured and killed, I have dared to take this daring step of personally throwing myself on the Imperial protection. Sir, if I deserve to be killed and punished, kill and punish me in your Imperial presence” (p. 256, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnamah). In the meantime, Māhabat Khān’s Rajput cavalry surrounded the Imperial tent from all sides. Then Māhabat Khān told the Emperor that that was the usual time for the Emperor to go out hunting, and asked the Emperor to mount a horse. The Emperor mounted a horse, and went out some distance and then leaving the horse mounted an elephant. Māhabat Khān in hunting dress accompanied the Emperor and led the latter to his own camp. Finding that Nur Jahan Begam had been left behind, he led back the Emperor to the Imperial tent, but in the meantime Nur Jahan had gone across the river and had joined her brother, Asif Khān and was busy concerting measures to rescue the Emperor. After some days, by adoption of an ingenious and a bold stratagem—when the efforts of all the Imperial officers had failed—Nur Jahan succeeded in rescuing her Royal Consort, and in banishing Māhabat Khān, who was sent in disgrace to Thatah (See p. 276, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnamah i-Jahangiri) Māhabat Khan subsequently joined Shāh Jahan in the Dakhin.

1 In the Iqbalnamah, “Sharif-ul-Mulk” it appears that Prince Shāh Jahan had gone from the Dakhin to invade the province of Thatah. Then Sharif-ul-Mulk, on behalf of Prince Shahriyar, held the Fort of Thatah with 4,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. On hearing the news, the Emperor Jahangir sent an Imperial army to repel Shāh Jahan’s invasion, and Māhabat Khān was sent on the same errand. Shāh Jahan was obliged to raise the siege, and to march back to the Dakhin vid Gujurat. (See Iqbalnamah and also Māsir-ul-Umar, Pers. text, Fasc. 3, pp. 281-282).

2 Mukkaram Khān was a son of Shaikh Bayazid Muazzam Khān, grand-
Patna was entrusted to Mirza Rustam Safavi. It is said that on the day the patent transferring the Subahdari of Bengal from Kahanzad Khan to Nawab Mukarram Khan was drawn up at Shah Jahanabad (Delhi), Shah Neamatullah Firuzpuri composing a Qasidah (an Ode) in praise of Kahanzad Khan, transmitted it to the latter, and in this Qasidah, there was one line which was indicative of Kahanzad’s supercession, and that line was this:—

مس درهوايت ای گل خندان چر مندابب
سرو تو نوبار و نماشلي دیگر را رن

Translation:

I am in love with thee, O budding rose, like a nightingale,
Thy cypress, however, is a new spring and a sight to others.

When Kahanzad Khan perused the above lines, he anticipated his supercession, and made preparations to pack up. And after one month the Imperial order of recall was received by him.

Son of Shaikh Salim Chehti of Fatehpur Sikri. Jahangir conferred on Shaikh Bayazid the title of Muazzam Khan and made him Subadar of Delhi. Muazzam Khan’s son, Mukarram Khan, was a son-in-law of Islem Khan I, Jahangir’s Viceroy in Bengal, and rendered important services under the latter. He conquered Kuch Hajo (a portion of Kuch Behar) and captured its semindar or Rajah, Paroimt (Padshahnamah 11, 64), and for some time remained as Governor of Kuch Hajo. Later, he was appointed Governor of Orissa, and conquered Khurdah (South Orissa) and annexed it to the Delhi Empire. In the sixteenth year, he came to court, and was made Subadar of Delhi. In the 21st year, he was sent to Bengal as Governor in the place of Kahanzad Khan, Mahabat Khan’s son. (See pp. 286, 287, 291, Fas. 3, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, and also Maasir-ul-Imara). A gale upset his boat, and he was drowned in the river with all his companions.

1 See n. ante.

The author of the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri mentions that Mirza Rustam Safavi was appointed by Jahangir Subadar of Vilayet-i-Behar and Patna, in the 21st year of the Emperor’s reign. (See p. 280, Fas. 3, Pers. text, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, and also Maasir-ul-Imara).

2 Later on in the text, he is described as a Saint, in whom Prince Shab Shuja had great faith.
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NEZĀMAT OF NAWAB MUKKARAM KHĀN.

In the 21st year of the Emperor’s accession, corresponding to 1030 A.H., Mukkaram Khān was appointed to the Nezāmat of the Sūbah of Bengal. Many months had not elapsed, when by chance, an Imperial firman came to his address. The Khān in order to receive it, advanced. As the time for afternoon prayer had arrived, he ordered his servants to moor his boat towards the bank, so that he might turn to business, after finishing prayer. The boatmen attempted to take the barge towards the bank. At this time, a strong wind blew, and sent the boat adrift. A severe gale coupled with a storm-wave, caused the boat to sink. Mukkaram Khān with his companions and associates was drowned, and not a single man escaped.

NEZĀMAT OF NAWAB FIDĀĪ KHĀN.

When news of Mukkram Khān being drowned reached the Emperor in the 22nd year of the Emperor’s accession

1 This incident illustrates the solemn personality of the ‘Great Mughal’ in those days, and the ceremonial homage paid him by his officers. The practice of advancing several miles to receive imperial orders and firmans, existed throughout the Mughal regime.

2 See similar account in Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, Fase. 3, Pers. text, p 287.

3 “Fidāī Khān” and “Jān Nisār Khān” or “Jānbās Khān” were his titles, his name being Mirza Hedaitullah. He should not be confounded with Mir Zarif who also received the title of “Fidāī Khān.” When Mir Zarif received this title of Fidāī Khān, Mirza Hedaitullah who held the same title from before, received the new title of “Jān Nisār Khān” from Shāh Jahān the Emperor. In the beginning, in the reign of Emperor Jahangir, Mirza Hedaitullah was “Mir Bahr-i-Nawarāh” or Admiral of the Imperial Fleet, and being patronised by Māhābet Khān, he advanced rapidly in influence. In the quarrel between Māhābet Khān and Emperor Jahangir, he took sides with his patron, Māhābet Khān, and subsequently fled to Rohtas. On return in the 22nd year of Jahangir’s reign, he was appointed Viceroy of Bengal, in succession to Mukkaram Khān, who had been drowned, the arrangement entered into being that he should yearly remit from Bengal, in the shape of presents, five lacs for the Emperor and five lacs of rupees for the Empress Nūr Jahān (no doubt, over and above the annual Imperial revenues). In Shāh Jahān’s reign, he was recalled from Bengal and received Jaunpur in tīyal (or jagir) and subsequently was appointed Faujdār of Gorakpur. He then helped Abdullah Khān, Governor of
corresponding to 1036 A.H., Nawab Fidai Khan was appointed Viceroy of the Subah of Bengal. Since at that period, besides rare silks, stuffs of this country, and elephants and aloe-wood and amber-gris and other presents and gifts, no specie used to be presented to the Emperor, at this time, contrary to the former practice, it was settled that every year five lacs of rupees as present to the Emperor and five lacs of rupees as present to Nur Jahân Begam—in all ten lacs of rupees should be remitted to the Imperial Exchequer.¹ When on the 27th ² of the month of Safar 1037 A.H., Emperor Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir, whilst returning from Kashmir, died at Rajor, his son Abul Muzaffar Shahabuddin Shâh Jahân (who was then in the Dakhin) marched out, and through the noble exertions of Asâf Jâh Asâf Khan ³ (after destroying and extirpating his brothers) ascended the Imperial throne at Delhi. Then the Subah of Bengal was transferred from Fidai Khan to Qâsim Khan.

Behar, in the conquest of Bhojpur or Ujjain. (See Maasir-ul-Umara, p. 12, Vol. 3).

¹ This Fiscal Provincial Contract under Fidai Khan is also noted in the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangir, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, p. 291.
² In the Iqbalnamah, “28th Safar (Sunday) Emperor Jahangir died in the 22nd year of his reign, whilst returning from Kashmir towards Lahore.” He was buried at Lahore in a garden which had been laid out by his beloved Consort, the Empress Nur Jahân. (See Iqbalnamah, Fasc. 3, p. 294).
³ His titles were “Asîf Khân Asîf Jah,” his name being Mirza Abûl Hasan. He was a son of Itâmad-d-daulah, and the eldest brother of the Empress Nur Jahân Begam, and he was father of Arjumund Banu Begam alâs Mumtaz Mahâl, the beloved Consort of Emperor Shâh Jahân, (whose memory is enshrined in marble by the Taj at Agra). In the 9th year of Jahangir’s reign, he was appointed to the Mansab of Shâsh hazari, and subsequently raised to a haft hazari, and was also appointed Subadar of the Panjab, and Vâlî or Prime Minister. In 1037 A.H. when Jahangir on return from Kashmir died on the way near Rajor, Nur Jahân (who espoused the cause of Prince Shâhriyâr) wanted to imprison Asîf Khân (who espoused Prince Shâh Jahân’s cause), but Asîf Khân could not be seized or brought back. Asîf Khân sent a swift runner, named Benaresi, a Hindu, to Shâh Jahân who was then in Gujrat. Shâh Jahân quickly marched out to Agra, where he was installed as Emperor, whilst Shâhriyâr and other princes were soon imprisoned and made away with. On his accession, Shâh Jahân gave Asîf Khân the title of “Eminu-d-daulah,” and made him a “Nah hazari.” He died at Lahore in 1061 A.H. “Rohe Asîfi Asîf Khan,” is a chronogram which yields the above date. (See Maasir-ul-Umara, p. 151, Vol. I).
NEZĀMAT OF NAWAB QĀSIM KHĀN.¹

When Qāsim Khān succeeded to the Nezāmat of Bengal, like his predecessors in office, he devoted himself to the affairs of

¹ It is strange that the Riyāsd should give such a meagre account of the Administration of Nawab Qāsim Khān, the first Bengal Viceroy appointed by Emperor Shāh Jahān. Yet this Administration is peculiarly interesting and significant from the modern standpoint, as the chronicle of this administration contains, for the first time, a reference to a conflict (no doubt, then unimportant) between the Christian European merchants in Bengal and the Musalman Viceroy of Bengal. To supplement the account of this Musalman Viceroy with some additional facts gleaned from the Māsān-ul-Umara, would therefore be interesting.

Qāsim Khān was a son of Mir Murad of Jualin (in the Vilayet of Bāhaiq). Mir Murad was a leading Sayyīd of that place, whence he migrated into the Dakhin. He was brave and a capital archer, and was engaged by Emperor Akbar to train up Prince Khurrām. He was subsequently appointed Bakhshī of Lahore, in the 45th year of Akbar's reign. His son, "Qāsim Khān" (this was evidently his title, his actual name is not given in the Māsān) was a man of culture and literary habits. Under Iṣlām Khān Oghītī Fārīqī (Jahangīr's Bengal Viceroy), Qāsim Khān served as Khazanghī or Treasurer-General of Bengal. Iṣlām Khān took particular interest in training him up. Some time after, Qāsim Khān was lucky in getting married to Manijah Begam, sister of the Empress Nur Jahān. This matrimonial alliance was a turning point in Qāsim Khān's fortune; he was soon advanced in rank and dignity. The witty courtiers of the time called him "Qāsim Khān Manijah." He soon became an associate of the Emperor Jahangīr. Towards the end of Jahangīr's reign, he was appointed Sūbadar (or Viceroy) of Agra. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, the Emperor (Shāh Jahān) raised him to the Manṣub of Panjhāwī, and appointed him Sūbadar (Viceroy) of Bengal, in place of Fidā Khān. During his stay in Bengal (during Jahangīr's reign), Shāh Jahān had become personally apprised of the excesses practiced by the Christians (Portuguese, obviously) resident in the Port of Hughti. For instance, Shāh Jahān had come to know that these often took unauthorised leases of adjoining pargannas, oppressed the tenantry of those pargannas, and sometimes by tempting offers, converted them to Christianity, and even sent them to Farang (or Europe). Further these Christians (Portuguese, obviously) carried on similar malpractices even in pargannas, with which they had no connection. Further, these Christians, under the pretext of carrying on trading transactions, had in the beginning established some ware-houses which they had gradually and clandestinely, by bribing local officers, converted into large fortified buildings. In consequence, the bulk of the trade which had found its way, hitherto, to the old Imperial emporium at Sātgaon, was diverted to the new port of Hughti. In consideration of the above circumstances, the Emperor Shāh Jahān, whilst sending Qāsim Khān to Bengal
administration, and to the putting down of disturbances. In the sixth year of Shāh Jahān’s accession, he marched against the Christians and Portuguese who had become insolent in the port of Hugli, and after fighting expelled and defeated them. As a reward for this service, he received favours from the Emperor, but he soon after died.

NEZĀMAT OF NAWAB ‘AZAM KHĀN.

After this, Nawab ‘Azam Khān 1 was appointed to the Nezāmat of Bengal. As he could not properly discharge the

as his Viceroy, gave the latter instructions to expel the foreign Christian (Portuguese) traders from the port of Hugli. Accordingly, in the 4th year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, Qāsim Khān sent his son ‘Inaiṭullāh Khān in company of Allahyar Khān and other officers to Hugli, and he sent also by the sea-route vid Chittagong another company of troops on a fleet of vessels from the Imperial Nawar or Fleet stationed in Dacca, so that the Portuguese might not escape by water, giving out at the same time that the expedition had as its objective Hijji. These besieged Hugli, and, after the fighting was protracted to three months and a half, succeeded in storming it, and in expelling the Christian (Portuguese) traders from it. 2,000 Christians were killed in the fighting, 4,400 were taken prisoners, and 10,000 Indian captives that were in the hands of the Portuguese were released, and 1,000 Musulman soldiers got killed in the fighting. Three days after this victory (in 1041 A.H.) Qāsim Khān died of disease. He built the Cathedral Mosque at Agra in Angah Khān bazaar. (See p. 78, Vol. 3, Maasir-ul-Umarā).

1 ‘Āzīm Khān’s real name was Mir Muhammad Baqir, his titles being “Irādat Khān,” and subsequently “‘Āzīm Khān.” He was a Sayyid of Sava which is in ‘Irāq. On arrival in Indi, he was appointed Fanjdar of Sialkot and Gujrat, through the interest taken in him by Aṣīf Khān Mirza Ja’far, who married to him his daughter. Then he was presented to Emperor Jahangir, who gave him (on the recommendation of Emini-d-daulah Aṣīf Khān) a good Mansab and the office of Imperial Khansamān. In the 15th year of Jahangir’s reign, he was appointed Şubedar (Governor) of Kashmir and next Mir Bakhsi under the Emperor directly. On Shāh Jahān’s accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān raised him to the rank of Panjhasari, and also to the office of visier of the Supreme Diwan. In the second year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, he was set to reform the Revenue Administration of the Provinces in the Dakhin. In the third year, he received the title of “‘Āzīm Khān,” and was employed by the Emperor for chastising Khān Jahan Lodi and for the conquest of the Nizam Shāhī kingdom in the Dakhin. Though he succeeded in dispersing Khān Jahan’s force, and though he stormed the fort of Dharwar, his services in the Dakhin
duties of a Governor, the work of administration fell into confusion. The Assamese, making an incursion, invaded and ravaged many of the pargannahs within the Imperial domains, and along with much riches and effects captured and carried away ‘Abdus Salam,’ who had gone on an expedition to Gauhati with 1,000 Cavalry and numerous infantry. When this news reached the Emperor, the latter superseded ‘Azam KHān, and appointed Islām KHān, who had much experience in the work of administration and was one of the principal ‘Omarā of Jahangīr, to the office of Šūbadār of Bengal.

RULE OF NAWAB ISLĀM KHĀN.

When Nawab Islām Khān was appointed Šūbadār of Bengal, as he was an experienced and a sagacious ruler, on his arrival in did not satisfy the Emperor, who sent him to Bengal as Viceroy, in succession to Qāsim Khān, who died in the 6th year of Shāh Jahān’s reign. He continued in Bengal as Viceroy for three years only, and in the 8th year was transferred to Allahabad, and subsequently to Gujrat, and lastly to Jaunpur, where he was Rector of the Jaunpur University, and died in 1069 A.H., in his 76th year, and was buried in a garden which he had laid out on the banks of the Jaunpur river. His daughter was married to Prince Shāh Shuja (after the latter had lost his first wife, a daughter of Mirza Rustam Šafavi). He possessed many good qualities, and was very strict in auditing the accounts of ‘Amils (Collectors of Revenue). (See Ma’āṣir-ul-’Umara, p. 174, Vol. I).

1 This ‘Abdus Salam would seem to be the Abdus Salam (son of Muazzam Khān, Šūbadār of Delhi) who opportunely reinforced Shujait Khān at the decisive battle near Dhaka (Dacca) with the Afghan leader Osman Lohani. He would seem, therefore, to have been a brother of Mukkaram Khān (another son of Muazzam Khān) who was Governor of Bengal and who was conqueror of Kuch Hajo (or Kuch Behar) and Khurdah. ‘Abdus Salam at the time would seem to have been Governor of Kuch Hajo. in succession to his brother Mukkaram Khān, and to have invaded Assam. (See n. ante). The Alamgīrnamah (p. 680, Fasc. VII, Pers. text) calls him “Shaikh Abdus Salam,” and states that towards the early part of Shāh Jahān’s reign, he was ‘Fanjdar’ of ‘Hajo’ (that is, Kuch Hajo, or western part of Kuch Behar), and that at Gauhati he together with many others was captured by the Assamese, and that, to chastise the Assamese, an expedition to Assam was shortly after (during the Viceroyalty of Islām Khān II alias Mir Abdus Salam) sent out under command of Siadat Khān (Islām Khān’s brother), but that the expedition reached only Kajal (which is on the frontier of Assam), and did not result in any decisive issue, as Islām Khān was shortly after recalled by the Emperor to assume the office of Imperial Visier at Delhi.
the Šūbah, he vigorously set himself to the work of administration. He organised a punitive expedition against the refractory Assamese, and also planned to conquer Kuch Behar and Assam. Marching towards those tracts and fighting many battles, he chastised those wicked tribes, recovered the Imperial mahals which had been over-run by the latter, and marched against Kuch Behar. After much fighting, he stormed numerous forts, and then extirpated the refractory Assamese. At this juncture, Islām Khān¹ was recalled by Shāh Jahān, for the purpose of being installed in the office of Vazir. And order was sent to Nawab Saif Khān² to the

¹ Islām Khān Maghādi; his actual name was Mir 'Abdūs Salām, and his titles were "Ikhtīṣāṣ Khān" and subsequently "Islām Khān." He should not be confounded with "Islām Khān Chishti Faruqi," whose real name was Shaikh 'Alān-d-dīn, and who was Viceroy of Bengal, under Emperor Jahangir.

² Mir 'Abdūs Salām was in the beginning a Munshi or Secretary of Prince Shāh Jahān. In 1030 A.H. (during Jahangir’s reign), he was Vakil-i-Darbar or Prince Shāh Jahān’s Political Agent at the Imperial Court (Shāh Jahān being engaged at the time in affairs connected with the Dakhan), and at the same time received the title of "Ikhtīṣāṣ Khān." When dissensions broke out between Shāh Jahān and Emperor Jahangir, Mir 'Abdūs Salām joined Shāh Jahān. On Shāh Jahān’s accession to the throne, he raised Mir 'Abdūs Salām to the rank of Ḍahārhasārī, bestowed on him the title of "Iṣlām Khān," and appointed him Bakhshī and subsequently Governor of Gujrat, with command of Five Thousand. In the 8th year, on the recall of A’īm Khān (the Bengal Viceroy), Mir 'Abdūs Salām abās Islām Khān Maghādi was appointed Viceroy of Bengal. In the 11th year of Shāh Jahān’s accession, he achieved several notable triumphs, viz., (1) the chastisement of the Assamese, (2) capture of the son-in-law of the Assam Rājah, (3) capture of fifteen Assam forts, (4) capture of Sirīghat and Mando, (5) successful establishment of Imperial military out-posts or Thanas in all the mahals of Koch Hajo (the western portion of Koch Behar), (6) capture of 500 Koch war-vessels. Manik Rai, brother of the Rājah of Arrakan, also at this time came to Dhaka (Dacca) and took refuge with Islām Khān. In the 18th year (in the text, correctly, 11th year), Islām Khān was called back by Shāh Jahān from Bengal, and installed in the office of Imperial Vazir. He was subsequently appointed Viceroy of the Dakhan, where he died at Aurangabad in the 21st year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, in 1067 A.H. He was buried in a mausoleum at Aurangabad. He was a learned scholar, a brave general and a sagacious administrator. (See Maṣūr-‘ul-Umar, p. 162, Vol. 1).

² Saif Khān Mirza 'Ṣafi was a son of Amanat Khān. He married Malikāh Bānū, sister of Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and a daughter of Aṣif Khān Eminudd-daulah, and was thus closely connected with Emperor Shāh Jahān, by marriage. He first became Diwān of the Šūbah of Gujrat, and for his victory over 'Abdullāh Khān under daring circumstances, was appointed Šūbadar-of
effect that the Nizamat of Bengal was assigned to Prince Muhammad Shuj'a, and that until the latter's arrival, he should, as Prince's Deputy, carry on the work of Bengal administration. As Islam Khan, in the very midst of fighting, had to march back to the Imperial presence, the work of Assam conquest was left incomplete, and his departure was a signal for fresh disturbances amongst the Assamese. This happened towards the end of the 11th year of Shah Jahân's reign.

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RULE OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD SHUJ'A.

In the 12th year of Shah Jahân's reign, Prince Muhammad Shuj'a arrived in Bengal, and made Akbarnagar or Rajmahal the

Gujrat, and also received the title of “Saif Khan.” He was subsequently appointed by Emperor Shâh Jahân to be Governor of Behar (where at Patna he built several lofty public edifices). [Saïfabad town, near Jamalpur in Monghyr, I guess, was built by him, and is named so after him. There is still a place in it called “Saï Sarai” or “Saï’s inn.” If my memory serves me aright, I found a big well in Monghyr town near the Club, which bears an inscription to show that it was built by Saï Khan]. In the 6th year of Shâh Jahân's reign, he became Governor of Allahabad; in the 8th year, he was selected as Governor of Gujrat, and next appointed Commandant of Agra. In the 13th year, when Islam Khan Makhadi was summoned back from Bengal to Delhi, to assume charge of the portfolio of Imperial Vazirat, Bengal was assigned to Prince Shâh Shuj’a. As the Prince was at the time away at Kabûl, Saïf Khan received orders to administer Bengal on behalf of the Prince, during his absence. In the 13th year of Shâh Jahân's reign (in 1049 A.H.) Saïf Khan Mirza Saïf died in Bengal, and his wife Malikah Bannu died the following year. (See Maasur-ul-Umara, p. 416, Vol II).

1 Prince Shâh Shuj’a was the second son of Emperor Shâh Jahân, whose other sons were (1) Dara Shehoh, (2) Aurangzeb, and (3) Murad. Shâh Shuj’a was married to a daughter of Mirza Rustam Safavi, and subsequently (on the death of his first wife) to a daughter of Nawab ‘Azam Khan (a former Bengal Viceroy). Shâh Shuj’a, on appointment to Bengal, temporarily removed the Viceregal Capital from Dacca to Rajmahal. He twice ruled over Bengal, that is, once for eight years, and again (after a break of two years) for another eight years. Shâh Shuj’a’s rule over Bengal was marked by the introduction of financial reforms and by the growth of revenue. “About 1658 A.D. he prepared a new rent-roll of Bengal, which showed 34 Sarkars and 1,360 mahals, and a total revenue on Khalsa and Jagir lands of Rs. 13,115,907 exclusive of abwaba.” (See Blochmann’s Contr. to History of Bengal and the Padshahnamah). Shâh Shuj’a was a lover of architecture, and he built numerous marble edifices in Rajmahal, Monghyr and Dacca. He also
seat of his Government, and adorned it with grand and handsome edifices. The Prince deputed to Jahangirnagar or Dacsah his Deputy and father-in-law, Nawab 'Azam Khan. The affairs of administration which had fallen into confusion by the departure of Iskand Khan, received now fresh éclat. For a period of eight years, the Prince devoted himself to the work of administration. In the 20th year of Shah Jahans reign, the Prince was recalled to the Imperial presence, and Nawab 'Itaqad Khan was appointed to the Nigamat of the Subah of this country.

NIZAMAT OF NAWAB 'ITAQAD KHAN.

When Nawab 'Itaqad Khan being appointed to the Nizamat of Bengal arrived in this country, he ruled over Bengal for two extended his Bengal Satrapy by incorporating therein Sarkars Monghyr and Behar (see Alamgirnama), but shortly after he received a check in his onward career by coming in collision with his clever brother, Aurangzeb, and at length fled to Arrakan where he perished.

1 See n., ante.

2 In the text 'Asif is evidently a misprint for 'Itaqad.

'-'Itaqad Khan Mirza Shapur was a son of 'Itam-ud-daulah, and a brother of Asif Khan Mirza Aul Hassan, and therefore, a brother also of Empress Nur Jehan (Masir-ul-Umara, p. 180, Pers. text, Vol. I., Fasc. 11).

Professor Blochmann's list (p. 511, Ain, Tr., Vol. I.), does not give his name. In the 17th year of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed Governor of Kashmir, and continued there for a long period. He was also raised by Emperor Jahangir to a command of five thousand. In the 6th year of Shaj Jahans reign, he was recalled from Kashmir. In the 16th year, he was appointed Governor of Behar, and whilst there, in the 17th year, he organised and despatched an expedition to Palam (Palsamow) under Zabardast Khan, and defeated its zamindar or Raja, named Partab, who submitted to the Emperor, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of one lac of rupees. In the 20th year of Shah Jahans reign, when Prince Shah Shuja's was recalled from Bengal, 'Itaqad Khan in addition to his Governorship of Behar was appointed Viceroy of Bengal, where he continued for two years. In the 23rd year of Shaj Jahans reign (1060 A.H.) 'Itaqad Khan died at Agra. He was a man of great refinement and culture, and his aesthetic tastes led him to be one of the founders of a new and elegant style of architecture. He built a splendid palace on a new and improved design at Agra.

years. In the 22nd year of Shah Jahān’s reign, he was superseded; and Prince Muhammad Shujā’ was for the second time re-appointed to the Nizamat of Bengal.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF SHĀH SHUJĀ’, FOR THE SECOND TIME, AND THE END OF HIS CAREER.

When, for the second time, Prince Muhammad Shujā’ arrived in Bengal, for eight years more he carried on vigorously the work of administration, and conquering other tracts added laurels to himself. In the 30th year of the Emperor’s accession, corresponding to 1067 A.H., Emperor Shāh Jahān fell ill. As the period of illness became protracted,¹ and the Members of

¹ Emperor Shāh Jahān fell ill at Delhi on 7th Zil-haj 1067 A.H. (Alamgirnamah, p. 27). At the time of the Emperor’s illness, Prince Dara Shēkoh, the eldest son, was at Agra. Prince Shujā’, the second son, was in Bengal; Aurangzēb, the third son, was in the Dakhin; whilst Prince Murad, the fourth son, was in Gujarat. Owing to illness, Shāh Jahān was invisible to the public as well as to his ministers and officers, and great confusion in State affairs occurred, and Dara Shēkoh went to the Emperor, and took into his hands the reins of Government. In order to make himself thoroughly master of the situation, Dara Shēkoh aimed to keep the Emperor fully under his control, and so forcibly removed the Emperor together with all royal treasures from Delhi on 20th Maharram, 1068 A.H. (1066 in the printed Pers. text is a misprint) to Agra, which was reached on 19th Safar, 1068 A.H. In the meantime, Murad proclaimed himself King in Gujarat, whilst Shujā’ similarly proclaimed himself King in Bengal, and invaded Patna and Benares (Alamgirnamah, p. 29).

Dara Shēkoh’s plan was first to vanquish Shāh Shujā’, next Murad, and to reserve the final blow for Aurangzēb, whom he dreaded most. In pursuance of this scheme, he first detached a large army under the command of his son Sulaiman Shēkoh together with Rajah Jai Singh to operate against Shāh Shujā’. The army under Sulaiman Shēkoh on the 4th Rabī’ al-Awwal 1068 A.H. reached Bahadurpur, a village on the banks of the Ganges, 2½ kos from Benares, and 1½ kos from Shāh Shujā’s encampment. Shāh Shujā had brought with him a large number of Nava-rak or war-ships from Bengal, and so was sanguine of success, and treating the foe with contempt, he had dispensed with all ordinary precautions of war. Sulaiman Shēkoh made a faint retreat which further took in Shāh Shujā’, and then suddenly wheeling round, made a bold dash which completely surprised Shāh Shujā’, who leaving behind his tents, treasures, guns and horses, hastily got into a boat, and sailed down to Patna, thence to Monghyr, where he halted for some days. Sulaiman Shēkoh’s army pursued Shujā to Monghyr; and, then the latter quitting
Government could not obtain audience with the Emperor, great confusion ensued in the affairs of the Empire. Since amongst the

Moughyr, set out for Bengal. (See Alamgirnamah, p. 31). Whilst these events were transpiring in Bengal, Aurangzeb with his marvellous insight grasping the situation forestalled Dara Shukoh by making a move from Aurangabad towards Burhanpur on Friday, 12th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1068 A.H. (Alamgirnamah, p. 49). After halting for a month at Burhanpur to get news of the state of things at Agra, Aurangzeb learnt that Dara Shukoh had detached a large army under Rajah Jaswant Singh, who had already arrived at Ujjain, in Malwa. This made Aurangzeb decide his plans. He immediately on 25th Jamadi-ul-Akhirah on a Saturday marched from Burhanpur, reached the banks of the Narbadda, crossed it, and on the 20th Rajab encamped at Dibalpur. On the 21st Rajab, setting out from Dibalpur, he met on the way Prince Murad, and won him over to his side (Alamgirnamah, p. 55), and reached Dharmatpur, a place 7 kos from Ujjain, and one kos from Rajah Jaswant Singh’s army, and pitched his camp on the banks of a rivulet, called Chur Narainah. (Alamgirnamah, p. 56). Rajah Jaswant Singh was quite out-witted by this strategic move of Aurangzeb who had united his forces with those of Murad. Aurangzeb then inflicted a crushing blow on Rajah Jaswant Singh at Dharmatpur. (See charming description of this battle in the Alamgirnamah, Pers. text, pp. 61, 66 to 74). Marching quickly from Dharmatpur, Aurangzeb passed through Gwalior. In the meantime Dara Shukoh had marched to Dholpur (p. 85, Alamgirnamah), to oppose Aurangzeb’s progress, and to prevent his crossing the Chambal river. Aurangzeb quickly however crossed the Chambal river at the ferry of Bhadarelah, which is 20 kos from Dholpur, on the first day of the month of Ramzan. On the 7th Ramzan, the battle of Dholpur was fought, and Dara Shukoh was completely defeated by Aurangzeb. (See description of the battle of Dholpur in the Alamgirnamah, pp. 100 to 104). Dara Shukoh fled to Agra, and thence to the Panjab and other places, was eventually captured and beheaded. Shortly after his installation, Aurangzeb drew his force against Shuja’-ud-Daula who had advanced, and occupied Rohtas, Chunar, Jumnpur, Benares and Allahabad. The battle between Aurangzeb and Shuja’-ud-Daula was fought at Kachwa, a place close to Korah, and resulted in Shuja’-ud-Daula’s defeat. ‘See description of the battle in the Alamgirnamah, Pers. text, p. 249). After his defeat Shuja’-ud-Daula fled to Bahadurpur, thence to Patna, thence to Moughyr which he fortified, and thence (owing to the treachery of Rajah Bahroz, zamindar of Kharakpur) to Bangamati, and thence (owing to treachery of Khwaja Muskuluddin, zamindar of Bhirbhum) to Rajmahal, thence through minor places to Dacca, thence through Bhalne and minor places to Arrakan, always heroically contesting every inch of ground against the hosts of Aurangzeb, led by his General Musazzam Khan alias Mir Jumla, but every time baffled by the treachery of so-called adherents, barring a noble band of Barha Syeds who clung to him to the last. (See pp. 495 to 561, Alamgirnamah, Pers. text).
Princes Royal, no one except Dara Shekoh was near the Emperor, the reins of Imperial administration were assigned to him. Dara Shekoh, viewing himself to be the Crown-Prince, fully grasped the threads of Imperial administration. Owing to this, Prince Murad Baksh in Gujrat had the Khutbah read after his own name, whilst in Bengal, Muhammad Shuj'a proclaimed himself King, and marshalling his forces, marched towards Patna and Behar, and advancing thence, reached the environs of Benares. On hearing this news, Dara Shekoh, during the serious illness of the Emperor, marched with the latter from Shâhjahanabad (Delhi), to Akbarabad (Agra), on the 20th Muharram, 1068, A.H corresponding to the 31st year of the Emperor's accession, and on the 19th Safar, reached Akbarabad (Agra). From this place, Dara Shekoh detached Raja Jai Singh Kachhawah, who was a leading Rajah and a principal member of the Empire, together with other leading noblemen, such as Diler Khan, Salabat Khan and Izzad Singh, and other officers holding the ranks of Panjharasari and Chahurhasari, besides a large army composed of his own and the Imperial troops, along with guns and armaments, under the general command of Sulaiman Shekoh, his eldest son, in order to fight against Muhammad Shuj'a. Accordingly, these marched from Agra on the 4th of the month of Rabiiul-Awwal of the aforesaid year, and set out on the aforesaid expedition. And after marching several stages, and passing through the city of Benares, these encamped at the village of Bahadurpur (which is situated on the bank of the Ganges at a distance of two and a half kroh from the city of Benares) to a distance of one and a half kroh from Muhammad Shuj'a's army. Both the armies exhibited military strategy and tactics, and sought for an opportunity to surprise the other. In consequence neither side made a sally. On the 21st Jamadiul-Awwal, the Imperialists made a feint as if to shift their camp, but suddenly wheeled round, and rushed Shuj'a's army, which was completely taken by surprise. On hearing the news of the feint retreat of the Imperialists on the previous day, Shuj'a had neglected his war-preparations, and was fast asleep. Being thus taken by surprise, he woke up from his slumber, and mounting a female elephant, he moved about restlessly. But the game was already up, especially as Raja Jai Singh making a dashing in by movement from the left side, closed in upon him. See in Minister, native, Shah Shuj'a got into his war-vessels which had Shuj'a to
up from Bengal, and sailed down swiftly, abandoning his treasures, guns, horses, baggages and tents. Sailing swiftly down Patna, he reached Mungir, and prepared to fortify it, and halted there for some days. Sulaiman Šekoh's army, after plundering and ravaging and slaughtering and capturing, followed up Muhammad Shuj'a, and reached Mungir. Muhammad Shuj'a, finding it impossible to stand his ground there, fled with the swiftness of lightning and air, and entered Akbarzagar (Rajmahal). The Imperial army reduced to subjection the Šubah of Patna and Behar.1 But in the meantime, Aurangzeb had marched from the Dakhin2 towards the Imperial Presence, and on the outskirts of the Narbadda had fought an engagement with a numerous horde of Imperialists, and after sanguinary fightings had inflicted a signal defeat, and had marched to Šāhjahānabad, and entered the Capital. Deputing his eldest son, Šultan Muhammad, to be near the Emperor, Aurangzeb put the latter under surveillance, and killed Dara Šekoh3 after much warfare, and in the holy month of Ramzan 1069 A.H. ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi. Sulaiman Šekoh, on hearing the news of Dara Šekoh's defeat, gave up the pursuit of Šāh Shuj'a, and retreated towards Šāhjahānabad (Delhi). Muhammad Shuj'a fancying that the struggle between Dara Šekoh and Aurangzeb would be a protracted one, thought his opportunity had come, and by the bad advice of Alivardi Khān and Mirza Jān Beg and other members of his Government,

1 The Alamgīrnama, p. 31 (from which the account here in the text appears to be borrowed) says: "From Monghyr to Patna became annexed to the Satrapy (iqṭā) of Dara Šekoh."

2 Aurangzeb moved from the Dakhin in 1068 A.H., inflicted a crushing defeat on Dara Šekoh's troops led by Maharaja Jaswant Singh at Ujjain, and also defeated Dara Šekoh near Agra, and then informally proclaimed himself Emperor in 1069 A.H. (See Alamgīrnama, pp. 59 to 86, and pp. 87 to 108).

3 Dara Šekoh, after his defeat by Aurangzeb near Agra, fled to Delhi, and thence to Lahore, and after various adventures in the Panjab, Gujrat and Kabul was captured by Jiwan, zamindar of Dadar, and made over to Aurangzeb who caused him to be imprisoned and subsequently slain, and his body buried in the mausoleum of Humayun at Delhi. (See Alamgīrnama, pp. 433 and 408). Those who take an interest in Dara Šekoh's adventures after his flight, will find a full account of the same in the Alamgīrnama.

4 Šekoh was a free-thinker and a pro-Hindu, and if he had succeeded to Aurangzeb, he would have out-Akbared Akbar in his pro-Hindu policy, time baffles the reverse of Dara Šekoh; he was a champion of Islam, and Barha Syedkhe Mahmud of Ghazni or Šāhbul-d-din Ghori, Pers. text).
refurbishing his sword, laid claim as his heritage to the suzerainty of Bengal, and with a large and formidable army marched towards the Capital of Hindustan. As before Shuj'a's arrival, the struggle in Hindustan between Aurangzeb and Dara Shokoh had terminated, and Aurangzeb had already mounted the Imperial throne, on hearing this news of Shuj'a's march, Aurangzeb with his entire army of Hindustan swiftly marched, and at Kachwah the two armies encountered each other, and a battle was fought.

The armies were arrayed on both sides,  
They stood forth like mountains on a plain.  
When the armies from both sides approached each other,  
From the dark dust that arose, the universe turned dark.  
When from both sides they struck up drums of war,  
The lion-like heroes spread their claws to smite.  
Tumult arose from drums,  
The ear of the world was deafened.  
From guns and muskets, rockets and arrows,  
Security in the world fled to a corner.  
From the smoke of gun-wagons that mingled with the atmosphere,  
The sky became hidden from the world's view.  
The spear warmed in slaughtering,  
And whispered messages of destruction into the ear of Life.  
The lightning of the sword kindled fire so much,  
That it burnt the harvest of existence.  
The fire of warfare blazed up so keenly,  
That it scorched the heart of Mars aloft on the sky.

After much exertions and fightings, Aurangzeb's army was defeated. Aurangzeb, however, with a number of noblemen and some gunners, stood his ground on the battle-field. Alivardi Khan, the generalissimo of Shah Shuj'a's force, attempted to capture Aurangzeb and checkmate him. As God has bestowed greater wisdom on Sovereigns than on the mass of mankind, and as in military affairs, Sovereigns are endowed with a more accurate perception of the situation, that wise sovereign (Aurangzeb) observing the adage that "war is fraud," deceived the aforesaid Khan by holding out to him the chance of being appointed Prime Minister, and said that if the latter could induce Muhammad Shuj'a to
dismount from his elephant and to mount a horse, he would win
this game. The aforesaid Khān, seduced by the bait held out by
Aurangzeb, played false with his own old benefactor, and spoke
to Muhammad Shujā'a as follows: “Victory has been already
achieved by our army, and the enemy’s force has been defeated.
As cannon-balls, and rockets and arrows are raining from every
side, it is possible that the Royal elephant might be hit; it is
therefore advisable that your Highness should dismount from your
elephant and mount a horse. By the good luck of your Highness,
I would immediately capture and fetch ‘Alamgir.” Instantly as
Shāh Shujā’a mounted a horse, the aforesaid Khān sent informa-
tion to ‘Alamgir. ‘Alamgir immediately adopted the ruse of
causing the music of victory to be struck up. And since the army
did not find Shāh Shujā’a on the elephant, news spread in the
army about the victory of ‘Alamgir and the defeat of Shāh Shujā’a.
Shujā’a’s force fled panic-stricken, thinking that Shujā’a had been
killed. Although Shujā’a made exertions to stop the panic and
prevent the flight, these were in vain. Hence the adage is
“Shujā’a lost a winning game.” The army of Aurangzeb collect-
ing together, made an onslaught. When Shāh Shujā’a found that
he had lost the game, he was obliged to take to flight, and fled
to Bengal, and fortifying the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali,
he entrenched himself at Akhranagar (Rajmahal). ‘Alamgir
appointed Nawab Mu‘azzam Khān, Khān-i-Khanan, the Generalis-
simo, to be Subadar or Viceroy of Bengal. And detaching
twenty-two renowned noblemen, like Nawab Islām Khān, Diler
Khān, Daud Khān, Fateh Jang Khān, and Iḥīṣām Khān, etc.,
under the command of Sultān Muhammad, to pursue Shāh Shujā’a,
Aurangzeb himself triumphant and victorious marched back to-
wards the Capital (Delhi).

VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB MU‘AZZAM KHĀN,
KHĀN-I-KHANAN.

When Nawab Mu‘azzam Khān was appointed Subadar of
Bengal, he marched towards Bengal with a large army. As
the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali had been fortified by Shāh
Shujā’a, viewing the forcing of those defiles to be a difficult op-
eration, with twelve thousand soldiers he swiftly marched to Bengal
by way of Jharkand and the mountains. When the contending armies approached each other, Shāh Shujā’ī finding it impracticable to tarry at Akbaranagar (Rajmahal) caused ‘Alivardi Khān, who was the root of all this mischief, to be slain, himself retired to Tanah, and erecting redoubts, fortified himself there. When the two forces approached each other, separated by the river Ganges, one day Shārīf Khān, who was a source of mischief, and Fateh Jang Khān, getting into boats, crossed over to the northern bank, and they were similarly followed by others. From the northern side of the bank, as soon as Shārīf Khān landed, the soldiers of Shāh Shujā’ī gave battle. Nearly seventy persons who had reached the banks were killed and slaughtered. The remaining boats retired from the middle of the river. Sultān Shujā’ī ordered the wounded persons to be killed; but Shāh Naamatullah Firuzpurī expostulated. Shāh Shujā’ī who had great faith in this Saint made over to the latter Shārīf Khān together with other wounded prisoners. The Saint nursed them, and after their wounds had healed up sent them back to their army. But Sultān Muhammad, desiring to desert to his uncle, came alone to meet the latter, and receiving much kindness from his uncle, stayed on with him. Sultān Shujā’ī gave his daughter in marriage to him. Sultān Muhammad, on the side of Sultān Shujā’ī, fought several battles with the Imperialists, consisting of the Khān-i-Khanān and Diler Khān, &c.

1 The Alamgirnamah indicates that at the time Shāh Shujā’ī had halted at Monghyr, fortifying the place. Then Rajah Bahroz zamindar or Rajah of Kharakpur, who professed loyalty to Shāh Shujā’ī, but in reality was a traitor secretly intrigued with Aurangzeb’s general, Mir Jumla alias Mu’azzam Khān, and showed the latter another route across the hills to the east of Monghyr. In covering this route, Mir Jumla had to make a detour of several miles; and Shāh Shujā’ī finding that he was being out-flanked, instantly sailed down on his war-vessels from Monghyr Fort to Rangamati and Rajmahal, and on the way fortified the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali, which were then regarded as the ‘key’ to Bengal.

2 A full account of his life will be found in the Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, p. 650, Pers. text.

From it, it appears that his name was Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla, and his titles were “Mu’azzam Khān, Khān-i-Khanān Sipasalar.” He came from Ardastan, first served under Sultān Abdullah Quṭb Shāh, ruler of Golconda, where he attained great eminence. Falling out with Quṭb Shāh, he joined Prince Aurangzeb who was then in the Dehshīn. His great services were (1) the conquest of Bijapur, (2) the extirpation of Shāh Shujā’ī, (3) the conquests of Khuch Behar and Assam. He was a statesman of great sagacity
At length, on finding Sultan Shuja’s negligent and apathetic, Sultan Muhammad went over again to the side of the Imperialists, and from thence to the presence of Emperor Aurangzeb at Shâh Jahânabad, where he was imprisoned. And orders were repeated to the Khân-i-Khanan to pursue Sultan Shuja. In short, one day when Diler Khan, &c., crossed the river at Paglaghat, Diler Khân’s son, with a number of efficient men, was drowned. Sultan Shuja with his dependants and adherents, getting into war-vessels which had been brought up from Jahangirnagar (Dacca), set out for the latter place. The Khân-i-Khanan also followed him up by land. Finding it impossible to make a stand at this place either, Sultan Shuja with a number of followers took the road to Assam, and from thence proceeded to Arrakan, and took shelter with the ruler of that tract, who was a Syed, and in a short time he died there, either owing to the treachery of the ruler of that tract, or from natural disease. When in the period of anarchy under Sultan Shuja, Bhim Narain, Rajah of Kuch Behar, becoming daring, with a large force attacked Ghoraghat, and foresight, and as a general, he was matchless in his day. (See Maasir-ul-Umara, p. 555, Vol. III, Pers. text).

1 Details of Sultan Muhammad’s desertion to Shâh Shuja’s, and his subsequent secession, are given in the Alamgirnamah.

2 Details of Shâh Shuja’s fightings and adventures are given in the Alamgirnamah. See notes, ante.

3 The description in the Alamgirnamah, pp. 557 to 562, shows that the ruler of Arrakan was neither a Syed nor a Mussulman, but a Buddhist. It also appears from the Alamgirnamah that setting out from Tandah on boats, Sultan Shuja’s reached Dacca (Jahangirnagar) where his eldest son Zain-d-din had been from before. Zain-d-din had arranged with the Rajah of Arrakan to escort Sultan Shuja’s to Arrakan, on the latter’s arrival at Dacca. At this time, Manûr Khan, a zamindar of Jahangirnagar, proved obstructive to Zainu-d-din’s plans, and so he (Manûr) was first chastised with the help of the Arrakanes. Starting from Dacca on boats, guarded by the Arrakanes, Shuja’s passed through Dhapa (4 kos from Dacca), Siripur (12 kos north of Dacca), Bhalgah (which then formed the southern limit of the Moghal dominions in Bengal), and thence to Arrakan. One who cares to note names of old Bengal towns, may profitably read this portion of the Alamgirnamah.

4 In the Alamgirnamah (p. 676), he is called “Bim Narain, zamindar of Kuch Behar.” It is stated therein that hitherto he used to regularly pay tribute to the Emperor, but that during the chaos which arose owing to Emperor Shâh Jahân’s illness, and owing to Shâh Shuja’s march to Patsa, in order to lay claim to the Imperial throne, Bim Narain ceased paying tribute, and invaded Ghoraghat or Rangpur and subsequently Kamrup.
he captured a large number of the Musalman residents, male and female, of that place, and with the object of conquering Kamrup, to which Province pertained the tracts of Hajo and Gauhati, and which was included in the Imperial domains, he despatched his minister named Saharanath ¹ with a large force. On the news of this invasion, the Rajah of Assam ² showing short-sightedness sent also a large force by land and water towards Kamrup. Mir Lutfullah Shirazi, who was Faujdar of the Province of Kamrup,³ seeing from both sides torrents of invasion overtaking him, and despairing of relief, and being certain about the absence of Imperial auxiliaries, quickly got into a boat, and reached Jahangirnagar or Dacca, and rescued himself from the impending danger. And Saharanath, not being able to cope with the Assamese, acting up to the saying: “To return is better,” retired to his own country. The Assamese, without contest, conquered the province of Kamrup, swept it with the broom of plunder, carried by force to their own country all and everything, including the moveable and immovable effects of the people, pulled down the edifices, left no trace of fertility, and reduced the whole province to one plain, level ground. As Sultan Shuja’a was occupied with his own affairs, the infidels of Assam finding an opportunity conquered the environs of mauza Kadi Bari, which is five stages from Jahangirnagar, and placing a garrison at the village of Tabsilah near Kadibari, raised the standard of daring and insurrection. Consequently, when the Khan-i-Khanan reached Jahangirnagar, after devoting himself for some time to administrative business, he collected war-vessels and artillery and other armaments, and leaving Ihtisham Khan to protect Jahangirnagar (Dacca) and its environs, and appointing Rai Bhogati Das Shujai to charge of financial and internal affairs, in the 4th

According to the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri (p. 110), Lashmi Narain, “zamindar of Kuch Behar” also used to pay homage and tribute to Emperor Jahangir.

¹ In Alamgirnamah (p. 678), “Bholanath.”
² His name was Ji Dhaj Singh. (Alamgirnamah, p 678).
³ See Alamgirnamah, a contemporary record, p. 678. Lutfullah Shirazi, the Faujdar of Kamrup, retired on war-boats from Kamrup to Jahangirnagar (Dacca). The Koch also withdrew, on finding that the Assamese had invaded Kamrup. The Assamese advanced up to Karibari which is five mansal from Dacca, and established a military out-post at Mast Salah, close to Karibari. (See Alamgirnamah, p. 679).
year of Emperor Aurangzeb's accession, corresponding to 1072 A.H., he set out on an expedition towards the conquest of the Kingdoms of Kuch Behar and Assam, sending forward by the river-route, artillery, &c., and himself pushing on by land with a force of twenty thousand efficient cavalry and numerous infantry, vid a hill which was frontier of the Imperial dominions. In a short time, he subdued the Kingdom of Kuch Behar up to Gauhati. After this, he pushed on with his forces to conquer Assam. In the meanwhile, the Emperor's order came, directing him to march to Arrakan, in order to rescue the children and ladies of the household of Shāh Shuj'a from distress and from imprisonment at the hands of the Arrakanese, and to send them up to the Imperial presence. The Khān in reply to the Imperial order, represented that the Imperial troops were busy in fighting to conquer the provinces of Kuch Behar and Assam, and that to march to Arrakan, without accomplishing the conquest of the aforesaid two provinces, was opposed to expediency, and that he would postpone the expedition to Arrakan to next year, and that this year, he would set about subjugating the

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1 The Khān-i-Khān (Muṣṭafā Khān) set out from Khizapur (which has been identified to be a place close to Narasinganj) with war-vessels, on 17th Rabih-ul-Awwal 1072 A.H., for the conquest of Kuch Behar, leaving Mukhali. Khān as Governor of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) and Iḥtiṣām Khān as Governor of Jalangirnagar (Dacca) and Bhagotī Dāsā as Diwan under the latter, and reached Barisal, the Imperial frontier out-post. The Alamgirnāmah mentions that at the time three land-routes lay to Kuch Behar:—(1) vid the Murang! (2) vid the Doars, (3) vid Ghuraghat or Rangpur. The Khān-i-Khān sent out scouts to ascertain which route was the best, and then chose the Ghuraghat route, by which he pushed on with his forces by land, sending out another force by the river on war-vessels, the two forces to give cover to each other, and to cover equal distance each day. (See Alamgirnāmah, p. 682, for a full description of this expedition to Kuch Behar and Assam). The war-vessels passed through a river which joins Ghuraghat with the Brahmaputra, and the Imperialists reached Kuch Behar town. The Rajah (Bim Narain) fled to Bhutan, his minister Bholanath fled to the Murang, and the Imperialists stormed Kuch Behar town, and named it Alamgirnagar. Syed Sadiq, Šādūr or Chief Justice of Bengal, shouted out the Assam from the terrace of the Rajah's palace; the Rajah's son Bighūnāth embraced Islām, and Isfandyar Beg (who received the title of Isfandyar Khān) was left by the Khān-i-Khān as Faujdar of Kuch Behar, with Qasi Samu (who was formerly Shāh Shuj'a's officer) as Diwan of Kuch Behar. (See p. 694, Alamgirnāmah, Pers. text).
provinces of Kuch Behar and Assam. After this, on the 27th Jamadiulsani of the aforesaid year, marching from Gauhati, he entered Assam. Fighting by water and by land, he pushed through the jungles, mountains and rivers. And wherever he went he established a garrison. Storming the citadel and palace of the Rajah of that country after much fighting, he gained much booty. After successive battles, the hapless Assammese, being routed, fled and escaped to the hills of Bhutan, and the whole of Assam was conquered. At length, the Rajah of Assam drawing the rein of submission to the neck, and wearing the ring of obedience on the ear, deputed a trust-worthy envoy to wait on the Khan-i-Khanan with gifts and presents, and agreed to pay tribute to the Emperor, and also sent his own daughter with goods, rare silk-stuffs, elephants and other rarities in charge of Badli Phukan, for Emperor Aurangzeb. The aforesaid Phukan, with all the presents, reaching the outskirts of the city of Dacca, encamped and prepared

1 After conquering Kuch Behar, the Khan-i-Khanan (Muqam Khan), proceeded to the banks of the Brahmaputra, with his military and naval forces, and passed through Bangamati. Diler Khan commanded the van, whilst Mir Murtaza was in charge of the artillery. The Khan-i-Khanan occupied Jogikhapa, and appointed Ataullah to be Fanjdar of that place, and then occupying Sirighat, stormed Gauhati, and appointed Muhammad Beg to be Fanjdar of Gauhati. After halting at Gauhati for some time, the Khan-i-Khanan marched out, when the Rajahs of Darang (named Makrupan) and of Daromariah offered tribute and submitted. The Khan-i-Khanan then stormed the fort of Jamdara, appointed Syed Mirza Sahzwari (together with Syed Tatar and Rajah Kishin Singh) to be Thanadar of Jamdara, and appointed Syed Naib-ud-din Khan (together with other Imperial officers) to be Thanadar or commandant of Kilabari, captured 400 Assamese war-vessels with numerous guns and armaments and stores, occupied Solagadha, Lakhokadh, Diwalgaon, Kajpur, and Kargon or Gargaon, the capital of Assam, captured 208 battering guns, 100 elephants, and 3 lacs of specie in gold and silver, 675 other guns, 1,000 war-vessels, with other armaments and stores. (See description of Gargaon, the old Assam capital, in p. 728, Alamgirnamah). When the rains set in, the Khan-i-Khanan encamped at Mathurapur, which was a high place, about 3 kroh distant from Gargaon, leaving Mir Murtaza with Rajah Amar Singh and others in charge of Gargaon, and appointing Syed Muhammad as Divan, and Muhammad 'Abid to confiscate the effects of the Rajah who had fled to the hills of Kamrup, and Meena Khan in charge of Salpani, and Ghazi Khan in charge of Dewpani, and Jallal to protect the banks of the Dhanik river. The whole of Dakhinkul and portions of Uttarkul were subdued by the Imperialists (p. 736, Alamgirnamah).
to set out for the Imperial capital. In that the sorcery of the Assamose is well known, the Kān-i-Khanān was affected by their sorcery. For some time he was laid up with pains on the liver and heart; daily these increased, and pointed to a fatal termination. Although he got himself treated, no beneficial effect was perceptible. He was, therefore, obliged to leave behind Mir Murtaza and other commanders. Leaving garrisons at every strategic point, he proceeded to a hill, and from thence, owing to his illness increasing, he set out on a barge for Jahangirnagar (Dacca). At a distance of two kroh from Khizrpur, on the 2nd of the month of Ramzan 1073 A.H., corresponding to the 5th year of Emperor Aurangzeb's accession, he died on board the vessel. Subsequently, the garrisons of the outposts evacuated their outlying posts, but the Rajah's daughter stayed behind with the tribute, as the Rajah refused to take her back into his household.

1 After the rains set in, the Rajah of Assam with his army came down from the hills of Kamrup, and gave some trouble to the Imperialists, who suffered also from ague and diarrhoea. At length, the Rajah sued for peace, and the Kān-i-Khanān, who had fallen ill, granted it on the following terms (Alamgirnamah, p. 808):

1. That the Rajah should send his sister and a daughter of Rajah Patam together with 20,000 tolas of gold, and 20,000 tolas of silver, and 20 elephants by way of tribute, besides 16 elephants for the Kān-i-Khanān, and 5 elephants for Diler Kān.

2. That in course of next 12 months, the Rajah of Assam should send 3 lak tola of silver and 90 elephants to the Emperor, and that every year he should send 20 elephants to the Emperor, and that till the payment of the indemnity, 4 leading Assamese noblemen should be given as hostages.

3. That Darang (in the Uttarkul) and Biltali and Domariah (in the Dakhinkul) should be subject to the Emperor, and that in the Dakhinkul, the delimitation line between Assam and the Imperial dominions should be the river Kalang, and in the Uttarkul it should be Alibarari. Rahmat Banū, a daughter of the Assam Rajah, was given in marriage to Prince Muhammad Azam, her dower being one lak and Rs. 80,000. (See Maasur-i-Alamgir, p. 73).

2 See Alamgirnamah, p. 812. He was Viceroy of Bengal from 1658 to 1663. He died near Dacca in 30th March, 1663. In 1661, he had threatened to expel the English merchants from Hughli.—These, however, prudently submitted and were pardoned, on their tendering an apology through their Hughli agent, Trivisa, on their agreeing to pay Rs. 8,000 annually. See Wilson's Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. II, p. 35.
VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB AMIR-UL-UMARA SHAISTA KHĀN.

After the Khān-i-Khanan’s death, the office of Subadar of Bengal being conferred on Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khān, the latter arrived in Bengal. For some years, devoting himself to administrative work, he administered justice and promoted the welfare of the people. Bestowing grants of villages and lands on widows of nobles and others in straitened circumstances, he made them well-off. Spies informed the Emperor, whereon Shaista Khān himself went to the latter and explained the true state of things. As the alleged dissipation of the Imperial revenue was unfounded, he was re-invested with the Khellat of appointment, and sent back to Bengal. But as the Khān was

1 Shaista Khān was a son of Eminu-d-daulah Aṣaf Khān, and a brother of Mumtaz Mahal, wife of Shah Jahan. His name was Mirza Abu Talib, and his titles were “Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan.” In the reign of Shah Jahan, he became a Panjharari and Nazim of Balaghat in the Dakhin, and subsequently Subadar of Bohar and Patna, when he invaded Palaon (Palamu) and subdued Partab, Zaminur of Palaon (Palamu). He then became Subadar of Malwah and Gujrat and subsequently Viceroy of all the Subahs of the Dakhin. He rendered good services to Aurangzeb in the latter’s fightings with Dara Shikoh and Sulaiman Shikoh. On the death of Mir Jumla, he became Viceroy of Bengal in 1664 A.D. He chastised thoroughly the Mag pirates who harried the coasts of Bengal, and wrested from them (chiefly through the exertions of his own son, Buzurg Umed Khān) the fort of Chittagong, and named it Islamabad (Alamgirnamah, p. 840). He subsequently became a Hathwasari and Viceroy of Agra, where he died in 1105 A.H. He was held in high esteem by Emperor Aurangzeb, who lavished on him high privileges and semi-regal honours. With all his greatness, Shaista Khān was meek and humble, courteous and affable, just and liberal, brave, noble, and enlightened. He established mosques with madrassas, rest-houses, bridges, and roads throughout India, and his charities were wide. He was married to a daughter of Shāh Nawaz Khān, son of Abdur Rahim Khān Khānan. He forms a prominent figure in connection with the early commercial enterprises of the English East India Company. (See Wilson’s Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. 1, pp. 48–99 and 111, and Hunter’s “History of British India,” Vol. 2, pp. 235–256). Nawab Shaista Khān’s Viceroyalty in Bengal forms a brilliant chapter in the Mughal annals of Bengal, as during it many useful public works, such as serais, bridges, and roads were constructed, and the economic and agricultural condition of the people attained an unique degree of prosperity, in that a maund of rice sold in the bazar for two annas only (See Mawir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 167 and 368, and Maasil-ul-umara, Vol. 2, p. 600).

2 Shaista Khan was Aurangzeb’s Viceroy of Bengal for a quarter of a
not desirous of staying in this Province, he used constantly to write letters to the Emperor, requesting permission to kiss the Royal feet, and begging deputation of some other officer to assume the office of Subadar of this Province. At first his resignation was not accepted; but at length, owing to Shaista Khan's importunities, the Nizamat was bestowed on Nawab Ibrahim Khan, a son of 'Alimardan Khan Yar Qasim. Traces of the beneficent administration of the Nawab Amir-ul-umara are known not only in Bengal, but throughout Hindustan. One is this, that during his Nizamat the cheapness of food-grains was so great that for a damsri, one seer of rice could be purchased in the market. At the time of his return to the capital Shâhjahanabad (Delhi), he caused the following inscription to be engraved on the western gate of Jahangirnagar (Dacca): "Let him only open this gate that can shew the selling rate of rice as cheap as this." From his time onward till the regime of Nawab Shujàd-din Muhammad Khan, this gate remained closed. In the period of the Viceroyalty of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, the gate was again opened, as will be mentioned hereafter. The Katra and other buildings of the 'Amir-ul-umara8 up to this day exist in Jahangirnagar (Dacca)."

century with a short break, that is, from 1664 to 1680 A.C. He died in 1694 in his 93rd lunar year. For his garvan of pardon to the English in 1687, see Hunter's History Vol. 2, p. 280, f.n.

1 A dam was equal to the fortieth part of the rupee, and a damsri was equal to one-eighth part of a dam (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 31), that is, 320 damsris made up one rupee. Therefore, during Shaista Khan's Viceroyalty in Bengal, for one rupee 8 maunds of rice could be had, in other words, the price, per maund, of rice was two annas only.

2 The Maasir-ul-Alamgiri (p. 363) is highly eulogistic in praise of Nawab Shaista Khan. It says that he established numerous caravanserais and erected numerous bridges throughout India. His great achievements in Bengal were (1) the Conquest of Chittagong which was named by him Islamabad (for details see Alamgirnamah, p. 940); (2) the extirpation of the Magpirates; (3) the improvement of the economic and agricultural condition of Bengal; and (4) construction of numerous useful public works. (See also Maasir-ul-umara, p. 690, Vol. II). During his Viceroyalty, Duldun Namjal, Rajah of Tibet (through the exertions of Saif Khan Subadar of Kashmir, Murad Khan, zamindar of Tibet-Khurd, and Muhammad Shahi envoy) submitted to Aurangzeb (pp. 921-922, Alamgirnamah).

3 It is strange that the author of the Riyas in his account of the Viceroyalty of Nawab Shaista Khan should have omitted all mention of the Nawab's greatest military achievements in Bengal, viz., the chastisement of
VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB IBRAHIM KHAN. 1

Nawab Ibrahim Khan on being invested with the Khilat of the Nizamat of the Subah of Bengal, arrived at Jahangirnagar the Mag and Portuguese pirates and the re-conquest of Chittagong. I therefore translate freely the following contemporary account from the Alamgir-nama (Pers. text, p. 943):

As the Mags emerging from Arrakan on war-vessels (Navarah) and taking advantage of the struggle for supremacy between Aurangzeb and Shâh Shuj'a, harried the coasts of Bengal, Emperor Aurangzeb sent out orders to his Bengal Viceroy, Nawab Shaista Khan, to take immediate steps for chastising the Mags. With this object in view, Nawab Shaista Khan first took steps to guard and fortify his southern frontier out-posts. He appointed an Afghan named Said with 500 rocketeers and musketeers to charge of the Noakhali out-post, Muhammad Sharif, Fanjdar of Hughli, with 500 rocketeers, 1,000 infantry and 20 guns to defend the out-post of Sankram-Kadah, and set Muhammad Beg Abakah and Abül Hassan with the Imperial war-vessels which lay at Siripur to patrol the river. From Siripur to Alamgirnagar covering a distance of twenty-one kroh, an embanked road so that it might not be flooded during the rains was also constructed under the Nawab's order, for military purposes. The Nawab then ordered Abül Hassan to bring round Dilawar, zamindar of Sandip, or to punish him, as the latter secretly sided with the Mags. Abül Hassan attacked Sandip and fought with Dilawar, who being hit by an arrow fled to the jungles. Meanwhile, the Arrakanesse fleet came up to Sandip to render assistance to Dilawar. Abül Hassan prepared to assault the Arrakanesse fleet, which withdrew, and then Abül Hassan, not pursuing it, retired to Noakhali. Nawab Shaista Khan, on hearing of this, sent another fleet consisting of 1,500 gunners and 400 cavalry, commanded by Ibn-i-Husain, Superintendent of the Navarah (Fleet).

1 Ibrahim Khan was the eldest son of Amir-ul-Umara 'Ali Mardan Khan. On his father's death, he was made a Chahar hasari, and subsequently a Panjhasari. He became Subadar of Kâshmir, of Lahore, of Behar, and of Bengal in quick succession. His sons were Zuberdast Khan (who chastised the rebel Afghan, Rahim Khan) and Yaqtub Khan (who became Subadar of Lahore). He was recalled from Bengal in 1109 A.H. (in the 41st year of Aurangzeb's reign), when Shâhrukh Muhammad Asim, alînî Azim-şâh Sultan, was appointed in his place. (See Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 71, 163, and 387, and Maasir-ul-umara, Vol. I, p. 296). The English merchants styled him "the most famously just and good nabob" (see Wilson's Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. I, p. 124), as he allowed them to return from Madras and finally settle at Sutanuti (future Calcutta) in the first year of his Viceroyalty (1690), after Emperor Aurangzeb had that year granted a 'general pardon' to the English merchants, on their making a most humble submissive petition, and on their promising to pay a fine of Rs. 150,000' (See Hunter's India, Vol. 2, pp. 265-266).
Jamal Khān, Serandaz Khān, Qvramal Khān and Muhammad Beg, to reinforce Abūl Hassan, to co-operate with the latter and occupy Sandip (Sondip), and to extirpate its zamindar, Dilawar. Ibn-i-Husain with this re-enforcement moved up to Noakhali, which is in front of Sandip, and halted there with Muhammad Beg, in order to blockade the passage of the Arrakanesse fleet. Abūl Hassan with others then attacked Sandip, wounded and captured Sharif, son of Dilawar, and captured also, after severe fighting, Dilawar with his followers, and sent them prisoners to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) in charge of Manūr, zamindar of Jahangirnagar, and subdued Sandip. Nawab Shaista Khān, on getting news of the conquest of Sandip, appointed Abūl Karim, brother of Rashid Khān, to the charge of Sandip, with 20 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. The Feringis (Portuguese) were at this time sailing with the Arrakanesse, so Nawab Shaista Khān first took steps to detach the Feringis, and for this purpose sent out letters to some of the leading Feringis. Some of these letters falling into the hands of Karam Kībri, a Mag, who with a fleet was in the environs of Sandip, the latter communicated it to the Rajah of Arrakan, who lost confidence in the Feringis, and ordered that the Feringis should be deported from Chittagong to Arrakan. The Feringis of Chittagong getting scent of this act, rose to many of the Arrakanesse fleet, and fled to Noakhali in the Mughal dominions. Farhad Khān, Commandant of Bhaluah out-post, kept some Feringis with himself, and sent their leaders to Nawab Shaista Khān to Dacca (Jahangirnagar). The latter treated them generously. The Nawab then sent out an expedition to Chittagong in charge of his son, Buzurg Umed Khān, of Ikhtисāt Khān Burha, Sabel Singh Sirdiāh, Mainah Khān, Karan Khāji, with 2,000 cavalry. Orders were sent out to Farhad Khān, Thanadar of Bhaluah, to move up with Ibn-i-Husain and Manwar zamindar, with the fleet, and to Mir Murtaza, Superintendent of Artillery, to join Farhad Khān and to cover the latter's front. Captain Moore, Chief of the Portuguese in Chittagong, with his fleet was directed to render loyal services. Kamal, son of the former Rajah of Arrakan, who had taken shelter in Dacca in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, was also directed to go with Mir Murtaza, and to send conciliatory messages to the Mag Commander of Chittagong. Farhad Khān and Mir Murtaza proceeded by the land route, whilst Ibn-i-Husain, Muhammad Beg, and Manwar proceeded by the river route. These reached (setting out from Noakhali) Thana Jagdiah, on 16th Rajab; on the 18th Rajab, Farhad Khān with his followers crossed Finny river (Phani), and on the 24th Rajab reached near a tank, which was one day's distance from Chittagong, and then waited for the General-in-Chief, Buzurg Umed Khān. The latter on 21st Rajab crossed Finny river, and on 25th Rajab reached a point which was 10 kroh distant from Chittagong, and 8 kroh from Farhad Khān's encampment. The Imperial fleet halted at Domaria village, which was 20 kroh from Buzurg Umed Khān's encampment. On 27th Rajab, two naval engagements were
not allow an ant to be oppressed. As Emperor Aurangzeb was
engrossed in fighting for twelve years in the Dakhin with
Abul Hasan\textsuperscript{1} alias Tana Shāh, the Ruler of that Province, and
with Siva and Sambha\textsuperscript{2} Mahrattas, rebellious zamindars of
Sattara, &c., disturbances\textsuperscript{3} broke out in several parts of the Empire
owing to the Emperor's protracted absence from his capital.
In the Šubah of Bengal, in the district of Bardwān, Subha
Singh, zamindar of Chitwāh\textsuperscript{4} and Bardah, revolted, whilst
Rahim Khān the cut-nosed, who was leader of the Afghāns,
joined the former with a contingent of Afghāns. Kishān Ram,
zamindar of Bardwan,\textsuperscript{5} who smarted under the former's oppressions
advanced with his force to encounter him, and was killed. And
the latter's wives and children, together with all his effects and
fought, in which the Arrakanese were defeated. The Arrakanese fleet then
moved up to the Karanphuli river. Under orders of Buzurg Umed Khān, Mir
Murtaza cutting down the jungles, and laying down a road, moved up by land
to near the Karanphuli, to re-inforce the Imperial fleet, Buzurg Umed Khān
himself similarly moving up. A severe naval engagement took place in the
Karanphuli river, in which the Mags were crushingly defeated, and Buzurg
Umed Khān stormed Chittagong fort, captured the Arrakanese fleet, and
subdued the whole tract of Chittagong, and 132 Arrakanese war-vessels, with
guns, armaments and elephants, were captured. Emperor Aurangzeb ordered
Chittagong to be named Islamabad, and conferred gifts on Nawab Shaista
Khān, and raised his son Buzurg Umed Khān to the rank of Hasar-o-Pansadī,
and Farhad Khān to the rank of Hasar-o-Pansadī, and conferred on Mir
Murtaza the title of 'Majahid Khān,' and on Ibn-i-Husain the title of
Muzaffar Khān, and raised Manvar zamindar to the rank of Hasar-o-Pansadī.
This conquest of Chittagong took place in the 8th year of Aurangzeb's reign.
See Alamgirnamah, p. 956.

\textsuperscript{1} See pp. 269, 144, 143, 244, 245, 289, 285, and 309, Maasir-i- Alamgiri.

\textsuperscript{2} See pp. 142, 211, 319, 332, 308, Maasir-i-Alamgiri.

\textsuperscript{3} The text does not narrate another disturbance that had previously
broken out on the Assam frontier. The Assamese had attacked the Imperial
garrison at Gauhati, and killed its Faujdar, named Syed Firuz Khān.
For the purpose of chastising the Assamese, an Imperial expeditionary force
was sent out by Aurangzeb to Assam (Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 64).

\textsuperscript{4} Chitwa or Chatwah is mentioned in the Aīn-i-Akhbār (see Jarret's Tr. Vol.
2, p. 141) as a pargana or mahāl under Sarkar Madarān. I have failed to trace
Bardha, which may be a misprint in the text for Balgachi, another mahāl
under the same Sarkar, or for Bharkondah (var. Bhargodha), a mahāl under
Sarkar Sharifabad (see Aīn, Vol. 2, p. 139).

\textsuperscript{5} Bardwan appears in the Aīn (Vol. 2, p. 130) as a mahāl under Sarkar
Sharifabad.
treasures, were captured, and his son, Jagat Rai, taking to his heels, fled to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), which was the Viceregal capital of Bengal. On hearing of this, Nur-ul-lāh Khān1 Faujdar2 of the Chaklāh of Jasor (Jessore), Hugli, Bardwan, and Medinipur, who was very opulent and had commercial business, and who also held the dignity of a Sehzāri, marched out from Jasor3 in order to chastise and subdue the rebels. From the din of the enemy's march, considering himself unable to stand the onset, he retired to the fort of Hugli, and sought for help from the Christian Dutch of Ghurrah (Chinsurah). The enemy, on getting news of Nurullah's cowardice, promptly set to besiege the fort, and after skirmishes reduced the garrison to straits. And that coward, acting on Shaikh Sadi's couplet:

"When you cannot vanquish the enemy by your might,
You ought to close the gate of disturbance, with largesses,"
throwing away his treasures and effects, considered it lucky to save his own life. With a nose and two ears, clad in a rag, he came out of the fort; and the fort of Hugli, together with all his effects and property fell into the enemy's hands. From the occurrence of this disaster there was a universal commotion. The leading gentry and nobility of the town and suburbs, and the merchants and residents of the environs, together with their effects, took refuge in Ghurrah (Chinsurah), which was a place of security. The Dutch leaders sailed up to the foot of the fort with two ships loaded with soldiers and armaments, and by a shower of cannon-balls, they battered the buildings of the fort, and flooded the harvest of numerous lives with the torrent of destruction. Subha Singh, not arranging terms of peace, fled to Satgaon, close to Hugli, and there, too, not finding

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1 This Nurullah Khān appears to have been subsequently promoted by Aurangzeb to the post of Deputy Subadar of Orissa (See Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 169).
2 Ain II, says: "In the same way that His Majesty (Emperor Akbar), for the prosperity of the Empire, has appointed a Commander of the forces for each Province, so by his resolute of judgment, &c., . . . he apportions several jagannahs to the care of one of his trusty, just and disinterested servants, called a Faujdar." (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. 2, p. 40).
3 Apparently, Jessore or Jasor at the time formed the head-quarters station of the Mughal Faujdar of the Chaklāh or Division, including Jessore, Hugli, Bardwan, and Medinipur districts.
it practicable to tarry, retired to Bardwan, and under the lead of Rahim Khan marched thence with his rabble towards Nadia and Murshidabad, which was then called Makhsgabad. Amongst the women and children of the slain Kishan Ram that were captives in the oppressive grip of Subha Singh, the former’s daughter was adorned with the ornaments of beauty and elegance and of chastity and modesty. That wretch of a villain (Subha Singh) plotted to stain the hem of the maiden’s chastity with the filth of defilement. As fate would have it, that dog of a night wanted to pounce on that maiden,1 and through seduction of Satan, it stretched out its hand towards her. That lion-like maiden with the swiftness of the wink of blood-shedding eyes, by means of a sharp knife which she secreted with herself for such an occasion, cut him up from below the navel to the belly, and with the same sharp knife cut asunder the thread of her own life. When this world-consuming fire was extinguished, another arose in the person of that villain’s brother, by the name of Himat Singh. The latter also resolved to set the world on fire, and attempted to plunder and pillage the Imperial domains. And Rahim Khan, owing to the strength of his rabble and clan, styled himself Rahim Shah. Placing crookedly on the head of pride the cap of vanity, and collecting a large number of low and ignorant badmashes, he redoubled the flame of insurrection,2 so that from Bardwan to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) on the west of the Ganges, half the Province of Bengal was harried by him. And whoever amongst the Imperial adherents refused to submit to him was punished and tortured. Amongst them, in the environs of Murshidabad, there lived an Imperial officer, named Neamat Khan, with his family and dependants. When he refused to join Rahim Shah the latter, thirsty for his blood, ordered his head to be brought. Seeing the measure of his life full to the brim, Neamat Khan prepared to drink out of the cup of martyrdom, and advanced to the field. Tauhar Khan, his nephew, who was as brave as his name implied, spurring on his charger, made a brave onset. At length the forces of the enemy hemmed him in, and from every side attacked him, so that he drank the syrup of martyrdom, and his comrades, one after another, were levelled

1 Literally, “Chinese deer.”
2 This opportunity was utilised by the English for fortifying their new settlement in Calcutta—See Wilson’s Annals, Vol. II, p. 147.
round him on the bed of annihilation. Neamat Khan, on seeing this, without cuirass and armour, tying a sword to his unlined garment, mounted a swift charger, cut through the right and left wings of the enemy's force, and, dashing up to the centre, inflicted a cut on the head of Rahim Shâh. As fate would have it, Neamat's sword striking against the latter's helmet broke. From ferocity of disappointed rage, putting his grip on Rahim's face and seizing his waist with the hand, by sheer strength, Neamat dismounted Rahim from his horse and threw him on the ground. With great agility then springing from his own horse, Neamat sat on the top of Rahim's chest, and drawing a dagger from his waist struck him on the throat. Accidentally, the dagger got entwined in the link of the cuirass of Rahim and did not penetrate through to his throat. Meanwhile, the adherents of Rahim Shâh coming up wounded Neamat Khan, by inflicting cuts on him with swords and spears, so that he was disabled, and dragging him down from his saddle, they threw him down on the ground. Rahim Shâh, recovering life in a way a second time, remained unhurt and unscathed. And they carried Neamat Khan to a tent, with his flickering life, in a state of fainting. From excessive thirst, he opened his eyes to signal for water. When the men of Rahim Shâh brought a cup of water, his feelings revolted against his drinking it out of their hands, and thus with a parched lip he quaffed the goblet of martyrdom. The zamindars of the envirous and the news-messengers, in succession, carried this woful news to Nawab Ibrahim Khan, to Jahangir Nagar (Dacca). The Nawab, to whom the following couplet is applicable:

"Although possessed of the strength of a lion,
In seeking vengeance, he was flabby like a soft sword"

owing to pusillanimity, said: "War causes the spilling of blood of God's creatures; what necessity is there that the blood of people on both sides should be shed?" And when from messages and news-letters, the gist of this disaster reached the Emperor in the Dakhin, an Imperial order was despatched to Zabardast Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan, conferring on him the office of Faujdar.  

1 Apparently, Zabardast Khan was appointed to the office of Faujdar
of the chaklahs of Bardwan, Mednipur, etc., insisting on the chastisement of the miscreant enemy, and directing the Nazims and Faujdars of the Şubahs of Oudh and Allahabad and Behar, that, wherever they might get trace of the enemy, they should capture him with his women and children. It was also proclaimed that whoever would desert the enemy should be granted security of life, and whoever would join the enemy and thereby draw the paint of infamy on the face, should have his family extirpated. And so it came to pass. Shortly after, the Şubahdari of Bengal and Behar was conferred on Prince 'Azimu-sh-shan, who was ordered to proceed to Bengal with a number of the Imperial officers. The noble Khān, named Zabardast Khān, on the very receipt of the Imperial order, fitting out a fleet of war-vessels armed with artillery, sailed up from Jahangirnagar (Dacca) with a numerous force, and spurred on the charger of war. Rahīm Shāh, on hearing news of the approach of the Imperial army of vengeance, swiftly marched to the banks of the Ganges, with a large army, consisting of infantry and cavalry. Zabardast Khān, mooring his war-vessels alongside the river-bank, quickly entrenched himself in front of the enemy's force, arrayed his troops for battle, and placed in front of the entrenchment of those Gog-like people the projecting parts of waggons, in the shape of Alexander's wall. On the next day, advancing from his entrenchment, he arrayed his troops, posting armed heroes and warriors in the right and left wings, in the centre, in the van, and in the rear. Placing the artillery in front, he advanced like the wave of the sea, and struck the kettledrum of war. When the din of call to battle resounded in the ear of Rahīm Shāh, the latter became perturbed, but moved with his intrepid Afghan soldiers to encounter the Imperialists. From the side of the Imperialists, Zabardast Khān ordered the artillery to be brought into action, and directed the discharge of muskets and war-rockets. The gunners and musketeers and rocketeers did not slacken their fire, whilst gallant combatants charged with their swords, and worked havoc in the enemy's ranks.

of the chaklahs of Jasar, Hugli, Bardwan and Mednipur, in the place of Nurullah Khan, who was apparently recalled for his pusillanimity.

1 It would appear, like Nurullah, Nawab Ibrahim Khan was also recalled promptly for exhibition of pusillanimity. The latter was a bookworm and a man of peace.
They charged with their spears and swords,
And shed profuse blood on that battle-field.\(^1\) [the infantry,
From the smoke of gun-wagons and from the dust raised by
The earth up to the sky became pitchy dark.
From profuse spilling of blood on that battle-field,
One roaring sea of crimson was spread.
The heads of warriors looked like ripples therein,
Their corpses swam like fish therein.

After terrible carnage, the cowardly Afghans took to their
heels and Rahim Shāh retreated from the field. Zabardast
Khān, who was strong and agile, became triumphant, and striking
blows after blows, drove the Afghans like cattle to their tents.
For three full hours the fire of warfare continued to blaze. Towards
sun-down, owing to the excessive sultriness of the wind, and
owing to terrible exertion and fatigue, the cavalry had to give up the
chase. So the victors withdrew their hands from the work of blazing
the fire of warfare and encamped on the battle-field, and set about
washing, and burying the dead, and nursing and dressing the
wounded. They passed the night in alertness and watchfulness,
pasting advance-guards and night-patrols. Next morning when the King of the East,\(^2\) riding on a blue charger\(^3\) and suspending
the dagger of rays, advanced on the plain of the celestial sphere,
the darkness of the hosts of night and the troops of stars became
effaced, nay extinguished, by its one onset; and again triumphantly
seeking vengeance, the victors set about setting their forces in
battle-array. On the approach of the two armies, they charged
with their spears, swords, and daggers. The Imperialists tying the
girdle of devotion and self-sacrifice to the waist of their lives,
engaged in killing the insurgents, and piled up a heap from the
slain. And after two hours' fighting the Afghan force was once
again shattered. Rahim Shah, stooping to the disgrace of flight,
fled, and in a hapless state took the route to Murshidabad.
Zabardast Khan to a distance of one farsakh rode forward, beat
and chased the enemy, captured and slew a large number of the
rebels, and capturing their treasures, effects, armaments and horses,

\(^1\) This battle was fought near Bhagwanghai—See Stewart's Bengal and
\(^2\) That is, the sun.
\(^3\) That is, the sky.
triumphantly returned to his own camp. He then made a gift of
the booty to the soldiers, according to their rank, and did not
spare himself in winning their hearts. For three days he halted
there, and looked after the nursing of the wounded. For the
purpose of effectually blockading the passages, and cutting off
the enemy's supplies he despatched stringent orders to the zamindars
and watchmen of passages. He sent the wounded soldiers, together
with the more precious goods and spoils, to Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca),
and detailed scouts in all directions for ascertaining the where-
abouts of those who had fled. Raḥim Shāh, in a hapless condition
and in an anxious mood, reached Murshidabad, and there exerted
himself diligently to mobilise troops. Rallying round some of his
vanquished rabble, who were in a state of disorder, and also others
who were in straits and without armour and helmets, he opened out
his treasures and chests, and by distributing horses and arms and
by lavishing money, he quickly mobilised an army, and once again
prepared for battle. Zabardast Khān, on the fourth day, striking
the kettledrum of march from the battle-field, advanced in pursuit
of the enemy towards Murshidabad. In the meantime, the zamin-
dars of the vicinity flocked in and joined the Imperialists. After
marching several stages, Zabardast Khan encamped on the east
side of the plain. Raḥim Shāh, seeing the overwhelming force of
the Imperialists, felt himself no match for them, and cowardly fled to
Bardwan. Zabardast Khān hotly chased him and gave him no rest.

VICEROYALTY OF SHĀHZĀDĀH WĀLAGUHAR
MUHAMMAD 'AZIMU-SH-SHĀN AND THE
FALL OF RAḤIM 2 KHĀN.

As related before, Shāhzādāh Wālaguhar Muhammad
'Azimu-sh-Shān, son of Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shāh,

1 Zabardast Khān was the eldest son of Ibrahim Khān, son of Ali Mardan
Khān. Zabardast Khān rose subsequently to the office of Subadar of Oudh
and Ajmir, and also to the rank of a Chaharhāsari. His great service was
the defeat of the Afghan insurgents led by Raḥim Khān, during the Vicer-
royalty of his father, Ibrahim Khān, in Bengal. (See Maasir-ul-Umara,
Vol III, p. 300, and also Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 397 and 407).

2 "Raḥim Khan" is misprinted in the Persian printed text as "Ibrahim
Khan."

3 Prince Muhammad 'Azim alias Azimu-sh-Shan was a son of Aurangzeb's
eldest son, Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah, by the latter's wife, who was
received from the Emperor a special Khilāt, together with a jewelled sword, a high Mansab and the Insignia of the Mahi Order, and was appointed Šubadar of Bengal and Behar.

For the chastisement of the rebels, he started from the Dakhin with his two sons, named Sultan Karimuddin and Muhammad Faruq Sīr for the Šubah of Behar, and swiftly arrived in Behar Šubah Oudh and Allahabad. The Prince issued Royal mandates, as potent as God’s decrees, summoning to his presence the Zamindars, ‘Amils, and Jagirdars. These appeared in His Highness’ presence with tributes and gifts, and were recipients of valuable Khillats according to their respective ranks. And attending to the administration of the State affairs, they paid in the revenue and taxes into the Imperial treasury. The fiscal and administrative affairs were entrusted to honest Diwāns and thrifty Karkuns, and Tahsildars were appointed to charges of Circles and Mahals. All of a sudden, news of the victory of Zabardast Khān and of the defeat of Rahim Shāh arrived through the medium of newsletters. Fancying that the fish of victory and triumph that was worthy of himself might be angled by another, who would go in for reward on account of good services, and fearing that Zabardast Khān, who was a grandson of Nawab ‘Alimardan Khān, in recognition of a daughter of Rup Singh Bāthor. He was born on the 6th Jamadi-ul-Awal, 1074 A.H. (in the 8th year of Aurangzeb’s reign). (See Maasir-i-Alamatī, p. 48). He married in 1089 A.H. (in the 21st year of Aurangzeb’s reign) a daughter of Kerat Singh, who received as jīhas or dower Rs. 63,000, jewelleries, one palki, five divās with embroidered and jewelled pillows. (See Maasir-i-Alamatī, p. 167). He married in the 38th year of Aurangzeb’s reign (1103 A.H.) a daughter of Bah-Allah Khān (Maasir-i-Alamatī, p. 347). In 1108 A.H. (in the 41st year of Aurangzeb’s reign), he succeeded to the Viceroyalty of Bengal, including Khāb Behar, in succession to Ibrahim Khān. (See Maasir-i-Alamatī, p. 387). In 1114 A.H., Behar was added to his Bengal Viceroyalty (Maasir-i-Alamatī, p. 470).

1 The Order of the Mahi was one of the most Exalted Orders founded under the Mughal regime in India.

2 ‘Ali Mardan Khān Amir-ul-Umara rendered important services to the State in the reign of Shah Jahān, and rose to the offices of Šubadar of Kamshir and the Panjāb and to the rank of a Rāfisār. In 1050 A.H., he became Šubadar of Kabul, and also subsequently received the title of Amir-ul-Umara. In 1056 A.H., he invaded Balkh and Badakhshan and partially subjugated those tracts. Subsequently he became again Šubadar of Lahore. In 1067 A.H. he died, and was buried at Lahore. His rectitude of purpose, straightforwardness in conduct, firm loyalty, and sincerity combined with
tion of such valuable services, might be invested with the office of Subahdar of Bengal, the ambitious Sháhzádáh, moving from Sábah Behar, swiftly marched to Rajmahal, and spurring his horse for the chastisement of the rebels advanced with his large force to Bardwan. The Prince ignored Zabardast Khán's services, and failed to bestow on him a single word of praise or encouragement. The aforesaid Khán, becoming depressed by the apathy of the Sháhzádáh, and finding his great labours wasted, resolved to proceed to the Emperor. Caring not for the power of the Sháhzádáh, he struck the kettle-drum of march, and took the route to the Dakhin. Raḥím Sháh who, from fear of the fury of that lion of the forest of warfare, had been hiding like the fox and the jackal, in the holes of the mouse and the serpent, finding now an opportunity, brought back water into the rivulet of his ambition, and triumphantly made incursions on the frontiers of Bardwan, Hugli, and Nadia. Pillaging the inhabitants of that tract he desolated it, nay rendered it a den of wild beasts and a nest of owls and crows. After the departure of Zabardast Khán the Prince, with great self-reliance, despatched mandates and orders to Jabángirnagar (Dacca) for conciliating and reassuring the Zamindars and Faujders. His Highness himself, slowly marching from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), advanced stage by stage, studying the convenience of his troops. The 'Amils, Faujdars, and zamindars, with appropriate contingents drawn from their respective mahals, presented themselves before the Prince with gifts and tributes, and accompanied the latter in his Royal Progress. The ill-fated Raḥím Sháh, fancying the news of the approach of the Prince to be a fiction, like his own fate, was sleeping the sleep of negligence. When, however, the news of the approach of the Royal Army reached the ear of that wretch, he hurriedly and anxiously concentrated his Afghan levies who were scattered far and near, and prepared for warfare. That royal eagle of the summit of the Empire, caring not for that flock of sparrows, bravery, soon gave him an unique position amongst the Imperial officers of his day, and he enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign, who used to call him "Yar Ofadar" or the "faithful friend."

His important public works were (1) the irrigation of a large canal joining the river Ravi with Lahore city; (2) the establishment of a splendid public garden called "Shalamar" together with aqueducts, reservoirs, and fountains, on the banks of that canal, close to Lahore. (See MaaSIR-UL-UMARA, Vol. II, p. 807).
set out unhesitatingly, without baggage and paraphernalia, and pitched his camp in the outskirts of Bardwan. There the Prince suspended the royal pearl of salutary advice to the ear of that contemptible prevaricator, promised reward in the event of acceptance, and threatened vengeance in the event of refusal. That dissembler treated the bright pearl of the order of the Prince ostensibly as the jewel of the ear, but covertly as the gravel of his own eyes, that is, apparently he shewed signs of submission, but in reality, he sowed the thorn of rebellion and dissimulation in the field of his heart. He besought to his assistance Khwajah Anwar, elder brother of Khwajah 'Aṣam,¹ who was a high officer and a boon companion of the Prince, and in fact the latter's prime-minister, and represented that in case the Khwajah came and promised on oaths and re-assured his mind, next morning he would proceed in his company to the Prince's presence, to sue for pardon for misdemeanour. The guileless Prince, ignorant of the wiles of that traitor, assevering to his request, ordered the above Khwajah to proceed early in the morning to Rahim Shâh's camp, and instructed him to reassure the latter and to fetch him to the Royal Darbar to publicly avow submission. Next morning the abovementioned Khwajah, following the order of his master, adopted no measures of precaution, and rode out with a few relations and friends. Halting in front of the camp of Rahim Shâh, he sent information, and on horseback remained on the look-out. Hiding his armed Afghan soldiers in his tent, Rahim Shâh was in pursuit of treachery. Opening towards the envoy the door of wiles and softness, he requested that the Khwajah should enter his camp. Fearing lest smoke might arise from the fire of the reptile, the above Khwajah hesitated to go in, and making promises summoned out Rahim Shâh. When the demands of both sides resulted in a parley and the object of the mission remained unaccomplished, suddenly Rahim Shâh with an armed force sallied out of his camp shouting and advanced in front of the Khwajah. From wounds of the tongue it culminated in wounds of the spear. Fathoming the water underneath the straw, Khwajah Anwar, regretted his coming, and wanted to return without ac-

¹ Khwajah Aṣam came to Agra from Badakshan, and subsequently received the titles of "Samṣam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran Amir-ul-Umara." The Maasir-ul-Umara, p. 819, Vol. I, says his elder brother's name was "Khwajah Muhammad Jâfar-Khan." Dauran was wounded in the battle with Nadir Shah, and died in 1151 A.H.
complishing the object of his mission. Rahim Shāh, advancing forward, commenced fighting. Being compelled to encounter him, Khwajah Anwar gallantly and bravely fought, and made heroic exertions, but being covered with mortal wounds, fell together with a number of his comrades. Finding the field deserted, the Afghans with swords rushed out and attacked the Royal camp of the Prince.

When that scion of the Imperial family
Beheld perfidy in that prevaricator,
And also in regard to the condition of Khwajah Anwar,
News arrived that his head had been severed from his body;
His face became cherry from rage,
He called for arms from the armour-bearer.
He placed the cuirass on the shoulder and the helmet on the head,
From head to foot he became a figure of iron.
He suspended an adamantine sword,
And placed tightly a dagger in his waist.
He tied one sunny shield to his shoulder,
And placed a shining spear in his hand.
He hung a quiver from his waist,
And threw round the shoulder a Kahanian bow.¹
He tied a noose to the top of his howdah,
And clutched with the hand an iron mace.
He gave order that the Generals of the army
Should collect quickly near the Royal tents.
At his order, the battle-seeking army
Flocked in towards the Prince.
When the Prince mounted his elephant,
He looked like the sun on a mountain.
The kettledrum of battle was struck, and the army moved,
Like the river waving.
He advanced to the field and raised aloft his standard,
And boldly set himself to put his troops in array.
He arranged his centre and wings:
The right and left wings, the rear and the van.

¹ The old Kahanian sovereigns of Persia or Iran were capital archers and marksmen. Their bows were famous for range and precision of shot. See Namā-Khusnān, p. 44, for an account of Kahanian Kings.
Altamghas re-entered into the possession of their respective mahals. Hamid Khan Quraishi, in recognition of his gallantry was rewarded by the Emperor with the advancement of his mansab, with the bestowal of the title of Shāmshir Khan Bahadur, and with the office of Faujdar of Silhāt (Sylhet) and Bandasil (?). And the other officers of the Prince, who had rendered good services, according to the measure of their services, and according to their ranks, were honoured with mansabs and dignities. The Prince halted in the fort of Bardwan, which contained the Residency of the Faujdars of that district, laid the foundations of buildings, and erected a Cathedral mosque. And in Hugli, he founded Shahganj, \(^1\) alias Jagir, from Akbar’s time. In the time of Sher Shāh, the Afghan king, the word Jagir is also frequently used. In the Ghorian, Khilji and Tughlak periods, the word ‘Iqta,’ corresponding to ‘Jagir,’ is frequently used. (See Tabqat-i-Nasiri, Tarikhī Firuz Shāhī, and Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 270).

Besides the “Jagira” or “Iqtas” or “tiylas,” there was another class of land-tenures which were conferred for benevolent purposes, were hereditary (unlike Jagirs), and free from revenue and cesses, and imposed no obligations for military or other services. These before Mughal times were called milk, madad-i-mash, ayma and altamghah, but were denominated in Mughal times by the Chaghtai word “Sayurghal.” An officer called Sadr-i-Jahān, or Administrator-General, was in charge of these Sayurghals. These were conferred on the following four classes of persons: (1) On enquirers after wisdom who have withdrawn from worldly occupations and make no difference between night and day in searching after knowledge”; (2) on such as practise self-denial and have renounced society of men; (3) on such as are weak and poor and have no strength for enquiry; (4) on honourable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge are unable to take up a profession.” (See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, pp. 353, 382, and 558, and Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 268, 270, 271, 272).

Sher Shāh was very liberal in conferring these aimahs and altamghas, which, however, were considerably resumed by Akbar who, on account of his hatred of the Ulama, deprived them of their madad-i-mash lands, and banished most of them to Bengal. (See note in Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 270, and Badadoni, Vol. II, pp. 274, 276, 279).

Altamgha, a Turkish word, meant a ‘red royal seal or stamp’ and also a ‘royal grant’ of rent-free tenure, which was perpetual, hereditary, and transferable. (See Āin, Vol. II, p. 57 n.). In founding this system of Sayurghals or Altamghas, the Mughal Rulers were actuated by a desire to perpetuate the three aristocracies of birth, of character, and of intellect. Care was taken to also maintain more or less permanently the fourth aristocracy of wealth, as the Zamindars under Mughal Emperors were more or less permanent quasi-state functionaries.

\(^1\) Shahganj town lies between Bansbaria and Hugli towns. When
'Asimganj, and named it after himself. And he extended the scope of the Sayer taxes that had hitherto been levied only on wares and silk-stuffs. And he levied duties in the shape of tax, at the rate of 2½ per cent. on the goods of Musalmans, and 5 per cent. on the goods of Hindus and Christians. He held in esteem and respect the learned, the good, and the noble; and in the society of the nobility and the gentry, he discussed the subjects of Theology, Casuistry, Traditions, poetical works of Maulana Rüm (God’s mercy be on him), and History. He shewed an anxious solicitude to profit by the advice of saints and he exerted himself to promote the welfare of the realm. One day he sent Sultan Karimü-d-din and Muhammad Farukh-sir to invite over Sufi Bāizid, who was the most glorious amongst the saints of Bardwan. On their approach the saint greeted them with the salutation of “Salam Alaekum.” Sultan Karimü-d-din, assuming the gravity of princely rank, did not respond; but Farukh-sir walking

I was at Hughli in 1887, I saw at Shahganj an old dilapidated mosque which was said to have been erected by Prince Azimgah-Shan.

1 This is another saint of Bardwan, the details of whose career are unknown to me.

2 There is nothing to wonder at in this, for one finds the same invidious distinction in a more accentuated form was observed by another European Christian community in the 16th and 17th centuries. “Moslems were to pay duty on all merchandise Portuguese were to be exempt.” (See Hunter’s History of British India, Vol. I, p. 145).

3 Maulana Rüm is the renowned Mystic or Sufi Persian poet. His name was Maulana Jalalü-d-din. He was born at Balkh in 604 A.H., and died in 673 A.H. He was a great saint. His Masnavi is a storehouse of spiritual treasures, and has well been described thus:—

منيرى صورى معنوى • هست قران در زنان پیلوری

Selflessness was the keynote to his teachings, which further inculcated the cultivation of a constant sense of Divine presence in all human actions. For instance, he says:—

الله لله غير الله ليست كَس • الله لله گشت مارا هنیئنس

Again:—

الله لله خونم چه نیکو کردی • اشکارا هستی دور برده

* The word used is “tamgha.” “In every Kingdom, Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land-revenue, and this they call Tamgha.” (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 57).
up barefooted, stood respectfully and after offering salutations communicated his father's message. The saint, being pleased with the courteous behaviour of Farukh-sir, took the latter by the hand, and said: “Sit down, you are Emperor of Hindustan,” and he offered prayer for Farukh-sir. The arrow of the saint's prayer reached the butt of Divine acceptance. As a result of courteous behaviour on the part of Farukh-sir, what the site desired was bestowed on the son. When the saint arrived to meet 'Azimu-sh-Shān, the latter advanced, and making apologies besought the saint's prayer for the attainment of the object which His Highness had in view. The saint said: “What you seek, I have already bestowed on Farukh-sir, and now the discharged arrow cannot be recalled.” Offering the Prince benedictions, the saint returned to his own closet. In short, being satisfied with the administrative methods and arrangements introduced in respect of the affairs of the tracts of the Ghaklah of Bardwan, Hugli, Hijli, and Midnapur, &c., the Prince set out on Imperial war-vessels, constructed by Shāh Shujā, towards Jahangīrnagar (Dacca). After arrival at Dacca, he set himself to organise the administration of that tract. When information about certain improper acts of the Prince like practices of Sauda-i-Khās and Sauda-i-'Am, and the wearing of saffron-coloured red clothes at the time of the Ḥoli, which is the Nauroz or New Year of the Hindus, through the medium of messages of news-writers and historiographers, reached Emperor Aurangzeb, the latter was annoyed. The Emperor wrote thereon to the Prince as follows: “A Saffron-coloured helmet on thy head, a red garment on thy shoulder, thy venerable age verging on forty-six years; hurrah on thy beard and moustache!” In regard to Sauda-i-Khās the Emperor wrote the following across the news-letter, and putting his own signature returned it: “What propriety is there in

1 Aurangzeb's pen was as much dreaded as his sword. As a writer of caustic and terse letters full of withering sarcasms, few Persian writers surpass Aurangzeb. He was in the habit of constantly writing D.-O. letters to his officers, in order to keep them straight. The reader who wishes to have a taste of Aurangzeb's caustic sarcasm, might turn to the original Persian, as I am afraid I have not been able to convey its full relish in this English dressing. I quote the original Persian:—

چبره زعفرانی پیس وحله ارغوانی در پرست شریف جهان ورش - ملکین
برین ریش ونش
calling public oppression *Sauda-i Khâṣ*, and what connection has *Sauda-i Khâṣ* with *Sauda-i ‘Am*?

Those who purchase—sell;
We neither purchase nor sell."

And by way of censure, to serve as a deterrent, the Emperor reduced the Prince’s mansab by 500. The meanings of *Sauda-i Khâṣ* and *Sauda-i ‘Am* are as follows: “All the goods which arrived on board the mercantile ships at the port of Chatgaon (Chittagong), &c., were bought up on behalf of the Prince, and were styled *Sauda-i Khâṣ*; afterwards those very goods were re-sold to the merchants of this country, when they were called *Sauda-i ‘Am*. When the news-letter containing the Emperor’s signature came to be perused by the Prince, the latter abandoned the aforesaid trade. The Emperor Aurangzeb appointed Mirza Hadi to the office of Diwân of the Province of Bengal, after bestowing on him the title of Kâr Ŭlab Khân. The Mirza was a sagacious man, and an officer of honesty and integrity. He had already held the office of Diwân of the Ŭbab of Orissa. In several Mahâls pertaining to Orissa he had effected retrenchments in expenditure, and had thus become prominent amongst the Imperial officials. He was held matchless in probity and rectitude of purpose. Rendering eminent services, in periods of siege and war, he had got into the good graces of Emperor Aurangzeb. At that period, the reins of the administration of Financial and Revenue affairs, the power over the assessment and collection of revenue, and payments into and disbursements from the Imperial Treasury lay in the hands of the Diwan of the Ŭbab. The Na- zim had jurisdiction over the Procedure and Administration of Political affairs, such as the repression and chastisement of the refractory and the disobedient, and the extirpation of rebels and tyrants. Except with regard to the Jagîrs attached to the Nizâmat and personal Mansâbs and presents, the Nazim had no power to

1 The reader might note that there is a pun here on the word ‘sauda,’ which in Persian means both ‘trade’ and ‘madness.’

2 “Asimu-ah-Shân was lazy and covetous. He was ready to concede anything for a sufficient bribe.” In July 1698, for the sum of Rs. 16,000, the English were permitted by the Prince to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanati, and Gobindpur. (See Wilson’s Annals, Vol. I, p. 150).
up barefooted, stood respectfully and after offering salutations communicated his father's message. The saint, being pleased with the courteous behaviour of Farukh-sir, took the latter by the hand, and said: "Sit down, you are Emperor of Hindustan," and he offered prayer for Farukh-sir. The arrow of the saint's prayer reached the butt of Divine acceptance. As a result of courteous behaviour on the part of Farukh-sir, what the sire desired was bestowed on the son. When the saint arrived to meet 'Azimu-sh-Shān, the latter advanced, and making apologies besought the saint's prayer for the attainment of the object which His Highness had in view. The saint said: "What you seek, I have already bestowed on Farukh-sir, and now the discharged arrow cannot be recalled." Offering the Prince benedictions, the saint returned to his own closet. In short, being satisfied with the administrative methods and arrangements introduced in respect of the affairs of the tracts of the Qhakla of Bardwan, Hugli, Hijli, and Midnapur, &c., the Prince set out on Imperial war-vessels, constructed by Shāh Shujā, towards Jahangirnagar (Dacca). After arrival at Dacca, he set himself to organise the administration of that tract. When information about certain improper acts of the Prince like practices of Sauda-i-Khāṣ and Sauda-i-'Am, and the wearing of saffron-coloured red clothes at the time of the Holi, which is the Nawroz or New Year of the Hindus, through the medium of messages of news-writers and historiographers, reached Emperor Aurangzeb, the latter was annoyed. The Emperor wrote thereon to the Prince as follows: "A Saffron-coloured helmet on thy head, a red garment on thy shoulder, thy venerable age verging on forty-six years; hurrah on thy beard and moustache!" In regard to Sauda-i-Khāṣ the Emperor wrote the following across the news-letter, and putting his own signature returned it: "What propriety is there in

1 Aurangzeb's pen was as much dreaded as his sword. As a writer of caustic and terse letters full of withering sarcasms, few Persian writers surpass Aurangzeb. He was in the habit of constantly writing D.-O. letters to his officers, in order to keep them straight. The reader who wishes to have a taste of Aurangzeb's caustic sarcasm, might turn to the original Persian, as I am afraid I have not been able to convey its full relish in this English dressing. I quote the original Persian:—

چیزه‌ای زعفرانی پسر وحالت ارغوانی در بروس شهیف جمل ونش - کرین

برین ریش ونش -
calling public oppression Saúda-i-Khās, and what connection has Saúda-i Khās with Saúda-i-'Am?

Those who purchase—sell;
We neither purchase nor sell.”

And by way of censure, to serve as a deterrent, the Emperor reduced the Prince’s mansab by 500. The meanings of Saúda-i-Khās and Saúda-i-'Am are as follows: “All the goods which arrived on board the mercantile ships at the port of Chatgaon (Chittagong), &c., were bought up on behalf of the Prince, and were styled Saúda-i-Khās; afterwards those very goods were re-sold to the merchants of this country, when they were called Saúda-i-'Am. When the news-letter containing the Emperor’s signature came to be perused by the Prince, the latter abandoned the aforesaid trade. The Emperor Aurangzeb appointed Mirza Hadi to the office of Diwān of the Province of Bengal, after bestowing on him the title of Kār ‘Abbās Khān. The Mirza was a sagacious man, and an officer of honesty and integrity. He had already held the office of Diwān of the Šubah of Orissa. In several Mahals pertaining to Orissa he had effected retrenchments in expenditure, and had thus become prominent amongst the Imperial officials. He was held matchless in probity and rectitude of purpose. Rendering eminent services, in periods of siege and war, he had got into the good graces of Emperor Aurangzeb. At that period, the reins of the administration of Financial and Revenue affairs, the power over the assessment and collection of revenue, and payments into and disbursements from the Imperial Treasury lay in the hands of the Diwān of the Šubah. The Nazim had jurisdiction over the Procedure and Administration of Political affairs, such as the repression and chastisement of the refractory and the disobedient, and the extirpation of rebels and tyrants. Except with regard to the Jagirs attached to the Nizamat and personal Manṣabs and presents, the Nazim had no power to

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meddle with the Imperial revenue. Both the Nazim and the Diwân were guided in the administration of the affairs of the Šubah by a Procedure Code\textsuperscript{1} that was issued year after year by the Emperor, and they were not permitted to deviate from, or infringe, them by a hair-breadth. Kar Talab Khān, being appointed by Emperor to be Diwan of the Šubah of Bengal, arrived at Jahangirnagar (Dacca). After waiting on the Prince, he devoted himself to the administration of the fiscal affairs. And the remittances into, and disbursements from, the Treasury being in charge of the above-mentioned Khān, the Prince’s control over the income and expenditure ceased. The abovementioned Khān, finding that the country was without thorns, and fertile and rich, commenced re-assessment, and deputed sagacious and thrifty Collectors to every Pargana and Chaklāh and Saiālār. And after assessing accurately the Imperial revenue and sair taxes, he remitted one Krōr of rupees to the Emperor, and prepared a complete Revenue-roll of the Khalsa mahals (crown lands) and of the Jagirs. In former times, owing to the badness of the climate of Bengal, the higher officers did not care to seek for service in this Province, as they fancied it not only fatal to human lives, but as actual haunts of demons. Therefore, the Chief Imperial Diwāns, by way of inducement, conferred numerous Jagirs in Bengal on the Bengal Manşābdaras. In consequence of this policy, very few Khalsa mahals were left in Bengal, so that the revenue of the mahals of this Šubah did not suffice to meet either the pay of the soldiers under the Prince, or that of the nagāi troops. Therefore, their pay had to be provided for from revenues of other Šubahs. The aforesaid Khan submitted a scheme to the Emperor suggesting allotment of lands in Orissa on account of Jagirs to the Bengal Manşābdaras;\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} The Procedure Code or Manual, containing set rules and regulations on all revenue and administrative affairs, was called in Persian Dastur-ul-'Amal. It was issued to all Provincial Governors, Administrators, and officials after being personally approved by the Emperor himself, and every year modifications or additions were made to it with the Emperor’s approval. No provincial Administrators, whether Nazims or Diwāns, had authority to deviate from the set rules contained in the Dastur-ul-'Amal. Badaoni (Vol. I, pp. 384-385) states that in the time of Salim Shah, son of Sher Shah, the Dastur-ul-'Amal was so comprehensive and explicit that even on Ecclesiastical matters (not to speak of Fiscal or Administrative matters), no reference to Qazis or Muftis was necessary.

\textsuperscript{2} The Manşābdaras were the higher officers under the Mughal Emperors;
and this scheme met with the Emperor's approval. The Khan thereon resumed all Jagirs in Bengal, together with their sair revenues, save and except such as pertained to the Nizamat and the Diwanii, and allotted in lieu thereof Jagirs to the Bengal mansabdars in Orissa, the soil whereof was comparatively worse, poorer, more sterile, and less fertile. By this ingenious stroke of policy, the Khan effected a big surplus in the Bengal revenue to the credit of the Emperor, and squeezed out the profits from the Bengal Zamindars and Jagirdars. And by minute attention to details, he effected considerable retrenchments under the several Heads of the Public Expenditure. Year after year, he enhanced the Revenue-assessments of the Subah, and thus became the recipient of Imperial favours. When the Prince ('Azimu-sh-Shān) found his control over the Bengal revenue diminished, he was constantly in a bad humour. Besides, the rewards which the Khan received for his good services from the Emperor weighed as thorns on the heart of the Prince, and kindled the fire of his jealousy. The Prince schemed to kill the Khan, but failed in his aim. The Prince won over to his side the Commander of Naqdi troops the term, however, was also used in the times of Sher Shāh. The leading Mansabdars were either Provincial Governors or Generals in the Army, whilst other Mansabdars held Jagirs. These Mansabdars sometimes held Mansab (or office) in one Province or Subah, and Jagir lands in another. (See Ain-i-Akbāri, Vol I, pp. 241-242, Blochmann's trans.)

1 Revenue from land was called Khiraj. Jasiyāh was capitation tax levied from non-Moslem subjects in exchange for protection afforded, at the rate of "43 derhams for persons of condition, 24 derhams for those of the middle class, and 12 for the lowest class." Over and above the land-revenue, taxes on properties were called "Tamgha." Imports on manufactures of respectable kinds were called Jihat, and the remainder Sair Jihat. Sair in its original purport, meant "walking," 'moving,' or 'unstable,' and so came to denote all unstable sources of state revenue (barring land-revenue or Khiraj which was stable), such as customs, transit duties, market-tax. (See Vol. II, pp. 67 and 58 and p. 66, Ain-i-Akbāri, for a list of Sair taxes abolished by Emperor Akbūr).

2 Jagirs were conferred on Mansabdars for military service, and on others they were conferred without requiring military service. Before Maghal times the word "Iqta" corresponding to "Jagir" is frequently met with in the Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī as well as in the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī. But in histories of the Maghal period, the word 'Iqta' is seldom met with, and is replaced by the word Jagir. In Akbar's time, an officer called Diwan-i-Jagir or Superintendent of Jagirs was maintained. (See Ain, Vol. I, p. 261).
named Abdul Wâhed and the Naqdi Contingent under the latter, by holding out promises of rewards and increase in pay. These naqdi troops were old Imperial servants. From pride of their strength and from confidence in their number, they did not truckle to the Nâzim or Diwan of Dacca, and much less to others. From their conceit of being dexterous swordsmen, they fancied others no match for themselves. For their nonchalance and bravado, they were widely known. These naqdi troops were incited to waylay the Khân when opportunity might offer, under the pretext of demand of pay, and to kill him. This wicked Contingent at the instigation of the Prince were on the look-out for an opportunity to kill the Khân. The Khân adopting precautionary measures, always carried in his retinue an escort of armed troops, and never failed to be on the alert whilst going to and from the Darbar. One day, however, early of a morning, he rode out unattended to wait on the Prince. On the way, a corps of naqdis, under pretext of demanding pay, raised a tumult, and crowded in round the Khân. The latter, displaying great nerve, faced them and drove them away. Ascertaining that the originator of this disturbance was the Prince, he in fury and rage proceeded to the latter. Discarding all official decorum, in an avenging mood, he placed his hand on his dagger, and sat knee to knee with the Prince, and added: "This riot was due to your instigation, desist from this course, or else at this moment I will take your life and give mine." The Prince saw no way of escape, and from fear of the Emperor's resentment he trembled like the aspen. Summoning Abdul Wâhed with his corps, the Prince publicly forbade him from creating tumult and disturbance, and set about soothing the Khân by display of courtesy and affability. The Khân, being freed from anxiety arising from the hostility of his enemies, proceeded to the Diwan-i-Am, demanded the account of naqdi troops, levied their pay from Zamîndars, and paying them off cashiered them. And he sent the Emperor an account of their meeting, embodying the same both in the

1 These naqdi troops appear to be a class of Akhâdi troops who received their pay in cash from the Imperial treasury, and were reckoned immediate servants of the Emperor. They constituted an Imperial Contingent of troops maintained in Provincial capitals, and were thoroughly independent of the local authorities, and were thus dignified by their independence. (See Din-i-Akkari, Vol. I, pp. 249 and 231).
Court-Record as well as in the News-sheet. He also submitted to the Emperor a Proceeding signed by the leaders of the riot, together with his own Report. Fearing the ill-humour of the Prince, the Khan resolved to keep himself aloof from the former, and to stay at a safe distance from him. After much deliberation and consultation, he fixed on the excellent site of Makhansabah, where news of all the four quarters of the Subah could be easily procurable, and which, like the pupil of the eye, was situate in the centre of the important places of the Subah. It had on the north-west the chaklih of Akbaranagar (Rajmahal) and the passes of Sakrigali and Tilimagadi, the ‘Key’ to Bengal, on the south-west, Birbhum, Pachit and Bighanpur, the road to Jharkand, and the forests and hilly passes for the ingress and egress of free-booters and armies from the Dakhin and Hindustan, on the south-east, the chaklih of Bardwan, the road to Orissa, and Hughli and Hijli (ports for the arrival of ships of Christian and other traders), and the chaklihs of Jasur (Jessore) and Bhussnah, and on the east the chaklih of Jahangirnagar (Dacca), which then constituted the Viceregal Capital of this Subah, and to which pertained frontier outposts like those of Islamabad or Chittagong, and Silhat and Rangamati, and on the north, the chakilahs of Ghoraghát and Bangpur and Kuch Behar. The above mentioned Khan, without taking permission from the Prince, migrated to Makhansabad with the officers of Zamindars and Qanungsos and Revenue officials in charge of crown-lands, and settled down there. But when the news of the disturbance created by the naqdis reached the Emperor in the Dakhin through the

1 The terms used are “Waqiah” and “Sawanih.” The Mughal Emperors maintained a Special Intelligence Department. In every Provincial capital and important centre, two special functionaries were maintained by the Mughal Emperors, one called “Sawanih-navis,” and the other “Waqiah-navis.” These were Imperial servants, quite independent of the local officials. The duties of both these functionaries were to daily record and send news to the Emperor of all that transpired in local centres, and as they worked independently of one another, the report of intelligence sent by one checked that of the other. The “Waqiah-navis” was an official Court-Recorder, whilst the “Sawanih-navis” was an official General Intelligence-giver. (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 253 and 259.) The object in keeping up these functionaries was that the Emperor at Delhi might “be informed daily of all that transpired throughout his Empire, and also that active servants, might work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men be held in check.”
medium of News-letters and Court-records, and through the Report of Kar Tatlab Khan containing denunciation of the Prince, an Imperial edict conched in threatening language was addressed to the Prince to the following effect: "Kar Tatlab Khan is an officer of the Emperor; in case a hair-breadth injury, in person or property, happens to him, I will avenge myself on you, my boy." And peremptory orders were also passed by the Emperor to the effect that the Prince should quit Bengal and withdraw to Behar. Leaving Sarbaland Khan with Sultan Farukh-sir as his Deputy in Bengal, the Prince with Sultan Karimu-d-din, his household attendants and bodyguard set out from Jahangirnagar, and reached Mungir (Moughyr). Finding there the elegant white and black marble edifices built by Shah Shuja to be in a dilapidated condition, and seeing that a heavy outlay would be needed to set them in order, he did not like to fix his quarters there. And preferring the climate of Patna, which is on the bank of the river Ganges, the Prince fixed his quarters there. With the Emperor's sanction, he improved that city, named it 'Azimabad after himself, and built there a fort with a strong rampart. Kar Tatlab Khan, at Makhusabad, after the lapse of a year, prepared the Annual Abstract Accounts, and started for the Imperial Camp. And preparing the Revenue-Assessment papers, the Revenue-Roll, the estate Ledgers, and the Cash-Account of Receipts and Disbursements of the Subah, he desired Darab Narain, the Qanungo of the Subah of Bengal, to sign them. Taking advantage of the system then in force that the Accounts relating to the financial and internal administration of the country were not passed by the Imperial Central Diwan, unless they bore the signatures of Qanungos, that mischievous and shortsighted fool refused to sign the papers, unless his demand for three laks of rupees on account of his fees as a Qanungo were satisfied. The Khan under stress of necessity promised to

1 Subsequently in 1709, this Sarbaland Khan, whilst in temporary charge of Bengal, received a bribe of Rs. 45,000 from the English merchants, and granted them freedom of trade in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. (See Wilson's Annals, Vol. I, p. 189).

2 No trace of these ruined white and black marble edifices was found by me at Mungir (Moughyr) when I was there in the years 1893, 1894, or subsequently.

3 Emperor Aurangzeb was at this time in the Dakhin busy warring against the Musalman Kingdoms of Golkondah, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, and
pay one lakh of rupees on his return from the Emperor himself. Darab Narain would not accept this arrangement, and with his signature. But Jinarain Qanungo, who was a Joint-Qanungo, with Darab Narain, using foresight, signed the Accounts. Regardless of the hostility of the Prince, and regardless of the refusal of Darab Narain to sign the Account-papers, the Khan started for the Imperial Camp, presented gifts and tributes of Bengal to the Emperor and to the Vizier and other Imperial Ministers, and also paid to the Emperor the Revenue-balances and profits of the Jagirs. And making over the Account-papers of the Subah to the Mastuafi and to the Diwan-i-

also against the Mahratta free-booters. Aurangzeb, with all his political sagacity, committed a grievous mistake of policy by supplanting these Mulsaman States, as these had hitherto effectually curbed Mahratta and other outside ambition, and kept in order all disturbing elements in the Dakhin. Their political effacement resulted in letting loose a number of Mahratta free-booters and other adventurers that had hitherto had no political existence, and hastened the growth of the Mahratta Confederacy that later on in a great measure, coupled with other forces, distracted the Great Mughal Empire. By use of a liberal and statesman-like policy, Aurangzeb might have federated those Mulsaman States in the South into Imperial feudatories, and thus converted them into strong and loyal bulwarks of the Mughal Empire. But fanaticism in this matter (see Masiir-i-Alamgiri, which explains that this policy of repression was adopted by Aurangzeb, by reason of certain religious innovations that were in force in those States) fatally clouded the otherwise clear political vision of this Great Mughal Emperor, to the lasting detriment of the Indo-Moslem Common-wealth.

1 The Qanungo “was an officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment was usually hereditary. He received reports from the patwaris land-stewards) of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land,” etc. (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 47 n).

Over the district Qanungos, there was a Provincial Qanungo as the text indicates. (See also p 66, Vol. II, Ain-i-Akbari, which sets forth functions and emoluments of Patwaris, Qanungos, Shiqdars, Karkuns, and Amins).

In the Ain-i-Akbari (Vol. II, p. 49) it is stated that it was the duty of the Betiksh or Accountant, “at the year’s end, when the time of revenue-collections had closed, to record the balances due, and deliver the record to the Collector, and forward a copy to the Royal Court.” It would seem from the text the same duty in regard to the entire Subah had to be performed by the Provincial Diwan and the Provincial Qanungo.

2 These important functionaries are frequently mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. Their function was to check, overhaul, and audit important State
medium proved his good and faithful services, the Khan became of 
recipient of further Imperial favours, and was appointed by the 
Emperor Deputy to the Prince in the Nizamat of the Subah of 
Bengal and Orissa, in addition to the office of Divan. He was also 
given the title of Murshid Quli Khan, and further received a 
valuable Khilat, with a standard and a kettle-drum. His mangab 
was also raised.

BESTOWAL OF THE NIZAMAT OF BENGAL ON NAWAB 
JAFAR KHAN, AS DEPUTY TO PRINCE 
AZimu-SH-SHAN.

When Murshid Quli Khan being invested according to the 
former usage with the Khilat of the offices of Deputy Nazim of 
Bengal Divan of Bengal and Odisa (Orissa), reached the Subah, 
he appointed Syed Akram Khan to be his Deputy Divan in 
Bengal, and Shujau-d-din Muhammad Khan, his son-in-law, to 
be his Deputy Divan in Odisa (Orissa). After his arrival at 
papers, such as Royal grants, payment-orders, sanads, farmans, state-accounts, 
etc., and then to sign and seal them. (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 262, 263, 264).

1 The Divan-i-Kul was the Central Imperial Divan-in-Chief. It would 
appear the keen administrative genius of the Mughal Rulers of India evolved 
and organised a perfect system of Accounts as well as of Audit. Two independent 
systems of Account and Audit (each checking the other) were maintained. The 
pateavis kept one independent set of accounts, and the Bithehis, 
(Accountants) another. The first submitted their accounts to local or district 
Qanungos, who submitted their Consolidated Accounts to the Provincial 
Qanungo. The second submitted their accounts to District Collectors as well 
as copies direct to the Royal Court; and the several District Collectors submitted 
their consolidated Accounts to the Provincial Divan who collected them, and compared them with the Consolidated Accounts (independently 
prepared) in the hands of the Provincial Qanungos. Then both the Provincial 
Divan and the Provincial Qanungo signed after comparison one General Detailed 
Consolidated Account together with an Abstract Account, and forwarded it 
to Court, where it was first audited by the Central Mustanshi and next 
audited by the Divan-i-Kul (after reference to the set of accounts already 
received regularly in the Royal Courts from district Bithehis or Accountants), and 
lastly approved and passed by the Emperor himself. Thus, few loop-holes were left for defalcations in accounts. (See the text, and the Ain-i- 
Akbari).

2 Murshid Quli Khan was son of a Brahmin and embraced Islam. Haji 
Shafi Ispahani purchased him, and named him Muhammad Hadi, treated him
Makhsusabad, he improved that town, and named it after himself Murshidabad, and founded a mint there. And separating the châkhâh of Midnipur from the Subah of Odissa (Orissa) he annexed it to Bengal. And imprisoning the defaulting zamindars of the Subah, and deputing experienced and honest Collectors of Revenue to their mahals, he attached the rents, and realised the outstanding Imperial revenues. And putting a complete stop to the authority of zamindars over the collection and disbursement of the Imperial Revenue, he limited their source of income to profits of Nânkar tenures. And the 'Amils' (Collectors of revenue) under

like a son, and took him to Persia. On Shah's death, Muhammad Hadi came to the Dakhin, and entered the service of Haji Abdullah Khurasani, Diwan of Sâbah Berar. He subsequently entered Imperial service, and received the title of Kar Talab Khan, and was employed in the Dakhin. He rose there to be Diwan of Haidarabad—and then to be Diwan of Bengal (on the transfer of Ziaullah Khan), with the title of Murshid Quli Khan. Previous to this, he was Diwan of Orissa (Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 483), in the 46th year of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign. When Farrukh-sir ascended the throne, by payment of large sums as presents to the Emperor, he became Subadar of Bengal and received a Mansab of Haft hazaris. His advancement is an eloquent testimony to the Islamic toleration (even under the much-abused Aurangzeb) that made no distinction between converts and born Musalmans in matters of official preferments. He died in 1138 A.H. at Murshidabad, which he had founded as the new Viceregal capital of Bengal, in place of Dacca or Jahangirnagar. He was a good financier, an able accountant, and a strong and sagacious administrator. He built a dungeon full of filth, named it 'Bal Kant' or 'Paradise,' and confined in it zamindars who defaulted in payment of revenue. He re-surveyed and re-assessed Bengal, divided it into Chaklas, and prepared a new Perfect Revenue-Roll. [See Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 483, and Maasir-ul-Umar, p. 751, Vol. III (Pers. text)].

1 A list of mint-towns in Hindustan in Akbar's time is given in the Ains-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 31. It appears that in Bengal, minting of gold coins was restricted to the Provincial capital (which in Akbar's time was partly Gaur and partly Tandah), and that minting of silver and copper coins took place in Bengal in Tandah.

2 In Akbar's Rent-Roll, Midnipur is shown as a city with two forts (caste, Khundait) under Sorkar Jalesar of Subah Orissa. It continued to form a part of the Orissa Subah, until it was transferred from Orissa to Bengal by Murshid Quli Khan.

3 The term 'Nankars' is still prevalent in several parts of Bengal and Behar. "Nankars" were "service-tenures," that is, "tenures of land conferred free of revenue, in consideration of services tendered." In those days, the zamindars amongst other duties would appear to have performed police
his orders, sent Shiqdars and Amins to every village of the Parganahs, measured the cultivated and waste-lands, and leased them back to tenants, plot by plot, and advanced agricultural loans (Taqavi) to the poorer tenantry, and put forth exertions for increase in the produce of the lands. Thus in all the mahals Murshid Quli effected not only increase in revenue, but also increase in their areas.

Murshid Quli prepared a perfect Revenue-Roll, collected the rents in kind, season by season, and also the land-revenue, sair taxes, and fees from agricultural lands. And effecting retrenchment in the Public Expenditure, he remitted revenue, double the former amount, into the Imperial Treasury. The zamindars of Birbhüm duties, and were held responsible for maintenance of peace in their mahals—the village chowkës or watchmen being directly under them. They were also in charge of village ferries, village ponds, and village roads in their mahals, and performed more or less the duties of "justices of the peace." They were more or less quasi-official functionaries, and received sanads on appointment, and were liable to removal for gross misconduct. Their mahals were not liable to auction-sale for arrears of revenue, but liable to attachment by the Crown for realisation of revenue, and defaulting zamindars were liable to punishment. They were quasi-state functionaries or quasi-official landed Aristocracy maintained by Muslim sovereigns for State purposes. They were quite a different species from the Bengal zamindars of to-day. (See Alamgirnamah, Maasir-i- Alamgiri, Ain-i-Akbari and the text).

As has been remarked before, Murshid Quli Khân was an able financier, and prepared a perfect actual Revenue-Roll of Bengal, after carefully resurveying lands in all the mahals in Bengal, and re-assessing them on the basis of increase in actual areas as ascertained by measurement, and of increase in the actual produce of the soil. He sent out for this purpose Amins (or Surveyors) together with Shiqdars (or Supervisors of revenue) to each village, under the immediate supervision of honest, experienced and capable Collectors of Revenue or 'Amils. He helped the poorer tenants with agricultural loans or advances (taqavi or tuscavi), and encouraged them to till their lands and improve agriculture. Murshid Quli Khân was no believer in Permanent Settlements. He preferred the Ryotwari Settlement system to the Farming system. Islamic Revenue systems recognise the soil as State property and allot a portion of its profit or produce to the actual tiller of the soil for his labour on it.

"A Shiqdar meant an 'officer appointed to collect revenue from a certain division of land under the Mughal Government."

The constitution of the Surveying party, their pay, their duties, with the process of measurement and testing in Mughal times, are set forth in the Ain-i Akbari, Vol. II, p. 46, which shows that the measurement of lands and
and Bishanpur, being protected by dense forests, mountains and hills, did not personally appear before the Nawab, but deputed instead their agents to carry on transactions on their behalf, and through them used to pay in the usual tributes, presents, and gifts. In consideration of the fact that Asadullah, zamindar of Bhirbhum, was a pious and saintly person and had bestowed half of his property as Madad-i-mash grants on learned, pious and saintly persons, and had fixed daily doles of charity for the poor and the indigent, the Khan refrained from molesting him. He directed his attention, however, to the chastisement of the zamindar of Bishanpur, whose items of expenditure were heavy, and whose collections of rents from mahals were low. The Rajahs of Tipra, Kuch Behar, and Assam called themselves chakar dhari and ruling chiefs, and did not bend their heads in submission to the Emperor of Hindustan, and minted coins after their own names. On hearing, however, of the vigorous administration of the Khan, the Rajah of Assam presented to the Khan chairs and palkis of ivory, musk, musical instruments, feathers, fans of peacock feathers, etc., and offered his submission. Similarly the Rajah of Kuch Behar offered presents and tribute to the Khan. The above-mentioned Khan sent Khilats for them; and this practice was observed year after year. The Khan, having introduced order in the Financial condition of the Mahals of Bengal, devoted his attention to the improvement of other administrative and internal affairs. His administration was so vigorous and successful that there was no foreign incursion nor internal disturbance, and consequently the military expenditure was nearly abolished. He kept up only 2,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry, and with these he governed the Province. Through Nazir Ahmad, who was a peon, he used to collect the revenue of Bengal. And the Khan was so powerful a personality and his commands were so overswinging, that his peons sufficed to keep peace in the country, and to overawe the refractory. And fear of his personality was so deeply impressed on the hearts of all, both the high and the low, that the courage of lion-hearted persons quailed in his presence. The Khan did not allow petty zamindars access to his presence. And the mutadis and ‘amils and leading zamindars had not the heart to sit down

the assessment of revenue were based on thoroughly scientific principles, quite analogous to the existing Settlement Procedure in India.
in his presence; on the contrary, they remained standing breathless like statues. Hindu zamindars were forbidden to ride on palâris, but were permitted use of Jawâls. The mutasâdîs, in his presence, did not ride on horseback; whilst the Mansabdars attended at State functions in their military uniforms. In his presence one could not salute another; and if anything opposed to etiquette occurred on the part of anyone, he was immediately censured. Every week he held court on two days to listen to complaints, and used to mete out justice to the complainants. Amongst his deeds of justice, it may be mentioned, that to avenge the wrong done to another, obeying the sacred Islamic law, he executed his own son. In administration of justice, in administration of the political affairs of the country, and in maintenance of the respect due to his Sovereign, he spared no one. And he reposed no confidence in the mutasâdîs, and used daily to inspect the collection and disbursement papers and the estate ledgers, and to sign them. At the close of each month, he used to seize all the agreements of Khâlsah (crown lands) and Jagirs. Till the dues on account of those agreements were paid up into the Imperial Treasury, he caused mutasâdîs, 'amils, zamindars, qanungos and other officers to remain in duress in the Diwan Khana of the Ghâtel Satën Palace. Setting collecting peons to realise the dues, he did not allow the defaulters leave for eating or drinking or for answering calls of nature, and posted spies over the peons, so that none of the latter, owing to temptations of bribe, might supply a drop of water to the thirsty defaulters. Week after week they had to pass without food and drink, and at the same time he had them suspended, head downwards, to triangles off the ground, and had their feet rubbed against stones, and had them whipped; and in beating with sticks he shewed no quarter. And he converted to the Muhammadan religion the almâhs of zamindars with their wives and children, who, in spite of being scourged with

1 In the text apparently, "âce" has been by mistake dropped.
2 Muroshid Quli Khân's uprightness in administration of justice (regardless of all family ties of attachment) is remarkable. But his severity in ill-treating and torturing defaulting zamindars throws a shade on his otherwise bright personality.
3 The only instances of forcible conversions of Hindus in Bengal to the Islamic religion, as would appear from these pages, were on the part of two
sticks, failed to pay up the State revenue-collections that they had misappropriated. Amongst these, Andinarain, zamindar of the Chaklah of Bajashali, who was the descendant of a Hindustani, and who was both capable and efficient, held charge of the revenue-collections of the Khalisah (crown lands). With him were in league Ghulam Muhammad and Kalia Jamadar with two hundred troopers. Andinarain demurred to the payment of the demand, and prepared to fight. Murshid Quli Khan sent his officer, Muhammad Jân, with a force to chastise him. Close to Rajbari, the contending forces approached each other, and a battle ensued. Ghulam Muhammad Jamadar was killed, whilst Andinarain from fear of Murshid Quli Khan’s anger slew himself, and his zamindari was transferred to two Bengal zamindars on the northern side of the Ganges, named Ram-Jivan and Kali Kunwar, who were punctual in payments of revenue. When that year came to a close, and the new year commenced, in the month of Farwardi (corresponding to Asar) weighing the treasures Murshid Quli remitted to the Emperor one kror and three laks of rupees on account of the Imperial revenue, loading the same on two hundred waggons,

non-Muslims, that is, by Hindus themselves who had embraced the Islamic religion, namely (1) by Jado atas King Jallal-ud-din, son of Bajah Kans and (2) by Murshid Quli Khan, who was himself the son of a Brahmin. I fail to come across in Bengal history any instance of forcible conversion of Hindus in Bengal to the Islamic religion, on the part of any born Mussalman ruler or king. Proselytes and converts, under all systems of the world’s religions, are generally more zealous and bigoted than those born and brought up within their pale. The general insinuation, therefore, against Mussalman sovereigns and rulers of Bengal that they forcibly converted the Hindus to the Islamic religion, seems to be as unfounded as ungenerous. No doubt, the superior moral influence of Mussalman saints, like Nur Qub Ali and others, naturally told on Hindu society (disorganised and demoralised by the caste-systems of the later days, and shorn of the old Vedantic purity) and induced portions of its ranks to flock spontaneously to the Moslem creed, with its simpler doctrine of Monotheism.

1 Probably, Rajbari on the E.B. Railway, near the Goalundo station.
2 This Ram-Jivan, I believe was the founder of the present Natore Rajbouse. I do not know of which family Kali Kunwar was the founder.
3 In the Ain-i-Akbari (Vol. II, p. 49), it is explained under the term ‘Totadar’ or the ‘Treasurer,’ that the term tota (not, potah) is applied in Arabic to cloths used as waist wrappers. A poddar meant ‘a banker, a cashier, or an officer in public establishments for weighing money or bullion.'
conveyed by six hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry. Over and above this amount, he remitted the profits derived from Jāgirs, together with other fees. And also at the beginning of each year he sent to the Emperor elephants, Tāngas horses, buffaloes, domesticated deers, and game dressed specially at Jahangirnagar (Dacca), wolf-leather shields, sital pati mats mounted in gold, and mosquito curtains 1 made of Ganga jāli cloth of Sylhet, through which serpents could not penetrate, together with other rarities, such as ivory, musk, musical instruments, and European manufactures and presents received from Christians, &c. At the time of sending the remittance, he used to accompany it on horseback together with his staff up to the Suburbs of the City, and used to have the fact recorded in the Court-Record as well as in the News-sheet. And the procedure for despatch of remittances was the following. When the waggons, loaded with treasure, passed into the limits of another Şubāh, the Şubadar of that place sending his own men had the waggons of treasure brought into his fort, and relieving the waggons and their escorts reloaded the treasure into fresh waggons, conveyed by fresh escorts furnished by himself. And the same procedure was adopted by succeeding Subadars, till the treasures with the presents reached the Emperor Anrangzeh. And when the Khān’s efficient administration met with the approbation of the Emperor, the former received fresh favours from the Emperor, who raised his rank and bestowed on him the title of Moatamanul-Mulk’Alau-d-daaulah Ja’far Khan Nasiri ʿNāṣir Jang. He was also rewarded with the personal Mansābah of a Haft Hazuri together with the Insignia of the Mahi Order, and was raised to a higher class of the Peerage. No appointments to offices in Bengal were made without his advice. And Imperial Mansābadars hearing that the country of Bengal had been turned into a fertile garden without thorns, sought for offices in Bengal. Nawab Ja’far Khan appointed the applicants to offices under him. One

Therefore င်းမင်း ၏သင်္ဘောင် would seem to mean ‘weighing the coins’ or ‘testing and counting them,’ or “putting them in cloth bags.”

1 Here we get a glimpse of some of the old industries and arts of Bengal.

2 Ganga jāli was a kind of cotton-stuff manufactured in Bengal in the times of the Mughals. See ʿĀin-i-Akbārī, Vol. I, p. 94 (Blochmann’s trans.)
of these was Nawab Saif Khan ¹ whose application for appointment being received through the Emperor, Nawab Jāfar Khān conferred an office on him. A short account of Saif Khan's career is mentioned in the body of this History. Nawab Saif Khān was alive till the period of the Nizamat of Nawab Mahabat Jang. As he was the scion of a very noble family, he never visited Nawab Mahabat Jang. ² Although the latter sought for an interview, Nawab Saif Khan did not visit him. Whenever Nawab Mahabat Jang whilst out on a hunting excursion went towards Purneah, Nawab Saif Khān advanced with his troops and blocked his progress. But whenever Nawab Mahabat Jang had need of auxiliaries, Saif Khān furnished efficient contingents. After Saif Khān's death, his son, the Khān Bahadur, succeeded to the office of Faujdar of the tract of Purneah and its environs. Nawab Mahabat Jang gave in marriage the daughter of Nawab Said Ahmad Khān Bahadur Șaulat Jang, his nephew, to the Khān Bahadur, ³ but that lady died four days after the wedding. On account of this, confiscating the treasures and effects of the Khān Bahadur, Nawab Mahabat Jang kept the latter under surveillance. The Khān Bahadur of necessity was obliged to mount a horse and escape to Shah Jāhānābād (Delhi). Nawab Mahabat Jang bestowed the tract of Purneah on Šaulat Jang. The latter proceeding there with a large force, devoted himself to its administration, and held sway. After Šaulat Jang's death, his son, Shankat Jang, succeeded him. Nawab Siraju-ud-daulah, who was the latter's cousin, during the period of his Nizamat, killed Shankat Jang in battle, and deputing Diwan Mohan Lal, confiscated Shankat's treasures and effects.

What was I saying? and to what have I digressed?
Where lay the horse? and where have I galloped away?

I now return to my story. Nawab Jafar Khān was seeking

¹ He received the office of Faujdar of Purneah, held the rank of a 
Haft lasari, and was a son of 'Umādatul-mulk Amir Khān, Subadar of Kabul. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 574.
² 'Mahabat Jang' was a title of Nawab Ali Vardi Khān; his actual name was Mirza Muhammad Ali. See Seirul Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 470 Pers. text.
³ In Seirul Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 552, the name of Saif Khan's son is mentioned as Fakhruddin Husain Khān.
an opportunity to avenge himself on Darab Narain Qanungo, who, during the Nawab's incumbency of the office of Diwān, had declined to sign the accounts. Inasmuch as the office of Qanungo corresponded to the office of Registrar of the Conquered dominions, and the Diwān's Statements of Account and Revenue-roll without the Qanungo's signature were not accepted by the Central Imperial Diwān, the Nawab sought for an opportunity to tarnish Darab Narain's reputation, by doubling the sphere of Darab Narain's authority over the affairs of administration. With this object in view, the Nawab entrusted to him control over the affairs of the Khalsah (crown lands). And when Diwān Bhupat Rai, who had come with the Nawab from the Imperial Camp, died, and his son, Gulab Rai, could not satisfactorily discharge the duties of the office of Diwān, the office of Peshkar of the Khalsah was also bestowed on Darab Narain. And leaving to his control the Assessment and Collection of the revenue and other Financial and Internal affairs, the Nawab made him supreme. Although the abovementioned Qanungo by minute attention to details raised the Revenue of the Khalsah (crown lands) to one kror and fifty lakhs, made Revenue Collections, and under every Head of Income shewed considerable increase, and presented a Budget with a larger Surplus of Imperial Revenue than before, still the Nawab, gradually wresting authority from him, imprisoned him together with the Statements of Accounts and Estate-ledgers, and employing various tortures killed him. And he allotted ten annas of the Qanungo-ship to Darab Narain's son, Sheo Narain, and six annas thereof to Jai Narain, who at the period of the Nawab's Diwāni, when the Nawab was setting out for the Imperial Camp, had shewn good-will, and had signed the Nawab's Statements of Accounts. And dismissing Ziau-d-din Khān, Fanjdar of Hugli,1 he with the Emperor's sanction brought the Fanjdari of that Port under his immediate autho-

1 The office of Fanjdar of Hugli was hitherto directly under the Emperor, and was independent of the Subadar of Bengal. Murshid Quli Khan succeeded in reducing the Fanjdar of Hugli to the position of his own immediate subordinate. For Murshid Quli's relations with the English merchants, see Wilson's Annals, Vol. I, pp. 301, 298, 293, 297, 290, 288. The English merchants secured a great patron in Ziau-d-din, who was appointed by Shah Alam in 1710 to be Fanjdar of Hugli and Admiral of all the seaports on the coast of Coromandel. See Wilson's Annals, Vol. I, pp. 185 and
rity as an appendage to the Nizamat, and appointed Wali Beg on his own authority as Faujdar of that place. The above-mentioned Khan, on the arrival of Wali Beg, relinquishing the fort, came out of the town to set out for the Imperial Capital. Wali Beg summoned to himself Kankar Sen Bengali, who was Peshkar of the dismissed Faujdar, for submission of papers relating to receipts of revenue and the office-records, together with the clerks and subordinate officers of the office of Faujdar. Ziau-d-din Khan turned to Kanker Sen's assistance; and thereon Wali Beg opposed the Khan's march. In consequence, between Ziau-d-din Khan and Wali Beg a quarrel ensued. The abovementioned Khan with his army, on the field of Chandanagar (Chandenagore) between Chinsurah and French Chandanagar, with the help of the Christian Dutch and French, constructed redoubts, and prepared to fight. Wali Beg also on the field of the 'Idgah, on the bank of the tank of Debi Dâs, to a distance of one and a half krok, drew up his forces, constructed entrenchments, and transmitted an account of the state of affairs to Nawab Jâfar Khan. And both the quondam and the new Faujdars were busy fighting from behind their respective entrenchments, and reviewing their forces. Mulla Jarsam Jûrani, Deputy of Ziau-d-din Khan, and Kankar Sen, secretly obtaining help of guns, gunpowder, and armaments from the Dutch and French, advanced to the battle-field, and assumed the offensive. Wali Beg, waiting for auxiliaries, assumed the defensive. At this juncture, Dalip Singh Hazeri with a force of cavalry and infantry came from Nawab Jâfar Khan to the assistance of Wali Beg, and also brought a mandate containing threats addressed to the Christians. Ziau-d-din Khan, on the advice of the Christians, opened negotiations of peace with Dalip Singh, and put him off his guard. Early in the morning, sending by way of a ruse a false message to Dalip Singh through an agent, Ziau-d-din Khan instructed the latter to hand the message to Dalip Singh and to get back the reply, and placing one 'id shawl for recognition on the head of the agent despatched the latter on


1 I found the Idgah existing when I was at Hugli in 1887 to 1891. An Idgah is a place where the 'Id prayer is offered.
his errand. And an English gunner whose aim was unerring directed a large bronze1 gun (the range whereof extended over one and a half kroh) towards Dalip Singh's camp, and by means of a telescope kept in view the agent's shawl. Arriving at a time when Dalip Singh was berefted of one and a half kroh, and was engaged in rubbing oil in order to bathe, the agent handed the message to Dalip Singh. Then the gunner directing his aim at the shawl fired his gun, and the cannon-ball hit Dalip Singh on the chest and scattered his body to the air. Praise is due to that unerring magician, for no harm ensued to the agent. Ziau-d-din Khān rewarding the gunner attacked the enemy's entrenchment.

When Dalip Singh was killed without delay, Ziau-d-din rushed to fight. Like the tumultuous river, his army moved, And flight ensued in the ranks of the other side. Not only were the soldiers killed, But the entrenchment was also stormed. Wali Beg fled from that place, And in an anxious mood took refuge in the Fort.

Ziau-d-din Khān, free from all anxiety, set out for the Imperial Capital, and after arrival at Delhi died. After his death, Kankar Bengali, who was the root of all this disturbance, and had his residence at Hughli, returning from the Imperial Capital, arrived in Murshidabad, and fearlessly waited on Nawab Jāfar Khan, and with the left hand saluted the latter, wishing to convey that with the hand that he had saluted the Emperor, to salute Jāfar Khan would be profane. Nawab Jāfar Khān retorted by saying: "Kankar is under the shoe." And Kankar2 with fatah on both the  the sakhin of the w and j in Hindustani means " : gravel." Nawab Jafar Khan, feigning forgetfulness of

1 It could appear the French, Dutch, and English were all backing up the dismissed Fanjdar Ziau-d-din Khān against the new Fanjdar, Wali Beg. See Wilson's Annals, Vol. II., pp. 66, 72, 75, 79, 81, 82. The skirmishes between Ziau-d-din Khān and Wali Beg occurred in 1712 A.O.

2 "Kankar" means a "pebble" or a "gravel" or a "brick-bat." Murshid Quli Khān was punning on the Hindu Naib's name of 'Kankar.' So, it would seem that Murshid Quli Khān, the stern iron-man, could now and then unbend himself and receive humourous flashes.
Kankar's past and present misconduct, and outwardly shewing reconciliation, appointed him to the office of Chaklahdar of Hughli. At the close of the year, at the time of auditing the Annual Abstract Accounts, the Nawab put him in prison on charges of misappropriation of the current and arrear revenue collections and sair duties, and put this cat into breeches, and forced him to swallow some laxative, and set on him a harsh collector of revenue. In the breeches continually easing himself, Kankar died. At that time Syed Akram Khān who held the office of Diwān of Bengal died, and Syed Razī Khān, husband of Nafisāh Khanam, a daughter of Shujāū-d-dīn Muhammad Khān, (Nawab Nazim of the Sūbah of Ōrissa and son-in-law of Nawab Jāfār Khān,) who was the scion of a leading Syed family of Arabia, was appointed Diwān of Bengal. And he was a bigoted and short-tempered man, and in collection of dues was extremely strict, and by adopting harsh measures collected the revenue. It is said he prepared a Reservoir full of filth, and as in the language of the Hindus Paradise is called 'Baikant,' he sneeringly named this Reservoir "Baikant." He used to thrust into this Reservoir the defaulting Zamindars and defaulting Collectors of Revenue. After torturing them in various ways, and making them undergo various privations, he used to collect in entirety the arrears. In that year, news of the insurrection of Sitaram Zamindar, and of the murder of Mir Abū Tūsāb, Faujdar of the Chaklah of Bhusnāh, in the Sarkar of Mahmūdābād, was received. The details of this affair are as follows:—Sitārām, zamindar of Parganāh Mahmūdābād, being sheltered by forests and rivers, had placed the hat of

1 The text is ambiguous. This sentence refers probably to Murshid Quli Khān.

2 Sitaram had his residence at Muhammādpur or Mahmūdpur, at the junction of the Barasia and Madhumati rivers, in Jessore district. See Westland's History of Jessore. Muhammādpur is now a police circle. Ruins of his tanks still exist there. Bhoana lies near Bonmalia (formerly in Jessore now in Faridpur district), an old Musalmān colony, on the Chandana river. Ruins of a fort lie at Bhoana. Close to Muhammādpur or Mahmūdpur, lies an old Musalmān colony at Shīrgaon, on the Barasia river. See also Wilson's Annals, Vol. II, pp. 166, 167, 168. Sitaram was 'executed for murder and rebellion' by Murshid Quli's order. Sitaram's family and children who had taken refuge in Calcutta, were in 1718 surrendered by the English to Mir Nāṣīr, Faujdar of Hughli, for being made over to Murshid Quli Khān.
revolt on the head of vanity. Not submitting to the Viceroy, he declined to meet the Imperial officers, and closed against the latter all the avenues of access to his tract. He pillaged and raided the lands adjoining to his Zamindari, and also quarrelled with the Imperial garrisons and Faujdars. Mir Abu Turab, Faujdar of the Chaklah of Bhusnah,¹ who was the scion of a leading Syed clan and was closely related to Prince Azimu-sh-shān and the Timuride Emperors, and who amongst his contemporaries and peers was renowned for his learning and ability, looked down upon Nawab Jafar Khān. Mir Abū Turab tried to capture Sitārām, but was not successful. At length, he detailed his General, Pir Khān, with 200 cavalry to chastise Sitārām. On being apprised of this, Sitaram concentrating his forces lay in ambush to attack the aforesaid General. One day, Mir Abu Turab with a number of friends and followers went out for hunting, and in the heat of the chase alighted on Sitaram’s frontiers. Pir Khān was not in Abū Turāb’s company. The zamindar (Sitaram) on hearing of this, fancying Mir Abū Turab to be Pir Khān, suddenly issued out from the forest with his forces and attacked Mir Abū Turāb from the rear. Although the latter with a loud voice announced his name, Sitaram not heeding inflicted wounds on Abū Turāb with bamboo-clubs, and felled him from his horse. When this news reached Nawab Jafar Khān, his body trembled from fear of the Emperor’s resentment. Appointing Hasan Ali Khān who had married Nawab Jafar Khān’s wife’s sister and was descended from a noble family to be Faujdār of Bhūsnāh, and supporting him with an efficient force, Nawab Jafar Khān directed him to capture that troublesome villain (Sitaram). The Nawab issued mandates to the Zamindars of the environs insisting on their not suffering Sitaram to escape across their frontiers, and also threatening that should the latter effect his escape across the frontiers of any one, not only he would be ousted from his Zamindari, but be punished. The Zamindars from all sides hemmed him in, when Hasan Ali Khān arrived and captured Sitaram together with his women and

¹ It was formerly in the Jessore district, but is now included in the more modern district of Faridpur. Close to Bhūsnāh, on the banks of the Chandrān river, lie several other ancient colonies of Syeds or Mīrs, such as those at Bānmaldih and Dakhinbari, etc.
children, confederates and adherents, and sent them with chains round their necks and hands to Nawab Jafar Khan. The Nawab enclosing Sitaram's face in cow-hide had him drawn to the gallows in the eastern suburbs of Murshidabad on the high-way leading to Jahangirnagar and Mahmudabad, and imprisoned for life Sitaram's women and children and companions. Bestowing his Zamindari on Ram Jivan, the Nawab confiscated to the State Sitaram's treasures and effects, and extirpating his family, root and branch, he sent an account of the affair to the Emperor. As the Emperor\(^1\) Aurangzeb 'Alamgir had died in the Dakhin on Friday, 28th of Zilqad 1119 A.H., Muhammad Muazzam Shah 'Alim Bahadur Shah \(^2\) ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi. Nawab Jafar Khan sent presents with the tribute of Bengal, and received an Imperial Patent confirming him in the Viceroyalty of Bengal. The Nawab was also honoured with the gift of a Khilat including a fringed palanquin. Prince Azim-us-Shah, leaving Sar-bland Khan as his Deputy at 'Azimabad, set out for the Imperial Capital. And that very year Sultan Farrukhsir, prior to the accession of Bahadur Shah, came to Murshidabad from Jahangirnagar (Dacca) at the invitation of Nawab Jafar Khan, and put up at the L'al Bagh palace. The above-mentioned Nawab, paying proper deference to the princeely rank of his guest, rendered him due services, and defrayed the expenses of the Prince and his household; whilst according to the established practice he remitted the Revenue with the tribute to the Emperor Bahadur Shah. After a reign of five years and one month, in the year 1124 A.H., Emperor Bahadur Shah died, and his eldest son, Sultan Muzau-d-din, under the title of Jahandar Shah, \(^3\) became Emperor, and in concert with his two younger brothers

\(^1\) Emperor Aurangzeb died in the 52nd year of his reign, at the age of ninety-one, in 1118 A.H. or 1707 A.C. at Ahmadnagar, and was buried at Aurangabad. See Sivu Vol II, p. 375, and Khaft Khan. He left the following sons:—Muhammad Muazzam (at Kebul), 2, Muhammad Azam (at Malwah) 3, Kam Baksh (at Bijapur)

\(^2\) Muhammad Muazzam alau Shah 'Alam the eldest son became Emperor in 1707 with the title of Bahadur Shah, after defeating and killing his two brothers. He died in 1712.—See Sivu, Vol. II, pp 378-379, and history of Khaft Khan.

\(^3\) The great Timuride House was at this time torn asunder by factions and was badly served by venal ministers and officers. The Syed brothers
killed Prince 'Azimu-sh-Shān. ¹ After removing the causes of anxiety, and with the exertions and help of Asad Khān the Prime Minister and Amiru-l-Umarā Zū-l-faqār Khān, the new Emperor killed his other two brothers.² Indeed, after Bāhādur Shāh’s death, within the space of eight days, he killed almost every one of the Imperial scions numbering more than thirty persons, and after torture and imprisonment of those who escaped the sword, Jahanār Shāh mounted the throne. He appointed the Amiru-l-Umarā who was Pay-Master-General of the Army to the office of Grand Vizir and Amiru-l-Umarā’s father ‘Asāfu-d-daulāh ‘Asad Khān to the office of Vakil-i-Kul or Supreme Regent of the Empire. According to the established practice, the new Emperor sent message of confirmation to Nawab Jāfār Khān. The aforesaid Khān, shewing submission, remitted presents and tribute to the Emperor. In order to assert his claim to the Imperial throne, Sultan Farrukh-sir, the second son of Prince ‘Azimu-sh-Shān, who resided in the Province of Bengal as Deputy Nazim of the Subah resolved to fight with Sultan Māzu-d-din, planned to start for Shāhjāhānābād (Delhi), and demanded money and troops from Nawab Jāfār Khān. The latter gave the following straightforward answer: “I as an Imperial servant am subject to the Crown and Throne of the Sovereign of the Imperial Capital. To submit to any one save and except the person who descended from the Timūride House sits on the Throne of the Empire of Delhi, would be an act of treachery. Since Māzu-d-din, your uncle, is in possession of the Crown and the Throne, the Imperial revenue cannot be paid to you.” Despairing of obtaining the treasures and troops of Bengal, but remembering the injunction in the Quran “I put my trust in my Lord God” Farrukh-sir took heart,³ and marched out with a small force of old and new comrades who were in his company, on an

were heads of one faction, and their ascendancy and their selfish policy are fully related in the Seir-ul-Mutakherin.

² i.e., Jahan Shāh and Rafiṣh Shāh.
³ Farrukh-sir’s mother, Saheb-un-Nissa, was a brave and resourceful lady, and when Farrukh-sir contemplated flight across the sea, she inspired her son with a noble idea by addressing him thus: “If thy flight must needs be across the sea, let it be the sea not of waters but of blood.” Encouraged by his noble mother’s inspiration, Farrukh-sir at length defeated Jahanār Shāh, at the end of 1712, and became Emperor.
expedition against Sultan M‘azu-d-din. Summoning his own army and artillery from Jahangirnagar, Farrukh-sir set out for Shabjahanabad, and by the time he arrived at ‘Azimabad (Patna) a large army collected under him. Levying money in the way of tax from the bankers of that town, he reduced the Subah of Behar to his subjection. Collecting paraphernalia of royalty, he mounted the throne, and unfurling the Imperial Umbrella he whirled it over his head. Raising the standard of march from Patna with Royal pomp and splendour, he cast the shadow of peace and tranquillity on the residents of Banaras. And raising a loan of one lakh of rupees on the security of the Empire from Nagar Set and other leading bankers of Banares, he raised a levy of efficient troops. Syed Abdallah Khan and Syed Husain Ali Khan,¹ the two Syed brothers of Barhā, who were Nazims of the Subahs of Oudh and Allahabād and were matchless in courage and heroism had been dismissed by Sultan M‘azu-d-din, and consequently were smarting under a sense of wrong. They, therefore, espoused the cause of Sultan Farrukh-sir, and tied the girdle of devotion and self-sacrifice to the waists of their hearts. And intercepting the treasure from Bengal remitted by Nawab Jāfar Khan, which owing to the revolution in government Shujjan-d-din Mūhāmmād Khan, Darogha of Allahabād (unyoking the bullocks in the garden of the town) guarded with 300 troops, Farrukh-sir detailed a large force to guard it. Having satisfied himself about the security of the treasure and the efficiency of the force which he had detached to guard it, Farrukh-sir bestowed the office of Vizārat on Syed Husain Ali Khan, and had the Khuṭbah of sovereignty recited after his own name. “When God wills a thing, the conditions for its accomplishment are also provided.” As Farrukh-sir was displeased with Jāfar Khan, he appointed Rashid Khan,² elder brother of Afrasiab Khan Mirzai-Ajmīri, who was the scion of an ancient and noble family of Bengal and was brought up in the Imperial household, and who in physical prowess was equal to a Rustam or an Isfandiar, and who used to hurl down rogue elephants—to supersede Jāfar Khan in the Subahdāri of Bengal. It is said that when Sultan Farrukh-sir set out from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) towards ‘Azimabad

² See Wilson’s Annals, Vol. II, p. 90. This was in 1712.
(Patna), the cannon of Malik Maidan, which required a munda weight of cannon-ball and 150 bullocks and two elephants to move it, was stuck in the mud in a hollow ditch near Sakrigali. Although an attempt was made to drag it out with the help of bullocks and elephants, it could not be moved. Faraqsh-sir himself going up to the cannon brought into requisition the ingenuity of Christian gunners, but even that was of no avail. Mirza-i-Ajmiri making his obeisance, said: "If ordered, thy slave might try his strength." The Sultan gave permission. Mirza-i-Ajmiri, tying the hem of his garment round his waist and putting both of his hands beneath the cannon-frame, lifted up the cannon together with its frame on his chest, and said "whenever ordered, I will put it." The Sultan ordered it to be placed on a high ground. The Mirza removed the cannon from the ditch to a high ground. From the strain of his physical power, drops of blood were about to ooze out from his eyes. The Sultan applauded him whilst the assembly, sent up shouts of praise and choruses of applause to the skies. The Mirza at that very moment was rewarded with the mansab of a Sih haziri together with the title of Afrasiab Khan. Rashid Khan set out with a large army for Bengal, and entered it via the passes of Tiliagadhi and Sakrigali. On hearing the news of his entry, Jafar Khan shewed no signs of anxiety. Besides the regular war-establishment of the Subah he mobilised no extra troops. Rashid Khan reaching three trod distant from Murshidabad arrayed his troops for battle. Next morning, Nawab Jafar Khan detailed Mir Bangali and Syed Anwar Jannpuri with two thousand cavalry and infantry to encounter Rashid Khan, whilst the Nawab himself, according to his daily practice, set to copying the Quran. When the two forces encountered each other, a battle ensued. Syed Anwar, in the thick of the fight, was killed, but Mir Bangali, with a small force, bravely stood his ground on the battle-field, till the army of Rashid Khan surrounded him from all sides. Although these tidings reached Nawab Jafar Khan, the latter remained unconcerned and quietly went on with his work of copying the Quran. At last the news of Mir Bangali's retreat arrived. It was then that the Nawab detached his special disciple, Muhammad Khan, who was Faujdar of Murshidabad and

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1 He was apparently a Turk, as the title Malik would indicate, but I cannot trace who this notable was.
aspired to have the former's factory closed, intrigues with the Mughal merchants, and undertook to pay themselves their monies. Relating to Ahsainu-llah Khan, Fanjdar of the Port of Haughly, tales of their bloodshed and oppression in Europe, and also exaggerated accounts of their having erected forts and towers with machines at Bangibazar, and of their past misdeeds in the Emperor's dominions, they induced Ahsainu-llah Khan to write to Nawab Jafar Khan, and themselves petitioned the latter to issue mandates in the name of the above Fanjdar to close the factory of the Danes. Although Ahsainu-llah Khan sent agents to close the factory, the Danes not relying on their message, failed to close their factory; at length the Fanjdar deputed his own Deputy, named Mir Jafar, to the Danes. The Chief of the Danes, who was styled a General, mounted cannon on the heights of the ramparts, and prepared to fight. The aforesaid Mir, erecting entrenchments facing the ramparts, commenced fighting with cannon, rockets, arrows, and muskets. But the soldiers of the Mir could not approach the factory, owing to constant shower of cannon-balls and rockets. And the ways for the ingress and egress of the vessels of merchants in the river became closed. The Christian French secretly leagued with the Danes and assisted the latter with supplies of shot, powder, and armaments. The Danes captured, with the secret help of the French, Khwaja Muhammed Kamil, eldest son of Khwaja Muhammed Fazal, who happened to pass and repass the river by boat. Owing to this, all the Mughal, Armenian, and other merchants made great exertions to effect his release, and fearing lest he might be slain, for two or three days a truce was arranged. The aforesaid Khwaja, agreeing to pay a large ransom, and also promising to bring about peace, was released from the custody of the Danes. Then the Christian French, dreading the resentment of the Fanjdar, deserted the Danes. Mir Jafar, advancing his entrenchments, with volleys of cannon-balls, rockets, arrows, and musket-balls, reduced the garrison to straits, and cut off all supplies both by land and by water. When the garrison were reduced to starvation, their Indian servants all fled, and the General alone with thirteen Danes remained in the factory. Though reduced to such straits and numbers,
Owing to profuse shedding of blood on that battle-field,
The whole face of the earth looked crimson.
A whole world was consigned to destruction,
If any one survived, he was imprisoned.
The enemy’s treasures and effects were looted,
Jafar Khan won a glorious victory.

Nawab Jafar Khan returning triumphant caused the music of
victory to be struck up, entered the Fort, and ordered that a
minaret should be raised entombing the heads of the slain on the
highway leading towards Hindustan, so that it might serve as
a warning to others. The prisoners of Rashid Khan’s army said
that on the advance of Jafar Khan green-dressed soldiers with
drawn swords descended from the clouds, attacked the force of
Rashid Khan, and afterwards vanished. Sultan Farrukh-sir who
had not yet finished settling his accounts with Sultan M’azu-d-
din, on the way receiving news of Jafar Khan’s victory and
Rashid Khan’s defeat was depressed. In short, when near Akbar-
bād (Agra) a battle ensued between Farrukh-sir and Sultan M’azu-d-
din Jahāndār Shāh, the Syeds of Barha, on the side of Muḥam-
dad Farrukh-sir, displaying self-sacrifice, exhibited heroic valour.
On the side of M’azu-d-din, Khan Jahān Bahadur Kokaltash Khan,
who was the Pay-Master General of the Army, was killed,
owing to the carelessness of the Amīru-l-Umara Zu-l-fuqār Khan.
And M’azu-d-din’s other noblemen, especially the Mughal noblemen,
being in conspiracy with the noblemen of Farrukh-sir, exhibited
treachery during the battle. In consequence, great confusion
arose in the army of M’azu-d-din Jahāndār Shāh. Becoming
depressed by observing the fate of Khān Jahān Bahādur, Jahāndār

1 See description of the battle in December 1712 in Seir-ul-Muqtakerin,

2 The Syed brothers of Barha were Syed Husain Ali Khan, Nazim of the
Subah of Patna and Syed Abdullah Khan, Nazim of the Subah of Allahabad.
The Seir-ul-Muqtakerin (Vol. II, pp. 387, 388, 391, 392), gives a detailed account
as to how these Syed brothers helped Farrukh-sir in the war of succession.
These Syed brothers subsequently fell out with Farrukh-sir, and imprisoned
him and had him killed (Seir, Vol. II, p. 419). For a life of Syed Husain Ali

3 He was a son of Asad Khan, the Prime Minister of Aurangzeb. His name
was Muhammad Ismail, and his titles were ‘Zu-l-fuqār Khān Amir-ul-Umara
towns and villages, lived in perfect peace and comfort. The Thanahs
of Katwah and Murshidganj, on the highway leading to Bardwān,
were established by the Nawāb, in the early part of his Nizāmat,
whilst he held the title of Murshid Quli Khān. He established
these Thanahs for guarding the above highway, and their
control and administration was entrusted by the Nawāb to his
special disciple, Muhammad Jān. In that, in the environs of
Fanachor, which is on the highway leading from Nadiā to Hughli,
in the plantain groves thefts took place in broad daylight,
Muhammad Jān established an outpost at Pūpthal, subordinate to
the Thanah of Katwah. Capturing the thieves and robbers, and
chopping them into bits, Muhammad Jān hanged them on the
trees of the highway, to serve as warnings to others. As in his
retinue, hatchet-men used to go ahead, he became known as
Muhammad Jān Kolharāh. Thieves and robbers used to tremble
on hearing of his name. As a propagator of Muhammadan
religion, as a strict observer of the religious injunctions,
as a friend of scions of good family, as a reliever of the
distressed, and as an exterminator of oppressors, Nawāb Jafar
Khān was a second Amira-l-Umarā Shāista Khān. He was strict
in the enforcement of his orders, and faithful in the fulfilment
of his engagements. He never neglected saying his daily prayers
times, and fasted for three months in the year, and used to
completely recite the Qurān. On the 12th and 13th of the lunar
months, he used to fast, and on Thursday nights he was vigilant
in his prayers. Many nights he used to pass in reciting certain
select portions of the Qurān, and he slept little. From morning
to midday, he devoted himself daily to transcribing the Qurān.
And he used to send, every year, copies of the Qurān transcribed
by his hand, together with votive offerings and gifts, through the
headmen of the pilgrims and other caravans bound for pilgrimage,
to Mecca, Medinah, Najaf, Karballa, Baghdad, Khorassān, Jidāh,
Bakrah, and other holy places, like Ajmir, Panduash, &c. For
each of these places, he allotted votive offerings, endowments,
and reciters of the Qurān. The humble author of this History
has seen a torn copy of the Qurān, every chapter of which was
detached, in the shrine of Ḥaṭrat Makhdum Akhī Sirajud-d-din, at
Sadu-l-lahpur,1 written in large characters in the handwriting

1 I do not know if that copy is still there. See also note ante.
they with their own hands kept up a perpetual shower of cannon-balls and rockets, and allowed no opportunity to the attacking force to lift up their heads, and far less to advance out of their entrenchments or to assault the factory. For some time the fighting continued in this wise. By chance, a cannon-ball discharged from Mir Jafar's entrenchment hit the Danish General on the right arm, and broke it, and his hand became in consequence useless. The General was obliged, in consequence, at dead of night, to scuttle out of the factory, and, embarking on board a vessel, he set sail for his own native country. Next morning, the factory was captured; but save and except some cannon-balls, nothing of value was found. Mir Jafar, raising the gateway and the tower of the factory, returned victorious and triumphant. About that time, news arrived that the Afghans, Shuj'āīt Khān and Nijāt Khān, zamindars of Tonkī Sarūbār, in the Sarkar of Māhmūdābād, who were notorious for their lawlessness, had plundered the revenue of Māhmūdābād amounting to sixty thousand rupees, whilst on its way to Murshidābād. Nawāb Jafar Khān, who thirsted for the blood of thieves and robbers, hearing this news, appointed a Superintendent of Dacoity with spies under him, and after ascertaining the reality and origin of this affair, he issued an order to Aḥsānu-l-lāh Khān, Faujdar of the Chakīsh of Hugli, directing their arrest. The aforesaid Khān, ostensibly marching out on a hunting expedition, like a sudden calamity, surprised their stronghold, arrested and captured all the brigands, put them in chains and fetters, mutilated their hands and feet, tied them strongly and securely with pieces of stirrup-leather, and sent them to Nawāb Jafar Khān. The Nawāb imprisoned them for life, and confiscated their treasures. After they were thus banished and extirpated, the Nawāb settled their aforesaid zamīndārī with Rām Jīvan. Levying indemnity equal to the plundered revenue from the landholders of the neighbourhood, the Nawāb credited it to the Imperial treasury. During the Nawāb's administration, the names of free-booters, night-marauders, and assassins were blotted out from the annals of the Bengal Satrapy, and the dwellers, both of

1 The Danish Chief's name appears to be Mr. Attrup (See Wilson's Annals, Vol. II, p. 200). This happened in 1714.

2 This is a place about five miles from Jessore head-quarters.

3 There is still a Pathan family in Sarubpur, though impoverished.
towns and villages, lived in perfect peace and comfort. The Thanahs of Katwah and Murshidganj, on the highway leading to Bardwān, were established by the Nawāb, in the early part of his Nizāmat, whilst he held the title of Murshid Quli Khān. He established these Thanahs for guarding the above highway, and their control and administration was entrusted by the Nawāb to his special disciple, Muhammad Jān. In that, in the environs of Fanachor, which is on the highway leading from Nadiā to Hughli, in the plantain groves thefts took place in broad daylight, Muhammad Jān established an outpost at Pūpthal, subordinate to the Thanah of Katwah. Capturing the thieves and robbers, and chopping them into bits, Muhammad Jān hanged them on the trees of the highway, to serve as warnings to others. As in his retinue, hatchet-men used to go ahead, he became known as Muhammad Jān Kolharāh. Thieves and robbers used to tremble on hearing of his name. As a propagator of Muhammadan religion, as a strict observer of the religious injunctions, as a friend of scions of good family, as a reliever of the distressed, and as an exterminator of oppressors, Nawāb Jafar Khān was a second Amira-l-Umarā Shāista Khān. He was strict in the enforcement of his orders, and faithful in the fulfilment of his engagements. He never neglected saying his daily prayers five times, and fasted for three months in the year, and used to completely recite the Qurān. On the 12th and 13th of the Lunar months, he used to fast, and on Thursday nights he was vigilant in his prayers. Many nights he used to pass in reciting certain select portions of the Qurān, and he slept little. From morning to midday, he devoted himself daily to transcribing the Qurān. And he used to send, every year, copies of the Qurān transcribed by his hand, together with votive offerings and gifts, through the headmen of the pilgrims and other caravans bound for pilgrimage, to Mecca, Medinah, Najaf, Karbala, Baghdād, Khorasān, Jīdāh, Baṣrah, and other holy places, like Ajmir, Panduah, &c. For each of these places, he allotted votive offerings, endowments, and reciters of the Qurān. The humble author of this History has seen a torn copy of the Qurān, every chapter of which was detached, in the shrine of Ḥazrat Makhdum Akhī Siraju-d-din, at Sādu-l-lahpur, written in large characters in the handwriting

1 I do not know if that copy is still there. See also note ante.
of Nawāb Jafar Khān. The Nawāb had in his employ 2,500 reciters of the Qorān, who completely recited the Qorān daily, and corrected what the Nawāb transcribed from the Qorān; and their meals were supplied twice daily from the Nawāb’s own kitchen, and comprised game, birds, and other animals. He shewed a great predilection for the company of Syeds, Shaikhs, the scholarly, and the pious, and he deemed it meritorious to serve them. And from the 1st to the 12th of the month of Rabi‘u-l-Awwal, which is the anniversary of the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him!), daily he used to feed the excellent and the venerable Shaikhs, the Ulama, the pious saints, and inviting them from the environs of Murshidābād, he used to receive them with great respect at his banquets, and till they finished their dinners, he used to stand before them in a respectful posture, and to serve them. And every night during that period, from Māhīnagār to Lālbaighb, on the banks of the river, he used to arrange illuminations with chirāghs, in an elegant fashion, so that from the brightness of the illumination, the altars of the mosques and the pulpits, with the inscriptions of the Qorān engraved thereon, could be read from the other side of the river by spectators, to their great amazement. It is said that he employed more than one lakh of labourers to light the chirāghs under the supervision of Nāzir Aḥmad. After sunset, as soon as the gun was fired to signal that the illumination should commence, all the chirāghs were simultaneously lit up in one instant, producing an illusion as if a sheet of light had been unrolled, or as if the earth had become a sky studded with stars. And he constantly consecrated his life to seek the approbation of his Creator and to seek the well-being of his subjects, and to redress the grievances of the oppressed. He used to sign his name with the Shangarī pen. He exerted himself to render the prices of food-grains cheap, and did not allow rich people to hoard up stocks of grains. Every week, he had the price-current reports of food-grains prepared, and compared them with the prices actually paid by the poor people. If these latter were charged one dām over the prices stated in the price-current reports, he had the dealers, mahaldārs, and weighmen punished in various forms, and had them patrolled through the city, placed upon asses. During his administration, the ruling price of rice was 5 or 6 maunds (of the standard market
weight) per rupee, and other articles were similarly cheap, so
much so that by spending one rupee in a month, people ate mutton and
galiak daily. Owing to this cheapness, the poor lived in ease
and comfort. And the captains of ships were not permitted
to export on their vessels food-grains beyond those needed for
actual consumption by those on board the ships. At the period
of disembarkation of ships, the Fanjdar of the port of Hugli
deputed to the harbour a Preventive Officer for the inspection and
attachment of the food-grains, in order that no food-grains
beyond what were needed for actual consumption on board the
ships might be exported. And the Nawab had so much reverence
for the Imperial authority, that he never travelled on any of the
Imperial feluccas of boats. In the rainy seasons, when the Im-
perial war-vessels came for review from Jahanagirnagar (Dacca)
he used to go up to receive them, and turning his face towards
the Imperial Capital he used to offer his salute and presents. And
in obedience of the Sacred Law he never indulged in intoxicating
liquors, and eschewed things prohibited by the sacred law, neither
he saw dancing nor heard singings. In his whole lifetime, be-
sides his one wedded wife, he kept no mistress, and never bestowed
his attention on any other woman. Owing to his extremely nice
sense of honour, he did not allow eunuchs and women who cannot
be lawfully seen to enter his harem. If a female slave went out
of his harem once, he did not allow her access to the harem again.
In every branch of learning, art, and science he had great profi-
ciency. He abstained from delicious and luxurious dishes; nor did
he taste anything of luxury except ice-water and ice-preservation.
And Khizr Khan, Deputy of Nazir Muhammad, was deputed for
four months in winter to the mountains of Akbarnagar for storing
ice. The Nawab had stores of ice full for twelve months, used ice
daily and received his supplies of ice from Akbarnagar. Similarly,
in the season of mango-fruit, which is the best of the fruits of
Bengal, the Superintendent of mango-supplies was posted in the

1 This would indicate wonderful economic and agricultural prosperity in
Bengal during the Viceroyalty of Mur Shid Quli Khan. Pollo and Qalilah are
rich Hindustani dishes. See Ain-i-Akbari (Bloch's Tr., Vol. I, pp. 59 and 62)
for a list of Hindustani menu, and also for statistics of prices of certain
articles in Akbar's time.

2 For a detailed description of the Fruiteries in India, in Akbar's time,
see Ain-i-Akbari (Bloch's Tr., p. 64.
Chaklah of Akbarnagar, and he, counting the mangoes of the Khāṣ trees, entered them in the accounts, and shewed their collection and disposal, and the watchmen and carriers, levying the expenses of carriage from the zamindars, sent the sweet and delicious mangoes from Maldāh, Katwāh, Ḫusainpur, Akbarnagar, and other places. And the zamindārs had no power to cut down the Khaṣ mango-trees; on the contrary, the mangoes of all the gardens of the aforesaid Chaklah were attached. And this practice was more rigorously observed in the times of previous Nāṣims of Bengal. Even at present, when the administration of Bengal is virtually in the hands of the Christian English, and only the nominal Nizāmat rests with Nawāb Mūbaraku-d-daulah, son of Nawāb Jāfār Ali Khān, in the mango-season the Superintendent of the Khāṣ mangoes proceeds to Maldāh on behalf of the aforesaid Nawāb Mūbaraku-d-daulah, attaches the mangoes of the Khāṣ trees, and sends them to the Nawāb, and the zamindārs do not go near the Khaṣ mango-trees. But the Superintendent no longer obtains the carriage expense from the Zamindars, nor does he enjoy his former prestige and respect. The roots of oppression were so thoroughly extirpated in the time of Nawāb Jāfār Khān, that the agents of zamindars used to loiter about—from the Naqār Khānah to the Chīḥal Sāturn, in quest of the oppressed and of complainants. Wherever they came across an oppressed man or a complainant, they amicably settled matters with him, and did not leave him to complain to the Nawāb. And if the officers of the Courts of justice shewed partiality towards the oppressors, and if the oppressed carried their complaints to the Nawāb, the latter instantly redressed their grievances. In administering justice, he did not allow consideration and partiality to be shewn to anyone; he weighed the high and the low evenly in the scale of justice. For instance, it is well known that to avenge the death of an oppressed man, he executed his own son, and obtained the title of “Adālat Gustar” (or Justice-Strewer). He used to dispense justice, basing his orders

1 i.e., when this history was written (1788.)
2 i.e., Mir Jafar Ali Khan.
3 The Chīḥal Sāturn was a Public Audience Hall built by Murshed Quli Khan, at Murshidabad.
4 This incident of stern and blind justice recalls to memory the glorious career of another Musulman sovereign in the far West—that is, of Abdur Rahman, the Khalifa of Spain. (See Amir Ali’s History of the Saracens, p. 510.)
on the injunction of the Qur'an, and on the expounding of the law by Qāzi Muhammad Shārf, who had been appointed to the office of Qāzi by Emperor Aurangzeb, and who was an upright judge and a great scholar, free from hypocrisy. It is related that a mendicant at Chunākhāli begged for alms from Bindraban, the Talqadar. The latter got annoyed, and turned him out from his house. The mendicant on his (Bindraban's) route of passage collected some bricks, laid them one over the other like the foundation of a wall, and named it a mosque, and shouted out the call to prayer, and whenever the palanquin of Bindraban passed that way, he shouted out still more loudly the call to prayer. Bindraban, becoming annoyed by this, threw down some brickbats from that foundation, and abusing the mendicant drove the latter from that place. The mendicant lodged a complaint at the Court of justice of Nawāb J'afar Khān. Qāzi Muhammad Shārf, with the concurrence of other Ulama, acting on the injunction of the sacred Law, ordered the execution of Bindraban. J'afar Khān, not acquiescing in the sentence of execution, enquired thus from the Qāzi as to whether he could be let off: 'Can in any way this Hindu be saved from the death-sentence?' The Qāzi replied: "Only so much interval may be allowed in the execution of his death-sentence as may be taken up in the execution of his interceder; after that, he must be executed."1 Prince 'Azim-sh-shān also interceded for Bindrāban; but that, too, was of no avail. The Qāzi killed him by shooting him with an arrow with his own hand. Azim-sh-shān wrote to Emperor Aurangzeb as follows: "Qāzi Muḥammad Shārf has turned mad; for nothing he has killed Bindrāban with his own hand." The Emperor remarked on the report of the Prince thus: "This is a gross calumny; the Qāzi is on

1 A wonderfully upright and fearless Judge Qazi Muhammad Sharf must have been.

2 Mark the pun on the word "'Azīm" in the text. "'Azīm" means 'great' as well as it may refer to the name 'Asimushshān'. So it may mean "it is a great or gross calumny" and also "it is a calumny on the part of Azim (Asimushshān)." Aurangzeb, even whilst angry, was not free from flashes of wit (often sarcastic wit) in his epistles. As I am afraid, in this English garb, the reader may miss the relish of the original, I give the original in Aurangzeb's language:

هذا بهتان عظيم - قاضي خداکی طرف
and to Qamru-d-din Husain Khan Bahadur. He also communicated the intelligence to his father, Shuja‘u-d-din Muhammad Khan, who was Nazim of Orissa. The latter on hearing the news said:—

"The sky has turned towards the fulfilment of my aim,
And has minted coins of the kingdom after my name."

Since Shuja‘u-d-din was very anxious to obtain the Nizamat of Bengal with its honours, treasures, and privileges, he shelved all paternal and filial attachments, and left his son, Muhammad Taqi Khan, who was matchless in bravery and liberality, in charge of the Nizamat of Orissa in the City of Katak.

End of Fasc. 3.

1 His name was Mir Muhammad Fazil, and his title was Itamad-u-d-daulah Qamruddin Khan Bahadur. He was a son of Itamad-u-d-daulah Muhammad Amin Khan. On Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah resigning the office of Vasir, Qamruddin Khan became Vasir of Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1187 A.H. He was liberal, affable, and polished. (See Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. 1, p. 358, and Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. 2, p. 457).
Shahjahan marched with a large army towards Bengal. In order to obtain the Imperial Sanad of the Nizamat of Bengal, and in order to secure the support of the Imperial Ministers, he sent a message to Rai Balkishan, agent of Nawab Ja'far Khan, at the Imperial Court, who enjoyed more confidence and eminence than Ja'far Khan's other agents. He also sent messages to other agents of his own.

Emperor Muhammad Shâh,\(^1\) on receiving news of Nawab Ja'far Khan's death, had conferred the Sultânate of Bengal on Amâr-i-Umara Tabâbar-i-Daulâh Khân-i-Daurân\(^2\) Khân Bâhidur, Chief Pay-Master-General of the Army. The latter was Emperor's loyal friend and intimate associate both in social festivities as well as in State deliberations, and was his comrade, companion, and counsellor in matters pertaining to feasts, as well as to wars. The Amâr-i-Umara misled by the intrigues of the aforesaid agent, sent the patent and Khâtâf of the Deputy Nizamat of Bengal in the name of Shahjahan Muhammad Khân. Shahjahan Khân had reached this side of Madinâ when the patent addressed to his name arrived, and viewing this event as a good omen, he named that place "Mubarak-Mansâl" or "the Auspicious place," and ordered a Kâtâr (a Tower) and a masonry-built Gârâmâsân to be erected there. When news of the approach of his father reached

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\(^1\) Emperor Muhammad Shâh was raised to the Imperial throne of Delhi by the Sûrî brother in 1151 A.H. See Sûrî-i-Musâhirin, Vol. II, p. 428.

\(^2\) His name was Khân-i-Daurân. His ancestors had come from Badakhshân to India, and resided in Âgra. He held a small Mandât in the beginning under Prince Aqim-ul-Âlî, and was in the latter's company in Bengal at Dinnâr. When the Prince ascended the throne of his father, Muhammad Manzum (afterwards Emperor Bahadur Shâh), on the death of Emperor Aurangzêb, he sent Bengal to join his father at Âgra, he left Khân-i-Daurân in the company of his son Farrukh Siy, who remained in Bengal on behalf of his father. He soon made himself a persona grata to Prince Farrukh Siy, and exercised considerable influence over his conduct and policy. Farrukh Siy conferred on him the title of 'Ashraf Khân,' and on ascension to the throne conferred on him the further title of "Sâman-i-Daulâh Khân Daurân," and conferred on him a Kâtâr, and second Bâhidur. In the reign of Muhammad Shâh, on the fall of Sûrî Husain Ali Khân, he received the title of "Amâr-i-Umara" and also became the Supreme Bakshâsh or Generalissimo, or Pay-Master-General of the Army. He fell during the war against Nadir Baksh-walînd invaded India in 1161 A.H. See Amâr-i-Umara, Vol. I, p. 819.
Sarfarāz Khān, owing to recklessness of youth, the latter intended marching to Katwah, in order to oppose his father's advance. The Dowager Begam of Nawāb Ja'far Khān, who was a very wise and sagacious lady, and who regarded Sarfarāz Khān as dearer than her own life, dissuaded the latter, and with soft and sweet words of counsel set his mind at ease. She said to Sarfarāz Khān: "Your father is old; after him, the Subahdārī as well as the country with its treasures would devolve on you. To fight against one's own father, is cause of loss both in this world and in the next, as well as of ignominy. It is meet that till the lifetime of your father, you should remain contented with the Diwān of Bengal." Sarfarāz Khān, who never acted against the advice of his grand-mother, acquiesced in her counsel. Advancing, he received Shujāūd-d-din Muḥammad Khān, and escorted him to Murshidābād. Making over to his father the Fort and the offices of the Nizāmat, Sarfarāz Khān retired to his private residence at Nakṭākhāli. From there he used to attend daily on his father, and spend his time according to the latter's wishes. Retaining in his own service the Qurān-readers, hymn-reciters, and scholars belonging to Nawab Ja'far Khān's household, Sarfarāz Khān employed them on devotions and on recitations of the Qurān, as was the practice under Nawab Ja'far Khān. He further consecrated his life to winning the hearts of people, and also sought for help and blessings from saints and hermits.

Shujāūd-d-din Muḥammad Khān,¹ who in point of bravery and

¹ The author of the Seiru-l-Mutakherin also pays a glowing tribute to the memory of Nawab Shujāūd-d-din Khān, and styles him a second Naushirvan in justice and liberality. He treated all his officers, high and low, including soldiers and household servants, with affability and considerateness, and at the time of his death, begged their forgiveness, and gave them all two months' pay in advance. In the administration of justice, he was very impartial and made no difference between his own son and his humblest subject. He appreciated talent, and during his administration, people possessed of the east talent flocked into Bengal from all parts of Hindustan, and found a ready friend and helper in him. Bengal which enjoyed the title of 'Jinnātul-Bilad' or 'Paradise of Provinces,' now literally became so, under Shujāūd-d-din Khān's wise and beneficent administration. His charities were uncontested and catholic, and his liberality was unstinted. His subjects, during his administration, enjoyed perfect peace and happiness. See Seiru-l-Mutakherin, Vol. II, pp. 472 and 488 (Pers. text).

By the way, the general immunity from civil wars and disturbances
courage was unique in his day, and who in point of liberality and
generosity was matchless in his time, was born at Burhanpur.\footnote{1} As he ascended the
masnad of the Nizamat of Bengal in his old age, he felt compassion for the condition of the Bengal
Zamindars, who being in distress from the time of Nawab Ja'far Khan had never, even in dreams, beheld the faces of their wives and children. He set them at large, and permitted them to return to their homes, after levying from them Nuzars over and above the amounts of revenue assessed by Nawab Ja'far Khan. By this stroke of policy, over and above the profits of Jagirs and fees on ware-houses and factories, he easily raised one kror and fifty laks of rupees, which he remitted to the Imperial Treasury through the Banking Agency of Jagai Seth Fatih Chaud. And selling off at fancy prices to Zamindars the jaded horses, cattle, and other live-stock, as well as damaged carpets and curtains belonging to the private estate of Nawab Ja'far Khan, he sent another forty laks of rupees, besides elephants, to Emperor Muhammad Shah. And after the Abstract Balance-sheet of the Annual Accounts was prepared, he remitted to the Imperial Capital the stipulated annual tribute of the Nizamat, besides the Imperial Revenue, according to the established usage. And sending to the Emperor, at their proper seasons, elephants, Tangan horses, special cotton-fabrics,\footnote{3} and γασμικάνα\footnote{4} and enjoyed by Bengal during the vigorous reigns of Mursid Quli Khan and his successor, Shuja-us-din Khan (whilst the whole of Upper India was convulsed and torn by fratricidal wars and foreign invasions which converted those fair regions into human slumbers), would in a large measure account for the existence of a comparatively large Muslim population in Bengal, contrasted with that in Upper India, without having recourse to theories of a more or less fanciful character, for which there appears little or no historical warrant.

\footnote{1} Burhanpur is described in the \textit{Ain} (see Vol. II, p. 229) as "a large city, three kss distant from the Tapti, in Subah Dundes or Khundes. It was embellished with many gardens, inhabited by people of all nations, and handi
\footnote{3} \textit{γασμικάνα} means "small-bodied (man)." I do not exactly understand what \textit{μασδ} signifies. It was apparently some sort of cotton or silk-stuff manufactured in Bengal, with human figures woven thereon.\footnote{4}
other manufactures, he attested thereby his loyalty to the Imperial throne, and was in consequence invested with the titles of Mantamanu-l-Mulk, Shuja’u-d-daulah, Shuja’u-d-din Muhammad Khan Bahadur Asad Jang. He also received the personal Mansab of a Haft Hazari, with seven thousand troopers, besides a fringed Palki, together with the insignia of the Malot Order, and a kila‘t consisting of six pieces of robes, precious stones, a jewel-mounted sword, and a Royal elephant with a horse. He was further confirmed in the office of Nazim of Bengal. He surpassed his predecessors in office in paraphernalia of royalty and armaments, and though his prime of life had passed, he did not scorn life’s pleasures. Dismantling the public buildings erected by Nawab Ja‘far Khan, as they seemed too small according to his lofty ideals, he built instead a grand and spacious Palace, an Arsenal, a lofty Gateway, a Revenue Court,\(^1\) a Public Audience-Hall,\(^2\) a Private Office,\(^3\) a Boudoir for Ladies, a Reception-Hall,\(^4\) a Court of Chancery\(^5\) and a Court of Justice.\(^6\) He lived in magnificent splendour, and used to ride out in right regal state. He attended constantly to the well-being of his Army, and to the happiness of his subjects. On his officers, he lavished largesses amounting to no less than one thousand or five hundred rupees in each case. Constantly animated by a scrupulous regard for justice, and always inspired by fear of teach people an improved system of manufacture. The Imperial workshops, the towns of Lahor, Agra, Fatehpur, Ahmadabad, Gujrat, turn out many master-pieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns and knots, and variety of fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty himself acquired a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade, and on account of the care bestowed on them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection, and the Imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries....” See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann’s translation, Vol. I, pp. 87, 88.

\(^1\) ‘The Diwan Khana’ is a building containing the office of Diwan or Finance Minister.
\(^2\) A ‘Chikat Satus’ means literally ‘forty-pillared.’ It was a large building, intended as a Public Audience-Hall.
\(^3\) ‘Khila‘at Khana’ means a ‘Private Chamber.’
\(^4\) ‘Julus Khana’ means “Office-room or building.”
\(^5\) Khalisah Kachari means the “Court of Exchequer,” or the Revenue Court or Revenue Board in respect of Crown-land Affairs.
\(^6\) Farnanbari means a ‘Court of Justice.’
God, he uprooted from his realm the foundations of oppressions and tyrannies. Executing Nāzir Ahmad and Murād Farrāgh, the employés of Nawab Ja'far Khān, who were notorious for their high-handedness, he confiscated their effects. Nāzir Ahmad had laid the foundation of a Mosque with a garden at Dehpura on the banks of the river Bhāgirati. Shujā'u-d-daulah, after executing him, finished the mosque and garden, and named them after himself. And he tastefully embellished the garden by building therein grand palaces with reservoirs, canals and numerous fountains. It was a splendid garden, compared with which the spring-houses of Kashmīr paled like withering autumn-gardens; nay, the garden of Iran itself seemed to draw its inspiration of freshness and sweetness from it. Shujā'u-d-daulah used frequently to resort for promenades and picnics to that paradise-like garden, and held there pleasure-parties and other entertainments. Every year in that beautiful garden, he used to give a State Banquet to the educated section of his State Officers. It is said that owing to the superb charmfulness of that garden, Fairies used to come down there for picnics and walks, and to bathe in its tanks. The guards on getting scent of this, informed Shujā'u-d-daulah. Dreading mischief from the genii, the Nawab filled up the tanks with earth, and discontinued his picnics in that garden.

Being fond of ease and pleasures, Nawab Shujā'u-d-daulah entrusted the duties of the Nizāmat to a Council, composed of Ḥāji

1 'Iran' or Ḥāl "is the celebrated but fabulous garden said to have been anciently laid out in Arabia Felix by a king named Sha'ad-bin-i-Ad or Iran bin-i-Omad. Frequent mention of these gardens is made by the Eastern poets, who describe them as a perfect model of Paradise.

2 It is significant that even in those declining years of the Mughal regime, towards the first quarter of the eighteenth century, scholarship and intellectual attainments had not ceased to command esteem amongst the Mughal Pro-Consuls.

3 See slightly varied account in the 'Seerat-Mutakkarin,' which shows that Mirza Ali Vardī Khān was the leading spirit in Shujā'u-d-din's Council or Cabinet. See Seerat-Mutakkarin, Vol. ii, p. 478 Pers. text. On ascending the gadi of Nizāmat, Shujā'u-d-din Khān constituted a Cabinet of Advisers or Council of State, consisting of (1) Mirza Muḥammad Ali Vardī Khān alias Mirza Bandi, (2) Ḥāji Ahmad, brother of No. 1, (3) Rai Ra'īṣ 'Alam Ohand (formerly Shujā'u-d-din's Diwan in Orissa), (4) Jagatset Fatōh Ohand, the banker. In all important matters, he used to consult them before passing orders. His first measure was to release the Bougal Zamindars who had been imprisoned by Ja'far Khān. This measure brought him not only
Ahmad, Rāi Ālamchând Diwān, and Jagat-Sot Fatchchand, whilst the Nawab himself indulged in pleasures. Rāi Ālamchánd Mukhtar,

popularity but also an increase to the revenue (as Nazar was levied), and at the same time contributed to the fertility of Bengal, the Jinnatu-l-Bilad. (See Seiru-l-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 473). For purposes of administration, he maintained his son Sarfaraz Khan as the nominal Diwan of Bengal, conferred the Sabahdar of Orissa on his son (by another wife), named Muḥammad Taqī Khan, the Deputy Nazamat of Jahangirnagar or Dacca on his son-in-law, Murghid Quli Khan II, the Fanjdarship of Rangpur on Sayyid Ahmad Khan (nephew of Ali Vardi Khan), the Fanjdarship of Rajmahal or Akbarnagar on Zainu-d-din Ahmad (another nephew and son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khan); Nawazish Mhd. Khan (another nephew of Ali Vardi) was created Generalissimo of the Army. See Seiru-l-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 472.

1 This preference of personal pleasures to the performance of public duties by the later Mughal pro-consuls and sovereigns of the 18th century, marks a sad moral collapse, and was one of the causes that hastened the downfall of the Great Mughal Empire in India. Preferring their own personal ease and pleasures, these later Moslem Satraps and Emperors delegated the unchoked control of their State concerns into the hands of ministers, who often proved unscrupulous, venal and treacherous, and scrupled not to barter them to intriguers for the sake of what they deemed to be their individual and personal self-aggrandisement. It was a failing which stood out in jarring contrast to the noble traditions and examples of Babar, a Sher Shah, an Akbar, and an Aurangzeb, each of whom ‘scorned delights and lived laborious days.’ As bearing on the same point, I may also quote from Bernier’s Travels pp. 129-130 the weighty words of Aurangzeb, whilst admonishing one of his Omars who had ventured to express his fears lest the Emperor’s incessant occupations might be productive of injury to his health. Thus burst forth the Great Monarch in the following noble strain:—“There can surely be but one opinion among you learned men as to the obligations imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his charge. And yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude; that in devising means to promote it, I should never pass a sleepless night, nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him, I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health, and chiefly to study what may best minister to my personal ease and enjoyment. No doubt, he would have me abandon the government of this vast kingdom to some Visier; he seems not to consider that, being born the son

2 The Seiru-Mutakherin describes Alamchand as having formerly held the office of Diwan under Shuja’-u-d-din Khan, when the latter held the office of Na’im of Orissa. Seir, Vol. II, p. 473, Pers. text. It is worthy of note that in Kattak (Cuttack) town, there is still a quarter or Mahalla known as ‘Alamchand Bazar.’
in the period of Shujā’-u-d-daulah’s Nizāmat of Orissa, was a Muḥrār attached to the latter’s household. At this time, he was invested with the Deputy Diwānī of the Sūbah of Bengal, and being appointed Superintendent-General of the Affairs of the Nizāmat and the Diwānī, he effected considerable retrenchments in the public expenditure, and received the personal Mansāb of a Hazārī with the title of Rāi Rāiān—a title which until that time no officer of the Bengal Nizāmat or Divānī had enjoyed. And Hāji Ḍaḥmad 1 and Mirzā Bandī were sons of Mirzā Muḥammadh, who was a cup-bearer of A’ẓam Shāh, a son of Emperor Anrungζeb A’lamgīr. Hāji Aḥmad, on the death of his father, was appointed Cup-bearer and Superintendent of the jewellery-stores of Sultaṁ Muḥammadh A’ẓam Shāh. As A’ẓam Shāh 2 fell in the struggle for the Em-

do of a king, and placed on a throne, I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others; that it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State. This man cannot penetrate into the consequence of the inertertess he recommends, and he is ignorant of the evils that attend upon delegated power. It was not without reason that our great Sa’dī emphatically exclaimed:—‘Cease to be kings; Oh, cease to be kings; or determine that your dominions shall be governed only by yourselves...’ Alas! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence; we need no such officious counselors. Our wives too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury.” What a noble ideal of kingly duty!, and what a sad falling-off in later Moslem times!

1 In Seirul-Muttaḥerin and Stewart’s History of Bengal, it is stated that Mirzā Muḥammadh’s eldest son was Hāji Aḥmad, and his second son was Mirzā Muḥammadh Aḥī (the latter received the title of Muḥammadh Aḥī Varī Khān, through the favour of Shajā’-u-d-dīn Khān, whilst the latter was Nāṣim of Orissa). See Seir, Vol. II., p. 470.

2 A’ẓam Shāh, surnamed Prince Muḥammadh A’ẓam, was the second son of Emperor Aurangζeb, his eldest brother being Prince Muḥammadh Muṣam, afterwards surnamed Emperor Bahadur Shāh. On Emperor Aurangζeb’s death, there was a fratricidal struggle for the Empire between the above two brothers, with the result that at the sanguinary battle of Jajīr, near Agra, in 1119 A.H., A’ẓam Shāh, or Prince Muḥammadh A’ẓam, was killed, and Bahadur Shāh became victorious. See description of this sanguinary battle with the slaughter of several Princes Royal in the Seirul-Muttaḥerin, Vol. II., p. 377. Emperor Aurangζeb’s third son, Prince Kam Bakhsh, similarly fell shortly after in 1120 A.H., near Haidarabad, in a similar fratricidal struggle with
pire, at the time of this Revolution, the two brothers leaving the Imperial Capital proceeded to the Dakhin and thence to Odissa (Orissa), and entered there the service of Shuja\'u-d-daulah. Adopting a policy of tact and prudence which \"is a friend, and like water, takes to every hue,\" these two brothers got into the good graces of Shuja\'u-d-daulah. When Shuja\'u-d-daulah acquired the Nizamat of the Suhbah of Bengal, Hajji Ahmad became his intimate associate and councillor in all affairs of the Nizamat; whilst Mirza Bandi was invested with the Mansab and title of Ali Vardi Khan, and appointed Faujdar of the Qahlah of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). Similarly, the Hajji\'s eldest son, named Muhammad Riza, received the office of Darogah or Superintendent of the Bajutra of Murshidabad; his second son, Aga Muhammad Sa\'id, was appointed Deputy Faujdar of Bangpur; whilst his youngest son, Mirza Muhammad Hashim, was invested with the Mansab and title of Hashim Ali Khan. Pir Khan, who during Shuja\'u-d-daulah\'s stay at Burhanpur had rendered faithful services, and who from his youth to old age had passed his days in his company, was at this time invested with the Mansab and title of Shuja\' Quli Khan, and given the Faujdari of the Port of Hugli, on the transfer of Afsanulah Khan.

Merit is no passport to worldly advancement,
When times are propitious, failings seem accomplishments.

The new Faujdar of Hugli commenced exactions and oppressions. The Port of Hugli from his rapacity was ruined; and he commenced quarrelling with the European merchants. On the pretext of collecting the customs-dueties of the Imperial Customs-

Bahadur Shah. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 379. It ought to be noted that these fratricidal struggles did more to weaken the great Timuride Dynasty, than the ravages of Mahratta freebooters or the incursions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani.

1 'Mirza Bandi' was another surname of Mirza Muhammad Ali (subsequently styled Muhammad Ali Vardi Khan). In Seir it is stated that he formed the leading spirit in the Council or Cabinet of advisers of Nawab Shuja\'u-d-din Khan, and that the Faujdarship of Akbarnagar or Rajmahal was bestowed by Shuja\'u-d-din Khan on Ali Vardi Khan's nephew and son-in-law named Zain-udd-in Ahmad. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 472.

2 During the Nizamat of Ali Vardi Khan, Muhammad Riza received the title of 'Nawazish Muhammad Khan,' and was advanced to the office of Diwan of Bengal. I do not quite understand what the word 'Bajutra\' in the text means. It probably signifies \"Miscellaneous Revenue.\"
House, he requisitioned troops from the Emperor, commenced hostility with the English, Dutch, and French, and levied nazars and taxes. It is said that once unloading from English vessels bales of silk and cotton-stuffs, and placing these below the fort, he confiscated them. The English troops advancing from Calcutta, arrived near the fort. Shuja' Quli Khan finding himself an unequal match for them climbed down, when the English troops carried off their goods. The aforesaid Khan writing to Nawab Shuja'ud-daulah requisitioned troops to attack the English, and by cutting off supplies of Qasimbazar and Calcutta, he reduced them to straits. The Chief of the English Factory at Qasimbazar was compelled in consequence to arrange terms of peace, by agreeing to pay three lakhs of rupees as nazar to Shuja'ud-daulah. The Chief of the English Factory in Calcutta, borrowing the nazaraana money from the Calcutta bankers, remitted it to Shuja'ud-daulah.

In short, as the good services of Shuja'ud-daulah came to the notice of the Emperor through the medium of Khan Dauran Khan, in recognition thereof, the Nizamat of the Saba of Behar on the transfer of Fakhru'd-daulah, brother of Raushanu-d-daulah Turabkhan Khan, was also conferred by the Emperor on Nawab Shuja'ud-daulah. The aforesaid Nawab considering Muhammad Ali Vardi Khan to be a person of capacity and tact, appointed him to be his Deputy Governor of Behar, and sent him to 'Azimabadd (Patna) with five thousand cavalry and infantry. Ali Vardi Khan, arriving in the Saba of Behar, associated with himself, in the administration, General Abdul Karim.

1 Fakhrud-daulah was Saba of Behar from 1140 A.H. for about five years. He was given to ease and pleasures, and ill-treated not only his minister, Shaiikh Abbass, who enjoyed the confidence of the public, but also insulted Khwaja Mir'azam (brother of Amir-i-Unwar Samsamu-d-daulah Khan Duran Khwaja Asam). The latter in consequence left Patna, went to Delhi, and complained to his brother, who held great influence at the court of the Emperor, Muhammad Shah. Fakhrud-daulah was at once recalled, and Behar was added to the Bengal settlement under Nawab Shuja'ud-din Khan. The latter appointed Muhammad Ali Vardi Khan as his Deputy in the Nizamat of Behar, conferring on him (with the sanction of the Emperor) the title of Mubabat Jung, and promising him to the rank of a Panjshahiri. Ali Vardi ruled over Behar vigorously. See Seirat-Muta-Beerin, Vol. II, pp. 469, 472. For Raushanu-d-daulah see page 472, Vol. II, Seir.
Khān, Chief of the Afghāns of Dārbhanga, and raised a levy of efficient troops. Entrusting the reins of authority over administrative and revenue affairs to the hands of Abdul Karim Khān, Ā’lī Vardi Khān sent the former on an expedition against the Banjarah tribe, who were a class of marauders and murderers, and who in the guise of traders and travellers used to plunder the imperial domains and treasures. Abdul Karim Khān, subduing the Banjarah tribe, gained a large booty. Muhammad Ā’lī Vardi, by chastising the Banjarah tribes, achieved a high reputation. And being aided by the Afghāns, Ā’lī Vardi advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rajahs of Bitiah and Bhawārah, who were refractory and turbulent. Their regions had never previously been trod by the feet of the armies of former Nāzims, nor had their proud heads ever bended before to any of the former Subahs. Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After fighting with them incessantly, Ā’lī Vardi Khān became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ā’lī Vardi Khān carried off a large booty, amounting to several lakhs, in specie and other effects. And settling with the Rajahs the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiers also were enriched by the booty, and the strength of Ali Vardi’s administration increased. And drawing his forces against the Chakwar tribe, who had acquired a world-wide notoriety for their marauding propensities, Ali Vardi also extirpated them. Invading the tracts of the refractory and turbulent Zamindar of Bhojpūr, and of Rajah Sundar Singh, Zamindar of Tikari, and of Nāmdār Khān Muīn, who, sheltered by dense forests and rocks,

1 Abdul Karim Khān was a Rohilla Afghan; he was very brave and powerful, and had a large Afghan following. See Seir Vol. II, p. 478.

2 Banjarah is described as a zamindari with 100 horse and 1000 foot, under Subah Berar in the Ahin-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 230. The tribe of Banjarah were Rajputs in caste.

3 Bhaunor or Bhawarab is mentioned as a Mahal under Sarkar Tirhut, in Subah Belhar. See Ahin, Vol. II, p. 165. Stewart inaccurately calls it Phulwarah. Phulwari is a Mahal under Sarkar Belhar.

4 Bhojpūr, a pargana in Sarkar Rohtas, Bihar, west of Arrah and north of Sasseram. The Rajahs of Bhojpūr called themselves Ujjimnia Rajahs, as they claimed descent from the ancient Rajāhs of Ujjain in Malwah. See Ahin Bloch. 1r., Vol. I, p. 513 n.

5 I cannot trace of which place in Bihar he was a local chieftain.
had not cared for former Nāqims, and had neglected to discharge loyal duties, and without coercion had never paid the Imperial revenue, Ali Vardi set about chastising every one of them, subdued their tracts thoroughly, levied the revenues from them to the fullest extent, and reduced them to thorough subjection. And similarly punishing other insolent rebels, Ali Vardi Khān placed the ring of submission on their ears. And in a short period becoming master of immense treasures and a large army, Ali Vardi’s power and prestige grew enormously. As ‘Abdul Karim Khān held control over all the State affairs, he exercised absolute sway, and ignored Muḥammad Ali Vardi Khān. Hence the latter becoming suspicions of the former, inveigled him by some device into his own house, and slaying him raised the standard of triumph. And through the agency of Muḥammad Ishaq Khān,1 Diwān of the Imperial Khalīṣāh, Ali Vardi Khān opened negotiations with Qārun-d-dīn Khān,2 the Imperial Vizier, and also with other Imperial Ministers, and succeeded in obtaining directly from the Emperor the title of Mahabat Jang.5 Balador, without Shujā’u-d-daunlah’s recommendation. Shujā’u-d-daunlah, who reposed full confidence in Ḥāji Aḥmad and Ali Vardi Khān, viewed without misgivings this elevation of Ali Vardi’s rank; but his son, Sarfaraz Khān, felt misgivings about it. On account of this difference in views, between the father and the son a coolness set in. Another son of Shujā’u-d-daunlah by a different wife was Muḥammad Taqī Khān. He was Deputy Nāqim of Orissa, and was not only brave and bold but was also popular with the Army. Ḥāji Aḥmad and Ali Vardi Khān basing their intrigue on his rivalry contrived to bring about a rupture, advantageous to themselves, between the two brothers. When the plan of this intrigue was matured, Ḥāji Aḥmad secured the adhesion of Bābā Rājān ‘Ālam Chānd and Jagatset Fateh Chānd; and the

3 The Seir-i-Mutakherin, however, (see n. ante) states that Shujā’u-d-dīn Khān secured from Emperor Muḥammad Shāh the title of ‘Mahabat Jang’ for his favourite and protégé, Ali Vardi Khān.
Triumvirate now waited for the development of their conspiracy. Shujā'ū-d-daulah, by the advice of the Triumvirate, was induced not to entrust the control of any affair to Sarfarāz Khān. When the fibres of mistrust thus sown took root in the soil of the hearts of the son and the father, as well as of the two brothers, and these were about to germinate, Muḥammad Taqi Khān, ascertaining the real origin of this misunderstanding, proceeded from Orissa to Bengal, to personally interview his father and brother. The Councilors of Shujā'ū-d-daulah, finding the odds of the times evenly balanced, fanned strifes and fomented jealousies between the two brothers, so much so that both the latter prepared to fight. Muḥammad Taqi Khān with his army rode out, and arrayed his force on a sandy plain, opposite to the Murshidabad Fort, on the other side of the river Bhāgirati. Thence he advanced to interview his father, but did not plunder the City. And the army of Sarfarāz Khān was arranged in battle-array from Naktakhāl to Shāhnagar, and was ready to kindle the fire of war and slaughter. Secretly tempting by offers of bribe the commanders and officers of Muḥammad Taqi's army, Sarfarāz Khān won them over to his side, and sending messages for Muḥammad Taqi's capture, waited for the enemy, in the hope that when the two contending hosts would face each other in battle-array, his own officers would capture Muḥammad Taqi and bring him in. Muḥammad Taqi Khān, who in bravery was the Rustam1 of his day, did not care for the enemy. The negotiations for peace and war passed and re-passed between the two brothers. When Nawāb Shujā'ū-d-daulah saw that affairs had taken a grave turn, he intervened, reconciled the brothers, and prevented their fighting. And out of regard for the feelings of Sarfarāz Khān and the Begams, rebuking several times Muḥammad Taqi Khān, Shujā'ū-d-daulah prohibited the latter from coming to see and salute him. At length, at the intercession of Sarfarāz Khān's mother, he pardoned Muḥammad Taqi Khān, and permitted him to go back to the Sūbāh of Orissa. But on arrival in Orissa, in the year 1147 A.H., owing to the witchcraft of the enemy, he2 died. On this, Murshid Quli Khān, surnamed Majbur,3 who was a son-in-law

1 The Persian Hercules. His dauntless bravery and splendid heroism has been immortalised in the Shahnamah of Ferdowsi, the Persian Homer.
2 In Massira-l-Umarah, Vol. II, p. 344, "Makhunur," which seems to be correct.
3 Muhammad Taqi Khān, the Nāqīm of Orissa and a son of Nawāb Shujā'ū-
of Shujāʿu-d-daulah and was already Deputy Nāzim of Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca), and was a son of a merchant of the Port of Surat, and who in his writings and compositions, and in his poetical productions and caligraphy, enjoyed great excellence, was appointed Deputy Nāzim of the Subah of Orissa.

During the Viceroyalty of Nawāb Jaʿfar Khān, whilst the abovementioned Murshid Quli Khān stayed at Murshidābād, a person named Mir Ḥabīb, a native of Shīrāz, spoke Persian very fluently, though he was not read in that language. By chance, Mir Ḥabīb arrived in the Port of Hāgli, where he earned his livelihood by retailing the wares of Mughal merchants. Owing to his kindred mercantile pursuits, and also owing to his conversational powers, Mir Ḥabīb quickly ingratiated himself with Murshid Quli Khān, and entered the latter's service. When Nawāb Jaʿfar Khān conferred the Governorship of Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca) on Murshid Quli Khān, Mir Ḥabīb also went in the latter's company to Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca), and was attached to the latter as his Deputy. By personally attending to minute details, and by adopting a policy of economy, Mir Ḥabīb curtailed the State expenditure on account of the Nawarāh (war-vessels), the artillery, and

d-din Khān, lies buried in the Qadam Rasul building at Cuttack, which had been erected by Nawāb Shujāʿu-d-din Khān, when the latter was Nāzim of Orissa. The tomb of Muḥammad Taqī Khān is now in a dilapidated condition. On it I found still the following inscription:

I may add that the Seiru-1-Mutakbirin (Pers. text, p. 554), makes mention of this Katak Qadam Rasul building, and of the Deputy Governor, Abdul Nabi Khān (father of Abdur Rasul Khān, another Deputy Governor of Orissa), being entombed there. In this connection, I may point out there is a historical anachronism in the Qadam Rasul building inscription which states: “It was erected by Shujāʿu-d-din Khān in the time of Alamgir II.” Shujāʿu-d-din was not a contemporary of Alamgir II at all, he was a contemporary of Alamgir I whilst at Katak, and of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, whilst Nāzim of Bengal.

1 The reader must not confound this Murshid Quli Khān (son-in-law of Shujāʿu-d-daulah whose real name was Mirza Lutfullah) with Nawab Jaʿfar Khān, who had formerly held the title of Murshid Quli Khān. On reference to the account of Jaʿfar Khān in the text, it would appear that Jaʿfar Khān received several titles in succession; first he received the title of Kartalab Khān, next that of Murshid Quli Khān, and lastly that of Mutamān-ul-Mulk Alan-d-daulah Jafr Khān Nasir Jang,” his original name having been Mirza Hadi.
the army, and thus rendered good services, and in consequence, shortly after, his official rank was raised. Finding the tract of Jahangir-nagar (Dacca) to be fertile, profit-yielding, and suited for trading business, he revived the system of Sānda-i-khaṣ current during the Viceroyalty of Prince Āgimū-sh-Shān, and by means of other exactions, both he and his Chief amassed wealth. On the pretext of collecting the Imperial revenue, he induced Nūru-l-lah, Zamindar of Parganah Jalālpur, who was the leading Zamindar, together with other Zamindars, to attend his Kachiri (Court). Adroitly dismissing the other Zamindars, one after another, Mir Ḥābīb kept Nūru-l-lah under duress. At midnight, he permitted him to return home, escorted by a number of Afghāns. The latter, at the instigation of Mir Ḥābīb, slew Nūru-l-lah, in a narrow and dark alley. Next morning, Mir Ḥābīb announced that Nūru-l-lah had fled, sent a detachment to his house, confiscated his treasures and jewellery and effects and silk-stuffs, amounting in value to several laks, as well as his Abyssinian male and female slaves. Mir Ḥābīb possessed himself of the above, and thus acquired aristocratic paraphernalia.

Subsequently leaguing with Ağā Şādiq, Zamindār of Patpasàr, who in artfulness and cunning was his match, Mir Ḥābīb sent him on an expedition against Tiprah. By chance the Ağā met the nephew of the Rājah of Tiprah, who having escaped from the con-

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1 On reference to the Āin-i-Akbāri (Vol. II, pp. 132-133), I find two parganahs with the name of 'Jallapur,' one being Sawali (apparently, Sarail), commonly called Jallapur (revenue, 1,867,230 doms) under Sarkar Fathabad, another being Daulat Jallapur (revenue, 1,280 doms) under Sarkar Mahmūdābād. The first Jallapur or Sarail is situated in the Brahmanbaria Sub-Division of the present Tiprah district, and when I was in charge of that sub-division in 1896, I found the head of the Musalmān family there (who was still called a Diwan) in an impoverished condition. The second Jallapur parganah is now in the modern Faridpur district, and is owned, I believe, by the present Musalmān Zamindars of Habibganj in that district. It may be that 'Habibganj' owes its name to Mir Habib; specially as there was formerly a 'Chakla Habibganj.'

9 I fail to find Patpasàr in the Āin-i-Akbari. I have not been able to trace where it is, nor know if any descendants of this family survive. I may, however, add here that local traditions prevalent in Tiprah mention that the Diwans of Horishpur (another old family of Musalmān Zamindars, now in an impoverished condition) had something to do with the old Tiprah Rājahs, and with their conquest by the Mughals. I am not sure if Ağa or Ağa Sadiq of the text was connected with the above family.
trol of his uncle was wandering away from his native country, and who at this time happened to stay within the Imperial dominions. The aforesaid Āqā considering his company very lucky kept him in his company, promising to instal him in the Zamin-dāri. The Rājāh’s nephew, according to the saying,—

“The hare of that country can assuredly catch the dog of that tract,”—
guided the Āqā through the rocky defiles and river-fords, and led him to the country of Tiprah. The Rājāh of Tiprah, who was careless and was unaware of the incursion of the Imperial army, was paralysed by this sudden on-rush of the Imperialists, and not having the capacity to fight fled to the summit of the hills. The tract of Tiprah, without any difficulty, fell into the hands of Mir Ḥabib, who by fightings stormed the fort of Qhandigadah, which was the residence of the Rājāh. Capturing numerous booty, Mir Ḥabib brought the tract of Tiprah within the Imperial domains. After completing the settlement of this tract, Mir Ḥabib appointed Āqā Ṣadiq as Fanjdār of Tiprah, and the

1 The present residence of the Rājāh of Hill Tiprah is at Agartala. I do not know where Qhandigadah lies. It could not have been far away from Agartala. Tiprah or Commilla does not appear in Akbar’s rent-roll of Bengal.

2 A full account of Mir Ḥabib is given in the Seīr-ul-Mutakāberin, Vol. II, Pers. text, pp. 598, 591, 590, &c. (also see Maasir-1-Umara, Vol. II, p. 844). He subsequently joined the Mahrattas, and induced the latter to invade Orissa and Bengal in order to have his revenge against Ali Vardi Khān for supplanting from the Governorship of Orissa his old master and benefactor, Munṣhīd Quli Khān (son-in-law of Ṣujjūd-d-din Khān). He appears to have been a man of wonderful resourcefulness, bravery and tact, and gave no end of trouble to Ali Vardi, who at length had to patch up a peace with Mir Ḥabib and the Mahrattas, by appointing Mir Ḥabib as his Deputy Nazim in Orissa, the arrangement being that Mir Ḥabib was to pay the Mahratta army of occupation from the revenue of Orissa, besides receiving from Ali Vardi an annual subsidy of twelve laks. Mir Ḥabib’s signal services to the Mahrattas in the end were most charitably requited by the latter, for Janoji, son of the Mahratta Raghoji Bhonsla, treacherously murdered him at Katak (see Seīr-ul-Mutakāberin, Vol. II, p. 592, Pers. text), after having invited him to a feast. But throughout their rise, treachery was their great weapon of offence and defence, and the Mahratta freebooters could not lay it down, even in the treatment of one, who, though distinct from them in race and religion, had given them the virtual mastery over the Province of Orissa.
Rājah's nephew as the Rājah, whilst he himself returned to Jahāṅgirnagar (Dacca) with treasures, valuables and elephants. Murshid Quli Khān sent to Nawāb Shujā‘u-d-daulah an account of the conquest of Tiprah, together with the best specimens of the wares and silk-stuffs of that tract. The Nawāb named that tract (of Tiprah) Raushānābād, and invested Murshid Quli Khān with the title of 'Bahādur,' and conferred on Mir Ḥabib the title of 'Khān.'

In short, when the Deputy-Nizamat of the Sūbah of Odisah (Orissa) was bestowed on Murshid Quli Khān, the latter, on the recommendation of Nawāb Shujā‘u-d-daulah, was given by the Emperor the title of Rustam-Jang. Observing the old age of his father, and fearing lest after the latter's death Rustam-Jang might fight against him, Sarfarāz Khān detained at Murshidābād as hostages Rustam-Jang’s son, named Yahyā Khān, and his wife, named Durdanah Begam. Although this incident caused some bitterness of feeling to Murshid Quli Khān, the latter had no alternative but to endure it in silence. Murshid Quli Khān with his army arrived in the Sūbah of Orissa, and appointed Mir Ḥabibu-l-lah Khān to be his Deputy there, in the same way as the latter had been his Deputy at Jahāṅgirnagar. By use of diplomacy, and by dint of statesmanship and energy, Mir Ḥabib succeeded in chastising and reducing to order all refractory Zimindārs of Orissa. He neglected no step towards the perfect organisation and settlement of Orissa, and effected a surplus in its revenue. During the commotion in Muḥammad Taqi Khān’s time, the Rājah of Parsutam had removed Jagannath, the Hindu

1 Evidently, the Rājah was no longer an independent Rājah, but was left more or less as a feudatory prince.

2 When I was at Brahmanbaria in 1896, I found the Court peons' badges still bearing the word "Chaklah Raushānabad." I do not know if they have been since changed.


4 He was hitherto only 'Mir Ḥabīb.' His name was changed to 'Mir Ḥabibu-l-lah Khān,' on his receiving the title of 'Khān' from Emperor Muḥammad Shīh, in recognition of his services in connection with the conquest of Tiprah. See note ante in regard to the title 'Khān' and its significance, under Muḥamman Emperors of India.
God, from the limits of the Šūbah of Odisah (Orissa), and had guarded it on the summit of a hill across the Chilka lake. In consequence of the removal of the idol, there was a falling-off to the tune of nine lakhs of rupees in the Imperial revenue, accruing from pilgrims. Establishing friendly relations with Mir Ḥabibu-l-lah Khān, and paying nazár to the Nazīm of the time, Rājah Dand Deo brought back Jagannāth the Hindu God to Parsūtam (Puri), and re-established the worship of Jagannāth at Puri. An account of the worship of Jagannāth has been already given in the text of this History.

When the Deputy-Nizamat of Odisah (Orissa) was conferred on Murschid Quli Khān Rustam-Jang, the Deputy-Nizamat of the Khakkah of Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) was bestowed on Sarfaraz Khān. The latter appointed as his Deputy-Governor Ghālib Ali Khān who was a scion of the Royal family of Persia, and deputed Ghālib Ali Khān to Dacca. Sarfaraz Khān also appointed Jasunat Rāi, the late Nawāb Ja'far Khān's Secretary, and his own tutor-

1 'Parsūtam' is another name for Puri. See Hunter's 'Orissa.'

2 It may be noted here there was a radical change in the administrative machinery of Bengal, during the latter part of Emperor Aurangzēb's reign. The offices of Nazīm and Diwan had been hitherto kept quite distinct, but a retrograde step towards their eventual amalgamation was taken by Aurangzēb, when the latter appointed his favourite officer Murschid Quli Khān I. (afterwards Nawāb Ja'far Khān) to the dual offices of Diwan of Bengal and Orissa and Deputy Nazīm of Bengal and Orissa. Murschid Quli Khān I. could not personally perform the functions of these dual offices, and whilst himself personally holding the portfolio of Deputy Nizamat of Bengal (the Chief Nazīm being still Prince Azim-šāh Shāh), he delegated the office of Diwan in Bengal to Syed Akram Khān and, on the latter's death, to Syed Razi Khān, (son-in-law of Shuja'-ud-dīn Khān) and that of Deputy Nazīm and Diwan of Orissa to Shuja'-ud-dīn Khān (his son-in-law). Emperor Farrukh Šir, on his accession to the throne of Delhi, further confirmed and accentuated the above administrative change by uniting in the person of Nawāb Ja'far Khān the offices of Nazīm of Bengal and Orissa, and of Diwan of those Provinces. This union of the two offices, whilst weakening the Imperial hold thereon, greatly added to the prestige of the Bengal Satrāp, and gave him almost a semi-regal aspect. This regal aspect was further broadened by Emperor Muhammad Šāh adding Behar to the Bengal Satrāp, whilst Nawāb Shuja'-ud-dīn was the Bengal Viceroy. For purposes of administration, Shuja'-ud-dīn appointed a State Council of three members to help him in the administration, and divided his entire Satrāp, consisting of three Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, into four Political or Administrative Divisions, viz.: (1) Bengal Proper, comprising Western, Central, and a portion of Northern Bengal, (2) Jahangir-nagar or
guardian, to be the Diwān and Minister of that place, and sent him to Dacca, in company of Ghālib Ali Khān. And out of regard for Nafisah Begam, his sister, he bestowed the office of Superintendent of the Nawarah (war-vessels) on Murād A‘li Khān,\(^1\) son of Syed Raqi Khān. The control over Fiscal and Home affairs, and the management of Crown-lands, Jāgirs, war-vessels, artillery, Accounts and Customs-house were all entrusted to Munshi Jasūnat Rāi. In that the aforesaid Munshi had been trained up by Nawāb Ja‘far Khān, by dint of honesty and integrity, by thorough attention to details and by ripe wisdom, he effected not only an increase in the State Revenue, but secured the happiness of the people. He completely abolished the system of Saudā-i-khas, and banished the exactions and innovations introduced by Mir Ḥabīb, during the regime of Murshid Quli Khān.\(^2\) Putting forth laudable efforts to keep down the selling-rates of food-grains, and effecting cheapness in their prices, he threw open the western gate of the Fort of Jahangirnagar (or Dacca), which Nawāb Amir-ul-Umarā Shāistah Khān had closed, inscribing on it a prohibition to the effect that no one should open it, until he succeeded in reducing

Dacca Division comprising Eastern and Southern Bengal, and a small portion of Northern Bengal, and including Sylhet and Chittagong, (3) Behar Division, (4) Orissa Division. Shujā‘u-d-dīn Khān directly administered the first Division, and appointed a Deputy Nazim or Deputy-Governor to hold charge of each of the other three Administrative Divisions, under his general control and supervision.

1 Murād A‘li Khān was a son of Nafisah Begam, uterine sister of Sarfarāz Khān. Nafisah Begam was a daughter of Shujā‘u-d-dīn Khān, and was married to Syed Raqi Khān, who was Diwān of Bengal, on the death of Syed Raqi Khān, during the regime of Nawāb Ja‘far Khān. On Syed Raqi Khān’s death, during the reign of Emperor Farrukh Sīr, on the nomination of Nawāb Ja‘far Khān (his maternal grandfather), Mirzā Asadu-l-lah received the title of Sarfarāz Khān and was appointed Diwān of Bengal. Sarfarāz Khān continued to be the nominal Diwān of Bengal, whilst his father Shujā‘u-d-dīn Khān succeeded Nawāb Ja‘far Khān as Nāṣim of Bengal, being deprived, however, of all real power, which was transferred to the State Council, consisting of Hāji Ahmad (brother of A‘li Yārdī Khān), Diwān Alamchand, and Fatehchand Jagat Set.

2 Mirzā Lutfullāh, surnamed Murshid Quli Khān II, son-in-law of Shuja‘u-d-dīn Khān. He was first Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca), and was subsequently transferred in the same capacity to Orissa. He should not be confounded with Nawāb Ja‘far Khān who also held the title of Murshid Quli Khān.
the price of food-grains to one sicer of the Bazar weight per Dirham, as was current in the Nawab’s time. From that time until now, no one else had been able to effect such cheapness in the rate of food-grains. He rendered the tract of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) fertile, like the garden of Iram, by sprinkling on it the waters of liberality, equity and justice; and in consequence, Sarfaraz Khan won a good name amongst all classes of his subjects. At the desire of Nafisah Begam, Murad Ali Khan was married to a daughter of Sarfaraz Khan, and was appointed Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) in the place of Ghulam Ali Khan. Murad Ali Khan now promoted Raj Ballab, a clerk attached to the Admiralty, to the office of Peshtakar thereof, and commenced oppressions. Munshi Jasunat Rai, who had acquired a good name amongst the people, apprehending that his reputation might be tarnished, resigned his office of Divan, and the Province of Jahangirnagar or Dacca turned to desolation through the tyranny of the new oppressive Deputy Nazim.

Mirza Muhammad Sa’id, the second son of Hajji Ahmad, who was on behalf of Sarfaraz Khan Faujdar of the Chaklah of Ghoraghut and Rangpur and Kuch Behar, desolated the Mahals of Rangpur by his exactions and oppressions, and acquiring the treasures of

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1 See n. ante and the text with reference to Nawab Shaista Khan.
2 See n. ante.
3 Nafisah Begam was a sister of Sarfaraz Khan, and Murad Ali Khan was a son of Nafisah Begam, by Syed Razi Khan, Sarfaraz Khan’s predecessor in the office of Divan of Bengal. Thus, Murad Ali Khan was a nephew of Sarfaraz Khan. He, hitherto, held the office of Superintendent of the Nawab (war-vessels) at Dacca, and on his marriage with Sarfaraz Khan’s daughter, was promoted to the office of Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca), in succession of Ghulam Ali Khan. It may be interesting to note that there is a place called Muradnagar, near Dandkandi, in Commillah, which is associated with some former Nawabs of Dacca, and where some landed property is still, I believe, owned by the Bhikunapahari Nawabs of Patna, said to be descended from an extinct old Nawab family of Dacca. I fancy, therefore, Muradnagar owes its name and origin to this Murad Ali Khan.
4 Rajballab’s son, Kishan Ballab, in the time of Nawab Sirajud-daulah, fled from Dacca to Calcutta, and by his intrigues brought about a rupture between Sirajud-daulah and the English. See Siru-i-Mutakhirin, Vol. II, Pers. text, p.621. Rajballab was the evil genius of Murad Ali Khan, as Amanchand was the evil genius of Shuja’ud-din Khan, and Batanchand that of the Syed brothers. See note ante. Rajballab subsequently ingratiated himself with the infamous Miran, son of Mir Jasfar.
those whom he oppressed, he mobilised an army. Requisitioning
troops from the Emperor, he marched with his troops against the
Rajahs of Kuch Behar and Dinajpur. Those Rajas fancying they
were masters of large armies, and also fancying that they were
sheltered by numerous forests and rivers, had hitherto paid little
heed to the authority of the Nāzīm. By dint of diplomacy and
by use of force, and by wars and battles, Mirzā Muḥammad Saʿīd
conquered those tracts, and acquired possession of the treasures,
buried hoards, jewelleries and effects of those Rajahs. Owing to
the immense treasure—indeed the treasure of a Croesus—that thus
fell into his hands, he acquired much power. After the conquest
of Kuch Bihār, by humouring Ḥāji Āḥmad, on the recommendation
of Nawāb Shujāʿūn-d-daulah and Sarfarāz Khān, Mirzā Muḥammad Saʿīd
received the titles of ‘Khān’ and ‘Bahādur.’

Nawāb Shujāʿūn-d-daulah, on the advice of his Triumvirate
Council, deputed Sarfarāz Khān to chastise Badiʿu-z-zāmān,
zamindār of Birbhām. Sheltered by rocks and forests and support-
ed by numerous Afghāns, this zamindār did not bend his head
in submission to the Nāzīm, and failed to pay the revenue beyond
the stipulated tribute. He had also diverted to dancing-parties
and pleasures fourteen laks of revenue derived from the measured
and cultivated lands, that had been endowed for the express pur-
pose of helping the poor and the scholarly. The zamindār him-
self was plunged in dissipations and frivolities. On the ridges of
Khubra Kandi and Lakra Khoudah and of other hills and narrow
rocky defiles, he had mounted strong guards, and cut off all ingress
and egress of the Imperial troops and scouts, and he fancied the
forest flanked by the hills to be a secure recess, in that no one could
enter that tract without his passport. He had appointed his
brother, Aẓām Khān, to administer his State, and his son, Aʿlī Quli
Khān, to command his army, and Naḥbat Khān to be his Diwān
and Minister. Badiʿu-z-zāmān himself did no work, but wasted
his time on flute-playing and on carousals. Sarfarāz Khān sent
him a message, containing promises and rewards in the event of
his submission to Nawāb Shujāʿūn-d-daulah, and embodying also
threats and punishments in the event of his recalcitrance and
disloyalty. Subsequently, Sarfarāz Khān despatched via Bardwān
his special confidantes, Khwajah Basant and Mir Sharfu-d-din, the
second Paymaster-General, with a large army. Badiʿu-z-zāmān
now prudently woke up from the slumber of vanity, and teu-
dered his homage and submission. Inducing the aforesaid Mir and the above Khwājah to become his interceders, he sent through the latter a petition expressive of submission and loyalty, and subsequently in the company of the former he set out for Murshidabad. And after waiting on Sarfarāz Khān, through the introduction of Mir Sharfu-d-din, Badi‘u-z-zamān was granted an audience by Nawāb Shuja‘u-d-daulah, who not only pardoned his past misde-meanour, but generously bestowed on him khila‘ts. Badi‘u-z-zamān agreed to pay three laks of rupees annually on account of the Imperial revenue, consented to abide by the ordinary procedures for payment of land-revenue and for execution of orders, and furnished as his surety Karatābānd, zamīndār of Bardwān. He was then allowed to return to Bīrbhum.

Towards the close of the year 1151 A.H., when Nādir Shah invaded the Imperial Capital, and Sama‘amu-d-daulah Khān-daurān fell in the battle against Nādir Shah, Nawāb Shuja‘u-d-daulah being ill and confined to bed permitted Yahyā Khān and Dur-dānah Begam (son and wife respectively of Murshid Quli Khān) to go to Orissa, and proclaimed Sarfarāz Khān as his heir. Earnestly exhorting the latter to confide in Hāji Ahmad, the Rāi Rāśān and Jagatset, and always to respect their feelings, and entrusting to him control over the offices of the Nizāmat, Nawāb Shuja‘u-d-din Khān died on the 13th Zillujā of the aforesaid year. After laying to rest Shuja‘u-d-daulah’s corpse in the sepulchre which he (Shuja‘u-d-daulah) had in his lifetime erected at Dehpara, opposite to the Fort and the City of Murshidabad, Sarfarāz

1 Badi‘u-z-zamān Khān of Bīrbhum, and Karatābānd of Bardwān, appear to have been the two principal zamīndārs in Western Bengal at the time. I understand the descendants of Badi‘u-z-zamān still survive at Bīrbhum, but are in an impoverished condition.

2 A full description of Nādir Shah’s invasion will be found in all Indian histories, and also in Sirr-i-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 482.

3 This battle took place at Karnal, 4 stages (mazār) distant from Shajahanabad or Delhi, in 1151 A.H. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 482.

4 That is, Rai Alamchand, Shuja‘u-d-din Khān’s de facto Diwan. He received the title of ‘Rā‘ī Rāśān’ from the Emperor, on the recommendation of his master, Nawāb Shuja‘u-d-din Khān. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 471.

5 It should be noted that both “Shuja‘u-d-din Khān” and “Shuja‘u-d-daulah” signify one and the same person. These were his titles. This ‘Shuja‘u-d-daulah,’ better known as ‘Shuja‘u-d-din Khān’ must not be confounded with the Nawāb Vizier Shuja‘u-d-daulah of later history.
Khān mounted the masnad of the Nizāmat in the place of his father.

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NIZĀMAT OF NAWĀB SARFARĀZ KHĀN.

When Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān mounted the masnad of the Nizāmat of Bengal, agreeably to the dying instructions of his father, he appointed Hāji Aḥmad, the Rāi Rāiān and Jagatset to be his Councillors in respect of Revenue and Administrative affairs. But these meddling more than before in State affairs ignored the old officers of Sarfarāz Khān who expected promotions and mansabs, and further intrigued to bring about their disgrace and overthrow. Although Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān and the Begams were anxious to promote their old officers, owing to the opposition of the Triumvirate Council, they could not do so. The Triumvirate Council, after secret vows and stipulations, plotted to call in Ali Vardi Khān with his army from ‘Azimabad (Patna) under pretext of visiting the Nāẓīm, and then to instal him on the masnad of the Nizāmat in supercession of Sarfarāz Khān. And in deliberations over this plot they passed days and nights, but failed to mature any plan. At this time, Nādir Shāh, the king of Persia, had defeated Muḥammad Shāh, captured Nizāmu-l-Mulk, Burhānu-l-Mulk, Qamru-d-din Khān, and Muḥammad Khān Bangāsh, &c., who were the pillars of the Mughal Empire, and en-

1 The author of the Maaseru-l-Umar states that Sarfarāz Khān rendered himself unpopular by adopting a policy of rigid economy and retrenchment, and by reducing his army, and that this gave an opportunity to Ali Vardi Khān to intrigue, in concert with the latter's brother, Hāji Aḥmad, who was Sarfarāz Khān's chief councillor. See p. 844, Maaseru-l-Umar, Vol. II, p. 844. It should, however, be added in justice to Sarfarāz Khān's memory that this policy was inspired by the faithless Triumvirate Councillors, whom Sarfarāz Khān trusted owing to the dying exhortations of his father, and that it formed a part of the despicable trap they were cunningly laying to ruin and overthrow their benefactor's son. One feels sick to dwell on such tales of vile treachery, for Sarfarāz Khān from all accounts appears to have been an ideally noble and mild prince.

2 Nādir Shāh was a soldier of fortune. After capturing Shāh Tahmasp, King of Persia, he held a Council of State, and got himself elected as King of Persia. See his life in Namai Kauveran (p. 153), which also gives his portrait.

3 For details, see Seiru-l-Mutakherin, p. 482 (Pers. text). It would appear, even at this crisis in the fate of the Empire, the venal Ministers of Emperor
tering Shāh-jahānābād (Delhi) 1 with his Persian troops had plundered the palaces of both the Emperor and his nobles. In consequence, the whole Empire was shaken to its foundation. 2 The Triumvirate Council persuaded Sarfarāz Khān to introduce in Bengal the coins and the Khutbah 3 of Nādir Shāh, and about the same time they remitted the confiscated treasures of Shu-jā’u-d-daulah and the Bengal tribute in charge of Murid Khān, who had arrived in Murshidābād on behalf of Qamru-d-din Khān 4 long before Nādir Shāh’s invasion. Hājī Ahmad and Ali Vardi Khān intrigued with Murid Khān, and won him over to their side. On the withdrawal of Nādir Shāh, they carried tales of the introduction of the Nādir Shāhi coin and Khutbah to Nawāb Qamru-d-din Khān and to Nizāmu-l-Mulk, and laid various other charges against Sarfarāz Khān. Aided by the machinations of the Imperial ministers, 5 they secured a royal patent granting to them the Niẓāmat of Bengal, and authorising the execution of Sarfarāz Khān, 6 on account of his treason in introducing the coin and Khutbah of Nādir Shāh. When the Muḥammad Shāh could not put aside personal feelings and cliquish jealousies—the great bane of all Moslem races and the grave of so many Muslum Empires,—nor could combine loyally in one common and sacred cause to repel the enemy’s invasion of India. Burhan-ul-Mulk was the greatest delinquent in this respect. Only Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Qamru-d-din Khān appear in better light, and seem to have worthily maintained the high traditions of their great offices. For Nizāmu-l-Mulk Asif Jah, and Qamru-d-din Khān, see Masārus-ul-Umarā, Vol. III, p. 387, and Vol. I, p. 358.

1 For some gruesome details of the sack of Delhi and the general massacre of its population, see Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 485.  
2 Nādir Shāh’s invasion was one of the great external calamities that overtook the Mughal Empire and hastened its ruin.  
3 Khutba was also recited after Nādir Shāh’s name in all the mosques of Delhi on his entry there. See Seir.  
4 He was at the time Chief Vizier or Prime Minister of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh.  
5 The principal Imperial Minister who sided with Hājī Ahmad and Ali Vardi Khān in their intrigue, was Mutamūd-d-daulah Iṣhaq Khān. The latter exercised at the time great influence over Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. See p. 489, Seir-ul-Mutakherin.  
6 The Triumvirate Councillors were themselves responsible for this treason, which was a part of their adroitly-laid plot to overthrow Sarfarāz Khān, by subsequently denouncing the latter before the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. It is a pity Sarfarāz Khān the Good, owing to his guilelessness and lack of insight, could not see through their despicable game of villainy.
arrow of their efforts reached the butt of their aim, the Triumvirate Council represented to Sarfarāz Khān that the resources of the State were limited, whilst its expenditure was heavy, and thereby persuaded the Nawāb to reduce the strength of his Army. They at the same time secretly sent instructions to Ali Vardi Khān to mobilise troops and collect arms, in view of the invasion of Bengal. Whoever was cashiered from the army of Sarfarāz Khān was straightway enlisted by Hāji Aḥmad in the service of Ali Vardi Khān, and sent off to Azimābād (Patna). Nearly one-half of Sarfarāz Khān’s troops were in this way disbanded. Ali Vardi Khān, having completed preparations for war and mobilised a large army consisting of Afghāns, Rohilahs, and Bhālas, set out for Bengal; whilst Hāji Aḥmad sent his and his sons’ hoarded treasures amounting to several lakhs of rupees for the expenses of Ali Vardi’s army. When Sarfarāz Khān, from the despatches of his Political Agents at the Court of the Emperor, and from informations of emis-saries, came to be apprised of the machinations of the treacherous enemy, deeming it prudent to adopt remedy for the affair before it came to pass, he set himself to overthrow the traitors, and decided to bestow the Deputy-Governorship 1 of Azimābād (Patna) on his son-in-law, Syed Muḥammad Ḥasan, in supercession of Ali Vardi Khān, and the Fanjdāri of Ākbarnagar (Rājmahal) together with the command of Sarkigali and Teliāgaḍhī passes on Mir Shārufu-d-dīn Bakhshī, in supercession of Aṭāu-l-lah Khān, son-in-law of Hāji Aḥmad. Sarfarāz Khān also determined to appoint Munṣī Jasunat Rāi as Diwan in the place of the Rāi Rāiān. But as yet this decision had not been put in force, when the members of the Triumvirate Council adroitly submitting a representation about their long services, the heavy outstanding of the Imperial Revenue, and their losses, persuaded Sarfarāz Khān to postpone their supercession and the installation of others in their places till their preparation of the Annual Balance-sheet, which fell due after three months. 2 Sarfarāz Khān, who owing to guilelessness of

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1 See slightly varied accounts in the Seir-i-Mutakki‘īn (p. 489), which states that Sarfarāz Khān transferred the office of Diwan from Hāji Aḥmad to Mir Murtaza, and contemplated transferring the Fanjdāri of Rajmahal from Aṭāu-l-lah Khān to his son-in-law, Ḥasan Muḥammad Khān.

2 This is the old story of gaining time. Sarfarāz Khān exhibited a lamentable lack of judgment in accepting this false representation of his faithless Councillors. His credulity, indecision, and generous impulsiveness cost him
his nature had already been victimised by the duplicity of the Triumvirate Council, once again suffered himself to be duped by their wiles. A‘li Vardi Khān, utilising this short respite, secured the adhesion of Mustafā Khān, Shamshīr Khān, Sardār Khān, U‘mar Khān, Raḥim Khān, Karām Khān, Sirāndāz Khān, Shaikh Maṣ‘ūm, Shaikh Jahāngir Khān, Muḥammad Zūlfaqār Khān, Chidan Hazāri (Bakhshi of the Khājahs), Bakhtāwar Singh, and other Generals and officers of the Army. Under the false pretext of waiting on Sarfarāz Khān, A‘li Vardi Khān marched swiftly, crossed the passes of Tiliagadhi and Sakrigali, and reached the frontiers of Bengal. At the instigation of Ḥāji Ahmad, Ataulah Khān, Faujdar of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), had taken steps to prevent all movements of messengers and spies, and to interdict all intercourse through news-letters between A‘zimābād (Patna) and Bengal via the passes of Tiliagadhi and Sakrigali, until A‘li Vardi Khān had crossed through those passes. In consequence, no news of A‘li Vardi Khān’s movements had reached Sarfarāz Khān. It was only when the vanguard of A‘li Vardi Khān’s army had actually reached Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), that all of a sudden the news of Ali Vardi Khān’s movement reached Sarfarāz Khān. This news threw both the City of Murshidabad and its Bazaar into commotion. Perplexed by this news, Sarfarāz Khān instantly imprisoned Ḥāji Ahmad. Although the Rā‘i Ṭā‘ūn treacherously explained that A‘li Vardi’s arrival was for the purpose of waiting on Sarfarāz Khān, this explanation had no reassuring effect. Detailing Ghau Khān and Mir Sharfūn-d-din, who were his old officers, to lead the vanguard, and leaving his son, Ḥāffūz-1-lah surnamed Mīrzā Amānī, together with Yāsīn Khān Faujdār, to guard the Fort and the City, Nawab Sarfarāz Khān together with Ghazanfar Husain Khān and a son of Muḥammad Taqī Khān, (both of whom were his sons-in-law), and with Mir Muḥammad Bāqīr Khān, Mirza Muḥammad ʿĪraj Khān, Mir Kamīl, Mir Gādāī, Mir Ḥaidar Shāh, Mir Dīler Shāh, Baji Singh, Rājāh Chandarab Singh, Shamshīr Khān Qurishi, (Faujdār of Silhat), Shujā Quli Khān, (Faujdār of the port of Hūgli), Mir Ḥabīb, Murshid Quli Khān Faujdār, Mardān A‘lī Khān (the late Shujā Khān’s Bakhshi) and other Generals and Mansabdārs and Zamin-

his throne and his life, and sounded the first faint but certain death-knell of the ancient Moslem Satrapy in Bengal, which became shorn of its semi-regal prestige with his fall.
dars of Bengal, marched out from the City with a large army and
fire-pouring artillery, and encamped at Balmaniah, which is two
Karoh distant from Murshidabad. Marching on the second day,
the Nawab reached Sarai Diwan, and marching on the third day,
he encamped at Khamrah, where he mustered his army and re-
viewed its strength, and armaments. In that the officers of
Shujavia Khan’s regime were in league with Hajji Ahmmed, brick-bats
instead of shells were discovered in the arsenal, and rubbish was
found inside guns. Consequently, cashiering Shahriar Khan, the
Haji’s brother, who was General Superintendent of the Artillery,
and making him over to the custody of his retainers, Nawab
Sarfaraz Khan appointed in his place Pancho, son of Antony the
Portuguese, to be General Superintendent of the Artillery. The
forces of Mahabat Jang were arranged in the form of a circle from
Aurangabad, at the mouth of the Suti (where the shrine of Shabi
Murtaza’ Hindi exists) to the plain of Bolkatah.

On the fourth day, when the silver-crowned King (i.e., the
Sun) pranced on to the plain of the sky from his camp in the
East darting forth daggers of radial lines, and the dusky Moon
with thousands of its forces (i.e., stars), not finding itself a match
for that unique Cavalier, hid itself behind the hills, Nawab Sar-
faraz Khan, selecting an auspicious moment according to astro-
logers, advanced to assault the enemy. By one single assault, the
troops of Mahabat Jang were thrown into panic and confusion,
were set a-reeling, and were nearly routed. The Rai Raijan,1 finding
that the table was being turned, at this moment treacherously
represented to Navab Sarfaraz Khan that the Sun had moved
right vertical to the head, and that at that sultry hour if fighting
were continued, both horses and soldiers would perish, owing to
excessive heat and thirst, and that therefore if that day further
fightings were postponed, next morning the bitter-palated enemy
could be treated to a similar bitter soup (of death)—

Whence will thy enemy command the strength,
To fight with thee?
Owing to thy good luck,
The enemy’s head shall be trampled upon by thy feet.

1 This Rai Raijan Diwan Alamghand, the protege and favourite of Sarfaraz
Khan’s father, under the false mask of loyalty, did more damage to Sarfaraz
Khan’s cause, than even Ali Vardi Khan and his brother Hajji Ahmad. But it
Although astrologers descended on the auspiciousness of that hour for fighting, and adduced arguments in proof of the incoming victory, and although his Generals insisted on continuing the battle, Sarfarāz Khān was unmoved, and forbade by use of threats further fightings that day. Then Sarfarāz Khān encamped on the banks of the Geriāh river. Meanwhile, a letter from Mahābat Jang came avowing his loyalty, and explaining that he had come simply to pay his respects to Sarfarāz Khān. Sarfarāz Khān, who was quite inexperienced, on perusal of the letter, became reassured, dispensed with all precautions, foolishly released Ḥāji Ahmad, who was the root of all the disturbance, and sent him to Aʿli Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang, in order to reassure the latter and to bring him over. He also sent in the Hāji's company Shujā Quli Khān and Khwājah Basant, his two special confidantes, with a view to ascertain exactly the prospects of peace and war, to gauge correctly the dispositions of Aʿli Vardi's Army, and then to apprise him accurately. The imprisonment of the Hāji with his other relatives had plunged Mahabat Jang into a whirlpool of confusion. He had apprehended that they would be slain, and had, therefore, hesitated to offer battle. Viewing the release of the Hāji to be auspicious, nay as the first angury of victory, Mahabat Jang (Aʿli Vardi) enclosed in a casket a brick, giving out it contained the Holy Quran, held it in his hand, and swore by it that next morning he would with folded hands present himself before Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān, and would sue for pardon for his misconduct. At the same time he presented two hundred gold coins to Khwājah Basant. These idiots (Shujā Quli Khān and Khwājah Basant), not fathoming the water under the grass, returned happy and jolly, and describing to Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān the loyal disposition of Aʿli Vardi Khān cooled the fire of his wrath. Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān then ordered his butler to prepare dainty dishes for a banquet, sat re-assured on the bed of comfort, nay slumbered the sleep of insecurity on the bed of sleep (which is akin to death); and his soldiers, intoxicated by the inebriation of the wine-cup of peace, let go from their hands the reins of watch and alertness.

Aye! It is sheer folly to rely on the cajolery of thy enemy: The seeming prostration of floods undermines walls!

is due to Diwān Alamchand's memory to add that he was only one of the faithless out of a faithless herd.
After the withdrawal of Sarfarāz Khān’s emissaries, Aḥī Vardi Khān soothed and won over his officers by promising them two months’ pay in the event of his victory, and also by promising them the booty that might be captured. He thus incited and instigated them to fight, and distributed shells, gunpowder and armaments. The Generals of Sarfarāz Khān’s army who from before were in league with Aḥī Vardi Khān, were all ready for treachery and regicide. The only exceptions were Muḥammad Ghaus Khān and Mīr Sharfu-d-din, Commanders of the vanguard of Sarfarāz Khān’s army, who were posted at the ford of the river Geviah. Ascertaining through messengers and spies the secret plot of treachery that was hatching, both the above Generals at midnight hastened to Sarfarāz Khān, apprised the latter of the fire of treachery that was fanning under a straw-covering, and offered by way of precaution to remove him that night to their own camp, and there to guard him, and next morning to sacrifice their lives by fighting gallantly round him. In that in matters of destiny, efforts are helpless, and the knot of Fate cannot be untied with the nail of Efforts, the will of Providence cast the quicksilver of heedlessness into the ear of Sarfarāz Khān. Placing no reliance on their loyal representation, Sarfarāz Khān treated those two Generals in a rude and threatening manner, and by way of censure added: “You opening a shop of self-aggrandisement desire that I should be involved in war against Mahābat Jang, who is my well-wisher.” Those two Generals got up blushing with shame and humiliation, and returned to their own camps. Arming themselves, along with their forces, they passed the night in alertness; whilst Sarfarāz Khān, in the slumber of heedlessness, lay intoxicated with the wine of sleep. At the instigation of Hāji Aḥmad, in the dead of night, under the pretext of visiting relations and friends, the officers and soldiers of Mahābat Jang’s army, with their light baggages, by ones and twos, mingled with the army of Sarfarāz Khān, and forming rings round the Royal tent looked out for an opportunity to strike.

The officers of Shuja’ā Khān’s regime, upon whom Sarfarāz Khān placed great reliance, from the very beginning were in intrigue with the Hāji, and seeing and knowing all connived at and concealed the conspiracy; whilst the loyal adherents of Sarfarāz Khān held their tongue from fear of being snubbed. Whilst one hour of the night yet remained, Aḥī Vardi Khān and
Haji Ahmad divided their forces into two divisions. They detailed one division under the command of Nandlal Jama'dar, together with the standard and the kettle-drums and flags and elephants, to attack Ghans Khan and Mir Sharfu-d-din, whilst with another division, consisting of Afghans and Bhaliah troops, in the darkness of the night, under the guidance of the men of the Zamindari of Ramakant, Zamindar of Rajshahi, they themselves marched to deliver a night-attack against Sarfaraz Khan. And towards the day-break, whilst yet the darkness of the night continued, and friends could not be distinguished from foes, they suddenly, like death, attacked Sarfaraz Khan's troops who were inebriated with the wine of sleep, (which is akin to death), and fired their guns. The old proteges awoke Sarfaraz Khan from his slumber of neglect, and apprised him of the aspect of affairs. As fortune, however, had averted its face from him, even now Sarfaraz Khan refused to listen to them with the ear of credence, snubbed them, and again insisted on the quick preparation of viands for a banquet. Sarfaraz Khan added, "Ali Vardi Khan is coming to visit me."

At this moment, another cannon-shell fell; and by the time of the sunrise, the troops of Mahabat Jang exhibited themselves in battle-array. Guns and rockets, arrows and muskets flashing lightning, and showering destruction poured in. The troops of Sarfaraz Khan who were intoxicated by the wine of the morning sleep, harum-scarum sprang up from their beds of slumber, and girding up their loins fled; whilst others, not commanding the nerve to gird up their loins or to arm themselves, were butchered. Sarfaraz Khan's army was panic-stricken.

You might say, from dread of that warfare, Earth itself had fled.

Only one solitary column consisting mostly of Sarfaraz Khan's old officers, impelled by sentiments of honour, and animated by a sense of loyalty, arrayed themselves on the battle-field, gallantly re-

1 Sarfaraz Khan possessed a most guileless soul, and his guilelessness and his confidence in Ali Vardi cost him his throne. Sarfaraz Khan lacked insight into human character, which is one of the essential attributes of a wise ruler. Whilst noting this failing in Sarfaraz Khan, it must be added there is nothing to condone or extenuate the black ingratitude and treachery of Ali Vardi and the Triumvirate Councillors, Dowan Alamchand, Haji Ahmad and Jugatset, who were all proteges of Sarfaraz Khan's father.
solved to sacrifice their lives, and firmly stood their ground. Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān, after finishing his morning-prayer, also armed himself, seized the Holy Qurān with one hand, and mounted a swift elephant. Then letting loose the royal elephant in front of himself, he flung himself into the thick of the fight, and commenced shooting arrows. The Afghān generals of Mahābat Jang’s army, covered by a squadron of Bhātiāh infantry, charged Sarfarāz Khān’s army.

When on both sides, the troops stood in battle-array,
You might say, the Day of Judgment had arrived.
Owing to the thundering of guns, muskets and rockets,
Aye, the Universe itself quaked.
The twang of bow-strings and the cracking of arrows
Resounded aloft their echo to the lofty sky.
The spear, like Death with out-stretched hands,
In the taking of life, chopped the breast into slips.
In the hands of heroes, sharp steel-made swords,
In shedding blood of the enemy, leapt warmly:
The heroes became warm in taking and in giving life;
Aye, the world became emptied of heroes.

In this sword-charge, wherein the boisterous wind of Death threw down on the plain of annihilation corpses like leaves of trees, and the flood of blood raged tumultuously, on every side, Mardān A‘lī Khān, the Bakhshī of Shujā Khān’s regime, who was now the generalissimo of Sarfarāz Khān’s army, and commanded the van, feeling himself incapable of continuing the contest any longer, fled. At the sight of this flight, Sarfarāz Khān’s army was demoralised, and a general stampede ensued in its ranks.

Each one felt contented with saving himself,
No one cared for another.

Save and except his Georgian and Abyssinian slaves and a few of his old comrades, not one out of the numerous rock-heroes remained to cover Sarfarāz Khān’s elephant. The elephant-driver perceiving that victory had declared itself for the enemy, said to Sarfarāz Khān:—“If it be your Highness’s pleasure, I shall carry you to Birbhūm to the Zamindār, Badi‘u-z-zamān.” Sarfarāz Khān, striking the elephant-driver a blow on the neck, retorted: “Tie the chain round the feet of the elephant, as I will not retreat before
these dogs." 1 The elephant-driver was obliged to drive on his elephant. The Barqandazes and the Bhaliah of the enemy's Army, who had from before ranged themselves like a ring round Sarfaraz Khan's tent, discharged from all sides cannon-shells on his elephant; and over and above, rockets and cannon-balls, arrows and muskets were showered incessantly by the hostile army. Mir Gadi, who was a special favourite of Sarfaraz Khan, was shot down by a rocket. Mir Kamil, brother of Mir Muhammad Baqir surnamed Bāqir A'li Khan (nephew of Shujā'u-d-daulah), and a young unmarried boy of Mirzā Muhammad Irāj Khan Bakhshi, and other personal attendants, including Bahram, Sa'id and other slaves, who had not fled from the battle-field, were hit by rockets, cannon-shells and bullets, and fell right in front of Sarfaraz Khan's elephant. Mirzā Irāj Khan was also mortally wounded. Mir Dilor A'li gallantly attacked the Afghan column of A'li Vardi Khan, exhibited feats of prowess and bravery, but receiving sword-cuts gallantly fell with a number of his comrades.

At this moment, Sarfaraz Khan himself was hit on the forehead by the bullet of a gun shot by a traitor from his own camp, and was felled on his elephant-litter, 2 and the bird of his soul flew to Heaven. As soon as they saw this mishap, Mir Habib, Murshid Quli Khan, Shamsir Khan Quraishi (Fanjdar of Silhat) and Rājah Ghandrab Singh, who with their forces stood aloof at a distance from the battle, and were silent spectators of the scene, took to their heels. Mir Haidar Shāh and Khwājah Basant who clung to each other, and were hiding themselves in a Rath, 3 fled without even casting a glance at the corpse of their master.

Not one out of his companions remained,
To guard him for an instant.

In the cover of the darkness of the night, and deceived by the ruse of the Royal Standard and the Elephant being displayed by the Division under Nandlāl Jama'dār, Ghauṣ Khan and Mir

1 Though exceptionally humane and forbearing in disposition, it is refreshing to note Sarfaraz Khan could fight and fall bravely like a hero.

2 The word used is میکه دنبر (Mikah Dambar), which means a royal litter, carried on elephants. It is called Mik Dambar (میک دنبر) in the Seiru-l-Mutakherin (p. 378) which explains its significance. It is possibly a Turkish word.

3 A four-wheeled carriage; whilst Ghakrah is a two-wheeled carriage.
Sharfuddin mistook the latter for Mahābatjang, and commenced fighting. By means of Rustam-like onslaughts and brave assaults, they killed Nandīlā, and cut him up with their swords. Routing those who escaped the sword, they captured the Standard, kettle-drum, elephants, camels, horses and armaments, and then they marched swiftly to enquire about Sarfarāz Khān. Though Sarfarāz Khān had fallen, on seeing those two brave Generals, Mahābat Jang did not stir from the field, but with his force which was more numerous than ants and locusts remained stationary and motionless on the battle-field. Those two Generals had yet received no tidings of the fall of Sarfarāz Khān, and, therefore, with a small force of veteran heroes comprising their sons, brothers, kinsmen and companions, they bravely spurred on their chargers, fiercely assaulted Ali Vardi Khān’s army, broke through its ranks, and heroically dashed up to its centre. The army of Mahābat Jang was about to reel from the blows of those lions of the forest of warfare, when Ghaug Khān received on the breast mortal wounds from the bullets of Chidau Hazāri’s musketeers, and fell. Ghaug Khān’s two sons, Qūtb and Babar, who were veritable tigers of the forest of bravery, and who on hunting-grounds were wont to slay lions with swords, unsheathed their swords, and killed a large number of Afghāns and Bhāliāhs.1

They attacked no one whom they did not finish,
They struck no head which they did not hurl down.
On whomever they struck their long-piercing daggers,
His head came down rolling from the shoulder.

Chidau Hazāri also received sword-cuts at their hands. After much slaughter and daring, being hit by the bullets of muskets, Qūtb and Babar fell like brave martyrs, and joined their gallant father in his journey to Eternity. Mir Sharfu-d-din with seven brave cavaliers galloped right up to Mahābat Jang, and with great agility shot at the latter’s breast a heart-piercing arrow, which, however, grazed against the bow of Mahābat Jang, and piercing through lodged itself in the latter’s side-ribs. Mir Sharfu-d-din had pulled another arrow towards the bow-string, when Shāikh Jahān Yār and Muḥammad Zulfuqār, Mahābat Jang’s Generals, who were old friends of the Mir, came forward and said: “Nawāb Safarāz Khān has fallen, what can you gain

1 It would seem the race of heroes was not yet extinct in Moslem Bengal.
now by continuing the contest and sacrificing your life.” The Mīr bravely replied: “Hitherto I fought from a sense of loyalty for the salt ¹ I had eaten, and from a sense of comradeship, but now I fight to maintain my honour.” These two Generals stood sureties for the security of his honour, and pulled him back. Then the Mīr with his followers set out for Birbhūm. Notwithstanding that his gunners had run away, Pancho Ferengī, ² Superintendent of Sarfarāz Khān’s artillery, served his guns and bravely stuck to them, and kept up an incessant cannonade. After Mīr Sharfu-d-din’s withdrawal, the Afghāns in large numbers attacked Pancho, and killed him. Bāji Singh, a Rajput General, who with the rear-guard was at Khamrah, on receiving news of his master’s fall, felt his sense of honour aroused. Alone spurring on his horse and placing his spear on his horse’s right ear, by brave onsloughts, he dashed through the enemy’s force to a point where Mahābat Jang stood. With one stroke of his sharp spear, Bāji Singh attempted to hurl the latter down from his elephant-saddle and to despatch him to the next world, to be a companion there of his fallen master. Mahābat Jang made him out on seeing his heroism and agility, and ordered Daur Quli Khān, superintendent of the artillery, to quickly oppose him. Daur Quli Khān encountering him shot a bullet through his breast, and Bāji Singh being mortally wounded fell on the ground.³ Zālim Singh, Bāji Singh’s son, aged nine years, with that inherent bravery which is characteristic of the Rājput race, unsheathed his sword from the scabbard, and stood up to guard his father. People from all sides surrounded him like a ring. Nawāb Mahābat Jang, on seeing the daring of that boy, applauded him, and forbade the people from killing him.

¹ Such instances of isolated loyalty and heroism relieve, to some extent, the darkness of the picture of faithlessness and treachery that these events portray.

² “The ravenous hordes thus let loose on India made the race-name of Christian (Ferengī) a word of terror, until the strong rule of the Mughal Empire turned it into one of contempt.”—Sir W. Hunter’s History of British India, Vol. I, p. 183. The name ‘Ferengī’ was, however, more especially applied to the Portuguese settlers in India, whilst the term ‘Nasara’ (or Nazzrene) was a generic term for all Christians.

³ It is an eloquent testimony to the goodness of Sarfarāz Khān, that even in those treacherous times, and in such a trying crisis, he could command the undying devotion and homage of his brave Rajput officers. This is another incident which relieves, in some measure, the darkness of the picture presented by these scenes.
and ordered them not to oppose the removal of his father’s corpse. The artillery-men helped in the removal of Bājī Singh’s corpse, and carried along with it Żalīm Singh on their shoulders. During the fightings of Ghaus Khān, Mir Sharifu-d-dīn, Bājī Singh and Pancho Feroqī, both the sons-in-law of Sarfarāz Khān, named Ghasanfar Ḥusain and Ḥasan Mirḥammad, together with other Mansābdārs and vanquished soldiers, had fled from the battle-field, and had in one day marched back to Murshidabād. And the Rāi Raśān Alamchand, by way of retribution for his treachery, received an arrow-shot on the hand from a cross-bow, plunged into the river, and half-dead reached his house. Repenting of his disloyal treachery, he committed suicide by swallowing diamond-filings. In short, when Sarfarāz Khān was felled on his elephant-litter, the elephant-driver carried his corpse swiftly to Murshidabād. Yāsin Khān, Faqīdār of Murshidabād, who together with Ḥāfīz-illah Khān, son of Sarfarāz Khān, had been left to guard the City, the Citadel and the Nawāb’s family, buried at midnight the corpse of Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān at Naktākhali. Ḥāfīz-illah and Ghasanfar Ḥusain hurriedly threw up entrenchments, and prepared to fight. They, however, received no encouragement from the vanquished troops, and therefore abandoned their plan of fighting, and tendered their submission to Ali Vardī Khān. This Revolution in the Government threw the City, as well as the Army and the people of Bengal, into a general and deep convulsion. Ḥājī Aḥmad first entering the city of Murshidabād, proclaimed peace

1 The Rāi Raśān Alamchand (the protégé and creature of Sarfarāz Khān’s father Shujā’u-d-dīn Khān) was after all a penitent sinner, and, therefore his character stands out in a less hideous light, than that of Ḥājī Aḥmad and Jagat Set, who do not appear to have been similarly disturbed by qualms of conscience for their black ingratitude and treachery.

2 Ali Vardī Khān himself entered the city of Murshidabād on the third day after his victory. He was a Machiavellian diplomatist, and therefore, the first step he took on his entry into the city, was to sue for pardon for his treachery from Nafsah Begam, a daughter of Shujā’u-d-dīn Khān, and sister of Sarfarāz Khān. He next held a Darbar in the Chehel Sūtan palace of Shujā’u-d-dīn Khān, and though at first he was detested by the people and the officers for his black ingratitude and treachery, he soon managed to conciliate them by bestowing on them rich largesses. (See Seiru-l-Mutakkerin, Pers., text, p. 494). He appointed in his place as Naib Nazim of Patna (Aṣīmbād) his son-in-law, Zainu-d-dīn Khān Haibat Jang. (See p. 499, Seiru-l-Mutakkerin).
and security on behalf of Ali Vardi Khan. Yasin Khan Faujdar, under the order of the Hajji, set guards on Sarfaraz Khan's treasury and family, officers and servants, as well as on his Seraglio, so that none could escape. This battle of Gheria took place in 1153 A.H.

**NIZAMAT OF NAWAB ALI VARDI KHAN MAHA-BAT JANG.**

After obtaining victory, Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang, in order to overlook the sacking of the City and the loot of Sarfaraz Khan's treasures at the hands of Afghans and Bhaiabs, for three days encamped outside the City, on the banks of the river Gobrak. On the fourth day, with a sense of perfect security entering the Citadel, he seated himself with extended thighs on the masnad of the Nizamat of Bengal, and confiscated without any trouble Sarfaraz Khan's treasures which the past Nazims with considerable self-denial had hoarded. In that Nawab Mahabat Jang avoided the company of strange women, and did not care for this sort of pleasure, during his life he had only one wedded wife, and in fact, he often plumed himself on this circumstance. Hajji Ahmad and his sons and relations possessed themselves of Sarfaraz Khan's fifteen hundred pretty female dependants and slaves. Mahabat Jang banished to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) the wedded Begams of Sarfaraz Khan with their children, and fixed small allowances for them from the income of the Khaz Ta'luqah.

1 Compare the description of this battle with that given in the Seir-u-Mutakhemin, pp. 492-493. The author of the Seir, though a strong partisan of Ali Vardi, and though anxious to gloss over his treachery and ingratitude, is forced to pay a glowing tribute to the bravery and devoted courage displayed by several officers of Sarfaraz Khan at this battle. Riyaaz's account of this important battle seems much richer in details, as well as more graphic and more exact than that of the Seir. This important battle took place about 11 months after Nadir Shah's return to Persia after the sack of Delhi, and about 14 months after Shujahudd-d-din Khan's death.

2 This fact which redounds to the discredit of Ali Vardi Khan is suppressed by the author of the Seir-u-Mutakhemin, whose father was employed in a high capacity under Ali Vardi's son-in-law, Zainu-d-din Khan, at Patna. The author of the Riyaaz, not being a partisan, does not suppress it.

3 It may be interesting to enquire if any descendants of these still survive in the alleys of Dacca.
And Nafsah Begam, Sarfaraz Khan’s sister, who had adopted as her child Aga Baba Kuchak who was her nephew, entered service as a governess in the Seraglio of Nawazish Ahmad Khan, the eldest son of Haji Ahmad, and in this way supported her nephew.

When news of the fall of Sarfaraz Khan and of the succession of Ali Vardi Khan to the M已在 of the Nizamat of Bengal reached Emperor Nasiru-d-din Muhammad Shahr, the latter wept and said: “Owing to Nadir Shahr, the whole of my Empire is convulsed and shattered.” But to mend the state of affairs was difficult, and so the Emperor kept quiet. Mahabat Jang, through Murad Khan, who was one of the associates of the Prime Minister, Nawab Qamru-d-din Khan (about whom mention has been made before), intrigued with the Prime Minister and other Ministers. He remitted to the Emperor forty laks of rupees on account of Sarfaraz Khan’s confiscated treasures and fourteen laks on account of tribute, over and above the usual fixed revenue. He also gave three laks of rupees to Qamru-d-din Khan Vazir, and one lakt of rupees to Asaf Jahan Nizamul Mulk. He similarly conciliated and bribed other Imperial Officers according to their ranks. Intriguing with Rajah Jugal Kishor, agent of Sarfaraz Khan, Mahabat Jang obtained in his own name the patent of the Nizamat of all the three Subahs of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, according to the usual practice. He then exacted double the usual

1 He was then Deputy Naizim of Janghnagar or Dacca.
2 Emperor Muhammad Shahr was not quite fair to Nadir Shahr in his political diagnosis. He ought to have added, the glorious Timuride Empire in India had been shattered and undermined by the luxury and love of ease, and fratricidal jealousies and strifes of himself and his immediate predecessors, and principally by the vileness and corruption, joined to clanish jealousies and personal ambitions that had seized the later Mughal ministers and proconsuls. A moral paralysis had seized the heart of the Empire at Delhi, and it quickly extended to and affected its distant limbs in outlying Provinces. The Musalmans in India had lost their Islamic virtues, and next their Empire; whilst Nadir Shahr’s terrible invasion operated only as an accelerating force towards its eventual dissolution.
3 He had been deputed by the Emperor to bring the attached treasures of Sarfaraz Khan, and the revenue of Bengal. See Seir, p. 499.
4 It is humiliating to observe that even ministers of the calibre and position of Qamru-d-din Khan and Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah were, at this dark period of Indo-Moslem History, not above corruption.
amount of revenue, presents and tribute from the Zamindârs of Bengal.

For the purpose of overthrowing Mürshid Quli Khân,¹ and for
conquering the Sûbah of Odisah (Orissa), Mahâbat Jang now girded
up his loins, mobilised troops and collected armaments, and bes-
towed the office of Generalissimo on Mir Ja’far Khân Bahâdur,
who was Mahâbat Jang’s brother-in-law, and who in the war with
Sarfarâz Khân had rendered Mahâbat Jang good services. Mahâbat
Jang bestowed on Mir Ja’far a corps of bodyguard, together with a
mansab, a title, and a peerage. He bestowed the office of Diwân
with the title of Râî Râiân on Chin Râi,² who was a clerk in charge
of the Jâgîrs of Ja’far Khân, and who was a person of probity
and honesty. And he bestowed on Muhammed Rizâ Khân, the
eldest son of Häji Aḥmâd, who had married Ghasitâ Khânâm,
daughter of Mahâbat Jang, the title of Nâsirâl-Mulk Iḥtishâmû-
da-daulah Nawâzish Muhammed Khân Bahâdur Shahâmat Jang,
together with the nominal office of Diwân of Bengal, and the
Deputy Niẓâmat of Jahângirnagar (Dacca), including Chittagong,
Raushanâbâd (Tipperah), and Silhât. And he bestowed on

¹ He was a son-in-law of Shujâ’u-d-dîn Khân, and had been appointed by
the latter Deputy Nazim of Orissa, on the death of Muhammed Taqi Khân (a
son of Shujâ’u-d-dîn Khân). Ali Vardi and his unholy Häji brother were
resolved to spare no one amongst the capable male representatives of their
late master and benefactor. A reign ushered in by such treachery and
characterised by such vindictive posthumous courtesies was bound, under
an Avenging Providence, to terminate ignominiously. The unholy Häji
brother quickly met with his proper deserts, by being tortured and butchered,
along with his son Zainu-d-dîn Khân, by the Afghan rabble who sacked
Patna. Ali Vardi himself was continually distracted and harassed by
Mahâratâ freebooters, who swooped down again and again on his fair
provinces like armies of locusts, and harried and devastated them, and Ali
Vardi’s energy, courage, and prowess were of no avail against this visitation
of God’s curse. He at length had to conclude an inglorious peace with the
Mahâratâs, and to practically cede to the latter the Province of Orissa. And
not many months had rolled away since he had closed his eyes, when his
favourite grandson, Sirajû-daualah, was tortured to death, and Ali Vardi’s ill-
gotten Sattrapoy dissolved for ever, and was transferred to other hands.
Verily, Divine retribution was not slow in overtaking Ali Vardi Khân.

² Chin Râi was the Pehekâr under the Diwan Alam Chand. Mahâbat
Jang, on Alam Chand’s death, appointed Chin Râi as his Diwan. (See Seîr,
p. 496). Chin Râi proved very honest, and was held in high esteem by
Hāshim Ali Khān, the youngest son of Hāji Aḥmad, who had married the younger daughter of Mahābat Jang, named Aṁānah Khānām, the title of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Haibat Jang, together with the Deputy Niẓāmat of the Province of Bihār and Azimābād (Patna). And he advanced to ranks, titles, and Jagirs his other relations and connexions, according to their ranks and aspirations. But the Afghāns and the Bhaliahs, who owing to their large numbers were haughty, meddled so much in all the affairs, that they did not care for Mahābat Jang, and deviated from the usual forms of etiquette. Shelving the canons of justice on the shelf of forgetfulness, they looted treasures, and killed and slaughtered the people, together with their women and children. And the conduct of ingratitude, which had subsisted in the times of the early Musalman Independent Kings of Bengal, reasserted itself afresh from the time of Mahābat Jang.¹

¹ The following details of the administrative arrangements made by Ali Yardi Khān on his usurpation of the Niẓāmat of Bengal, are summarised briefly from the Seīr-i-Mutaḥkherīn, p. 405. Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, Ali Yardi's youngest son-in-law, was appointed Subadar of Behar and Patna. The Deputy Niẓāmat of Jahangirnagar, including the Faujdari of Silhat, Chittagong, and Tipperah, was given to his eldest son-in-law, Nawazish Muḥammamd Khān. The Deputy Niẓāmat of Orissa was bestowed on his second son-in-law, Said Aḥmad Khān (after Murshid Quli Khān was defeated). The Superintendentship of the Nawarāh or Imperial Fleet at Jahangirnagar (Dacca) was bestowed on his grandson, Mirza Muḥammamd (son of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān) surnamed Sirajū-d-daulah Shāh Quli Khān Bahadur. Sirajū-d-daulah's brother was adopted as a son by Nawazish Muḥammamd Khān, and surnamed "Ikramu-d-daulah Padshah Quli Khān Bahadur" with nominal command of the Jahangirnagar or Dacca army. Atāu-l-lah Khān, a son-in-law of Hāji Aḥmad (Ali Yardi's brother) was appointed Faujdar of Rajmahal (Akbaranagar) and Bhagalpur. Alah Yar Khān (step-brother of Ali Yardi), Mir Jafar Khān (brother-in-law of Ali Yardi), and his other connexions like Faqiru-l-lah Beg Khān, Nural-lah Beg Khān and Mustafa Khān were given mansabs and peerages with titles and body-guards. Ohin Rai (Peshkar under Diwan Alamchand) received the title of 'Rai Raiān,' and was appointed Deputy Diwan of Rāgal. Rajah Janaki Ram, who was the old household Diwan of Mahābat Jang, was appointed Diwan of Miscellaneous departments. The Seīr's author's maternal uncle or Khāloq, Abdul Ali Khān (who was also a connexion of Ali Yardi), received a mansab, together with the parganas of Narhat Samal and Behar.

² For its revival, Ali Yardi Khān Mahābat Jang was himself responsible. He re-inaugurated an era of force and fraud, and he and his successors were paid back in the same coin by others. Ṣūf taught the lesson of ingrati-
Towards the commencement of the insurrection of Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan had asked for help from Murshid Quli Khan, the Governor of Odisah (Orissa), who was his brother-in-law; but the latter, owing to personal spite which has been referred to before, had delayed to march to his help. Whilst Murshid Quli was occupied with despatching a body of troops in the shape of an auxiliary force, he suddenly received news of Sarfaraz Khan's fall and of Ali Vardi Khan's mastery over the Subah of Bengal. It was then that Murshid Quli Khan woke up from slumber, and was plunged into shame and sorrow.

General well-being follows mutual union,\(^1\)

General ruin follows disunion.

In short, from fear of Ali Vardi Khan, Murshid Quli Khan made preparations in self-defence, and exerted himself strenuously towards the mobilisation of an army, and deputed to Murshidabad Mukhaliis Ali Khan, son-in-law of Haji Ahmad, who from before was in his company, in order to arrange the basis of a treaty of peace. After the latter's arrival, Ali Vardi Khan and Haji Ahmad sending a reassuring and diplomatic message to Murshid Quli Khan, set him at ease,\(^2\) and sent back Mukhaliis Khan, in order to sow treason secretly amongst the Officers of Murshid Quli Khan's army. Mukhaliis Khan presenting himself before Murshid Quli Khan outwardly tried to humour and reassure him, but covertly by offer of allurements and temptations sowed sedition in Murshid Quli's army, and sent an account of his success in this direction to Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang. The latter, with a large army and an immense artillery, instantly marched towards the Province of Orissa. On receipt of this news, leaving his wife, Durbanah Begam, and his son, Yahya Khan, tude by his own treacherous conduct, and so others took their cue from him.

\(^1\) The Persian couplet is:

\[
\text{دولت هم ز لفقاق خذرن} \\
\text{بيدولاني از نميقاق خذرن.}
\]

\(^2\) Ali Vardi and his worthy Haji brother could never lay down their favourite weapon of treachery, and well were they, through their children, repaid in the same coin by Mir Ja'far and others.
with his treasures in the fort of Barabati, Murshid Quli Khan with an efficient force and requisite war-paraphernalia, together with his two sons-in-law, named Mirza Muhammad Baqir Khan, a Prince of Persia, and Alau-d-din Muhammad Khan, marched out from Katak (Cutteck) in order to fight, and advanced to the port of Balasar (Balașor). At the ferry of Phulwar, from the rock of Tilgadhi to the river Jon, he threw up an entrenchment, and remained behind it waiting for the enemy. Unfortunately, Murshid Quli Khan was ignorant of the wiles of the traitor in his own camp in the person of Mukhaliṡ Ali Khan, and had, therefore, failed to take any precautionary steps against that double-faced scoundrel, and had thus ignored the saying of Shaikh Sa’di:

1 "The construction of Fort Barabati has been assigned to various monarchs with various dates. Sterling thinks it was built by Raja Anang Bhumi Deva in the fourteenth century. The stonework has been taken by the Public Works Department to build lighthouses and hospitals, and to pave roads. The ditch of the fort, however, still remains, and so does the gate, which is still approached by a causeway ... Raja Mukund Deo built a palace here with nine courts ... The palace was in time abandoned by the Mysorean Governors who preferred to live in the Lalbagh, on the south side of the city, (now Commissioner's Residence")—Wilson's Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. I, p. 4, f. n.

2 There is still a mahalla or quarter in Katak, called 'Bakrabad,' named so, probably, after Baqir Khan.

3 Tilgadhi in the text is apparently a mistake for the hill 'Tahirmunda' marked on the maps of Orissa, near Balsore.

4 'Jon' in the text is also obviously a mistake; I do not find any river of that name near Balsore or in Orissa. It is a mistake probably for the river near Balsore, called 'Nuniajuri,' Balsore itself being situated on the Burabalong river.

5 In Seir-i-Mutakhabin (p. 497), it is stated Murshid Quli Khan passed through Balsore port, and encamped on the banks of its river, in the Mouza of Bhalwar. The encampment is described in the Seir as being flanked by dense forests on one side, and by deep rivulets on another. A ring with artillery was formed round this encampment. Ali Vardi Khan passing through Medniur and Jalasore, took up a position on the north banks of the Burabalong river. The position taken up by Murshid Quli Khan is described as very impregnable, and he might not have been dislodged from it, but for the rash sally of his son-in-law, Mirza Baqir Ali Khan, and the treachery of his Aghan General, Abid Khan, who deserted Murshid Quli Khan, his old master and benefactor, and joined with his Aghan contingent Mustafa Khan, the Aghan General of Ali Vardi Khan. The crafty Ali Vardi Khan had by means of bribes sworn treason amongst the Aghan troops of Murshid Quli Khan (497 Seir).

6 The well-known Persian poet and moralist.
'If thy relative be thy enemy, treat him outwardly a thy friend,
But never be heedless of his treachery.
For inside his heart, wound festers from thy envy,
Whenever he thinks of the love-shackles of kinship.'

Advancing from Bengal by forced marches with a large army, which numbered more than one lak cavalry and infantry, Ali Vardi Khān reached Mednīpūr, secured the adhesion of the Zamindārs of that district by bestowing on them Khilāts and gifts, and encamped at Jalīsar (Jalasore), which was an Imperial outpost. On the banks of the river Sabaurikha,1 at the ferry of Rājghāt, Rājah Jagardhar Bhānjan, Zamīndār of Morbhanj,2 had established a garrison of his Chawārs and Khandaits, and had erected entrenchments. To cross, therefore, at the ferry of Rājghāt which was protected by dense jungles and thorny trees; was found to be a difficult operation, and therefore, Ali Vardi Khān had to ask for help from the Rājah. The Rājah, however, was haughty owing to his command of a large army, and did not care for Ali Vardi Khān. He refused to side with the latter, or to permit him to cross at the Rājghāt ferry. Ali Vardi Khān placing his artillery-waggons in front of the Rājghāt ferry, commenced bombarding it. The Rājah’s army were unable to hold the ground in their entrenchment, and fled to the jungles. Ali Vardi Khān with troops and artillery crossed over at Rājghāt, and encamped at Rāmchandarpur which was at a distance of one and a half karoh from Murshid Quli Khān’s encampment. Emissaries and envoys were busy for some days moving to and fro with messages of peace and war, and this sort of diplomatic parley lasted for one month. All this time Murshid Quli Khān 3 did not advance across the ferry of Phulwār. Having

1 This is an error in the text, or a misprint for ‘Subarnarika’ river, on which Jaligar or Jalasore is situated.
2 This forms now one of the Tributary Mahals under the Commissioner of Orissa.
3 As another interesting and remarkable illustration of the potent influence in politics and society exercised by Māsulmān ladies in Bengal, even towards the middle of the eighteenth century, it may be noted that Murshid Quli Khān himself was averse to fight with Ali Vardi Khān, owing to a sense of feebleness, but that his brave wife, Durdanah Begum, encouraged and inspired him to fight, in order to avenge her brother Sarfarāz Khān’s fall, and threat-
regard to the wasteful expenditure on account of a huge army thus locked up, and viewing the dearth of provisions, and apprehending the approach of the rainy season as well as the raids of Mahratta freebooters, Ali Vardi Khan thought it expedient to patch up peace, and return. But Mustafa Khan, generalissimo of Ali Vardi’s Afghān contingent, not acquiescing in peace, suggested entrenchments being thrown up during the rains. After a Council of War, it was decided after much deliberation to send a soothing message to Murshid Quli Khan through a trustworthy envoy, who was instructed to get back a reply in the following form:—“I shall not allow you authority or possession over the Šūbah of Odissah,” and then with this document to return to Bengal, and after the rainy season, again mobilising troops, to re-attempt Murshid Quli Khan’s subjugation. Although ʿAbid Khan and other Afghān Generals, owing to the sedition sown amongst them by Mukhālis Ali Khan, treacherously advised Mirzá Bāqir Khan, who commanded the vanguard of Murshid Quli Khan’s army, to give battle by advancing out of the entrenchment, Murshid Quli Khan remained on the defensive, and dissuaded Mirza Bāqir from attempting a sally. But as the period of stay within entrenchments was tediously protracted, Mirzá Bāqir, carried by his youthful impulsiveness, sallied out with his contingent composed of Syeds of Barha, and arrayed himself in battle-rank. Murshid Quli was, therefore, obliged to array his troops in front of Ali Vardi Khan’s army. On both sides, the battle opened with a cannonade, which was soon abandoned for a sword and spear-charge at close quarters. Murshid Quli Khan’s generalissimo, Mir Abdu-l-ʿAziz, who commanded the van, and his devoted contingent of three hundred knights consisting of Syeds of Barha spurred on their chargers, exhibited feats of heroism and hereditary gallantry, and with the flashing of their lightning swords ignited the life-harvests of all whose moment for death had arrived. Before this gallant charge, Ali Vardi Khan’s soldiers, who had hitherto fancied themselves lions of the forest of bravery, fled like sheep from the battle-field, and met with a crushing defeat. The elephant on which Ali
Vardi Khān with his Begam was mounted, was withdrawn half a farsakh away from the battle-field. At this crisis, Mukhālis Ali Khān and Abīd Khān surnamed Farzand Ali Khān, upon whose loyalty Murshid Quli Khān reposed implicit confidence, together with Muqarrab Khān and other Afghan generals, exhibiting treachery which is the characteristic of the Afghan race, effaced from the tablets of their hearts all the alphabets of obligations that had been engraved thereon by many years of shelter and salt-eating, deserted the side of Murshid Quli Khān, and retired from the battle-field. At this juncture, Mānikohand, Peshkār of the Rājah of Bārdwān, who had arrived with an appropriate auxiliary force to serve under Ali Vardi Khān, reflecting that results of war were dubious, and speculating about the

1 This is a remarkable incident illustrating that Musalman ladies in India had not yet all taken to the existing form of seclusion, nor ceased to take an active share in their husbands’ burdens, both in peace and war. Indeed, it is interesting to note that Ali Vardi’s Begam played the rôle of Supreme Political Officer, whilst her husband fought the battles with the Mahrattas. It is stated in the Seiru-l-Mutakherin (Pers. text, p. 550), that one day Ali Vardi at Patna after fighting with the Mahrattas under Raghoji Bhosla, entered the Begam’s boudoir with an anxious look. The Begam enquired what the matter was, when Ali Vardi replied that this time he feared treachery from his own soldiers and officers. Thereon, the Begam on her own initiative and her own responsibility organised a political mission, and sent it to Raghoji’s camp to arrange for a treaty of peace. Raghoji fell in with the proposal, but his Chief Adviser, Mir Habib, dissuaded him, and advised him to make a dash for Murshidabad, holding out the prospect of loot. The Begam must have been a lady of keen judgment and uncommon sagacity to have been relied upon at such a crisis by her shrewd husband.

2 Mānikohand who was afterwards left as Governor of Calcutta, when Siraj ud-daulah conquered it, was a shrewd and time-serving man, and regulated his loyalty by prudent considerations. He was a prototype of Nobkīshan of later times, of whose loyal assistance to the English so much has of late been made by a recent writer, but who only followed Mānikohand in his loyal tactics, feeling his way cautiously, and keenly watching which way the tide of success turned, in order to adjust his individual position with an eye to self-aggrandisement. The Seir makes no mention of Mānikohand having taken any part in the battle, and ascribes Murshid Quli Khān’s disaster to the treachery of his Afghan general Abīd Khān, and to the rash sally of his son-in-law, Mirzā Baqir Ali Khān. At this battle near Balasore, the Syeds of Berha fought bravely on the side of Murshid Quli Khān, and several of them, such as Mir Ali Akbar and Mir Muṭahā Ali fell, whilst Mirzā Baqir Ali Khān himself was severely wounded. (See Seir, p. 497.)
future, covertly honoured Murshid Quli Khān, and asked for the latter's flag of truce, in order to join him and exhibit self-sacrifice and loyalty. From a side of the forest, towards the direction whence the force of Mirzā Bāqir Khān was marching in pursuit of Ali Vardi Khān, Mānikchand shewed himself, and displayed Murshid Quli Khān's flag. Inasmuch as the aforesaid Mirzā was unaware of his aim, he opposed his progress. Mānikchand was obliged to fight. Mirzā Bāqir's efficient soldiers were already exhausted by warfare, so they fought in broken lines, and by the vicissitudes of times, the corps of Mirzā Bāqir was defeated. Ali Vardi Khān, on being apprised of this, hurriedly collected his vanquished troops by use of persuasions, and a second time engaged in fighting. Mir Abdu-l-'Aziz and his corps, consisting of three hundred Syed knights, dismounting from their horses, and girding up their loins of bravery, marched to the battle-field, and one by one, all of them fell, being shot down by bullets fired by the Bhaliah corps. Murshid Quli Khān being thus defeated retired to the Port of Balisar (Balasore), and there embarking on a sloop which had been kept ready from before, he sailed for the Dakhin, and presented himself before Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh. A providential victory thus fell to the good fortune of Ali Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang. The latter pursued the vanquished army up to the Port of Balasore. From there, he detached Mirzā Khairu-l-lah Beg, Faqīru-l-lah Beg,

1 It is stated in the Sīr that after his defeat at the battle of Balasore, Murshid Quli Khān together with his son-in-law, Mirzā Bāqir Ali Khān, withdrew to the town of Balasore, with two or three thousand troops. Apprehending treachery from the latter, he gave out that he would entrench himself in the town, told them off to some distance to guard the roads leading to the town, whilst he himself with Mirzā Bāqir Ali moved towards the sea-shore. At this time it so happened that a friend of his, Ḥājī Mhhsin, a merchant of Surāt, had his mercantile ship in the port, and also a pinnace. Murshid Quli Khān got into the pinnace along with Mirzā Bāqir Ali and Ḥājī Mhhsin and some servants, embarked on board the ship, which sailed down to Masulipatam. From Masulipatam, Murshid Quli Khān sent Mirzā Bāqir Ali towards Sikkakul and Ganjam, to bring away Durdannah Begam and her daughter from Katak (Cuttack).

2 Nizam-u-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh was Viceroy of the Dakhin under Emperor Muḥṣirmad Shāh, at this time. He had made himself semi-independent there, owing to the feebleness of the Central Government at Delhi. See note ante.
and Nuru-l-lah Beg to capture Yahyā Khan\(^1\) and Murshid Quli's Begam, and also to seize his treasures and chattels. Ali Vardi instructed them to proceed by forced marches, whilst he himself followed them on horse-back. When news of this affair and of Murshid Quli Khan's retreat to the Dakhin reached Katak (Cuttack), Mūrād Khan, the generalissimo of the Rājā of Parsūtām (Puri), who had been detailed for guarding Yahyā Khan and the Begam in the Fort of Barahbātī, planned to send instantly the Begam and Yahyā Khan together with all their chattels and treasures to the Dakhin, by way of Sikēkūl.\(^3\) Baggage and equipages were kept ready, and jewelleries, gold coins, treasures, and other precious things were loaded on elephants, camels, and waggons, when all of a sudden the army of Ali Vardi Khan made its appearance. The elephant and cameldriver, &c., leaving behind the loaded treasures and chattels with their baggages, fled, and all those treasures fell into the hands of the aforesaid Mirzās, who divided the precious jewelleries,

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\(^1\) Murshid Quli Khan had left his wife Durdanah Begam and his son Yahya Khan, together with his treasures, in the Fort of Barahbati at Katak, whilst advancing to Balasore.

\(^2\) The Raja was Hażī Qadir, a Muḥammadan. See n. 3 below and Seiru-l-Mutakhirin, Pers. text, p. 498.

\(^3\) Sekakul or Chicaocoe is a place in the Ganjam district, over 100 miles south-west of Puri. The land-route from Crissa to the Dakhin lay in olden days via Sekakul or Chicaocoe across the Chikila lake. It is stated in the Seir that after arrival at Masulipatam, Murshid Quli Khan sent his son-in-law, Mirzā Bāqīr Ali Khan, towards Sekakul and Ganjam, to proceed to the relief of Durdanah Begam and her daughter. In the meantime, on hearing of Murshid Quli Khan's defeat, Murshid Quli's friend, Hażī Qadir, Raja of Ratipur, Khudābād, who was Superintendent of the temple of Jagannath, (Note by Translator.—This is an interesting and remarkable fact shewing that a Musalman was once at the head of this Hindu Temple. See Seir, Pers. text, p. 498) of his own motion had sent his general, Muḥammad Murad, with a force to guard and relieve Durdanah Begum and her daughter. Murad succeeded in wringing away the Begam and her daughter with their treasures and effects to Inchapur, which is in the Ganjam district. Anwarudd-din Khan, Governor of Inchapur, treated the Begams very hospitably. At this time, Mirzā Bāqīr Ali Khan reached Inchapur, and proceeded from there with the Begams and their treasures to Masulipatam, whence Murshid Quli Khan, Mirzā Bāqīr Ali Khan and the Begams, together with the treasures and effects, proceeded to the Dakhin and took shelter with Asif Jah, its ruler. (See Seiru-l-Mutakhirin, Pers. text, p. 498).
treasures, and other valuable wares amongst themselves. Since Ali Vardi Khan also followed up subsequently, he captured the remaining treasures, and also confiscated other treasures of the adherents of Murshid Quli Khan. Issuing proclamations of peace and security, and employing reassurances and persuasions, Ali Vardi Khan won over to his side the Collectors, Zamindars and Officers of Orissa, and set about making settlement of the revenue, nazar, and tribute, as well as of the Jagirs. And in the course of one month, having finished the organisation and settlement of the Suhbah of Orissa, he entrusted the charge of that Province to Sa'id Ahmad Khan, his nephew, who had previously served as the Fanjdar of Rangpur, procuring for him from the Emperor the title of Nasir-ull-Mulk Sa'id Ahmad Khan Bahadur SAulat Jang. Ali Vardi Khan also left Gujar Khan, a Rohilla general, together with a contingent of three thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry, to be in attendance on Sa'id Ahmad Khan at Katak (Cuttaok). Ali Vardi Khan then returned, triumphant and victorious, to Bengal.

SAulat Jang was of a churlish disposition and regulated himself by avarice. For effecting retrenchment in the military expenditure, he took into his service Salim Khan, Darvesh Khan, Nisamet Khan, Mir Azizul-Lah and other generals, and sent back Gujar Khan 4 to Murshidabad, on the plea of smallness of the revenue of

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1 It would appear the account in the Seiru-l-Mutakkerin, as regards the fate of the Begams and their treasure is somewhat different from that in the Riyan, which states that the Begams' treasures and effects were captured by Ali Vardi Khan's officers. The Riyan is, however, strangely silent as to the fate of the Begams who were with the treasures. Obviously, the account in the Riyan is incomplete and halting, whilst that of the Seir is more consistent and comprehensive and, therefore, more acceptable.

2 The account in the Seir is somewhat different from that in the Riyan. In the Seir, it is stated, in pursuance of a policy of economy, SAulat Jang wanted to reduce the pay of his soldiers. This reduction in pay was resented by the Murshidabad troops and officers who in consequence were disband ed, whilst the soldiers and officers domiciled in Orissa accepted this reduced pay, and in consequence were enlisted in the army in large numbers. SAulat Jang subsequently, at the instigation of one Shah Yaheen, indulged in debaucheries and ill-treated the men and women of Katak, who all in consequence were disgusted with him. This state of affairs at Katak came to the notice of Mirza Baqir Ali, who was in the Dakhin. The latter asked Murshid Quli Khan to invade Orissa, but Murshid Quli demurred. Thereon, Mirza Baqir Ali himself invaded Orissa, first persuading the soldiers and residents of Katak
Katak. The aforesaid generals who were anxious to avenge the fall of their old master, Murshid Quli Khan, finding now an opportunity, broke out into revolt. Saulat Jang sent to them Qasim Beg, Superintendent of the Artillery, and Shaikh Hidaiatu-l-lah, Faujdar (Magistrate) of Katak, for effecting the basis of a reconciliation. The Generals, who were seeking for an opportunity, finding the above two emissaries unescorted, slew Qasim Beg, whilst Hidaiatu-l-lah, after receiving some wounds, made his escape. The citizens and soldiers en masse broke out into revolt, and under cover of the darkness of night they besieged Saulat Jang, took him prisoner along with his followers and relations, and looted his treasures and effects. Then inviting over Mirza Baqir Khan, son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan, from Sikakul across the Chilka Lake, they placed him on the masnad of the Nizamat of Orissa, and advancing with their forces they conquered Mednipur and Hijli.

The news of the approach of the Katak army threw Bengal into commotion. Ali Vardi Khan, on the occurrence of this disaster, mobilised an immense army equipped with a battering artillery, and then set out for Katak, in order to relieve Saulat Jang and re-conquer Orissa. By forced marches, scouring through Bardwan, he encamped on the outskirts of Mednipur. On receiving news of the approach of Mahabat Jang, the Katak army, 1 which was spread at Hijli and Mednipur, concentrated at Mednipur and Jalisar, next crossed over at the ferries of Baghlat and Phulwar, and then encamped 2 at the Port of Balasore. The soldiers of Mirza Baqir, to break out into revolt. The latter revolted, killed Gujar Khan, the general, when Baqir Ali marched swiftly to Katak, imprisoned Saulat Jang, together with his wife and children in the Fort of Barabati, and installed himself on the gadi of Orissa. (See Seiru-l-Mutaqirin, Pers. text, p. 502.)

1 The Editor of the printed Persian text has inserted افواج کتبی after though he says in his MSS. text, ج occurs. I consider makes the text unintelligible, and ج of the MSS. text is correct. According to the latter reading, I have translated the text.

2 See the account in the Seir (Pers. text pp. 503-505) of Ali Vardi’s expedition to Katak, to relieve Saulat Jang. It is stated in the Seir that Ali Vardi Khan apprehending that Mirza Baqir Ali Khan was being helped by Asif Jah from the Dakhin, marched to Katak with a huge army, consisting of twenty thousand soldiers, led by picked generals and officers, such as Mustafa Khan, Shamshir Khan, Umar Khan, Awan-l-lah Khan, Haidar Ali Khan, Faghu-l-lah Beg Khan, Mir Jafar, Mir Sharfa-d-din, Shaikh Muhammad Masum
who had previously received arrow-shots at the hands of the Bhaliahs, suddenly lost heart, and sending all their baggages to Sikakul remained unencumbered. When Mirza Baqir came to know of the disloyalty and cowardice of his soldiers, ostensibly he gave out that he contemplated advancing against the enemy, but in reality he planned to withdraw to the Dakhin. Whilst completing his arrangements for withdrawal to the Dakhin, he detached a force to Chaprah ghât, which is the ferry of the river Mahândi and is situate midway the town of Katak. And he himself with Šaulat Jang, &c., and a number of other captives together with tents, &c., crossed the river Katjurâ. Mahâbat Jang was encamped on the banks of the river Kamhariah, at a distance of forty Karah from Katak, and there at midnight messengers bought him news of Mirza Baqir’s flight. Immediately summoning Mir Muham- mad Ja’far the generalissimo, Muṣṭafâ Khân, Shamshir Khân, Sardar Khân, ‘Umar Khân, Buland Khân, Sirândâz Khân, Balisar Khân and other Afghân generals, and holding a Council of War, Ali Vardi that very night with their concurrence despatched them expeditiously under the command of Mir Ja’far Khân to pursue Mirza Baqir Khân. Soon after, Ali Vardi Khân himself with the remainder of his army set out. When the aforesaid generals with their army arrived five karah from Katak, Mirza Baqir Khân being apprised placed Šaulat Jang in a fringed Rath, placed in it Ḥâji Muḥammad Amin, brother of Murshid Quâli Khân, with a drawn dagger, to be his companion and attendant, and also set two armed horsemen on two sides of the Rath, with

Amanat Khân, Mir Kazim Khân, Bahadur Ali Khân. Ali Vardi reached with his army the northern banks of the Mahanadi river opposite to Katak town, whilst Mirza Baqir Ali was encamped with his troops on the southern banks of the same river. Seeing Ali Vardi’s huge army, Mirza Baqir Ali’s soldiers fled, and dispersed in all directions, whilst Ali Vardi’s troops plunged into the river, quickly crossed over to Katak town (at the Jobra Ghât, as would appear from the Biyaz), and rescued Šaulat Jang who was encaged in a Rath (a four-wheeled carriage) covered over with a white sheet tied round it with white strings. Šaulat Jang’s escape from certain death was almost miraculous.

1 “Chaprah” of the text is known locally as ‘Jobrah’ ghât. It is situate midway the town of Katak, alongside the Mahanadi river. Close to the ghât, there is an old manseleum.

2 “Kamhariah” river of the text is probably a misprint or misreading for “Dhumra” river, down Jajpur, which would be about 40 Karah from Katak.
instructions that should the army of Mahābat Jang overtake them, they should instantly hack up Śaulat Jang with daggers and spears and on no account should let the latter escape. And Mirza Baqir himself mounted a horse, and along with the Rath containing Śaulat Jang he left the La'ī Bāgh 1 Palace situate in the city of Katak, and arrived at Malisār. 2 At this time, Balisar Khān with fifteen horsemen, who were his comrades, came up. The flags carried by the cavalry were visible in the forest. By chance, at that time, from the excessive heat of summer, Śaulat Jang changing his seat inside the Rath sat in the place where Ḥāji Muḥammad Amin had hitherto sat, and gave his own seat to the Ḥāji. At the very sight of the flags of Balisar Khān’s cavalry, the two armed horsemen who rode alongside the Rath thrust their spears through the Rath—screen, wounded Ḥāji Muḥammad Amin whom they mistook for Śaulat Jang, and fled. As fate would have it, as soon as the spear-thrust pierced the Ḥāji’s hand and shoulder, the Ḥāji’s dagger fell from his hand, and shouting out, “you have killed me; you have killed me,” the Ḥāji 3 tumbled down inside the Rath. Śaulat Jang, the cup of whose life was not yet full to the brim, remained unsheathed. When the Afghān troops were busy looting the vanquished, Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Amin 4 Khān Bahādur, with a few men fell in with the runaways, and moved in every direction in quest of Sa’īd Ahmad Khān Bahādur Śaulat Jang; but Śaulat Jang fearing lest some enemy might be searching for him,

1 Lal Bagh, on the banks of the Katjuri, now forms the residence of the Commissioner of the Orissa Division. It was built by Musalmán Governors of Orissa for their residence, in preference to Fort Barabati on the banks of the Mahanadi.

2 Malisār is apparently a mistake for Mukamasar, a place across the Katjuri, about 2 miles distant from the Lal Bagh, on the Puri road.

3 As the sequence of the story would indicate, the Ḥāji was to some extent shamming death, and was a sly fox, for quickly after he got up, and nimbly scampered off, mounting another man’s horse.

4 Mir Muḥammad Amin was a step-brother of Ali Vardi Khān, surnamed Mahabat Jang, and brother-in-law of Mir Jafar, the latter having married an uterine sister of Mir Muḥammad Amin. Neither Ali Vardi nor his father was a Syed; they were Mirzas; and therefore, Muḥammad Amin (Ali Vardi’s step-brother) could not have been a Syed or Mir from his father’s side, he was so probably from his mother’s side. It is common amongst Muḥammadān (and the usage has the sanction of authority) to call themselves Syedas, if their mothers are Syedas.
held his breath quietly. When Muḥammad Amin Khān came up quite close, Ṣāulat Jang, recognising his voice, answered him. The aforesaid Khān, on hearing the response, immediately tearing the screen of the Raṭḥ, and cutting up the tent-ropes brought out Ṣāulat Jang, and dismounting from his horse embraced him. And Mir Muḥammad Jaʿfar Khān also coming up, they embraced each other, and after offering thanks to Providence for the safety of Ṣāulat Jang’s life, they indulged in jubilations. At the time when they were busy with embraces and hand-shakings, Ḥāji Muḥammad Amin, finding an opportunity, nimbly got out of the Raṭḥ, and mounting the horse of Muḥammad Amin Khān fled to the jungle, and vanished. When after enquiries into the condition of Ṣāulat Jang they mounted their own horses, Muḥammad Amin Khān was confounded at the disappearance of his own horse. On subsequently ascertaining the secret, they were all sorry. When the Afghān soldiery, after finishing their work of plunder and sack, rallied round Mir Muḥammad Jaʿfar Khān, they sent Ṣāulat Jang to Mahābat Jang, whilst they themselves set out in pursuit of Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqir. Finding the chance of his escape to be slender, the Mirzā became desperate, and opened the battle by shooting rockets and arrows and firing muskets. When the fighting was about to turn to a charge with spears and swords, Murād Khān, the generalissimo of the Rajah of Puri, who with a large contingent of troops supported Mirzā Bāqir, seizing the rein of the Mirzā’s horse, and by use of great persuasion, pulled him back from the battle-field. Becoming his guide, Murād Khān led the Mirzā by a route across the forest towards the Dakhin. Ali Vardī Khān, after holding a thanksgiving service for meeting Ṣāulat Jang and obtaining victory, allowed Ṣāulat Jang to retire to the city of Katak for rest, whilst he himself, after resting some time and being freed from all anxiety on account of the enemy, entered Katak triumphantly. And after chastising fully the adherents and friends of Mirzā Bāqir, Ali Vardī confiscated all the branded horses of Mirzā

1 If Mir Jaʿfar and his friends were capable of appreciating a practical joke, instead of being sorry, they might have enjoyed a hearty laugh.

2 This was Ḥafṣa Qādir, Bājah of Ratipur, Khurdah, and master or Superintendent of the Jagannath Temple. (See Seīra-l-Mutāḥāberin, Pers. text, p. 498, and note ante.)

3 That is, the horses which were supplied to, or had to be kept by military
Bāqir, appointed Shaikh Maṣūm, who was an able General, to the office of Deputy Nāẓim of the Subah of Odissah (Orissa), and after finishing the administrative arrangements of that Province returned to Bengal.

Inasmuch as Jagat Isar, Rājah of Morbhanj, had taken sides with Mirzā Bāqir, and had not submitted to the authority of Mahābat Jang, the latter was in anxiety owing to his insolence. Therefore, on arrival at the port of Balasore, he girded up his loins in order to chastise the Rājah. The latter was at Harihar-pūr which contained his mansion, and was at the time plunged in pleasures and amusements. His knowledge of the denseness of the forests that surrounded him, coupled with his command of numerous hordes of Qhawars and Khandaits, made him feel insolent, and so he did not pull out the cotton of heedlessness from the ear of sense, nor cared for the army of Ali Vardi Khān. Ali Vardi Khān’s army stretching the hand of slaughter and rapine, set about looting and sacking the populations, swept the Rājah’s dominion with the broom of spoliation, captured the women and children of the Khandatis and Qhawars, and sowed dissensions amongst them. The Rājah, seeing the superiority of Ali Vardi Khān’s army, with his effects, followers and dependants, fled to the top of a hill, and hid himself in a secret fastness, beyond the ken of discovery. Ali Vardi Khān then subjugated the tract of Morbhanj, shewed no quarter, and mercilessly carried fire and sword through its limits.

Mir Ḥabib, the Generalissimo of Murshid Quli Khān, after the commanders for military purposes after being branded. See A’in-i-Akbarī, Vol. I., p. 255, Blochmann’s translation for the Dagh or branding regulations.

1 The Seīr states that his name was “Shaikh Muḥammad Maṣūm, Panī Pātī.” He was appointed Deputy Governor of Orissa, in the place of Saulat Jang, on the recommendation of Ali Vardi’s Afghān general, Mustafa Khān, who now got the upper hand in all political affairs. The Shaikh is described as a veteran and brave general. (See Seīr, Pers. text, p. 505).

2 I am told ‘Qhawars’ is a mistake for “Chowaus” who are Khetris by caste. ‘Khandaits’ are also mixed Khetris; they are to be found in large numbers throughout Orissa.

3 This story shews that one of the most prominent Musalman leaders and pillars of the State in Bengal, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, in order to avenge Ali Vardi’s overthrow of his master Murshid Quli Khān from the Orissa Government, and to gratify personal vindictiveness, ignored ties of religious obligations and national interest, and joined hands with
latter's defeat, had gone to Raghoji Bhoslah, and persuaded the latter to undertake the conquest of Bengal. At this time, Raghoji Bhoslah, nephew of the Rājah of the Dakhīn, was Governor of the Šūbah of Berar. Taking advantage of the circumstance that Mahābat Jang was occupied with the affairs of Orissa, and finding that the whole extent of Bengal was denuded of troops, Raghoji Bhoslah detached his generalissimo, Diwan Bhāskar Paṇḍit, and Ali Qarawāl, who was an able general, with a contingent of sixty thousand Mahratta cavalry from Nāgpūr, in the company of Mir Šabib, by the route across the forest, in order to invade and pil- lage Bengal. On receiving news of the approach of Mahratta freebooters, Mahābat Jang abandoned the pursuit of the Mor- bhān Rājah, and withdrew towards Bengal.

As yet Ali Vardī Khan had not passed through the forests of Morbhān, when the army of Mahratta freebooters swooped down from the direction of the chaklāh of Bardwān.1 Mahābat Jang, with the celerity of lightning and wind, marching swiftly by night and day, reached the inn of Ujalan adjoining to Bardwān. The armies of Mahratta freebooters, concentrating from different directions, commenced looting baggages and tents. The Benga- lā army, which was ignorant of the tactics of Mahratta free- booters, but which had heard tales about their barbarity and rava- gers, stood motionless from fear like an army of statues, and were hemmed in and attacked by the freebooters. Their baggages were looted, and their food-supplies were cutoff. Horses, elephants, and camels of the Bengal army were captured, and carried off by the freebooters. The army of Mahābat Jang, being tired out by the devastating onslaughts and sieges of the freebooters, broke in disorder. The Mahrattas at once hemming in attacked the

Mahratta freebooters, in order to place the Moslem Satrapy in Bengal under Mahratta heels. The story is an object-lesson, and illustrates the intellectual and moral desolation that had seized Musalmans in Bengal at the time.

1 It is related in the Seiru-l-Mutakhabin (Pers. text, p. 507), whose author's father, Syed Hedait Ali Khan, was at the time employed as Fandjar of Magha in Behar, and was on an expedition to the hill-passes of Ramgarh, that the Mahratta cavalry numbering 40,000 led by Bhāskar Paṇḍit, general of Rag- hoji Bhoslah, swooped down through the above passes, cut through Pasīt and Morbhān, and appeared near the outskirts of Mednīpur. Raghoji Bhoslah (miscaled in the Pers. printed text of the Rīyās, Raghoji Ghoslah) was a nephew of Rājah Saho and Makasād (probably Governor or Chief) of the Šūbah of Berar, and his capital was at Nāgpūr in the Central Provinces.
elephant Landāh on which Mahābat Jang’s Begam 1 was mounted, and capturing the elephant dragged it towards their own camp. Muṣāḥib Khān Mohmand, 2 son of U’mar Khān the General, having his Hindustānī courage aroused in him, attacked the freebooters, and advancing his feet of valour and gallantry, by means of valorous onslaughs and Rustam-like onsets, rescued the elephant together with its fair rider from the clutches of the freebooters. In consequence, however, of numerous mortal and ghastly wounds that they received, Muṣāḥib Khān and a large number of his comrades and kinsmen drew the red paint of martyrdom on the face, and on that very spot of slaughter were buried. And when the freebooters from impudence and insolence made onslaughs from all sides, Mahābat Jang, of necessity, opened leathern bags of coins, and scattered them on the field. 3

1 It is interesting to note that we saw Ali Vardi Khān’s Begam moving beside her husband on an elephant at the battle of Balasore, and we find her again by the side of her husband at this battle with the Mahrattas, near Bardwān. She must have been a lady not only of nerve, but of wisdom, to have been retained by his side as a companion by Ali Vardi at such critical junctures. We saw also that that iron-man Ali Vardi in his usurpation of the Bengal Nizamat, bended himself before Naifsah Khānām and sued for pardon from her. From such incidents, the inference is not without warrant that Muslim ladies in Bengal even towards the middle of the eighteenth century occupied a different position from what they occupy now, took an active part in the wider concerns of their husbands, and exercised a powerful and beneficient influence both in the domains of politics and Society.

2 His name would indicate he was an Afghān belonging to the Mohmand tribe.

3 The Seir-ul-Muṣafārīn (Pers. text, pp. 507-519) gives a very graphic description of this first Mahratta invasion of Bengal (1155 A.H.), and of the causes which rendered it possible. The first cause was the instigation of Asif Jah (of Mir Ḥabīb, according to the Biṣāṣ which seems more probable; for Asif Jah was too high-minded to set loose Mahratta freebooters on a Muslim samram); the second cause was the discontent of Ali Vardi Khān’s Afghān troops and officers, notably of Muṣṭafā Khān, as Ali Vardi Khān had disbanded many Afghān levies after the Kalāk expedition to rescue Ṣanlāt Jang; the third cause was the treacherous assassination by Ali Vardi of the Rājāh of Morbhānji, whose cause was espoused by Muṣṭafā Khān. The Seir further states that when Bhaskar Pāṇḍit reached near Bardwān vid Pachit with 25,000 cavalry (given out as 40,000 cavalry), Ali Vardi Khān was on his way back from Orissa at Midnapur, with only 4 or 5,000 cavalry and 4 or 5,000 infantry, the latter having ordered back all his other troops to Murshidābād with Ṣanlāt Jang. Ali Vardi reached Bardwān with this small army. Bhās-
Thus diverting the freebooters with the work of picking up coins, Mahābat Jang seized this respite, and with the celerity of lightning and wind riding out at full gallop arrived at Bardwān. The hungry troops, who for three days and nights had not seen the face of food-stuffs, quenched the fire of their hunger with the stores of Bardwān. The army of Mahratta freebooters followed up in pursuit. Sacking villages and towns of the surrounding tracts, and engaging in slaughters and captures, they set fire to granaries, and spared no vestige of fertility. And when the stores and granaries of Bardwān were exhausted, and the supply of imported grains was also completely cut off, to avert death by starvation, human beings ate plantain-roots, whilst animals were fed on the leaves of trees. Even these gradually ceased to be available. For breakfasts and suppers, nothing except the discs of the sun and the moon feasted their eyes. And for nights and days together, being constantly mounted on their high saddles, they did not even dream of sleep. The Afghān and Bhaliah troops becoming desperate, determined to die hard. Mahābat Jang, seeing signs of defeat, owing to the exhausted condition of his soldiery, held a Council of War. It was at last decided to place the artillery round the army, and to put baggages in the centre, and in this form to march out expeditiously from Bardwān to Katwāh, where food and fodder would be either procurable, or could be imported by waterways or highways from the environs of Murshidābād, to relieve the distressed soldiery. In short, in pursuance of kar Paṇḍit having heard of Ali Vardi's bravery, proposed to the latter to give him ten laks of rupees by way of his entertainment expense, in which case he would return to his own country. Ali Vardi received this suggestion with disdain. For some time he was hard-pressed by the Mahrattas, especially owing to the defection of his Afghān officers and troops. Ali Vardi then with Sirājn-d-daulah waited on his Afghān General-in-Chief, Muṣṭafā Khān, told him to kill him with his grand-son, or else to give him his support, in order to oppose this Mahratta invasion. Muṣṭafā Khān, together with other Afghān officers now fought bravely against heavy odds with the Mahrattas, and Ali Vardi succeeded in retiring to Katwāh, where provisions with reinforcement came up under Saalat Jang from Murshidābād. At Katwāh, Muṣṭafā Khān inflicted a severe defeat on Bhaskar Paṇḍit, who now seriously thought of returning to his own country via Birbhum; but his chief adviser, Mir Hābīb, dissuaded him and brought him back from Birbhum to Katwāh, holding out prospects of loot, and making himself responsible for the Mahratta conquest of Bengal.
this plan, setting out at night from Bardwān, Mahābat Jang’s army marched towards Katwāh, and in a short interval by forced marches reached Katwāh. The light Mahratta cavalry, however, covered forty karok a day, and thus before Mahābat Jang’s arrival at Katwāh, they had already burnt down its fields, farms, and granaries, and reduced them to ashes. The army of Mahābat Jang now being in a state of utter despair, sent up to the skies wails, similar to the following:—

We never get relief from distress;
To whatever country we roam,
We see the sky alone.

However, Hāji Ahmad collecting the bakers of Murshidábād got breads prepared, and sent these together with other eatables and food-stuffs on boats to Katwāh. Other provisions and foodgrains were also similarly conveyed gradually and in large quantities. At last, Mahābat Jang’s army were saved from starvation, and their cattle also received a grateful supply of fodder and grass. Mahābat Jang’s soldiers, whose houses were in Murshidábād, felt home-sick, and gradually drifted away towards their homes.

As Mir Sharif, brother of Mir Ḥabib, together with the family treasures, dependants and children, was at Murshidábād, Mir Ḥabib with seven hundred Mahratta cavalry swooped down on Murshidábād, in order to relieve his brother. Marching expeditiously, night and day, early at day-break, Mir Ḥabib reached Dihpārah and Ganj Muḥammad Khān,¹ to which he set fire. And opposite to the Citadel, crossing the river Bhāgirati, Mir Ḥabib reached his residence, and taking out Mir Sharif, together with his treasures, effects, followers, and dependants, he kept them in his company. Sweeping clean the houses of numerous residents of the City with the broom of plunder, and looting as much gold and silver coins as he could from the houses of Jagat Set, and capturing Murād Ali Khān,² a son-in-law of Sarfarāz Khān, and Rājah Dūlabh Rām³ and Mir Shujān-d-din, Superintendent of the

¹ These would seem to have been suburbs of Murshidábād.
² He was a son of Nafisah Begam, sister of Sarfarāz Khān, and subsequently became the latter’s son-in-law, and in Sarfarāz Khān’s time held the office of Deputy Governor of Jahangiruagar. See n. ante.
³ Dūlab Rām was a son of Rājah Janokiram Peshkar, and was appointed by
Bājutārāḥ Sair duties, he encamped at Tiratkonah, which was to the west of the City, at a distance of one farsakā. Ḥājī Ṭāhir, Nawzish Ahmad Khān and Ḥusain Quli Khān, who were in the City, at the very sight of the Mahratta cavalry, firing their guns once or twice, and closing the avenues to the City as well as the gates of the Citadel, entrenched themselves, but found it impossible to fight and disperse the enemy, or to defend the City. On the next day, Mahābat Jang, with his army marching night and day, entered Murshidābād. Then the Mahrattas abandoned the idea of assaulting the City, and after desolating the surrounding tracts across the river returned to Katwāh. The rainy season now set in. In view of the tumultuousness of the river, the Mahrattas now suspended their fighting, established their quarters at Katwāh, and from there commenced making administrative arrangements. Giving Mir Ḥabīb a free hand in all affairs, Bhaskar Paṇḍit himself remained at Katwāh, and sent out detachments in all directions for raid and plunder. Similarly, Mahābat Jang, in view of giving rest to his army, did not move out of the City.

As in his earlier years, Mir Ḥabīb had lived at Hugli, the latter place still abounded with many of his kinsmen and friends. Their headman, Mir Abu-l-Ḥasan Sarkhil, now laid plans to surprise Hugli. He won over many of the Mughals to his side, and held secret correspondence with Mir Ḥabīb. Mir Muḥammad Rizā, the Deputy Faujdar of Hugli,¹ used to treat Mir Abu-l-Ḥasan as his right-hand in all affairs.

Mahābat Jang Šubdar of Orissa, in place of Abdul Rasul Khān who was recalled. Dulāb Rām had been before Peshkar in Orissa. Dulāb Rām exhibited great cowardice when the Mahrattas invaded Orissa. The Mahrattas captured him, and he was released on payment of a heavy ransom after a year. He was very superstitious, and spent his time mostly in the company of Sanyāsī, who turned out to be Mahratta spies. See Seiru-1-Mutakherin, p. 545 (Pers. text).

¹ In the Seiru-1-Mutakherin (Pers. text, p. 514) it is stated that Muḥammad Yar Khān, a step-brother of Ali Vardī Khān, was at the time Governor of the Port of Hugli, and that Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan and Mir Abu-l-Qasim, who were intimate with the above Governor, conspired with Mir Ḥabīb, and induced the Governor by their treacherous assurances to admit Mir Ḥabīb into the Port of Hugli. After thus treacherously seizing Hugli, Mir Ḥabīb installed as its Governor Sis Rū, a Mahratta, whilst he himself played the role of the Chief Administrator of Mahratta affairs in Bengal, and divided his residence between Hugli and Katwāh.
In blissful ignorance of the fact that he had a traitor in his camp, the Deputy Faujdār passed nights and days in carousals. At length, at the instigation of Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan, Mir Ḥabīb with a detachment of two thousand cavalry commanded by Sis Rāo advanced to Hugli, and at midnight arriving at the gate of its Fort announced his arrival to Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan. Whilst Muḥammad Rīzā, arranging a feast of revelry, was quite absorbed in watching the dancing of some pretty women, Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan said to the former: "Mir Ḥabīb has come alone to visit you, and is waiting at the gate of the fort." Under the influence of liquor, the Deputy Faujdār unhesitatingly ordered the gate of the Fort to be thrown open and to admit Mir Ḥabīb. Entering the Fort, Mir Ḥabīb with the concurrence of Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan placed Muḥammad Rīzā and Mīrzā Piran under surveillance, established himself inside the Fort, and posted his own guards at its gate. The noblemen and residents of the town that very night fled to Chūcharah (Chinsurah) and other places, and took refuge in the houses of the Dutch and French. Next morning, Sis Rāo with his detachment of cavalry entered the Fort. Many of the Mughal residents who were Mir Ḥabīb’s acquaintances were introduced to Sis Rāo by Mir Ḥabīb. The Rāo treated them courteously and deferentially, reassured every one of them, and issuing proclamations of peace and security forbade the Mahrattas from looting or sacking the town. He persuaded the Zamindārs to assess and collect the revenue, and appointing as usual Qāzis, Muḥtasibs and other officers to administer justice, he bestowed the office of Faujdār on Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan. Mir Ḥabīb, carrying off some guns and ammunitions together with a flotilla of sloops from Hugli, rejoined Bhāskar Paṇḍit at Katwāh.

As it was the rainy season, Mir Ḥabīb deputed Mir Mihdi with a detachment of musketeers on boats for collecting revenue from the mahals across the Ganges. But Mir Mihdi, from fear of Mahābat Jang, did not land. The agents of the Zamindārs proceeded to Mir Ḥabīb, and paying him large sums obtained guards for the immunity of their tracts from the ravages and loot of Mahratta freebooters. The wealthy nobility and gentry, to save their family honour, quit their homes, and migrated across the Ganges.¹ The whole tract from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal)

¹ That is to say, there was a general exodus of the Mulsman nobility and gentry from the western side of the Ganges (that is, from Southern and West-
to Mednipür and Jalísár (Jalasore) came into the possession of the Mahrattas. Those murderous freebooters drowned in the rivers a large number of the people, after cutting off their ears, noses and hands. Tying sacks of dirt to the mouths of others, they mangled and burnt them with indescribable tortures. Thus they desolated and dishonoured the family and children of a whole world. Mahābat Jang, making strenuous efforts towards the chastisement and expulsion of the insolent enemy, set about collecting troops and armaments. Requisitioning to Murshidábād a large flotilla of boats from the neighbourhood of Jahāngīrnagar (Daca), from the Jilangi, from Māldah, and Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), &c., he constructed a road leading to Kātwāl. From the eastern bank of the Bhagirati he detached for bridge-making twelve thousand pioneers and sappers on boats, and attended to the comforts of the army. Collecting paraphernalia, horses, elephants, and swords, and winning the hearts of his soldiers by bestowing on them gifts and increments in pay, he encouraged and incited them to fight. Finding the enemy absorbed in political affairs relating to Zainīdārs, Revenue-Collectors and Administrators, Mahābat Jang seized this op-

ern Bengal) to its Eastern and Northern sides (that is, Eastern and Northern Bengal) which were immune from Mahratta raids. Those who are at pains to account for the comparatively large Musalman population in Eastern and Northern Bengal and are ready to put forward more or less fanciful theories, might perhaps take into consideration the above circumstance, and also the following facts which I summarised from the Seīr-i-Mutasbirin (a contemporary account). The Seīr states that in this wave of Mahratta invasion of Bengal, the whole of the Chaklahs of Bārdwān, Mednipūr, Balasore, Kātāk, Bīr bhum, some pagānahs of Rajahshahi (probably those on the south side of the river) Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) were overwhelmed, whilst only Murshidābād and the countries on the other side (that is, Eastern and Northern sides) of the Ganges remained peacefully in possession of Ali Vardi Khān, that in the rainy season, even the populations of Murshidábād, apprehending Mahratta raids, migrated in masse on boats to the other sides (that is, Eastern and Northern sides) of the Ganges, such as Jahangīrnagar or Dacca, Māldah, Rampore Beaulah, &c., and that even Nāwāb Shahamat Jāng (Ali Vardi’s son-in-law) with his family and children moved across the river to Godāgari, a place close to Rampore Beaulah, on the north bank of the Ganges or Poda. These historical facts occurring as they did only in the middle of the eighteenth century, would sufficiently explain why the Musalman populations in Western Bengal and even near Murshidábad (the latest Musalman capital in Bengal) are numerically much less than those in Eastern or Northern Bengal (See Seīr-i-Mutasbirin, Pers. text, pp. 564 and 514).
portunity, and held a Council of War with his Afghan and Bhaliah Generals in view of delivering a night-attack. In pursuance of this plan, Mahabat Jang marched expeditiously with a large and efficient army, and by forced marches, at midnight, reached a place just opposite to Katwah. In the cover of the night's darkness, he instantly floated a bridge of boats that had been kept ready from before, and with a large army commenced crossing the river. Whilst he with the officers and some veteran soldiers had crossed the river, the bridge suddenly gave way under the heavy weight of a large army. Some of the boats sank, whilst a large number of Afghans and Bhaliahs were drowned in the river. Mahabat Jang, on learning about this mishap, was engulfed in a sea of confusion. His mind was racked with anxiety. He realised that the entire army from the eastern bank of the river had been unable to cross over, and that he alone with a handful of troops was on the western bank face to face with the enemy. In consequence, he apprehended that in the event of the enemy getting scent of his movement, he would meet with a terrible disaster. He, therefore, put out the torches, and gave directions for immediately repairing the broken portions of the bridge. After the bridge was repaired, he ordered the whole army to cross over and join him. As the enemy was heedless and negligent, everything ended well. Kishwar Khan, the Deputy Fanjdar, and Mankant, the commandant of the pioneers and sappers, quickly rendered the damaged boats water-tight by plastering their cracks and renders with mud and bits of wood, and thus displayed Luqmân-like skill. An army, waving like the sea, swiftly crossed the bridge, rallied round Mahabat Jang and his Generals, and quickly unsheathing their swords, in a solid and clamorous phalanx, like some heavenly disaster, swooped down on the enemy. Shouts rose up on every side.

True, the night was dark, but the sword flashed,
So as amidst the dusky clouds, lightning flashes.
From profuse shedding of blood on that battle-field,
Earth's face turned crimson.
Heaps of corpses crashed on heaps of corpses,
Aye, formed veritable mounds on every side.

Overwhelmed with disaster, and unable to stand their ground,
Mir Habib and Bhaskar Pandit with other Mahratta officers fled
from the battle-field, leaving their army to their fate, just as a cow is left to the tender mercies of a butcher. A crushing defeat was inflicted on the Mahratta army, which was triumphantly chased to some distance. Bhāskar and other Mahratta Generals fell back to Rāmpurdh, from where with common consent they marched with celerity across jungles, to invade and ravage the Subah of Orissa.

Shaikh Muḥammad Maṣūm, the Deputy Nazim of Orissa, in order to resist the enemy, advanced from Katak, and opposed the enemy's march. When the two armies encountered each other, the fire of conflict flared up once again. Although the Zamindārs had deserted his side, with a small band numbering five thousand cavalry and infantry, Shaikh Muḥammad Maṣūm stood his ground defiantly on the field. The Mahratta army, which was more numerous than ants and locusts, surrounded Shaikh Maṣūm from all sides like a circle, and slaughtered him together with his comrades. The Subah of Odisah (Orissa), together with the Fort of Barabāti and the citadel of the City of Katak, fell once again into the hands of the enemy.

Nawāb Mahābat Jang, on hearing of the above disaster, marched swiftly to Bardwān. He paid to each soldier two months' pay and also other gifts on account of the victory of Katwāh, advanced to Katak, and repeatedly assaulting the Mahratta troops drove them from Katak, and victoriously entered its citadel. Leaving General Abdn-r-Rasūl Khān, who was a second Muṣṭafā Khān, and

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1 This defeat of the Mahrattas at Katwāh took place in 1155 A.H. The Seir states that after his defeat at Katwāh, Bhāskar Pāṇḍit, the Mahratta General, fled through the hill-passes of Pachit into a forest, but losing his way, and not succeeding in making his retreat to his own country (Nagpur), under the guidance of Mīr Ḥabīb, came back to the jungles of Bishanpur, passed through them to the jungles of Chandrakonah, emerged at Midnapur, and made for Katak, fought with and killed Shaikh Maṣūm, Subādar of Orissa. Mahābat Jang hotly chased Bhāskar Pāṇḍit up to the confines of the Chilka Lake, but Bhāskar succeeded in effecting his retreat into the Dakhin. Then Mahābat Jang returned to Katak, where he installed Abdul Nabi Khān (nephew of Shaikh Maṣūm) as Subādar of Orissa, and left Dulab Ram (son of Rajāḥ Jansālī Ram) as Peshkar under the latter, and then returned to Murshidabad (p. 519, Seiru-Lastly, Pers. text).

There is a village called Masūmpur about 11 miles north from Katak. It is a colony of respectable Muhammadans, and is probably named so after the above Shaikh Maṣūm Panipati. Six miles from Masūmpur, is another colony of respectable Musalmans at Salibpur.
who was also the latter's nephew, as the Deputy Nazim of Orissa, together with a contingent of six thousand cavalry and infantry, Mahābat Jang returned to the Šūbah of Bengal.

On receiving news of the defeat of Bhāskar Pandit, Sis Rāo evacuating the fort of Hugli retreated to Bishanpur. Other Mahratta officers, who were posted at different places for the collection of revenue, also fled. The Collectors and Faujdārs of Mahābat Jang entered the ravaged tracts, and again set about to re-settle them.

But Bhāskar Pandit, after his defeat, sent Bairagi dacoits towards Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), Bhāgalpur, and Behār. Mahābat Jang, who had not yet breathed freely, again set out from Bengal for those places. He had not yet reached the Šūbah of Behār, when the Bairagis retreating from those parts swooped down on Murshidābād. Mahābat Jang fell back from Behār, and pursued them. These Bairagi freebooters were busy with looting Balūchar, when the music of the drum and tambourine of Mahābat Jang's vanguard rang in the ears of those maniacs. Losing all courage, and leaving behind bags of booty, they fled from Balūchar. Mahābat Jang chased them up to Rāmgadh, from where he returned.

In short, this sort of guerilla warfare lasted three years. Victories on both sides were mingled with defeats, and it was hard to decide which side eventually came off the best. Nawāb Mahābat Jang, following the saying that "war is made up of fraud," diplomatically established friendly relations with Ali Qāravāl, who was one of the Mahratta leaders that had embraced the Muhammadian faith, and was surnamed Ali Bhāi. From considerations of expediency, Mahābat Jang invited him over. Receiving him kindly and courteously, using dissimulation and artfulness, and professing friendship and benignity, he made him consent to arrange an interview between himself and Bhāskar Pandit with other Mahratta Generals. Heedless of the duplicity of the times, that simpleton was taken in, and arrived at Diknagar. He induced Bhāskar and other Mahratta Generals to meet Mahābat Jang, by conveying to them the assurances and avowals of Mahābat Jang with reference to the settlement of the Oath and the establishment of friendly relations. And these, in accordance with the saying;—

"One perceiveth according to the length1 of his sight," placing

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1 The Arabic saying is:

إِذَا جَاء القدر بطل البصر
the finger of acceptance on their blind eyes, summoned to their presence Rājah Jānaki Rām and Muṣṭafā Khān for fixing the basis of a treaty, and for ratifying it by protestations and oaths. These going over to Bhāskar made vows and oaths, according to the forms of their respective religious and creeds. Muṣṭafā Khān had with him, under a cover, a brick instead of the Qurān, and holding it he repeated oaths. Falling into the trap laid by Mahābat Jang, and reiterating the vows of peace, Ali Bhāi and Bhāskar with other Mahratta Generals promised to meet Mahābat Jang at a place called Mankarah, and permitted Muṣṭafā Khān and Rājah Jānaki Rām to return. These going to Mahābat Jang assured him of the success of their mission, and related the mutual promises and vows that had taken place. Expressing his satisfaction, Mahābat Jang ostensibly set about collecting valuable khillats and jewellery, together with elephants, horses, and other rare and precious presents for presentation to the aforesaid Mahratta Generals. Announcing to the general public news of the approaching peace, Mahābat Jang covertly laid a plot of treachery, and took into confidence his own Generals towards its development. He picked out veteran and brave soldiers from his army, and caused long and wide tents, capable of holding large detachments with horses and elephants, to be pitched at Mankarah. Himself going into one of the tents, he arranged a grand party of friends and comrades. He secreted in battle-array inside the tents a battalion of picked men, and sent a message to Ali Bhāi to bring over Bhāskar with all the Mahratta Generals. In short, Bhāskar, leaving all his troops in camp, came to Ali Vardi’s tent, together with Ali Bhāi and twenty-one other Mahratta Generals. The tent-pitchers following the signal dropped down the screens of the pavilion, tied them strongly with tent-ropes, and cut off the ingress and egress of friends and foes. Mahābat Jang, at the very sight of Bhāskar, said to his comrades who were waiting for the signal: “Kill these heathen sinners.”

Instantly, swords sprang up from every side on the Mahrattas.

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1 In Seir (p. 529) Mankara is described as lying on the banks of the Bhagirati. How the wily Ali Vardi Khān treacherously inveigled Bhāskar Paṇḍit and other Mahratta Generals into his tent, is lucidly described in the Seir-i-
Mutaḵkerin (p 529). In this game of treachery, Ali Vardi Khān’s principal conjurors were Muṣṭafā Khān and Rājah Jānaki Rām, the Peskar. It must, however, be added that the Mahrattas were well paid back in their own coin.

2 The expression given in the Seir (p. 520) is: “Kill this enemy.”
The clamour of assault rose up to the skies,
Breasts were pierced through by swords.

Bhāskar and twenty-one other Mahratta Generals were butchered. In the midst of this carnage, Mahābat Jang mounting an elephant ordered the music of victory to be struck up, and ordered his select battalion to charge the Mahratta army with their swords. On seeing this, one of the Mahratta Generals, who was posted outside the pavilion with ten thousand cavalry, fled together with his force. Mahābat Jang's soldiers pouncing like fighting lions on this flock of sheep fiercely attacked the Mahratta troops, and slaughtered them, right and left, raising human shambles, and captured those who escaped the sword. On hearing of this disaster, other Mahratta detachments which were encamped at Bārdwān and Diknagar, &c., or patrolled the tracts between Mēndipūr and AKBīnrāgar (Rājmahal) fled to Nāgpūr.

When news of this disaster reached the ear of Rāghojaī Bhoslah,

He knitted his brow, from fury of rage,
And coiled, like a serpent, from anxiety of lost treasures.
He kindled such a fire of wrath in his heart,
That he scorched himself from head to foot.

After the rainy season was over, Rāghojaī Bhoslah mobilised a large force, and marched towards Bengal, to avenge the

1 His name was Ragho Gaekwar. (See Seir, p. 531). Muṣṭafā Khān tried hard to inveigle him also into Ali Vardi's tent, but this Mahratta General appears to have been an uncommonly shrewd man, and said he would wait on Ali Vardi Khān on the following day, after Bhāskar Paṇḍit and Ali Bhai had returned from their interview with Ali Vardi

2 In the printed Pers. text 'Diknagar,' which place I cannot locate.

3 The Seiru-l-Mutakherin (Pers. text, pp. 545-548) gives a very lucid account of this second Mahratta invasion of Bengal by Rāghojaī Bhoslah. It appears that important affairs transpired in the meantime in the Bengal Satrapy, which made for this second Mahratta invasion. In the first place, Muṣṭafā Khān, the Afghan General-in-Chief and the chief pillar of the State of Ali Vardi Khān, fell out with the latter, and was locked up in fighting against Ali Vardi's son-in-law, Zain-d-dīn Khān, Šubdār of Azimābād (Pultam). Whilst hardpressed by the well-formed battalions of Zain-d-dīn Khān, Muṣṭafā Khān, like Mir Ḥabīb, took the unusual step to invite over to Bengal Rāghojaī Bhoslah, who seized the invitation with avidity and marched with Ḥabīb (the implacable foe of Ali Vardi and the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas), towards Katak. At this time at Katak, a cowardly person ruled as Ali
slaughter of Bhāskar and other Mahratta Generals, and engaging on massacres, captures, and plunders, tortured many of his cap-

Vardi’s Šubādār in Orissa. His name was Dulab Ram, and he was a son of Rajah Janoki Ram, Ali Vardi’s Peshkar. Ali Vardi had appointed Dulab Ram as Šubādār, in the place of Abdul Rasul Khan (son of Abdul Nabi Khan) who had resigned his office and joined Mustafā at Patna. Dulab Ram was not only cowardly, but superstitious, and most probably, also treacher-
ous (as his subsequent conduct towards Ali Vardi’s grandson indicates). He associated at Katak with the Sanyasis, most of whom were spies in the employ of Raghoji Bhoslah. As soon as Dulab Ram heard of the approach of the Mahrattas, he attempted to run away; but was soon after captured by the Mahrattas. At this time, a small band of Syeds, under the command of Mir Abdul Aziz, bravely held out for over a month in the Fort of Barabati. The heroic stand against heavy odds made by this small beleaguered garrison and its unflagging loyalty, once more relieves the darkness of the moral chaos that had seized the times. When cajoled and threatened by Raghoji Bhoslah’s friend, Mir Habib, and entreated by Dulab Ram and by his own brother to join Raghoji’s side, Mir Abdul Aziz returned the following gallant and loyal answer: “I own no brother nor any other master; I acknowledge only one master, namely, Mahābāt Jang; true, some cowards have joined you; but from regard for the salt I have eaten, I will, by God, stand by this Fort, so long as there is breath in my life.” (Seir, p. 546). As however, no reinforcements came up, though over a month had elapsed, and as all provisions had run out, this noble band of beleaguered garrison had at length to capitulate on honourable terms to Raghoji Bhoslah, who made himself master of the Fort Barabati and also of the whole of Orissa province, as well as of Mednapur, Hugli and Bardwān. Ali Vardi was occupied at this time in Patna in crushing out the Afghān revolt under Mustafā Khān. When Mustafā Khān was slain and the Afghān revolt was crush-
ed, Ali Vardi hastened back to Bengal. At this time, Raghoji was encamped at Bīrbhum. Meanwhile the Afghān comrades of the late Mustafā Khān, who lay in a death-trap in the Jungles of Tikari asked Raghoji to help them, and promised him their adhesion. Raghoji marched to Tikari to their rescue and the jungles of Bīrbhum and Kharakpur, looting en route the villages of Shaikpur and Tikari, &c. Mahābāt Jang followed quickly in their heels and moved to Patna. From Patna, Raghoji (on the advice of Mir Habib, who was the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas, also in this second Marhatta invasion) turned towards Mushtidābd, pursued closely by Ali Vardi, whose pursuit was hot and unslacking. At Katwān, another battle was fought, in which the Mahrattas were worsted. Finding that victory was out of the question, and hearing of some troubles in his own country, Raghoji now prudently withdrew to his own country at Nagpur, leaving in Bengal his friend, guide, and philosopher, Mir Habib, with 8,000 Mahratta and 7,000 Afghān troops. (See Seiru-I-Mutakhārin, Pers. text, p. 551). It would seem a despicable mor-
ral chaos had at this time seized the country, in which neither religious ties
tives. Ali Vardi Khan with a large army again advanced to encounter the enemy. At this juncture, Balaji Rao, son of Baji Rao Pandit, Peshwa and generalissimo of Raja Sahib, who was young, and had enmity with Raghoji, under orders of Emperor Muhammad Shah, came from the Imperial Capital (Dihli) to Bengal with sixty thousand Mahratta cavalry, to reinforce Ali Vardi Khan. Mahabat Jang, finding floods of disaster approaching Bengal from two sides, showed firmness and foresight. He deputed experienced envoys with presents to Balaji Rao, won him over to his side by display of courtesy and sincerity, met him at Birbhoom, established friendly relations with him, and both unitedly resolved to drive out Raghoji Bhoslah. Raghoji finding it impracticable to accomplish the object of his mission withdrew to his own country, without gaining his end. Being somewhat relieved of his anxiety by the withdrawal of Raghoji Bhoslah, Mahabat Jang presented a large amount of cash to Balaji Rao, and thus sent him out of Bengal in a contented and thankful mood, whilst he himself returned to Bengal. Being inwardly in anxiety as to the demand of Raghoji for Chauth, Mahabat Jang set about mobilising troops.

At this moment, a rupture occurred between Ali Vardi Khan and

nor national sentiments were held of any account. One finds now Musalman Afghans (at the instigation of two Musalman leaders, Mir Habbib and Mustafa Khan), fighting the battles of Hindu Mahratta freebooters against a Musalman power in Bengal. The event is a dark land-mark in Moslem history of Bengal, and marks the sad disintegration and moral paralysis that had now seized the Musalman race in Bengal or, for the matter of that, in India. (See Seir, Pers. text, pp. 556-566).

1 Balaji Rao (the generalissimo of the Imperial Army in the Dakhin) and Safdar Jang, son-in-law of Burhan-ul-Mulk, the Subedar of Oudh, were ordered by Emperor Muhammad Shah, to help Ali Vardi against the Mahrattas under Raghoji. Whilst seeking Imperial assistance, Ali Vardi wrote the following pregnant and prophetic words to the Emperor:—"Should Bengal which is the financial mainstay of the Empire fall, your Majesty's Empire will be shorn of all lustre." (See Seir, p. 516, Pers. text). These words had reference to the fact that Bengal had ever been the best milk-cow of the Empire. Safdar Jang did not pull on with Ali Vardi, and so was recalled by the Emperor, whilst Balaji Rao (whose designs were also suspected by the shrewd Ali Vardi) who had come to Mankar by way of Patna, was courteously shown out of Bengal by the latter. (See Seir, pp. 523 and 524). In this connection, the Seir (p. 524) gives the story of a Musalman amazon in the person of the widow of the late Muhammad Ghaus Khan who resided at Bhagulpur, and who held out bravely against Balaji Rao.

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Muṣṭafā Khān, the Afghān General, and it was so far accentuated that all the Afghāns combining with the latter, broke out into revolt, and set out with a large force for Aẓīmābād (Patna), in order to storm that City, and to capture Ḥājī Ḍawnād and Zainu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān. On reaching Mungīr (Monghyr), Muṣṭafā Khān besieged the Fort of Monghyr. The Commandant of the Fort prepared to fight. Abdu-r-rasūl Khān, a cousin of Muṣṭafā Khān, advancing in the inebriation of the wine of valour and daring, wanted to storm the Fort, by battering down its gate. The guards of the Fort hurled down a huge stone on his head. From the blow of that heavy stone, his head was smashed to atoms. Muṣṭafā Khān, viewing this disaster to be a bad omen, abandoned the siege of Monghyr, marched with celerity to Aẓīmābād, (Patna), engaged in besieging the latter City, and commenced fighting with Zainu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān. Most of the detachments of Zainu-d-dīn Khān, not being able to stand their ground in the face of the onslaughts of the Afghāns, retreated to the citadel, but Zainu-d-dīn Khān himself with a small squadron of cavalry, artillery, and Bhālīāh musketeers remained out in the open to encounter the enemy. At this moment, the Afghāns fell to plundering and pillaging the tents of Zainu-d-dīn’s troops who had retreated. Seeing Muṣṭafā Khān now left with a small force, Zainu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān formed a van-guard of artillermen and Bhālīāh musketeers, and commenced an assault. The shells of guns and bullets of muskets now commenced showering like hail. Most of Muṣṭafā Khān’s comrades tasted the bitter potion of death; whilst one bullet, hitting Muṣṭafā Khān on the socket, blinded one of his eyes. Then Zainu-d-dīn’s other troops who had retreated to the citadel also rushed out, attacked the Afghāns, and put them to the sword. Muṣṭafā Khān on being defeated retreated to Jagdshīpur.\(^3\) Becoming victorious and triumphant, Zainu-d-dīn Khān struck up the band of victory, made his State entry into the Fort, and next engaged on chasing the enemy. Muṣṭafā Khān now sent a message to Raghoji Bhoslah,\(^4\) and asked for help.

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1 He was Șubādar of Orissa before Dulab Bām. See note ante.
2 The whole thing would seem to have been a well-planned tactical move on the part of Zainu-d-dīn Khān, who was a good General, strong in tactics.
3 The printed Persian text of the Riyās has throughout “Raghoji Ghoslah.” ‘Ghoslah’ is obviously a misreading or misprint for ‘Bhoslah.’
4 ‘Jagdishpūr’ or ‘Jagdispur, ia mentioned in the Aın-i-Akbari (Vol I
Raghoji, who was waiting for such an opportunity, was delighted, and prepared to despatch reinforcements. But Mahābat Jang, on being apprised of this news, swiftly marched to Aṣīmābād (Patna). The Bengal and Aṣīmābād (Patna) armies forming a junction combined to attack Muṣṭafā Khān. After much fighting, Muṣṭafā Khān, finding it impossible to hold his own, retreated in a hapless condition across the frontier of Aṣīmābād to Ghāzipur; whilst Mahābat Jang becoming victorious and triumphant returned to Murshidābād. Muṣṭafā Khān again collected a large force of cavalry and infantry, and again invaded Aṣīmābād. Zainu-d-din Aḥmad Khān, according to the adage “One who is beaten once can be beaten twice,” with his victorious troops encountered him, and after much efforts and countless exertions, and after much slaughters and fightings, became victorious, whilst Muṣṭafā Khān, as a retribution for his disloyalty, was slain on the battle-field. Zainu-d-din Khān cutting off the head of that wretch from his body tied his corpse to the feet of an elephant which was patrolled round the city to serve as a warning, and also suspended his head at the City Gate.

At this juncture, Raghoji Bhoslah despatched to Bengal a Mahratta army under the command of his son Rajah Jānoji, his adopted son, Mohan Singh, and the miscreant Mir Ḥabīb, in order to demand the Ghauth.¹ A large number of Muṣṭafā Khān’s Afghan ad-

¹ This third Mahratta invasion of Bengal under Jānoji, son of Raghoji Bhoslah (with him being of course the inevitable Mir Ḥabīb as the Chief Adviser and as guide, friend and philosopher of the Mahrattas), is also lucidly narrated in the Seiru-i-Mutaḥhorn (Pers. text, pp. 555-592). Jānoji came to Katak, whilst Ali Vardī’s newly-nominated Deputy Subadar of Orissa, Mir Jafar, was still at Mednipūr, on his way to Katak. On hearing of the Mahratta incursion, Mir Jafar (who secretly was conspiring against Ali Vardī) retired to Bardwan. The Mahrattas then advanced to Bardwan. After some indecisive skirmishing, Jānoji made for Murshidābād, and after doing some looting in its neighbourhood retreated to Mednipūr, pursued by Ali Vardī Khān. In the meantime, Jānoji’s principal adviser, Mir Ḥabīb, had opened treacherous negotiations with the late Muṣṭafā Khān’s Afghan adherents.
herents also joined them, and the market of fight and slaughter once again became warm in the conflict between Mahābat Jang and the Marhattas. The Šubah of Orissa fell into the hands of Janoji, whilst weakness set in in the Province of Bengal. Mir Ḥabib opened negotiations for the settlement of the Ghauth of Bengal. Nawazīsh Ahmad Khān, Aḥsan Quli Khān, 1 Jagat Set, and the Rai-Rāiān 2 exerted themselves strenuously on the side of peace. But in Darbhanga and its neighbourhood, and these had effected a sanguinary revolution by treacherously killing at a Darbar Zainu-d-din Khān, Subdār of Patna. Now Janoji moved to Patua (with him being Mir Ḥabib), and Ali Vardi also proceeded to Patua. Ali Vardi now rose to the height of his generalship, and succeeded in crushing and routing his united Afghan and Marhatta foes in a great battle near Barh. (See the spirited description of this battle in the Seīr, p. 566). Janoji, now receiving news of his mother's death, retreated to Nagpur, leaving Mir Ḥabib towards Katak and Mednipur with some Mahratta and Afghan troops (Seīr, p. 570). Shortly after, Raghoji sent to Mir Ḥabib another Mahratta reinforcement under Manaji, younger brother of Janoji [Mohan Singh of the text is obviously a mistake or misprint for Manaji] Ali Vardi marched out with his army from Murghidabād and passed through Kāwh, Bardwan, Mednipur, Bhaddek, and Jajpur; whilst Mir Ḥabib with his Mahratta and Afghan troops fell back from Mednipur towards Katak. Ali Vardi triumphantly entered once more the City of Katak, and recaptured the Fort of Bārabatī, after killing its commandants, Serandaz Khān, Syed Nur, and Dharam Dass (p. 578, Seīr), Pārs. text. This re-conquest, however, proved abortive, for whilst Ali Vardi was still at Balasore on his way towards Murghidabād, Mir Ḥabib with his light Mahratta and Afghan cavalry swooped down on Katak, and killed Shaikh Abdī Subhan, who had been left there as Deputy Governor by Ali Vardi. (See pp. 579-580 of the Seīr, which also gives a good description of the Katak City). The Mahrattas, it would seem, always moved with light and mobile cavalry, whilst Ali Vardi's army was not equally light or mobile. Ali Vardi had, therefore (despite the fact that next to Asafjah, he was the first General of the time in India) to encounter the same difficulties in encountering Mahratta troops, that the British had in encountering the Boors in the late South African War. In the end, it is true, Ali Vardi triumphed, but the price that he had to pay for his apparent victory was too much, nor did he survive it long enough to reap its benefit.

1 In a former part of the text, he is named "Husain Quli Khān," which appears to be correct. (See Seīr, Vol. II, Pārs. text, p. 495). Husain Quli Khān was Naib or Deputy of Nawazīsh Muḥammad Khān, son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khān, and Governor of Chakla Jahangirnagar (Daoc), including Silhat and Chittagong.

2 Nawazīsh Muḥammad Khān was Governor of Jahangirnagar, and also held the portfolio of Supreme Diwan of Bengal under Ali Vardi Khān, the Deputy Diwanship being held by Okhīn Rai (who had been Pezhkar under Alam-
Mahābat Jang, considering the acceptance of Chauth to be humiliating, refused to conclude peace, and with his army prepared to fight and drive out the Mahrattas. Mahābat Jang suspected treachery from Sham Sher Khān, Sardār Khān, Murād Sher Khān, Hājāt Khān, and other Afghan Generals of Đār)bāngṛā, who, during the late insurrection, had sided with Muṣṭafā Khān. And, as a matter of fact, these Afghan Generals had opened at this time reasonable correspondence with Mir Ḥabīb and his Mahrattas. These Afghan Generals, following the example of Muṣṭafā Khān, now broke out into open revolt on the pretext of demand of pay. Mahābat Jang, having lost all confidence in them, paid them up, and disbanded them. These reaching Đār)bāngṛā, after a short time, leagued amongst themselves in pursuance of designs of treachery, and made offers of service to Zainu-d-dīn Āḥmad Khān. As Zainu-d-dīn Khān was a friend of soldiers, he conciliated them, accepted their offers of service with the approval of Nawāb Mahābat Jang, and invited them to a Darbar. Sham Sher Khān and Murād Sher Khān with a corps of Afghans arrived at Hājīpūr, and encamped on the banks of the river. According to the order of Zainu-d-dīn Āḥmad Khān, they left behind all their soldiers, and crossing the river came to Āẓīmābād (Patna) attended only by three hundred cavalry, consisting of kinsmen and comrades who were all of one heart for the purpose of waiting on Zainu-d-dīn Āḥmad Khān. On obtaining an audience, they observed all the points of etiquette, and sat in the Īlīl satīn Palace, ranged on the right and left of Zainu-d-dīn. Zainu-d-dīn Āḥmad Khān reclining against pillows on a Masnad, made polite enquiries regarding each. Murād Sher Khān, nephew of Sham Sher Khān, finding Zainu-d-dīn off his guard, pulled out a dagger from his waist, līt the latter so hard with it on the stomach, that his intestines came out. By that single blow, Zainu-d-dīn was killed.1 The traitors, lifting

1 It would appear from the account given in the Seiru-l-Muttaḥarīn (p 566), alluded to before, that the Afghan adherents of the late Muṣṭafā Khān were in secret conspiracy with Mir Ḥabīb, the inspiring genius, and the guide, friend and philosopher of the Mahrattas, and that in consequence of Mir Ḥabīb’s instigation, they had enacted this cruel tragedy at Patna.

A very lucid account of this tragedy is given in the Seiru-l-Muttaḥarīn.
up their swords, cut down Zainu-d-dīn's companions, looted all his treasures and effects, captured the Begam\(^1\) with her daughter and also Ḥāji Ahmad. They suspended the Ḥāji\(^2\) to a tripod with his head downwards, and by torturing him made him give up large treasures, and slew him. They carried off the ladies of the Harem together with numerous treasures as booty. And similarly, they swept the houses of other nobles of the City with the broom of rapine. These Rohilah Afghans sacked the City and its suburbs, looted treasures, dishonoured women and children, and desolated a whole world.\(^3\) A great consternation seized those regions. "Protect me, O Lord, from the wickedness of infidels and from the wrath of Thine." Sham Sher Khān collecting one hundred thousand cavalry and infantry was not contented with the subjugation of Aṣīmābād, and he further cherished visions of conquering Bengal. Mahābat Jang, who was at this time encamped at Amānigauj\(^4\) on some important business connected with the Mahratta

(Pers. text, p. 559). Zaina-d-dīn (son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khān and Subādār at Patna), was holding a Darbar for the reception of the Darbhāṅga Afghan Generals who were adherents and connexions of the late Muṣtafa Khān. The Darbar function was nearly over, and Zaina-d-dīn Khān was handing betels with his own hand to the Chief Afghan Generals, when one of these, Abdur Rashid Khān, whilst receiving a betel, treacherously gave Zaina-d-dīn Khān a dagger-thrust in the abdomen. This thrust, however, was not quite effective, as Abdur Rashid's hand faltered. Then another cowardly assassin, Murad Sher Khān, quickly gave another sword-out to Zaina-d-dīn Khān, and instantly killed him. The Afghans showered ferocious barbarities in their conduct towards the ladies and children of Zainu-d-dīn's household. The Seir (p. 561), notes commencement of Ahmad Shāh Abdali's invasions of India at this time

\(^1\) Her name was Ameena Begam. She was a daughter of Ali Vardi, and wife of Zainu-d-dīn Khān.

\(^2\) The Ḥāji after all met with his desert, for his black ingratitude to his benefactor's (Shejan-d-dīn Khān's) memory, and for his dark treachery towards his benefactor's son, Nawab Sarfaraz Khān.

\(^3\) See description of this loot and carnage in the Seir (pp. 560-561).

Happening as it did towards the middle of the 18th century, this fact would explain in a great measure the smallness of Musalman population in Behar, compared with that in Northern Bengal and Eastern Bengal, which in modern times were never or seldom the scenes of such carnage, which were immune from Mahratta raids, and which would, therefore, naturally afford an asylum for Musalman refugees not only from the disturbed parts of Western and Southern Bengal, but also from Behar.

\(^4\) The Seir (Pers. text, p. 563) states that at this time, which was towards the month of winter, Ali Vardi Khān was encamped at Amanigauj, in order
freebooters, suddenly received the terrible intelligence of
the slaughter of Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān and Ḥāji Ahmad, and of
the hostile advance of the Afghans. In consequence, an indescrib-
able agony seized him, and his family and kindred. From exces-
sive depression and agony, he wanted to isolate himself from all in-
tercourse with the world, and to abandon the City with its Bāzār
to the Mahratta freebooters. His generals employing various
consolations and assurances recited passages inculcating fortitude,
and tied the girdle of courage in pursuit of revenge in the waist of
their hearts. But when for accomplishing this avenging mission,
they applied for the payment of the soldiers, Mahābat Jang pled-
ded he had no money. Then Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān Shahāmat
Jang, standing surety for the expenses of the soldiers, paid to the
soldiers eighty laks of rupees in cash from his own treasury, and
made them agree to undertake the avenging expedition. Mahā-
bat Jang, being somewhat now relieved from anxiety, left Nawā-
zish Muḥammad Khān Shahāmat Jang at Murshidābād, and him-
self marched to Aṣīmābād with a large army. 1 Mir Ḥabīb, at
the instigation of Sham Sher Khān, with hordes of Mahratta free-
booters, pursued Mahābat Jang from the rear, tracking jungles
and setting fire, right and left, to the villages, with their gran-
aries. Mir Ḥabīb looted Mahābat Jang’s baggage and tents, and
did not allow Mahābat Jang’s army a breathing interval either for
sleep or for food, nor suffered a single day to pass without skir-
to march out against the Mahrattas under Mir Ḥabīb and Janoji. There in
camp, Ali Vardi received this terrible news of the slaughter of his son-in-law,
and of the imprisonment of his brother and daughter and grand-children.
He summoned his officers to a Darbar, and broke to them the news of the
great calamity in the following solemn strain:—“Gentlemen, a stone has fallen
onto me, and that, too, a heavy one; my son-in-law has been killed, and my
brother and children are in the disgrace of capture. Life is now a trash to
me; I have resolved to kill and to be killed. What is your intention, gentle-
men? Who amongst you, my comrades and friends, shall join me in my aveng-
ing expedition?” All who were present cheerfully responded to Ali Vardi
Khān’s appeal, and resolved to fight and fall with him.

1 The account in the Seir (p. 665), shows that Mir Ḥabīb with his Mahratta
friends opposed ineffectually Ali Vardi’s march on the banks of the Champan-
agar stream, and then dispersed to the jungles, whilst Ali Vardi moved on to
the Monghyr Fort, where he halted some days. Then Bājah Sundar Singh,
Zamindār of Tikari, and Kamgar Khān Muin, Zamindār of Tirhut, came to
pay homage to Ali Vardi. A saint, Maulana Mir Muḥammad Ali, also visited
Ali Vardi at this time at Monghyr.
mishes with swords and spears, till they passed beyond Bārū. At Bāiktānpūr an engagement took place with the army of Sham Sher Khan. Rājāh Sundar Singh, Zamindār of Tikāri, with a powerful corps, joined Ali Vardī. And when on both sides, the fire of slaughter flared up, the army of Mahratta freebooters, who, like the shadow, always followed Mahābat Jang's army, attacked its rear. Afghan troops from front and Mahratta freebooters from the rear attacked and hemmed in the army of Mahābat Jang. The heroes of Mahābat Jang's army, perceiving the approaching inrush of calamity towards them from both sides, prepared to die hard, and fought desperately. In that victory lies with God, by a stroke of good luck, Sham Sher Khan, Sardār Khan, Murād Sher Khan, and other Afghan Generals were hit by bullets of guns, in retribution for their disloyalty, and were killed, whilst other Afghan troops cowardly fled. The soldiers of Mahābat Jang, by brave onslaughts, routed the enemy's army, charging them with swords, spears, arrows, muskets and rockets, killed those wretches, and raised hecatombs of the slain. The Mahratta army, on seeing Ali Vardī's glorious victory, retreated, and dispersed like the constellation of the bear. Mahābat Jang after prostrating himself in thanksgiving to God, triumphantly entered Aẓimābād, and rescuing the family and children of Zainu-d-din Aḥmad Khan and Hāji Aḥmad from the rack of those outragers of honour, captured the wives and daughters of those treacherous wretches.

Time itself with the sword in hand is always after retribution;
What need is there for anyone to seek for retaliation?

Nawab Mahābat Jang, shewing considerateness, paid travel-

1 The Sīr (p. 567), which gives a very lucid account of this battle, states that Ali Vardī who in generalship was next only to Aṣaf Jah, took up a position on an isle, in front of Barh, having on one side the river Ganges and on another the old bed of the same river. This place is called in the Sīr "Sarai Rani," 4 krok to the west of Barh, on the side of the river Ganges.

It would also appear from the Sīr (p. 566), that Mīr Ḥabīb and the Mahrattas held a conference with the Afghan rebels, Sham Sher Khan and Sardar Khan, in order to concert measures for attacking Ali Vardī Khan. The Afghans and Mahrattas under Mīr Ḥabīb now made a common cause against Ali Vardī who, however, crushingly defeated both, owing to his superior generalship (See Sīr p. 568).

2 It reflects credit on Ali Vardī that he treated honourably the women and children of Sham Sher Khan and other Afghans. He not only generously
ling expenses to the Afghan ladies, and allowed them to depart honourably to Dārbhāṅgā, and followed the adage "Turn Evil by Good." Appointing Sirāj-ud-daulah, son of Zainu-ud-dīn Ṭhān, to be Sūbadār of Aẓīmābād, in succession to his father, and leaving Rājāh Janaki Rām as Sirāj-ud-daulah's Deputy there, and finishing the administrative arrangements of that Sūbā, Mahābat Jang returned to Bengal, in order to drive out the Mahratta freebooters.

About this time, the office of Faujdār of the tract of Purniah was vacant, owing to the flight to the Imperial Capital of the Khān Bahādur, 1 son of Nawāb Saif Khān. Ali Vardi Khān conferred the above Faujdārship on Saīd Aḥmad Khān Šālut Jang, in whose heart ambition for the Nizāmat of Bengal lurked, and in whose head visions of ruling over Bengal existed. At the time when Mahābat Jang was engaged in fighting with Sham Sher Khān, Sirāj-ud-daulah shewed his temper to Nawāb Izazu-ud-daulah Aṭān-l-lah Khān Šābit Jang, a son-in-law of Hājī Aḥmad, who held the office of Faujdār of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). Knowing Aṭān-l-lah Khān 2 to be brave and popular with the army, and ambitious and sound-headed, Sirāj-ud-daulah set to work his ruin, and plying Ali Vardi Khān with his suspicions gained over the latter, and induced him to send a message to Aṭān-l-lah to quit the country, or else to prepare for death. The aforesaid Khān, after

forgave them, and set them at liberty, but bestowed properties at Darbhāṅgā for their maintenance. (See p. 570, Seir). He never addressed the Afghan ladies except as 'Madama' or 'Bībī.' He studiously maintained the sanctity of their seclusion, and this, too, after the gross provocation he had received at the hands of Sham Sher Khān and other Afghans. Ali Vardi's chivalry towards women seems to have been remarkable, and his forbearance after victory is also commendable. A vaulting ambition that faltered not to break all ties of gratitude, nor scrupled to use all weapons of treachery in the realisation of that ambition—casts a dark and sombre hue on his otherwise great and remarkable personality.

1 His name was Fakhru-ud-dīn Husain Khān. He succeeded his father, Nawāb Saif Khān, in the Faujdārship of Purniah. Ali Vardi Khān got him dismissed, and kept him under surveillance for some time at Mahrhidābād. Through the help of Mir Ḥabīb and his Mahrattas, Fakhru-ud-dīn managed to make good his escape to Dāhi, where he died after a short time. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 582, Pers. text).

2 He was a son-in-law of Hājī Aḥmad, brother of Ali Vardi Khān. He was Faujdār of Rajmahal or Akbarnagar during Ali Vardi's regime.
fighting some time in self-defence, set out at length for the Imperial Capital, remained in the company of Nawab Vaziru-l-mulk Şafdar Jang, and then joining Rājah Nul Rāi in the Rohilla Afghan war was killed at Farrukhābād.

As in consequence of the insurrection at Aţīmābād, the Mahratta freebooters had, taken possession of the Šūbah of Orissa, Mahābat Jang, not halting in Bengal, set out for that Šūbah. Expelling the Mahratta freebooters from that Šūbah, Mahābat Jang put to death Syēd Nūr, Sarāndāz Khān, and other officers, who were adherents of the Mahratta freebooters, and who were entrenched in the fort of Barabatī, by drawing them out of their entrenched position by use of diplomatic assurances. And capturing the horses and armaments of their comrades, and expelling them all from Katak, Mahābat Jang returned to Bengal.

As Mīr Ḥabīb was the root of all the mischiefs and troubles, Mahābat Jang hatched a plan for his destruction. He sent to his name a letter, purporting falsely to be a reply to his message, to the following effect: “The letter sent by you has been received; what you have written in respect of your plan to extirpate the Mahratta freebooters, has met with my approval. It is a very good idea: you from that side, and I from this side, will be on the alert and wait. By every means possible, try and induce them to come this side, and then what is now in the minds of us both will come to pass.” Mahābat Jang sent this message through a courier, in-

1 Şafdar Jang was appointed Šubādār of Oude by Emperor Muhammād Shāh, and in the reign of Emperor Ājmād Shāh became Chief Vizier of the Empire, on the death of Qamru-d-dīn Khān. At this time, Ājmād Shāh Ḥabdūl invaded India several times, and the Rohilla Afghans of Farrukhābād and Moradābād became a power in the land. Şafdar Jang appointed as his Deputy in Oude a Kyst, named Rājah Nul Rāi. (See Seīrū-l-Mutahhīrīn, Vol. II, Pers. text, pp. 874-875).

2 Rājah Nul Rāi was a Kysth. At first he was an obscure servant of Nawab-Vizier Şafdar Jang, but subsequently rose to the office of Deputy Šubādar of Oude under the latter. He resided at Kanauj, twenty kroh from Farrukhābād, the Rohilla stronghold Nul Rāi ill-treated the Rohillas of Farrukhābād, who combined and attacked Nul Rāi who was killed. Āṣau-l-lāh Khān (son-in-law of Ḥājī Ājmād) who fought in this war on the side of Nul Rāi, was also killed. The reinforcements sent by Nawab-Vizier Şafdar Jang to support his Deputy in Oude, Nul Rāi, were also routed by the Rohillas. (See Seīrū-l-Mutahhīrīn, Vol. II, p. 876, Pers. text).

3 See the account of the capture of the Fort of Barabatī in Seīr, Vol. II, p. 578, Pers. text.
structing the latter to proceed by such a route, that he might be intercepted by the Mahrattas and the letter might fall into their hands. This rise proved a complete success, and the Mahrattas suspecting Mir Ḥabib slew him.¹

To sum up, for twelve long years the fires of war and slaughter kindled between the Mahrattas and Mahābat Jang, and the Mahrattas did not retire without levying the Chauth. And owing to Ḥāji Aḥmad and Zainu-d-din Aḥmad Khān having fallen, the power of Mahābat Jang was weakened, whilst old age and infirmity told on his physical vigour. Of necessity, in view of expediency, and in compliance with the entreaties of Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān Shahamat Jang, Mahābat Jang at last concluded a peace with the Mahratta freebooters, agreeing to pay the latter Chauth for the three Sūbahs, and through the medium of Maṣlihu-d-din Muḥammad Khān, nephew of Mir Ḥabib, and Ṣadrul-Ḥaq Khān, fixed the basis for the terms of peace and the settlement of the Chauth. In lieu of the payment of the Chauth, he assigned the revenue of Sūbah of Orissa to the Mahrattas, and appointed Ṣadrul-Ḥaq to be its Administrator and Governor.² After settling this important affair with the Mahrattas, Mahābat Jang regained peace

¹ Mir Ḥabib, the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas, and their ‘guide, friend, and philosopher’ for over a decade,—was at last butchered by Janoji, son of Raghoji Bhusla. But after all, however blameless his initial motive might be, it cannot be denied that he met with his desert for his narrow-minded imprudence in fraternising with the Mahratta freebooters, regardless of all religious and national ties. The account as to how Mir Ḥabib was inveigled into a house by Janoji, and there treacherously murdered in 1166 A.H., is detailed in the Seīr, Vol. II, p. 593, Pers. text. The Seīr (p. 592), also states that after a treaty of peace was concluded between Mahābat Jang and the Mahrattas, Mir Ḥabib ruled over Orissa as Governor, on behalf of Mahābat Jang, whilst a Mahratta contingent of troops under a Mahratta officer was stationed at Katak. Mir Ḥabib was succeeded in the office of Governor by Maṣlihu-d-din Muḥammad Khān, who, however, enjoyed less prestige, and regarded himself as a servant of the Mahrattas (Seīr, p. 593, Vol. II, Pers. text).

² There is some difference between the account here and the account in the Seīr. From Seīr’s account (p. 593), it would appear Mir Ḥabib was the first person who held the office that is assigned to Ṣadrul-Ḥaq in the text, after the conclusion of the peace. The details of this treaty of peace in 1165 A.H. are given in the Seīr (pp. 590-591). The Seīr states that overtures for peace came from the side of the Mahrattas (represented by Mir Ḥabib) who had first been defeated again in 1164 A.H. at Mednipūr. As Mahābat Jang was
of mind, and took to travelling and hunting. After ruling for sixteen years, he died of dropsy on Saturday, 9th Rajab, 1169 A.H., corresponding to the second year of the accession of Emperor Alamgir II, and was buried in the Khush Bagh. 1 Sirajuddaulah, who was his heir, then mounted the masnad of Nigamat.

now 75 years old, and physical ailment and infirmity had seized him, and as the war between him and Mahrattas had been protracted to ten years, and as the chief Afghan pillars of his State had revolted against him, and as the people had suffered indescribable miseries during this long struggle, Mahabat Jang accepted the overtures of peace, which was concluded through the intervention of Mirza Salih (on behalf of Mir Habib and the Mahrattas) and Mir Jafar (on behalf of Mahabat Jang). The terms of peace were: (1). Mir Habib becoming a servant of Mahabat Jang should on behalf of the latter rule as Deputy Governor over Orissa. (2). The revenue of Orissa should be assigned by Mir Habib for the pay of Raghoji Bhoja’s Mahratta army of occupation. (3). That over and above the revenues of Orissa, twelve lacs of rupees should be annually paid by Mir Habib to Raghoji Bhoja (presumably from the revenues of other provinces), on condition that Raghoji’s troops should not raid the dominions of Mahabat Jang. (4). The river Sunamukha (or Subarnarika) near Jaliser (Jalasore), was to form the demarcation line of the boundaries of Orissa and Bengal; Mednipur at this time being separated from Orissa and annexed to Bengal.

1 The author of the Seir (who was a connexion of Mahabat Jang) praises up the memory of Mahabat Jang. (See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 609-611). He states that Mahabat Jang abstained from pleasures, was regular in his prayers, abstemious in habits, and methodic in business. He slept little, and passed most of his time in attending to State affairs, or in the company of scholars and savants whom he held in high esteem. He had only one wife, to whom he was greatly devoted. He was a splendid general and a far-sighted statesman. When Mustafa Khan, his Afghan General, and his relatives, Shahamat Jang and Samat Jang used to press Mahabat Jang to fight and drive out the English from Calcutta, Mahabat Jang used to reply: “Mustafa Khan is a military man, and therefore he is always eager for war, that I may be constantly in need of his services. What evil have the English done to me, that I should wish evil to them? The (Mahratta) fire on land is not yet extinguished; and if the fire is extended to the sea, who will quench it?” (Seir, p. 611, Vol. II, Pers. text). Despite the Seir’s panegyric, it seems to me that Ali Vardi must forfeit his claim to be regarded as a far-sighted statesman, in view of the fact that his treacherous and violent conduct towards his past masters and benefactors inaugurated in Bengal an era of violent treachery and serious disintegration, and that his example quickly reacted on others who paid him and his grandson back in the same coin. In this connection, one may read an interesting old little work in Persian, called `Ibrat-i-Arbab Baar (meaning ‘a Moral for people with eyes’) each sentence of which contains
NIZAMAT OF NAWAB SIRAJ-U-D-DAULAH.

When Nawab Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang passed to the regions of eternity, Nawab Siraj-u-daulah, son of Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khan Haibat Jang, and maternal grandson of Ali Vardi, who from before had been declared heir-apparent by Ali Vardi Khan, and whom Ali Vardi Khan had in his life-time placed on the cushion of the Nizamat, and to whom Ali Vardi with all the grandees of the court had paid homage and offered presents—ascended the masnad of the rulership over Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Siraj-u-daulah exhibited insolence and arrogance, which are the worst of attributes, and are displeasing to God. At that time, owing to certain reasons, Ghasiti Begam, widow of Nawaziah Ahmad Khan Shahamat Jang, who resided at Mutijaul, resolving to oppose Siraj-u-daulah, appointed Mir Nazar Ali, who was her servant and was bound to her by ties of various favours and obligations, to be the commander of her vanguard, and Nawab Bairam Khan to be generalissimo of her army. Then the Begam of Mahabat Jang, and Jagat Set, as an emissary of Siraj-u-daulah, went to Ghasiti Begam and gave her assurances; and so the latter refrained from hostility, whilst Nazar Ali fled, and Bairam Khan taking refuge with one of the generals fell into disgrace. Siraj-u-daulah's army arriving captured Ghasiti Begam, together with all her effects. The Begam saw what she had never seen, and heard what she had never heard. Siraj-u-daulah's army rased to the ground her buildings and her palace, and unearthing her buried treasures carried them to Mansurganj. Owing to Siraj-u-daulah's harshness of temper and indulgence in violent language, fear and terror had settled on the hearts of everyone to such an extent, that no one amongst the generals of the army or the noblemen of the City was free from anxiety. Amongst his officers, whoever went to wait on Siraj-u-daulah despairs of life and honour, and whoever returned without being disgraced and ill-treated offered thanks to God. Siraj-u-daulah treated all the noblemen and generals of Mahabat Jang with ridicule and drollery, and bestowed on each some contemptuous nick-name that ill-suited any of them. 1 And whatever harsh expressions and abusive letters which added give 1170 (the date of Siraj-u-daulah's murder by Mir Jafar and his son Miran). The Ibrat seems to have been written by some adherent of Nawab Safaraz Khan.

1 The Seir (Vol. II, p. 621), mentions that Siraj-u-daulah, on accession, ap-
epithets came to his lips, Sirāju-d-daulah uttered them unhesita-
tingly in the face of everyone, and no one had the boldness to
breathe freely in his presence. Appointing a Kyeth, named Mohan-
lal, to be the minister and controller of all affairs, Sirāju-d-
daulah bestowed on him the title of Mahārajah Mohanlal 1 Bahā-
dur, gave him a large bodyguard of cavalry and infantry, and
ordered all his generals and nobles to pay respect to him. All did
so, except Mīr Muḥammad Jāfar Khān, a brother-in-law of Nawāb
Mahābat Jang, and the generalissimo of the army, who refused to
pay respect to Mohanlal, and for some time ceased to pay respect
even to Sirāju-d-daulah. But Rājah Mohanlal, coiling himself
round the brain and skin of Sirāju-d-daulah, forgot himself so far
that he fancied nobody else existed, appointed his own kith and
kin to posts connected with the Crown-Domains and also to other
revenue offices, and dismissed the old officers. For instance, Rājah
Mohanlal sent a message to Nawāb Ghulām Husain Khān Bahā-
dur 2 that if he accepted a pay of Rs. 200 a month, he might
stay on, otherwise he should quit the country. The latter,
of necessity, on the plea of visiting the Ka'bah, set out for
Hūgli.

Inasmuch as before Mahābat Jang's death, in the beginning of
that year, on the 13th of Rabī'ul-Awāl, Nawāb Nawāzish Aḥm-
mad Khān Shahāmat Jang, 3 who held the office of Diwān of Ben-
pointed a Kyeth named Mohanlal as his Supreme Diwān. This elevation of
an obscure Hindu to the highest civil appointment naturally caused great
offence to the old nobility, and especially to Mīr Jāfar, who conspired with
other officers of the late Mahābat Jang in order to bring about a Revolution
to destroy Sirāju-d-daulah's power, and to place himself on the masnad of
Bengal.

1 The Seir, the Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Baṣr, and the Riyaż all condemn Sirāju-d-
daulah for appointing this obscure and insolent Hindu, Mohanlal, as his Sup-
reme Minister, and mention the disgust it caused amongst the old nobility,
who chafed under this indignity, and were therefore anxious to throw off
Sirāju-d-daulah's yoke. (See Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Baṣr, p. 26, Seir-i-Muttaḥerin
p. 621, Vol. II.)

2 He was author of the splendid Persian History of India entitled Seir-i-
Muttaḥerin. He was a partisan of Mīr Jāfar and the English East India Com-
pany. Sirāju-d-daulah had ordered his banishment from the country.

3 He held the office of Deputy Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) under
Allār supporter to Khān, whose son-in-law he was. He also held nominally the office
of Diwān of Bengal, though the practical work of Diwān was actually per-
formed by Hindu Deputy Divans. Shahāmat Jang had also at Jahangirnagar
gal, had died, Sirāju-d-daulah arrested Rājah Rājballab, Peshkār of Shahāmat Jang, on the plea that he should render up his accounts. Although Rājballab tried hard to pay up some cash and to compromise the demands, Sirāju-d-daulah did not consent, and kept him under surveillance. Rājballab sent his family and children to Calcutta, to take shelter with the English. Sirāju-d-daulah desired to arrest Rājballab’s family also, and ordered Rājah Rām, head of his spies, to proceed to Calcutta, arrest Rājballab’s family, and bring them over. Mahābat Jang, whilst on sickbed, had dissuaded Sirāju-d-daulah, and directed him to postpone the matter, and urged that after recovery he (Mahābat

a Deputy Diwan in the person of Rājballab, in respect of the Ghakka of Jahangirnagar or Dacca, of which he (Shahāmat Jang) was Deputy Governor.  

1 The Seir, the Ibrat-i-Arab-e-Baer and the Rīyas mention that the new Nawab, Sirāju-d-daulah, inaugurated his regime by (1) the plunder of Ghasiti Begam, (2) the dismissal of Mir Jafar and the appointment of a Hindu, Mohanlal, as the Supreme Minister, &c., (3) imprisonment of Rājballab, (4) the conquest of Calcutta, and (5) conquest of Furniāh. When dispassionately viewed, the particular measures noted above (excepting one, namely the appointment of Mohanlal) do not appear to have been unjustified, though they were impolitic. Ghasiti Begam had no right to take away and appropriate the State treasures held in trust by her late husband, Shahāmat Jang, Ali Vardi’s Diwan, and Sirāju-d-daulah who had lawfully succeeded Ali Vardi was, therefore, justified in recovering them from her. Mir Jafar had proved unfaithful and treacherous even in the lifetime of Ali Vardi Khān in the struggle with the Maharrtas (See the Seir); and Sirāju-d-daulah was, therefore, not unjustified in suspending him and dismissing him from the responsible office of generalissimo of the army. Rājballab’s surveillance was a necessary political measure, as this crafty man, the Deputy Diwan or Peshkār of Jahangirnagar or Dacca under the late Shahāmat Jang (Deputy Governor of Dacca) had failed to render his accounts, and as Sirāju-d-daulah had reasons to believe he (Rājballab) had misappropriated a large part of the Public Funds in his charge. And when Rājballab’s son, Kishan Das, fled with the State treasures to Calcutta, the Nawāb was obliged to advance against Calcutta, to recover the State treasures and chastise his rebel subject, Kishan Das, though had Sirāju-d-daulah been less impulsive and more prudent, it is possible he might have effected his object by opening diplomatic correspondence with the English. But it must be remembered the Nawāb was yet quite a boy, and had no good or reliable advisers about him. As for the conquest of Furrniah, it was a necessary political measure in self-defence, as Shankāt Jang, at Mir Jafar’s instigation, had publicly avowed his pretensions to the gadi of Bengal. The only unwise measure was the elevation of an obscure Hindu, named Mohanlal, to the highest civil State office. This measure caused great disgust to the old nobility, who chafed under the insouciance of this upstart.
Jang) would himself summon them. At this time, Sirāju-d-daulah ordered Rājah Rām, head of his spies, to proceed to Calcutta and arrest and bring over Rājballab’s family and children, and himself in the month of Shābān, on the plea of touring, proceeded towards Akbariagar (Rajmahal). Whilst Sirāju-d-daulah reaching Dūnahpūr had encamped on the bank of the river Kālāpānī, he received news that the English Chiefs in Calcutta had offered opposition, and prevented the arrest of Rājballab’s family and children. On the very receipt of this news, the fire of Sirāju-d-daulah’s rage kindled, and he summoned the officers of his army, and said: “I intend proceeding on an expedition against Calcutta. It is necessary that none of you should go back to Murshidabād, but that all should proceed straight from here to Chunakhali and encamp there.” Next morning, setting out, Sirāju-d-daulah reached Chunakhali, and from there proceeding by forced marches invaded Calcutta. In the month of Ramāzn, fighting with the English, Sirāju-d-daulah became victorious and triumphant, and the English Chief8 embarking on a boat fled. Sweeping the town of Calcutta with the broom of plunder, and naming it Alinagar, Sirāju-d-daulah left Rājah Manikohand with a large detachment as Governor of Calcutta. Posting strong garrisons at Makhūsh and Bajbajia (Budge-Budge) and other fords for the crossing and passage of English ships, Sirāju-d-dualah at the end of the above month returned to Murshidabād.

Ṣaunat Jang, Faujdār of Purniah, that year, previous to Mahbub Jang’s death, in the month of Jamādi-l-Awal, had died, and

1 Both the Seir and the Ibrat-i-ārbāb-i-BAṣr give his name as Mr. Drake.
2 That Sirāju-d-daulah plundered Calcutta, is also mentioned in the Ibrat-i-ārbāb-i-BAṣr, (p. 29), as well as in the Seir (p. 622, Vol. II); but none of these more or less contemporary Muslim accounts make any mention of the ‘Black Hole’ incident, generally associated with Sirāju-d-daulah’s conquest of Calcutta.

The Seir states that Mr. Drake, the English Chief in Calcutta, with a small number of English officers fled on a ship, whilst other English residents remained behind in Calcutta, and fought to the last, so long as their powder and shot were not exhausted. Many of the English fell in this fight, whilst a number of their comrades were captured. In this connection, the Seir also mentions the fact that some English ladies who were captured in this fight were well-treated by a Muhammadan nobleman, Mirzā Amīr Beg, who escorted them honourably to Mr. Drake’s ship and received Mr. Drake’s and other English officers’ thanks for his humane and chivalrous conduct. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 622, Pers. text).
his son, Shankat Jang, who was a cousin of Siraju-d-daulah, had succeeded his father. At this time, Siraju-d-daulah desiring to displace Shankat Jang demanded the revenue of Purniah. Shankat Jang replied: “You are lord of three Subahs (Provinces), whilst I am fallen in this corner, and am content with a bit of bread. Now it does not become your high aspiration to set the teeth of your avarice on this bit of bread.” Siraju-d-daulah, on receipt of

1 The account in the Seir (Pers. text, Vol. II, pp. 624-632), is quite different, and is more reliable, as his author was attached at the time as a Chief Adviser to Shankat Jang. It would appear from the Seir that Mir Jafar, in pursuance of his conspiracy to effect a Revolution, had written a letter to Shankat Jang requesting the latter to place himself at the head of the revolutionary party in view of the prospect of succeeding to the Nawabi of Bengal. Shankat Jang was a vain fool, and on receipt of Mir Jafar’s letter he openly talked in Darbar of his wild ambition to extend his empire to Ghazni and Kandahar, and to conquer Bengal. Siraju-d-daulah hearing of the disloyalty that was brewing in the Purniah Court, deputed Rai Ras Behary (a son of Rajah Janoki Ram and brother of Dulah Ram) to Purniah, with a letter to Shankat Jang, calling upon the latter to make over the Jagirs of Gondwarah and Birnagar (which pertained to the Bengal Nizamat) to Rai Ras Behary. When this letter was received, the author of the Seir (who was then Shankat Jang’s principal adviser) being consulted advised Shankat Jang to temporise, to treat Rai Ras Behary with outward courtesy, to mobilise troops, and to pass in this wise till the rainy season was over, when it was expected by the author of the Seir (who appears to have been in the confidence of the English) the English would also fight against Siraju-d-daulah and that then Shankat Jang’s turn would come to join the winning party. However that may be, Shankat did not adopt the above advice, and sent an insolent reply to Siraju-d-daulah, adding that he (Shankat Jang) had received sanad of the Subadarí of Bengal, Behar, and Oressa, that Siraju-d-daulah had forfeited his head by his disloyalty, but that as an act of grace he would be permitted to settle down quietly in some corner of Jahangirnagar or Dacca. Siraju-d-daulah answered the above insolent reply by at once advancing with his army to Manihari, together with his Diwan Mohanlal. Ramnarain from Patna was also ordered to join Siraju-d-daulah with the Patna army. In this battle which took place between Manihari and Nawabganj, Shankat Jang was killed, through his folly in leaving his entrenched position and marching through marshy swamps. Siraju-d-daulah appointed Mohanlal to the office of Faujdar of Purniah, and the latter left his son as Deputy Faujdar there.

I have given the above details from the Seir, in order to show that the war with Shankat Jang was not of Siraju-d-daulah’s seeking, that it formed a part of the conspiracy hatched by Mir Jafar, in order to bring about a revolution to destroy Siraju-d-daulah’s authority, and that Siraju-d-daulah had no alternative but to fight in self-defence.
this reply, which did not satisfy his designs, despatched Diwān Mohanlal, together with other Generals such as Dost Muḥammad Kháñ, Shaikh Din Muhammed, Mir Muhammed, and Jafar Kháñ, &c., with a large army, to fight with Shankát Jang; and he also wrote to Rāmnrāin, the Sūbahdār of Azīmābād, to march quickly to Purniah. From the other side, Shankát Jang detailed for fighting Shaikh Jahān Yār and Kārguzār Kháñ, the generalissimo, and Mir Murād Ali and others, and subsequently he himself set out and assaulting and sacking and burning Haiātpūrgolah returned to Purniah. On arrival at Manihari, Sirāju-d-daulah’s army encamped, whilst Shankát Jang’s army at a distance of one Karoh at Nawābganj entrenched itself. On the next day, Shankát Jang also arrived and joined his army; and on the same day, Rājah Rāmnrāin, the Sūbahdār of Azīmābād, with his contingent of troops, joined Sirāju-d-daulah’s army. On the morning of the following day, Rājah Mohanlal advanced with his force in order to fight, and unfurled his flag carrying the ensignia of the Māḥi Order which he held. Shankát Jang, on seeing the ensignia of the Māḥi Order, fancied that Sirāju-d-daulah himself had joined his army, and was marching up for fight, and so Shankát Jang advanced also with his army. Shaikh Jahān Yār dissuaded Shankat Jang, saying:—“To-day the moment for fighting is not auspicious, if it pleases God, to-morrow early in the morning we shall fight, and whatever is decreed by Providence shall take place.” Shankát Jang, paying no heed to this dissuasion, marched up to the battle-field. Shaikh Jahān Yār was also obliged to advance with his corps, and whilst fighting bravely he received a gun-shot. Shaikh Abdu-r Rāshid, his brother, and Shaikh Qudrat-ul-lah, his son-in-law, together with Shaikh Jahan Yār, his nephew, as well as his other kinsmen were slain on the battle-field, and earned present and future glory. At this time of strife, a sword fell on the neck of the horse of Shaikh Jahān Yār, and cut asunder its rein, and the horse furiously galloped away with its rider from the field. As he had already received several mortal wounds, by the time of his arrival at Birnagar, he expired. At that crisis, Shankát Jang, himself joining in the fight, advanced, discharging arrows, and came in front of Doct Muḥammad Kháñ. The aforesaid Kháñ said, “Come on my elephant, as you will find security then,” Shankát Jang not consenting fixed a sharp arrow in his teeth, and shattered his front-
tooth. At this time, besides two horsemen, one of whom was Ḥabib Bāg, no one else was with Shahkāt Jang. Ḥabib Bāg dismounting from his horse stood in front of his elephant on the field. As decreed by fate, a bullet from the gun of a servant of Dost Muḥammad Khān hit Shahkāt Jang on the forehead, and the bird of his soul flew away, and nestled on the branches of annihilation. And Kārguzār Khān, the generalissimo Shaikh Bahādur Narnuti, Abū Turāb Khān, Murād Sher Khān, nephew of Shaikh Jahān Yār; Shaikh Murād Ali, disciple of Nawāb Saif Khān, Mir Sulṭān Khalīl, the archer, Lohā Singh Ḥāzīrī, and Mir Jafarū-l-jo, &c., displayed gallant bravery, and tasted the potion of death on the battle-field. Sirāju-d-daulah had advanced to Akbaruagar (Rājmahal), when the tidings of victory arrived; and he ordered the music of victory to strike up. He also caused the adherents of Shahkāt Jang, such as were captured, to be punished in various forms. Rājāh Mohanlal confiscating fifty-one elephants, and horses, and camels, and other treasures of Shahkāt Jang, and leaving his own son as Deputy Governor of the Faujdāri of Purniah, returned.

When Sirāju-d-daulah, after the fall of his cousin, arrived in Murshidābād, the chess-board of time presented a new game. Of the English, who had been routed by Sirāju-d-daulah in Calcutta, and whose treasures worth several laks had been plundered, some escaped and fled to an island.1 Thence they sent messages to Eng-

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1 The Seir (Vol. II, p. 6331, Pers. text), states that after his flight, Mr. Drake, the Chief of the English factory in Calcutta, together with a number of other English officers, proceeded to Madras, in Aroot Province of the Dakhin. Then Clive had just retired after fighting against the French on behalf of Salabāt Jang (son of the late Asīf Jah), Nazim of the Dakhin, who had bestowed on him many favours and also the title of Şubat Jang. Then Mr. Drake, with other Englishmen, who had fled from Calcutta held a conference with the Englishmen in Madras factory, and it was decided that Clive, together with the English refugees from Bengal, “should proceed to Calcutta and by every means that they thought desirable, should try to renew the foundation of the Factory in Calcutta. If by negotiations and by payment of money this object could be attained, well and good; if not, force might be resorted to.” Then Clive, together with other Englishmen, embarked on a ship from Madras, and reached at the mouth of the river Hāgū. As the English Chiefs were very wise, brave, well-informed, and experienced, they made overtures of peace to Sirāju-d-daulah, begged that Mr. Drake’s offence might be pardoned by the Nawab, and offered to pay the Nawab several laks of rupees, in case the latter granted them permission to re-build their Factory as before in Calcutta. Sirā-
land and other ports, and in a short time obtained reinforcements. After some months, the English chiefs, under the command of Śābit Jang (Clive), with thirty thousand men, arrived on ships of war, obliged the garrisons of the Nawab's outposts to take to their heels, and fought with Rājāh Mānikhānd. The Rājāh suffered a heavy defeat. The English advancing to Hügli, rased its fortifications with the cannonade of their artillery, and the Faujdar of that Fort fled. Sirāju-d-daulah, on getting news of the English victory, set out for Calcutta from Murshidābād, and encamped in the garden of Karhati, in the suburbs of Calcutta. The English made a night-attack. The next day, Sirāju-d-daulah not having the boldness to advance, and outwardly proclaiming the conclusion of peace, marched back anxiously to Murshidābād. After arrival in Murshidābād, Sirāju-d-daulah found that all the Nobles and Generals were disaffected. Foremost amongst them was Mir Muḥammadh Jafar Khān Bahādur, from whom the office of generalissimo had been transferred to Khwājah Hādī Ali Khān, and who had shut himself up in his house. Sirāju-d-daulah placing large batteries in front of Mir Jafar's palace was ready to blow him up, and ordered him to quit the City. Mir Jafar tendering excuses and apologies, secretly set about making warlike preparations in self-defence, and tempering with the Bhaliah Generals and Commanders and with Jagat Set. Ratifying their conspiracy by mutual oaths and promises, Mir Jafar sent secretly Amir Bāg, who was one of his confidential adherents, with letters

ju-d-daulah who was very foolish, and whose courtiers were still more foolish, was unaware of the bravery and wisdom of the English race; so that no one from fear of incurring the Nawab's displeasure, communicated to the Nawab the English message containing overtures of peace. Matters being thus delayed, and being in the meantime apprised of the discontent amongst the Bengal nobles, Clive resolved to fight, and fought against Manikgānd, Nawab's Governor of Calcutta, who fled.”

1 Besides Mir Jafar who was the soul of this conspiracy, some other prominent persons, like Dulab Ram (son of Janaki Ram), Jagat Set and Ghasiti Begum (widow of Nawazish Muhammad Khān, son-in-law of Ali Vardī Khān), were active colleagues of Mir Jafar in this conspiracy. Ghasiti Begum helped Mir Jafar with the State treasures that she had secreted. One may understand the resentment of Mir Jafar (who had been disgraced and dismissed from the office of generalissimo) and of Ghasiti Begum (who had been obliged to disguise a portion of the State treasures that she had hidden), but the disloyal conduct of Dulab Ram, Jagat Set, Ram Narain, Rajabail and other Hindus
to Calcutta, asking the English troops to be sent. Amir Beg, by indulging in various assurances, induced the English Chiefs to

seems to be a riddle, in view of the fact that in the distribution of State Patronage, Sīrāj-ud-daulah had adopted an extremely pro-Hindu policy, and that it was Sīrāj-ud-daulah's elevation of an obscure Hindu, named Mohanlal, to the highest civil State office that to a great extent alienated from the Nawab the sympathies of his Musulman adherents, who would have perhaps otherwise stood by him in this crisis. (See Ibrat-ī-Abad-i-Basr, p. 26.)

This Amir Beg is mentioned in the Seir as having conducted some English ladies honorably to Mr. Drake's ship, after Sīrāj-ud-daulah's capture of Calcutta. Amir Beg, in consequence, enjoyed the confidence of the English. See note ante. On Mons. Las's departure, Mir Jafar worked more vigorously in pursuance of his conspiracy, and induced the English to give Mir Jafar their support, and to fight on his side. To instigate the English to join his conspiracy, Mir Jafar sent to Calcutta to Clive his agent, Mirza Amir Beg. Mir Jafar also sent to Clive through the above Mirza a Manifesto, purporting to bear the seals of some noblemen and officers of Bengal, recounting their grievances, real or fancied, against Sīrāj-ud-daulah, and inviting the English to deliver them from the Nawab Jagat Set instructed his Calcutta Agent, Amin (known popularly as Omichand), to work in the same direction, whilst Dalub Ram also instructed his agent to influence the English in the same direction. Mir Jafar wrote to Clive that the latter had only to make a move with his English troops, when all the fighting would be done by Mir Jafar and his fellow-conspirators, whilst three crores of rupees would be presented to Clive for this service. Clive yielded to Mir Jafar's importunities and advanced towards Palási (Plassey). (See Seir-i-Mutakfurīn, Vol. II, p. 627). In regard to these events, Tārīkh-i-Mansuri may also be referred to. Professor Blochmann gives some notes from the Tārīkh-i-Mansuri in Journal of the Asiatic Society, Part I, No. II., of 1867. These notes mention that "Chandernagore fell into the hands of Clive and Watson through the treachery of a French officer, named Tavrainne, who harboured a grudge against the French Governor of Chandernagore, named M. Renault (p. 88, J.A.S. referred to above) and that after the fall of Chandernagore, Mons. Las, a French officer, became an attendant at the Court of the Nawab Sīrāj-ud-daulah, for whom he fitted out a detachment by the name of Telinga. To this the English objected, saying that according to the recent treaty of peace, the friends and enemies of the English were to be regarded as friends and enemies of the Nawab, and the friends and enemies of the Nawab were to be regarded as friends and enemies of the English. After some correspondence, the Nawab sent away from Murshidabad Mons. Las to humour Clive. At this time (1767), Clive built the present Fort William and a Mint in Calcutta, without waiting for permission of the Nawab. A few letters written by Sīrāj-ud-daulah to M. Bussy, in the Dakhin, had been intercepted by the English, and Sīrāj-ud-daulah was accused of breach of faith. The wrath of the Nawab at the crooked dealings and slow but steady advance of these foreigners increased daily. Mr.
set out from Calcutta and to march to Palaśi (Plassey). When
the moment for action had passed, Sirāju-daulah on hearing the

Watts, the English Resident at Murahidābād, was threatened. The Nawab
went so far as to tear up a letter which Col. Clive had written to him. Soon
after, however, from fear of his false courtiers and want of confidence in his
own army, he tried to pacify Mr. Watts by a Khilat, and wrote an excuse to
Clive. But Clive had already flung himself into the conspiracy headed by Mir
Jafar, to dethrone Sirāju-daulah. According to the Tarih-i-Mansuri, the
conspiracy was planned by Mir Muḥammad Jafar, Aminchaud Baura (gene-
really called Omichand) and Khwajah Vizier, but according to the Seir-i-
Mutahhari, by Mir Muḥammad Jafar, Rajah Dalab Ram and Jagat Set, who
had each their agents in Calcutta. (See quotation from Seir given by me
already in this note.) Clive treated with the conspirators through Mr. Watts.
The author then gives a description of Clive’s double dealings with Aminchaud
(Omichand) as given in all histories of Bengal."

"Early in June 1757, Clive left Calcutta, reached on the 17th the small
town of Katwah, south of Plassey, and took possession of the fort of that
place.

On the 21st June, 4 P.M., Clive left Katwah, crossed the Hugli, and pitched
his tents on the morning of the 23rd, in the fields of Plassey. The Nawab’s
army was now in sight. A cannonade commenced. The English attacked
the tents of Sirāju-daulah, but were vigorously opposed by Mir Maḍan (call-
ed Moodum Khān in Thornton, Vol. I, p. 240), one of the Nawab’s faithful
amirs. About 12 o’clock Mir Maḍan was struck by a cannon-ball and carried
to Sirāju-daulah’s tent, where he died. The fighting was, however, contin-
ued, Mohanlal having taken Mir Maḍan’s place. But nothing decisive was
done. Afraid of a conspiracy Sirāju-daulah sent for Mir Jafar, who had
taken no part in the fight. After most earnest solicitations on the part of the
Nawab, Mir Jafar promised to fight the next day, on condition that Mohanlal
should be at once ordered to withdraw from the fight. Sirāju-daulah
agreed, and Mohanlal returned to his tents. But no sooner did the troops see
their General had left the field than they became hopeless and began to flee.
Before evening, the army of the Nawab had dispersed. This is the battle in
which India was lost for Islam." See Blochmann’s notes from the Tarih-i-
Mansuri referred to above.

The Seir-i-Mutahhari’s explanation regarding (p. 637, Vol. II), Clive’s
breach of the treaty with Sirāju-daulah is apologetic in tone. The Seir
states that the English had joined Mir Jafar’s conspiracy, but as this wise
race do not, without some substantial reason, engage in hostilities, or break
treaties, they must have entered into some correspondence with the Nawab,
and advanced some good reason (of which the author was not aware) for
breaking the treaty of peace. Possibly the reason was found in the delay in
the payment of the Nawab’s indemnity on account of the losses sustained
by the English during the capture of Calcutta by Sirāju-daulah.

I will now summarise the description of the battle of Plassey from the
news of the advance of the English troops, marched out of the City. Now taking out the cotton of recklessness from the ear,

_Sivu-l-Mutaherin_ (Vol. II, p. 638). On hearing of Clive’s movement, Sirajus-d-daulah tried to conciliate his disaffected officers, who outwardly professed loyalty to him, but inwardly plotted his ruin. Sirajus-d-daulah sent Raja Duleh Ram (the traitor) ahead to Plassey, to supervise the construction of redoubts and entrenchments, and shortly after moved up there himself, with his faithful officers, Mir Madan and Mohanlal and with the traitor, Mir Jafar. Clive also moved to Plassey with a small number of English Telengitroops, numbering about 2,000 in all. Clive commenced the battle with a brisk cannonade, whilst Mir Jafar stood by at a distance and watched the game. Mir Madan fought bravely till about 3 P.M., and steadily advanced with Mohanlal close to Clive’s position. Seeing Mir Madan’s gallantry, Clive, it is said, was dispirited and reproached Onichand for having falsely assured him that everyone was disaffected against the Nawab, and that no one would fight for the latter. As luck would however have it, at this time Mir Madan was hit by a cannon-ball and was removed to Sirajus-d-daulah’s tent, where he died. Sirajus-d-daulah now becoming anxious sent for Mir Jafar, beseeched the latter to fight on his behalf, and even placed his turban before the latter, and addressed this arch-traitor as follows: “I now repent of my deeds, and in the name of relationship that you bear to me, and in the name of the bounties that you received from my grandfather, Mahabat Jung, I entreat you to defend my life and honour.” The pathetic appeal did not move the heart of this arch-traitor who still harboured his treacherous designs under the mask of friend, ship and who returned the following false answer: “To-day is at its close, and the time for further fighting to-day is over. To-day, order the battle to cease; to morrow I will fight for you with the whole army.” Sirajus-d-daulah fell into Mir Jafar’s trap, and sent a message to his Diwan, Mohanlal, who was continuing the fight after Mir Madan’s fall, to return. Mohanlal said there was no time to return now, as he was in the thick of the fight, which would finally decide the fate. Sirajus-d-daulah consulted Mir Jafar, who cunningly repeated his former treacherous advice, and in consequence Mohanlal was summoned back. Mohanlal’s return had a disastrous effect on Sirajus-d-daulah’s army, who dispersed in all directions. Sirajus-d-daulah then returned swiftly to Murshidabad, halted for some time at Mansurganj, but found he was surrounded on all sides by false courtiers and traitors. So he left with his Begums and gold for Bhagwanpura, whence on boats he sailed for Azimabad sending at the same time a letter to Mons. Las to join him. Before Las’s arrival, Sirajus-d-daulah was on his way to Patna. Owing to his Begums and children having had no food for some days, Sirajus-d-daulah, whom misfortune was dogging, landed at Bajmahl, went to the house of a fakir named Dama Shah, who undertook ostensibly to prepare Khirji for him, but who inwardly harboured resentment against the Nawab, owing to previous ill-treatment. This fakir promptly sent news of Sirajus-d-daulah’s arrival to Mir Daud (brother of Mir Jafar), who was at Bajmahl. Mir Daud and Mir Qasim Khan
he displayed towards the aforesaid Kháñ (Mir Jafar) flattery and endearment, and sending the Begam of Mahábat Jang to Mir Jafar opened the gates of apology for his past shortcomings. Mir Jafar did not listen to them, as he had no reliance on Sirajuddaulah’s assurances and actions. After this, when Sirajuddaulah advanced from Chunakhkhal, the aforesaid Kháñ (Mir Jafar) also marching encamped at a distance of half a farshkáh from the army of Sirajuddaulah. Mir Madan, Superintendent of the Artillery, told Sirajuddaulah that the English were coming at the instigation of Mir Muhámmad Jafar, and that it was, therefore, expedient to finish first Mir Muhámmad Jafar, and that after the latter was killed, the English would not have the daring to approach this side. In that the arrow of Fate cannot be parried by the shield of Effort, and in that God’s decree had already been passed another way,

To the advice of that wise sage,
That light-hearted man (Sirajuddaulah) was deaf.

When next day, Sirajuddaulah reached Dádpur, tidings came (son-in-law of Mir Jafar), came and captured Sirajuddaulah, carried him to Murshidabad where he was murdered by Mir Jafar and his sonMirau. Sirajuddaulah’s corpse was placed on an elephant and paraded. The Seir winds up its account of this tragic murder of Sirajuddaulah with the following pathetic lines:

چنیس بو گرم گدیس روپاگار* برمید هیشدار دنیا خس است
سیک سیر و به عهد و نا بایداَر* که هرمدته جاوی دیگر کس است
منه برجان دل که بیگانه است* نکوری کن امروز جوین دو تراست
چو مطرح هروز در خانه است* که سال دگر دیگر ده خنست
نا لاقیبد عیش با دلبری* اگر گنچ قارون باست آری
که هر بامدادش نود شیره* نفاده مگر آنچه بخشر خوری

I have already quoted the moral which the author of the Ibrat-i-Arab-i-Basr draws from this tragic event. See n. ante.

This account compiled from Seiri-i-Mutakkerin, Biyazu-s-Salatin, Ibrat-i-Arab-i-Basr, and Professor Blochmann’s notes from Tarih-i-Mansuri may profitably be compared with the accounts in Orme’s History of the Military Transactions of the English, Mill’s British India, and Thornton’s British India (as suggested by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S., Part I, No. 2, 1867, p. 86).
to the effect that the English had set fire to Katwâh. At that time Mohanlal reproached Sirâju-d-daulah, and said: "You have ruined me, and rendered my children orphans. If you had not removed Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān and Dullab Ram from the Katwâh outpost, things would not have taken this turn." In short, on the morning following that day, which was 5th Shawâl of the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Alamgir II, the English army from Palâsi (Plassy) on one side, and Sirâju-d-daulah from Dâûdpûr on the other encountered each other, and opened the battle with a cannonade. Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān, with his detachment, stood at a distance towards the left from the main army; and although Sirâju-d-daulah summoned him to his side, Mir Jafar did not move from his position. In the thick of the fighting, and in the heat of the work of carnage, whilst victory and triumph were visible on the side of the army of Sirâju-d-daulah, all of a sudden Mir Madan, commander of the Artillery, fell on being hit with a cannon-ball. At the sight of this, the aspect of Sirâju-d-daulah’s army changed, and the artillerymen with the corpse of Mir Madan moved into tents. It was now midday, when the people of the tents fled. As yet Nawâb Sirâju-d-daulah was busy fighting and slaughtering, when the camp-followers decamping from Dâûdpûr went the other side, and gradually the soldiers also took to their heels. Two hours before sun-set, flight occurred in Sirâju-d-daulah’s army, and Sirâju-d-daulah also being unable to stand his ground any longer fled. On arrival at Mauṣûrganj, which had been founded by him, he opened the Treasury gates and distributed money to the army. But owing to grave anxieties, being unable to halt there, the Nawâb abandoning his treasures and effects, at nightfall, with his wives and children, got into a boat, carrying with himself a lot of precious jewelleries and gold coins, and sailed towards Purnia and Azimabâd. After Sirâju-d-daulah’s defeat, Mir Muḥammad Jafar entered his camp, in the night held a conference with the English Chiefs, and early next morning marched in pursuit of Sirâju-d-daulah, and arrived in Murâbidabâd. Finding the sky propitious towards his views, Mir Jafar entered the citadel, struck up the music announcing his accession to the masnad of Bengal, issued proclamations of peace and security in the City, and unfurled the standard of Şûbahylârî. Mir Jafar then detailed his son-in-law, Mir Muḥammad Qâsim with a corps to capture Sirâju-d-daulah, and quartered the Eng-
ish army at Babiāl. But Sirāju-d-daulah, travelling in the night, had sailed swiftly from below Mālāsh, and reached Babiāl. When news reached him that the mouth of Nāṣirpūr was unnavigable and boats could not pass by that way, he was obliged to disembark, and went to the house of Dān Shāh Pirzādah, whose house was at that place. Dān Shāh who previously to this had suffered some injury at the hands of Sirāju-d-daulah, finding the latter in his power, and seeing the times favourable, by giving assurances and consolations, detained Sirāju-d-daulah in his house, and ostensibly engaging on preparing food, sent information to Mir Dāūd Ali Khān. Faujdār of Akbārnāgar (Rājmahal), who was brother of Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān. The spies of Dāūd Ali Khān who were searching for Sirāju-d-daulah, fancying it to be a grand victory, swiftly arrived, and capturing Sirāju-d-daulah carried him from the house of Dān Shāh to Akbārnāgar, from whence the spies of Dāūd Ali Khān and Mir Muḥammad Qāsim Khān carried him in their company to Murshidābād. Mir Muḥammad Jafar Khān threw Sirāju-d-daulah into prison that day. On the next day, with the advice of the English Chiefs, and on the importunity and insistence of Jagat Set, he slew him, and suspending the corpse of that victim of oppression to a howdah on an elephant's back, sent it round the City, and then buried it in Khosh Bāgh in the Mausoleum of Nawāb Mahabat Jang. After some days, Mir Jafar killed also Mirzā Mīndī Ali Khān, the younger brother of Sirāju-d-daulah, by stretching him on an instrument of torture, and buried his body by the side of his brother's grave. The Nizāmat of Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah lasted

1 I am not sure if this word is correctly printed in the Pers. text
2 In Seir, Dānā Shāh.
3 I have noticed in a previous note the principal measures of Sirāju-d-daulah's administration.

The Ibrat-i-Arba‘-i-Basr (p. 26) characterises Sirāju-d-daulah as 'light-hearted, unscrupulous, self-willed, petulant, short-tempered and sharp-tongued.' The Seir-i-Muṭakheer (vol. II, p. 621) states in condemnation of Sirāju-d-daulah that Sirāju-d-daulah's 'harsh and uncomplimentary, his decision and jesting in respect of the officers of his Government caused resentment in their hearts.' If this be what constituted the head and front of his offending,—if this be what exhausts the catalogue of his sins, then one has to materially modify the generally current view of Sirāju-d-daulah.

The explanation accounting for the tragic fate of Sirāju-d-daulah is, however, attempted by the author of the Ibrat-i-Arba‘-i-Basr (p. 32). This author
one year and four months, and he was slain at the end of the month of Shawāl 1170 A.H.

NIZĀMAT OF SHUJĀU-L-MULK JAFAR ALI KHĀN.

When Jafar Ali Khān ascended the masnad of the Nizāmat of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa, he set himself to the conciliation of the states, in effect, that Sirāju-d-daulah was a victim of intrigues and misfortunes left as a legacy by his grandfather, Ali Vardī Khān, who had inaugurated in Bengal an era of violent intrigues and dark treachery, by killing his own master, Nawab Sarfāz Khān (son of Ali Vardī's benefactor, Nawab Shujāu-d-dīn Khān), and who was, therefore, now punished by an Avenging Providence in the person of his grandson Sirāju-d-daulah, whom Ali Vardī had regarded as dearer than his own life. That Sirāju-d-daulah did not bring on the misfortunes on himself by his own incapacity, is proved by what the Seiru-l-Mutakāherin (Vol. II, p 633), states, namely, that 'Sirāju-d-daulah had attained the zenith of power and opulence, and that, therefore, a declension was inevitable according to the laws of nature.'

This Revolution in the history of Bengal which in effect supplantèd Moslem Rule and made the English virtually supreme in this country, may also be viewed in another aspect as a wise Dispensation of Providence for the ultimate good of the people. At the time, it is abundantly clear, the people in Bengal were sunk in the abyss of moral debasement, and the cankers of dark ingratitude and treachery, untruthfulness and vanity had crept deep into the vitals of their hearts. In the pursuit of the phantoms of individual self-aggrandisement and of personal ambitions, they had taken advantage of the youthful failings of their sovereign and of the internecine jealousies that distracted his family, forgotten and forsaken all sentiments of gratitude and honour, and yielded to their instinct of intrigue by fraternising with the Nawab’s disloyal relation, Mir Jafar. These, therefore verily needed a Chastener—a Moses—to save them from further moral dissolution; and so Providence in His inscrutable wisdom sent to them One from across the seas in the person of the English, to scourge the vices of the land, to chasten the people, to purify and re-form them, and to once more, if possible, to rescue them from the sea of moral annihilation.

1 See the account in the Seir (Vol. II, p. 640). After the battle of Plassey, Mir Jafar and Clive had a conference on the battlefield, and they together entered Murghidābad. Mir Jafar occupied the palace of Mansurqānī, which was the residence of Sirāju-d-daulah, and then visited the Nizāmat Treasury, in order to distribute the treasures between himself, Dulab Ram, and Clive, as had been agreed to mutually. Dulab Ram now became Mir Jafar’s most influential colleague in the administration. Their friendship, however, did not last long, and shortly after Dulab Ram contemplated placing Sirāju-d-daulah’s brother, Mīrzā Mahdī, on the masnad. See Seir, Vol. II, Pers. text, p 644).
square and the mob had pushed him in his seat to

destroy Smāj-ud-daulah. He uprooted his nephews 

Mursi Khan and the four officers at Fung-Ler or Pernow and put a gun on

his head. Repeatedly, he told them. "Tell the British that I am a just

man and a monarch."

As they were taking him to the forest, a man said,

"We must make sure he is killed."

From the account of Sir John Benjamin, who was present at

the scene, the English envoy at Pernow, assumed what course of action he

should adopt, and suggested that the English should help him in opposing

Purna Ali Khan. Mr. Amyot said he would give no decisive answer. Finding

himself unable to help, they went to the Nizam of Bengal, Mr. Jinnah, and

from him obtained a promise to support them. The British and Muhammad Quit Khan waited on them and

promised allegiance to the Purna. Both his Purna and Muhammad Quit Khan
Rahim Khan and Qadirdad Khan, &c., sons of Umar Khan, and Ghulam Shah and other commanders and generals in the service of

Khan being thus re-assured, let Rammara'n return to the fort of Asimabad. Shortly after, on getting news of the approach of Miran and the English, Rammara'n threw off his mask of loyalty to the Prince and Muhammad Quli Khan. The latter pressed the siege of Patna, assaulted the Fort, and Rammara'n being hard pressed was about to surrender and run away. Then news arriving that Shujau-d-daulah by a foul trick had made himself master of the Fort of Allahabad, which was held by his cousin Muhammad Quli Khan, the latter together with Prince Ali Gauhar abandoned the siege of Patna, and withdrew towards Allahabad (See p. 669, Seir, Vol. II). At this time, Mons. Las met the Prince, persuaded the latter to attack again Patna, but the latter acknowledged his inability to do so, owing to want of funds. If, at this time, Shujau-d-daulah, instead of being meanly treacherous to his cousin, had supported him, the fate of Bihar might have been different. See Mons. Las's observations on the point quoted in the Seir (Vol. II, p. 670). At Benares, Muhammad Quli Khan's march was opposed under orders of Shujau-d-daulah, whilst Prince Ali Gauhar with Mons. Las was allowed to pass on via Mirzapur to Chattarpur towards Bundelkund. Muhammad Quli Khan was carried to Shujau-d-daulah who had the meanness to imprison him. In the meantime, Miran with Col. Olive came to Patna, and Rammara'n waited on them, whilst apparently amicable relations were opened between them and Prince Ali Gauhar, through the diplomatic correspondence of Ghulam Husain Khan, author of the Seir. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 674).

Shortly after, on the invitation of Dilir Khan and Kamgar Khan, Zamindar of Tirhat Sama'i, Prince Ali Gauhar again invaded Patna. At this time, the English army under Captain Cockrane supported Rammara'n. Mr. Amytt was still the Chief of the English Factory at Patna, whilst Dr. Fullerton was attached to the Factory as the medical officer. The author of the Seir (Ghulam Husain Khan) was a friend of Dr. Fullerton, and was the latter's guest at the time. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 676). At this time Emperor Alamgir II was treacherously murdered under orders of Imadu-l-Mulk (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 676), and Ali Gauhar consulted Ghulam Husain Khan's father, who resided at the time in Husainabad in Bihār Province and proclaimed himself Emperor under the title of Shāh Alam in 1173, A.H., appointed Shujau-d-daulah as his Vizier, and Najibu-d-daulah as his General. Then Kamgar Khan Main and Aṣalat Khan and Dilir Khan met the Emperor, and induced the latter to invade Bihār. At this time, Rammara'n was encamped on the banks of the river Dīnah. At this battle, Shāh Alam defeated Rammara'n, who was wounded. The English army who supported Rammara'n and were led by Captain Cockrane and Mr. Barwal, were also defeated and dispersed; and Patna fell into the hands of the Emperor. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 678). At this battle, Dilir Khan and Aṣalat Khan, sons of Umar Khan, fought and fell heroically on the side of the Emperor. Shortly after, Miran, with the English troops under Colonel Olive arrived. On the side of the Emperor, Kam-
of Sirāj-ud-daulah, whom Jafar Ali Khān had previously from policy shifted to the province of Bihār, now joined the Imperial Army. At Fattūnah, a battle took place between the Imperialists and Rāmāraśīn. Rāmāraśīn was wounded, and fled to the fort, and the Imperial troops laid siege to the fort. Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān, on getting this news, despatched to Bihār his son, Nawāb Naṣīru-l-Mulk Ṣādiq Ali Khān Shahāmat Jang, surnamed Miran, with a detachment of English troops. On the banks of the river Adhūmah, adjoining Bārīh, a battle ensued with the Imperialists. On the side of the Imperialists, Qādirdād Khān and Kamgar Khān displayed feats of bravery. Muḥammad Amin Khān was wounded, whilst Rājballab fell back, and both contemplated flight. Qādirdād Khān, with others, by brave onslaughts, attacked the lines of artillery. A heavy gun, which required to be drawn by 400 bullocks, happened to lie in front of these. Those men got entangled amidst the bullocks, and failed to cut through as the bullocks hemmed them on all sides. At this juncture, the elephant-driver of Qādirdād Khān was shot by a bullet. Qādirdād gar Khān, Qādirdād Khān, Ghulam Shāh were the Generals. Qādirdād Khān made a bold movement to the rear of Miran, heroically fought, killed Muḥammad Amin Khān (maternal uncle of Miran), wounded Miran, and worked havoc in Miran's army. Miran fled. Then the English opened a brisk cannonade, and one cannon-ball hit Qādirdād Khān who was killed. Then the tide of victory turned in favour of Miran, whilst Kamgar Khān, with the Emperor, proceeded towards Bihār. (Seir, Vol. II, p. 680). Now Kamgar Khān, with the Emperor, contemplated surprising Mushtidabad, and proceeded to Bārdwān. Mir Jafar, with the English army and his own troops, proceeded to Bārdwān. Kamgar Khān with the Emperor now turned back towards Aẓīmābad, while Mons. Las also arrived. (Seir, Vol. II, p. 680). At this time Khudm Hāsain Khān and Dūlab Ram (who had got sick of his old fellow-conspirator, Mir Jafar) sent help secretly to the Emperor. The Emperor and Kamgar Khān with Mons. Las and Zainub-d-din Khān now assaulted the fort of Patna. The assaults were vigorously repeated, and the fort was about to fall, when a company of English troops under Captain Knox brought timely reinforcement, and raised the siege. The Emperor with Kamgar Khān now went some distance from Patna, and was busy collecting revenue. In the meantime, Khudm Husain, who bore an old grudge to Miran, moved to Hajipur with a large number of troops to attack Patna, but was defeated by Captain Knox who was supported by Shītab Rāi (Seir, Vol. II, p. 888). Shortly after Miran, with Colonel Clive and another English army, arrived, and pursued Khudm Husain Khān, who felt himself too weak to oppose their united forces, and retired towards Bitiah, where of a night Miran was killed by lightning, whilst sleeping in his tent. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 688).
Khān spurred on his elephant with his feet, and shot arrows. Nawāb Šadiq Ali Khān received a wound, being hit by an arrow. At this moment, a big cannon-ball hit Qādirdād Khān on the left side of the chest, and finished him up. On seeing this mishap, Kāmgār Khān and others reining back their horses fell back to their own lines. The army of Šadiq Ali Khān, on ascertaining this, made a fresh onslaught, attacked the Imperialists, and struck up the music of victory. The Imperialists were defeated. Rahim Khān and Zainu-l-Abidin Khān, who had made a detour towards the rear of Šadiq Ali Khān’s army, on hearing the music of victory, made a flank movement towards the right wing, and attacked it. But owing to the cannonade of the English artillery, they were unable to stand their ground, and were defeated. After defeat, the Imperialists retired towards Bardwān, and Šadiq Ali Khān, pursuing them, followed them up to Bardwān vid Qhakai,1 Khauti,2 and Birbhum. From this side, Jafar Ali Khān also marched expeditiously to Bardwān, and on the banks of the river 3 below the town of Bardwān, a battle commenced with a cannonade. The Imperialists not being able to hold their own there, marched back to Aṣīmābād.

Jafar Ali Khān and Šadiq Ali Khān now set themselves to confiscate the treasures and effects of Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah and the Begams of Mahābat Jang, &c. Rendering the latter hard up for even a night’s sustenance, they had already sent to Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca), the Begam of Mahābat Jang with her two daughters, one named Āmanah Begam,4 mother of Sirāju-d-daulah, and the other named Ghassīt Begam, widow of Shahamat Jang, together with other ladies of Mahābat Jang’s harem. Jafar Ali Khān and Šadiq Ali Khān now sent Bāqir Khān, the General, to Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca) with a corps of one hundred cavalry, and wrote to Jassarat Khān, Fanjdar of Jahāngīrnagar, peremptorily directing the latter to capture and make over Ghassīt Begam and

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1 In the printed Persian text ‘Jakai,’ which would apparently seem to be a misreading or misprint for Qhakai, in Monghyr district, which would be on the line of route.
2 ‘Khauti’ or Contai is in Midnapur district. I think this must be a misprint or misreading in the Pers. printed text, as Khauti does not appear to lie on the line of route from Bihār to Bardwān; probably Kanti is meant.
3 That is to say, Damudar river.
4 In Seiru-l-Mutakherin, ‘Āmanah Begam.’
Aminah Begam to Bāqir Khān, as soon as the latter arrived. On the arrival of Bāqir Khān at Jahāngīrnagar, Jāsārat Khān was obliged to pass the necessary orders. The Begams were placed on a boat, which was taken out some karokh from Jahāngīrnagar and there sunk in the river. It is said that when the Begams were taken out to the boat, and became aware of their fate, they repeated their prayers, held the Holy Qurān in their armpits, embraced each other, and then plunged into the river. O, Gracious God, what inhuman barbarity was this! But at length, Şadiq Ali Khān also suffered retribution for it in his own life-time.²

At this time a misunderstanding had set in between Şadiq Ali Khān and Khādīm Husain Khān, on account of levy of revenue and also of other matters. Şadiq Ali Khān, resolving to expel and extinguish Khādīm Husain Khān, planned an expedition to Purniah. Khādīm Husain Khān advancing with his troops from Purniah, entrenched himself at Gandaligolah (Garagola) for fighting. Then, all of a sudden, news arrived that the Imperialists had besieged the fort of Azīmābād (Patna), and were fighting with Rāmnāsāīn. Consequently, Şadiq Ali Khān, abandoning his contemplated expedition to Purniah, set out for Azīmābād. Khādīm Husain Khān, not considering himself a match for him, set out for the Imperial Capital. From this (i.e., the southern) side of the Ghages, the army of Şadiq Ali Khān, and from that (i.e., the northern) side of the Ghages, Khādīm Husain Khān

1 To the credit of Jāsārat Khān, Faujdar of Dacca or Jahāngīrnagar, it is related in the Seir that he had declined to be a party to such a diabolical murder, and had offered to resign his post. It appears from the Seir Mir Jafar subsequently hoaxed Jāsārat Khān, and induced the latter to make over to Bāqir Khān the two Begams, on the plea that they would be safely lodged at Murshidābād, now that Miran had left that place for Bihār.

2 That Mir Jafar and his son, Miran, were despicable tyrants, is sufficiently attested by this diabolical murder. There is nothing to match such inhuman barbarity in the record of the much-abused Sirājū-d-daulah. See Seiru-l-Muṭaḥārīn, Vol. II, p. 689. It appears Aminah Begam, before plunging into the river, prayed to God that Miran might meet with retribution and be killed by lightning for his barbarous inhumanity in causing her and her sister's death. It is further stated in the Seir that Miran was killed by lightning in his tent the same night that Ghūshī Begam and Aminah Begam (daughters of Ali Vardī Khān Mahābat Jang, and wives of Shahamat Jang and Hābat Jang respectively) met with a watery grave in the river below Dacca.
marched up. And when news of the approach of Šadiq Ali Khān spread at Azimābād, the Imperialists raising the siege of the fort of Patna retired by the highway towards Munir. Šadiq Ali Khān, thus finding himself at leisure, crossed the river, and marched in pursuit of Khādīm Husain Khān. Khādīm Husain Khān marched forward with the swiftness of lightning and wind, whilst Šadiq Ali Khān hotly pursued him from behind, making forced marches. At this juncture, a storm of wind and rain came on and disabled both the horsemen and the horses from action. Khādīm Husain Khān reached the bank of a river,¹ to ford which was difficult, and to cross which without a ferry boat was impossible. The army of Khādīm Husain Khān, like the Israelites of old, finding the river in front and the enemy in the rear, despaired of life. Finding all ways of escape cut off, Khādīm Husain Khān of necessity flung his treasures and heavy baggages amongst his soldiers, and placing his trust in his God and looking up to the Infallible Artist, looked out for supernatural help. The army of Šadiq Ali Khān, having had to march through mud and clay and being drenched through by a heavy shower of rain, were rendered unfit for fighting, and halted that day at a distance of 2 karah from Khādīm Husain Khān. In that the cup of the life of Khādīm Husain Khān and his companions was yet not full to the brim, at midnight a lightning fell on Šadiq Ali Khān, and killed him and his personal attendant. This mishap occurred in 1173 A.H. Khādīm Husain Khān, thus getting providentially rescued from the claws of certain death, marched away with the speed of lightning and wind, and went to the Șūbah of Andh (Oudh). Rājballab ² and other comrades of Šadiq Ali Khān rubbed the ashes of sorrow and anguish on their heads, and together with the English army retired to Azimābād. There they directed their attention towards the Imperial army, including the Emperor’s Mahratta Contingent, who were encamped at Hilsah, and commenced warfare. The Imperialists were again defeated, and the ‘French General’ ³ who was in the company of

¹ This was the river Gandak, as would appear from the description in the Seir.
² Rājballab, a native of Dacca, was Peskar of Husain Quli Khān, whilst the latter was Diwān of Shahamat Jang in Dacca. After Husain Quli Khān’s death, Rājballab rose to be Diwān of Shahamat Jang. He was continued in the same office under Miran.
³ This was Mons. Las, as would appear from the Seir.
the Emperor was captured, whilst Rājballab followed up to Bihār. When the Imperialists marched towards Gya-Manpūr and Kām-gār Khān fled to the hills, Rājballab thought of returning. But at this moment, news arrived to the effect that Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān was a prisoner, and that Nawāb Qāsim Ali Khān had acquired the Šūbah of Bengal, as will be related hereafter. The period of the Nizāmat of Nawab Mir Muḥammad Jafar Ali Khān lasted about three years.

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NIZĀMAT OF ALI JĀḤ NAṢĪR U-L-MULK IMTIĀZ U-D-DAULAH QĀSIM ALI KHĀN BAHADUR NAṢRAT JANG.

Nawab Jafar Ali Khān had sent to Calcutta his kinsman, Mir Muḥammad Qāsim, who was a son of Nawab Intiāz Khān, surnamed Khālis, to represent him at the Conference regarding the Administration and settlement of the apportionment of 10 annas of the revenue to Jafar Ali Khān and six annas to the English, and regarding the enjoyment of the office of Diwān by Jafar Ali Khān. On the death of Ṣadiq Ali Khān, the Army demanding their pay which had fallen into arrear for some years mutinied in a body, besieged the Nawāb in the Chīhil Sutūn Palace, and cut off supplies of food and water. In consequence, the Nawāb wrote to Mir Muḥammad Qāsim Khān to the effect that the army had reduced him to straits for demand of arrear pay. Mir Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, in concert with Jagat Set, conspired with the English Chiefs, and induced the latter to write to Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān to the effect that the mutiny of the army for

1 Mir Qāsim was a son-in-law of Mir Jafar, who had conferred on the former the Faujdarī of Purnāb in addition to that of Bangpur. Mir Qāsim went on some State business to Calcutta, and there made an impression on Mr. Vansittart, who had now succeeded Clive as Governor of Calcutta. At this time, the pay of the army being in arrear, the latter besieged Mir Jafar in his palace. With the help of the English Council in Calcutta, Mir Qāsim now became Nāzin of Bengal, Bihār, and Oriasa, in supercession of Mir Jafar, who had proved himself an incapable ruler. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 605). Mir Qāsim owed his installation chiefly to Mr. Vansittart, the Governor of Calcutta, and his colleague in the Council, Mr. Hastings, both of whom went for the purpose to Murshidābād. Mir Jafar came to Calcutta and remained there under surveillance.

2 In the Seir, it is stated Mir Qāsim was a son of Syed Murtazā, who was a son of Intiāz Khān, surnamed Khālis.
demand of pay was a very serious matter, and that it was advisable that the Nawâb abandoning the fort should come down to Calcutta, entrusting the Fort and the Sâbâli to Mir Muḥammad Qâsim Khân. Mir Muḥammad Qâsim with full self-confidence, on attaining his aim, returned to Murshidâbâd. The English Chiefs leaguing with Mir Muhammad Qasim Khan brought out Nawâb Jafar Khân from the Fort, placed him on a boat, and sent him down to Calcutta. Mir Qâsim Khân entered the Fort, mounted the masnad of Nizâmat, and issued proclamations of peace and security in his own name. He sent a message to Râjbâllâb to bring back the Emperor to Azimâbâd, whilst he himself afterwards set out for Azimâbâd, in order to wait on the Emperor, after attending to and reassuring his army, and making some settlement in regard to their arrears of pay. Leaving his uncle, Mir Turâb Ali Khân, as Deputy Nâzim in Murshidâbâd, Mir Qâsim carried with himself all his effects, requisites, elephants, horses, and treasures comprising cash and jewelleries of the harem, and even gold and silver decorations of the Imâmbara, amounting to several lakhs in value, and bade farewell to the country of Bengal. After arriving at Monghyr, and attending to the work of strengthening its fortifications, he marched to

1 Mir Jafar proved himself thoroughly incapable. In whatever light his character is viewed, he appears to have been much worse than the much-abused Sirâj-ud-daulah. Though much older than the latter, Mir Jafar was unquestionably inferior to the latter in qualities both of head and heart. As a general or an administrator, Sirâj-ud-daulah was superior to him, whilst as a man, Sirâj-ud-daulah was much better than Mir Jafar or his infamous son, Miran. The Sir states that shortly after the Revolution, even Mir Jafar's old adherents sighed back for the days of Sirâj-ud-daulah. Mir Jafar was even incapable of retaining the friendships or attachments of his fellow-conspirators, Dulâb Ram and Jagat Set. After ascending the masnad of Nizamat, Mir Jafar gave himself up to pleasures and debaucheries, though he was an elderly man, and neglected State affairs which fell into confusion. Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings contemplated at first that Mir Jafar should be allowed to retain his titles and privileges as the Nazim of Bengal, whilst Mir Qâsim should act as Administrator-General or Regent on his behalf. In this arrangement, Mir Jafar refused to acquiesce, and so he was brought down a prisoner to Calcutta, whilst Mir Qâsim was proclaimed Nawâb Nazim of Bengal, Bihâr, and Orissa. (See Sir, Vol II, p. 605.)

2 Râjbâllâb was at this time in Patna in charge of Miran’s army, and Miran had been killed by lightning.

3 From the Sir, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 711, it appears that Mir Qâsim went
Azimabād (Patna), in order to wait on the Emperor. Before Mir Qāsim’s arrival at Azimabād, the Emperor had returned to that place, and the English going forward to receive him had accommodated His Majesty in their own Factory. Subsequently, Qāsim Ali Khān also arrived, had the honour of an audience with the Emperor, and received from the latter the title of Nawāb Ali Jāh Naṣiru-l-mulk Imtiāzu-d-danlah Qāsim Ali Khān Naṣrat Jang. But the officers of the Emperor marking some change in the conduct of Qāsim Ali Khān marched back with the Emperor to Bāūrās, without giving any intimation thereof to the aforesaid Khān. Nawāb Qāsim Ali Khān followed to Monghyr and resided there in 1175 A.H., after having finished his expeditions to Tirhut, Shahābad, and Azimabād, and after having left Rājah Naubat Rai as Deputy Šubdar of Patna, in place of Rāmarāin and Rājbālá who were imprisoned. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 711). Two days every week, the Nawāb dispensed justice, attended personally to every State affair, and listened patiently to the complaints and grievances of everyone, however humble his position, and did not permit corruption or bribery to thwart the course of justice. He paid assiduous attention to the happiness of his people and to the comfort of his army, which he placed in a highly efficient state. He was, however, a terror to enemies and wrong-doers, and his vigorous personality pervaded all affairs of the State. Friends and foes alike respected him, and even the English regarded him as a real power in the land, and not as a shadow like Mir Jafar. He respected learning and the learned, and appropriated the company of scholars, savants, and saints. The one fatal mistake that he made was that he trusted implicitly the Armenian cut-throat, Gurgan Khān, who was the generalissimo of his Army and who was secretly bent on ruining him, and this one fatal mistake which embroiled him in a quarrel with the English subsequently proved disastrous to his power. See Seiru-l-Mutakkerin, Vol. II, p. 712.

1 It appears the English General, Major Carnac, concluded a truce with the Emperor, established amicable relations with him, and induced the latter to come to Patna. At this time, the moves of the pawns on the political chessboard of India were quick and strange and inconsistent. Everyone was after his game of self-interest, regardless of traditions and of sentiments. (See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 700, 703-704). At this time Ahmad Shāh Abdali had again invaded India, defeated the Mahrattas, and instructed Shujau-d-daulah, Najibu-d-daulah and other Afghans to show allegiance to Emperor Shāh Alam who was his brother-in-law. (See Seir, Vol. II, p 706).

2 There does not appear to be any authority for this statement. It would appear that agreeably to the instruction left by Ahmad Shāh Abdali who had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mahrattas, Shujau-d-daulah, Šubdar of Oudh, had come at the time to the borders of Oudh, to receive the Emperor
them up to the confines of Baksūr and Jagadishpūr, and after pillaging those places returned to Azīmābād, halted at the residence of Rāmnarāṇī, and set himself to the work of administration of the affairs of that place.¹

When Qasim Ali Khān demanded from the English duties on their trade-goods, the latter refused, to pay the same, and carried on their trade duty-free.² Nawāb Qasim Ali Khān Shāh Alam and to escort him to Delhi, to instal him on his ancestral throne. See Seiru-1-Mutakkerin, Vol. II, pp. 705-706.

¹ Important administrative changes transpired at this time. Nawāb Mir Qasim called for accounts from Rāmnarāṇī, who was Deputy Šubadar of Behar. Finding that Rāmnarāṇī had been guilty of malversation in respect of large amounts of the public revenues, the Nawāb dismissed him from office and threw him into prison, at the same time confiscating all his treasures. Shitab Rai, who was Rāmnarāṇī’s colleague, was also suspected, and dismissed by the Nawāb, who took into his own hands the direct administration of Behar, retaining, however, Rājballab as his Deputy there. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 707. Subsequently Rājballab was thrown into prison, his office being given to Rājāh Nandat Rai, who was replaced shortly after by Mir Mehdi Khān. Gurgan Khān, an Armenian, was placed at the head of the Artillery, and the Nawāb placed implicit confidence in him. But as later events would show, this Armenian proved a traitor. The Nawāb employed a large number of spies, and thus kept himself well informed of everything that transpired. He also appointed Mir Mehdi Khān as Fanjdar of Tirhunt, and Muhammad Taqi Khān as Fanjdar of Birbhum.

² This was the beginning and ostensible cause of the rupture between Nawāb Qasim Ali and the English. The Seir (Vol. II, p. 715), details these important events. In 1176 A.I., Mr. Henry Vansittart, then acting as Governor of the English East India Company in Calcutta, visited the Nawāb at Monghyr, and held a conference with him on various matters. The Nawāb then told Mr. Vansittart that much trade passed through the country duty-free, as it was given out that it was on behalf of the English, that in consequence the State suffered a heavy loss, and that it was proper that duty should be levied on all such goods, except those particularly belonging to the English East India Company. Mr. Vansittart informed the Nawāb not to do anything in the matter in haste, but to wait till his return to Calcutta, when proper orders on the subject would be passed by him and communicated to the Nawāb. The Nawāb on the strength of this felt sanguine that his request would be complied with, and in the meantime wrote to his Collectors (Amils), directing them to be vigilant in regard to permitting goods to pass duty-free, and adding that full orders would be communicated to them hereafter. These Amils in some cases exceeded their authority by stopping goods, with the result that several of them were imprisoned by Mr. Ellis, of the Patna Factory, and by Mr. Batterson, of the Dacca Factory, and sent to Calcutta. The Nawāb, on hearing this, directed reprisals, and ordered the arrest of the gomash-
remitted thereupon the duties leviable from all the traders of Bengal and Behār, and declared that so long as he failed to levy duties from the rich, he would hold back his hand from doing so, in the case of the poor. Owing to this cause, and owing to some other matters, a misunderstanding set in between him and the English chiefs. The Nawāb now hatched plans for exterminating them. At length, he formed the resolution of putting them all to the sword on one day. In pursuance of this plan, he sent despatches to his Deputies and Faujdārs in Bengal to the effect that on a certain fixed date everywhere, they should by means of treachery or violence massacre all the English residents. And after personally giving peremptory injunctions to the Generals of his army to kill and capture and pillage and plunder the English, he returned to Monghyr. And when on the day fixed, the army of Qāsim Ali Khān prepared to discharge their commissioned task, a battle

tas of the English, and remitted duties on all goods, explaining that when the goods of richer traders were to be exempt from duties, it would be inequitable to levy duties on goods of poorer traders who contributed only a fraction to the State revenue. The Council in Calcutta sent Mr. Amytt as their envoy to the Nawāb to Monghyr to settle matters (p. 720, Seir, Vol. II). Mr. Vansittart also sent a friendly letter to the Nawāb requesting the latter to condescend to the demand of the Council. The Nawāb consulted his general, the Armenian Gurgan Khān, who advised the Nawāb not to listen to Mr. Vansittart's advice (p. 760, Seir, Vol. II). In the meantime, Gurgan Khān had caused the flower of the Nawāb's Army to perish in a fruitless expedition for the conquest of Nepal (p. 717, Vol. II, Seir.) The Nawāb now solicited aid from Nawāb Vizier Shujā d-daulah and the Emperor, in order to repel the encroachments of the English (p. 718, Seir, Vol. II). The Nawāb also wrote to his capable and loyal Faujdar of Birbhum, Muhammad Taqi Khān, to send Jagat Set Mahtab Rai and his brother, Maharaja Surnyghand, grandsons of Jagat Set Fatāshāh, from Murshidābād to Monghyr under proper escort, and Muhammad Taqi Khān accordingly sent them to Monghyr, where they were ordered to reside under surveillance (p. 721, Seir, Vol. II). On hearing that Mr. Amytt was coming to Monghyr, the Nawāb sent Mir Abdullah and Ghulam Husain Khān (author of the Seir), who were intimate with Mr. Amytt, to go and receive him, and to enquire into the object of his mission. (See Seir, Vol. II, p 712). Mr. Amytt's mission proved a failure (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 742).

1 The Rijas's account is not quite accurate. What actually happened is detailed in the Seir, the author of which was an actor in these scenes. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 726). It appears that before the Council in Calcutta had decided anything, on Mr. Amytt's return, Mr. Amytt on his own responsibility had written from Monghyr to Mr. Ellison, Chief of the Patna Factory, to
ensued with the English army. At length after successive onslaughts, Nawab Qasim Ali Khan’s army triumphed, and engaging

prepare for war, and the latter, without waiting for any declaration of war by the Council, quietly concentrated all the available English regiments in his Factory, and suddenly attacked the Fort at Patna. The Nawab’s garrison who were quite unprepared for such an attack, were surprised, and the Fort fell partially into the hands of the English, whose troops plundered the houses in the Fort. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 726). From Monghyr, reinforcements were hurried up by the Nawab, and with these reinforcements Mir Mahdi Khan, Nawab’s Deputy Subadar of Patna, vigorously assaulted the Fort, recaptured it, also captured the English Factory, when Mr. Ellison with Dr. Fullerton and other Englishmen and their troops fled to Chapra and thence to the Sarju, when they were taken prisoners by the Bengalee Ram Nath, Faujdar of Saran, and Sumroo the Frenchman, and brought to Monghyr, where they were thrown into prison. It was then (See Seir, Vol. II, p 727), that the Nawab sent despatches to all his Faujdars and generals, apprising them of the outbreak of hostilities between him and the English, and directing them to put to the sword the English, wherever found. Mr. Amytt was killed at Murshidabad, in pursuance of the above order (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 727). The Riyaz’s statement that the Nawab fixed a ‘particular day’ for the massacre of the English, or that he instructed his officers to kill Englishmen by treachery—does not accord with the Seir’s version, which is more authentic and reliable.

1 It is not clear to which battle the Riyaz refers here. As would appear from the note ante, the first battle in which the Nawab’s army triumphed was fought, in order to re-capture the Fort of Patna after the English had suddenly surprised it. It does not appear from the Seir’s account that on this victory, the Nawab slew “all the Englishmen,” but what he did was that he apprised his officers of the outbreak of hostilities between him and the English, and directed the former to put the English to the sword wherever found. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 727). In pursuance of the above general order, Mr. Amytt was put to the sword at Murshidabad, and the Qasimbazar factory was looted. (See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 727-728). Then the English Council assembled in Calcutta, and decided on war against the Nawab, and also proclaimed Mir Jafar (who was in surveillance in Calcutta) as the Nawab Nazim of Bengal (See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 768-769). In the meantime, the Nawab had directed his Faujdar of Birbhum (Muhammad Taqi Khan) to prepare for fighting with the English, and had sent his officers, Jafar Khan, Alam Khan and Shahzib Hayatullah with others to re-inforce Muhammad Taqi Khan. The above three officers proceeded to Murshidabad, took ammunitions and armaments from Syed Muhammad Khan, who was Deputy Nazim of Murshidabad at the time, and encamped at Plassey and Katwah, whilst Muhammad Taqi Khan, with his army, proceeded from Birbhum to Katwah. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 728).

2 The only real victory that Mir Qasim appears to have achieved over the English, was in his re-capture of the Fort of Patna. The Riyaz’s
in capturing and killing slew all the English, and plundered their factories. But Şadru-l-Haq Khan, Faujdar of Dinajpur, and the Râjah of Bardwân held back their hands from this wretched work.

account of these events is neither so detailed nor so lucid as that of the Seir-u-Mutakbirin, whose author Ghulam Husain Khan was an actor in, or actual spectator of, most of those scenes. From the Seir, it appears that after the re-capture of Patna, the next battle between the English and the Nawâb's troops was fought at Katwâh. The Nawâb's Faujdar of Birbhum, Muḥammad Taqi Khan, fought at this battle most gallantly, but his gallantry was of no avail, as Syed Muḥammad Khan, Deputy Nazim of Murshidâbâd, failed, owing to jealousy that he bore, to support him, and prevented Jafar Khân, Alam Khân, and Shaikh Haibata-l-llah also from re-inforcing him. (See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 729 to 731). After this, the English with Mir Jafar entered Murshidâbâd (Seir, Vol. II, p. 731). The news of the fall of his brave officer, Muḥammad Taqi Khân, disconcerted the Nawâb, who hurried up re-inforcements under Sumroo, Malkar Armenian, and Asadullah, and directed them to concentrate at Suti with the vanquished troops of Katwâh. Major Adams commanded the English army. At the battle of Suti, the Nawâb's troops were defeated, and the English won the victory (See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 732-733).

On hearing of the defeat at Suti, the Nawâb sent his Begams and children to the fort of Rohtas, whilst he himself set out with his general, the Armenian Gurgin Khan, to re-inforce his army that was now concentrated on the banks of the Adhûna wâlla, a stream taking its rise from the hills north of Rajmahâl and flowing to the Ganges. This position was considered to be of strategic importance and impregnable, as it was accessible by only one secret passage. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 734). On 24th Muḥarram in 1177 A.H., in the night, the Nawâb marched out from the Monghyr Fort. Suspecting treachery from his officers as well as from his prisoners, and his suspicion being fanned by the Armenian Gurgin Khân, the Nawâb before leaving Monghyr killed his prisoners, namely, Râjah Râmânârîn, the quondam Naib Shubdar of Behar, Râjah Râjballâb, the quondam Diwan of Nawâb Shâhâmat Jang, Rai Ruian Umed Ram, Râjah Fath Singh, Râjah Baniad Singh (samindar of Tikuri), Shaikh Abdulâh, as well as others. The Nawâb caused Râmânârîn to be thrown into the river below Monghyr fort with a pitcher filled with sand tied to his neck. Gurgin Khân, not satisfied with this work of butchery, incited the Nawâb to kill also his English prisoners, consisting of Mr. Ellison and Dr. Fullerton and others of the Patna Factory. The Nawâb, however, refused to kill them and placed extra guard on them. Kangar Khan Muin also joined the Nawâb, who was encamped at the Champanâgâr wâlla, but was sent away to Birbhum by the traitor, Gurgin Khân. (Seir, Vol. II, p. 735). At this time, Mir Ruja-d-din, son of the late Nawâb Saif Khân of Purniâh, deserted Mir Qâsim's army, proceeded to Purniâh, and made himself its master, and opened correspondence with Mir Jafar Khân and the English (Seir, Vol. II, p. 736). At Adhûna, the Nawâb's troops
When Nawab Qasim Ali Khan made his entry into Monghyr, he summoned to his presence all the officers of the Nizam of

were wont for some time to sally out in the night by the secret passage, and to do havoc amongst English troops. Once they went so far as to attack Mir Jafar Khan's Camp, Mir Jafar Khan having come to Adhna with the English army. Mir Jafar was about to run away, when the English army re-inforced him. The English were thrown into consternation by these destructive night-attacks, and were at a loss to find out the passage by which the Nawab's troops approached the English entrenchments. At this time, an English soldier who had long ago left the English army and taken service under the Nawab, informed the English army of the secret passage (Seir, Vol. II, p. 737), and undertook to guide them to the Nawab's entrenchments at Adhna. With the help of this man, Colonel Goddard, with an English regiment, moved to the Nawab's entrenchment in the night. The Nawab's army were in a false sense of security, fancying the position impregnable, and thinking that the secret passage to it was unknown to the English. The Nawab's army under Asadullah Khan, the Frenchman Sumroo, the Armenians, Malkar and Antony, were surprised by this night-attack of the English and defeated (Seir, Vol. II, p. 738), and dispersed on 26th Safar, 1177 A.H. On the second or third day, the news of this disaster reached the Nawab, who now moved to the Monghyr Fort. After halting there two or three days, he left that place with Gurgin Khan and others, placing the Fort in charge of one Arab Ali Khan, a protege and creature of Gurgin Khan, and reached the Rohua nulla. At this time, a leading nobleman named Ali Ibrahim Khan counselled the Nawab to release the English prisoners, named Messrs. Elison, Jee, and Lushington and others, or at least to send their wives by boat to Major Adams. The Nawab referred Ali Ibrahim Khan to Gurgin Khan, the Armenian evil genius of the Nawab. The Armenian said no boats were available, and refused to listen to the humane counsel of Ali Ibrahim Khan. On the way, Gurgin Khan was hacked to pieces with the sword by some horsemen, whose pay was in arrear. The Nawab moved from Rohua nulla to Burh, where Jagat Set and his brother Sarnpahand were put to the sword under Nawab's orders. From there the Nawab moved to Patna, where he received news that Arab Ali Khan, commandant of the Monghyr Fort, and a creature of Gurgin Khan, had accepted a bribe from the English, and treacherously made over the Fort to the latter. (Seir, Vol. II, p. 741). The Nawab was exasperated; he was filled with suspicion, and his annoyance knew no bounds. He ordered the Frenchman, Sumroo, to kill the English prisoners. This Sumroo, though of one religion with the English prisoners, willingly accepted this murderous errand, and on the night of the last day of Rabi-al-Awal, 1177 A.H., he shot down the English prisoners, who were lodged at the time in the house of the late Haji Ahmad, brother of Mahabat Jang. That house has since become the English burial-ground in Patna, (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 739). None escaped except Dr. Fullerston (Seir, Vol. II, p. 740). The Nawab accused Dr. Fullerston of treachery, which the latter
Bengal, and set himself to the work of administering the several
disavowed. The Nawāb then spared his life. Dr. Fullerton subsequently
escaped to Hajipur and joined the English army there (Seir, Vol. II, p. 741).
The English next invaded Patna, and stormed the fort there (Seir, Vol. II,
p. 742). The Nawāb now crossed the Karamnassa river, and entered the terri-
tory of Nawāb-Vizier Shujjan-d-daulah. (Seir, p. 743). The Nawāb (Mir
Qāsim) now met the Nawāb-Vizier Shujjan-d-daulah and the Emperor near
Allahabad, and induced them to help him in driving out the English from
the Subahs of Behar and Bengal (Seir, Vol. II, p. 745). The Emperor, the
Nawāb-Vizier and the Nawāb now marched to Benares where they encamped
for some time, in order to invade Behar (p. 746 Seir). Dreading the approach
of the Nawāb-Vizier Shujjan-d-daulah, the English with Mir Jafar, who had
gone in pursuit of Mir Qāsim, now retired from Baksar towards Patna.
Shujjan-d-daulah with his huge army and with Mir Qāsim now overtook the
English near Phulwari (p. 749, Seir, Vol II). There were skirmishes follow-
ed by a battle in which the English army reeled, but the result was indecisive,
owing to absence of concerted action between Mir Qāsim and Shujjan-d-daulah
(pp 749-750, Seir, Vol. II). At the same time, Mir Mehdi Khān, who had
before fought so bravely for Mir Qāsim and re-captured the Patna Fort from
the English, now deserted his old master, Mir Qāsim, and joined the English

The Nawāb-Vizier with Mir Qāsim now retired to Baksar (Seir pp 751). At
this time, from the English side, Dr. Fullerton used Ghulam Husain Khān, the
author of the Seir, as a spy, and wrote to him to induce the Emperor to give
his support to the English, and to withhold his support of the Nawāb-Vizier
(p. 751, Seir, Vol. II). Ghulam Husain Khān and his father Haidut Ali Khān,
who held jagirs at Husainabad in Monghyr district, held a peculiar position
at the time. They professed friendship both for Dr. Fullerton and the Eng-
lish, and also for Mir Qāsim and the Nawāb-Vizier. They were all things to
all men, and enjoyed friendship and influence amongst both the hostile
parties. They opened secret correspondence with the Emperor, and induced
the latter to give his moral support to the English (p 751, Seir, Vol. II). A
conference was now held between Ghulam Husain Khān who now played the
role of an English spy and between Major Carnac, Dr. Fullerton and Mir
Jafar, and a reply was sent through Ghulam Husain Khān and other spies
to the Emperor. In the meantime, Shujjan-d-daulah fell out with Mir Qāsim
(p. 752). Mir Qāsim now assumed the garb of a faqir, but was shortly
after induced to give it up, at the entreaties of Shujjan-d-daulah who found
his honour was at stake. Shortly after, Mir Qāsim’s French officer, Sumroo,
the infamous perpetrator of the Patna massacre, mutinied against Mir Qāsim,
and was paid up and discharged by the latter. Then this infamous Frenchman
took service under Shujjan-d-daulah with all the guns and ammunition of
his old master, Mir Qāsim (p. 755, Vol. II, Seir). The Nawāb-Vizier shame-
lessly imprisoned his refugee Mir Qāsim; all people deserted the latter, except
his one old brave and loyal officer, Ali Ibrahim Khān, who clung to his old
master with a fidelity uncommon in those treacherous days. When Shujjan-
Provinces. And summoning to Monghyr, one by one, the Rāi d-daulah spoke ill of Mir Qāsim, and wondered why Ali Ibrahim Khān clam travelled to Mir Qāsim, in spite of the latter speaking ill of Ali Ibrahim, the latter answered evasively and dignified answer which brought tears even to the eyes of the emperor. Ali Ibrahim said: ‘To my knowledge, I have not been guilty of any dereliction in duty to my master (Mir Qāsim), except that after the evacuation at Patna, whilst his other officers counselled him to go to the Darbār and secure support of the Mahrattas, I alone insisted on Mir Qāsim withdrawing with you, the Nawāb-Vizier, and with the Emperor.’

[7, Vol. II, 69.) At this time, Major Munro, commander of the English army in Patna, wrote through Dr. Fuller to Ghulam Husain Khān, the amir of the court, to use his influence in acquiring the Fort of Rohlas for the English. Ghulam Husain Khān tampered with Mir Qāsim’s commandant Rājīr, and induced the latter to make over the Fort of Rohlas to the English army (p. 758, Surr., Vol. II). Mir Jaffer was unmindful of Manghīdābād, where he died (Surr., Vol II, pp. 758-759), on 11th Shaban, 1159. Mir Jaffer before settling out for Calcutta had left his father Mir Muhammad Nazim Khān, as Deputy Nazim of Patna, with Dāmu, Nāsir Khān (Jahāngir’s brother) as Diwan under the latter. Mir Jaffer appointed Sando Khārī as his Diwan (p. 759, Surr., Vol. II), and imprisoned Muḥammad Kāzin Kāzin, Deputy Nazim of Daena (Jahangirnagar), who was sumptuously entertained by the amir and Ataullah Khān Sabat Jang. From fear of the vengeful Khān Shujā-ud-daulah and from fear of the odium they would incur by being in a war with the Emperor, both Mir Jaffer and the Pahāru Pānig took upon themselves patching up a peace with the Nawāb-Vizier and the Voivodes going to them the Behar Provinces, and stipulating to pay them annuities for Bengal (p. 760, Vol. II, Surr.). This was, however, not to be owing to the Nawāb-Vizier’s ambition which would accept of no compromise but must have an exclusive domination over the whole Empire. Whilst Muḥammad was alive in Calcutta, Major Munro succeeded Major Coals in the command of the English army, and was ordered in Safar 1178 A.H., to go to Pār to fight with the Nawāb-Vizier Shujā-ud-daulah, who was in correspondence with the English Council in Calcutta.

The English and his army were in a sense of false security and were immersed in pleasures, frivolities and amusements, as if they had come for a picnic. On Major Munro’s arrival, the Nawāb-Vizier with his army hurriedly took up a position on the north-west of the jhil. The Nawāb-Vizier posted Sumroo and Madak with eight guns and eight regiments of Mir Qāsim to cover his front. The Nawāb-Vizier’s army was composed of three wings. The right wing was commanded by the Nawāb-Vizier himself, his centre was commanded by Shuja Quli Khān with six thousand Mughal troops, and his left wing was under the command of Bājah Beni Bahadur, Nawāb-Vizier’s Deputy Subadar in Oudh and Allahabad. The left flank of the left wing rested on the banks of the Ganges. The battle opened with a cannonade, which was briskly kept up on both sides, and which did its destructive work
Raiān Umīd Rāi, his son, Kāli Pārshād, Bāmkishor, Rājballab, on both sides. Then the Nawāb-Vizier with his Mughal and Durānian troops made a flanking sally from towards the right of his own artillery, assailed Major Munro’s cavalry and camp, and worked havoc in the English army. From the brisk cannonade kept up by Madak and Sumroo, and from the repeated assaults of the Nawāb-Vizier, the English army was hard-pressed. Major Munro grasping the crisis and finding a frontal attack impossible, owing to the muddy jhul lying in front of him, quickly detached a corps under Captain Nan to make a flanking movement from the side of the river, in order to attack the Nawāb-Vizier’s left wing, commanded by Rājāh Beni Bahadur. This corps approached slowly, and reached the plain of the ruins amidst which Rājāh Beni Bahadur’s troops lay. Shaikh Ghalam Qadīr and other Shaikhs of Lucknow who formed the van of Rājāh Beni Bahadur’s army, stood with guns behind a wall amidst those ruins. The English regiments slowly and circumspectly, without disclosing themselves, crept up to the summit of the wall, and it was only when they rolled down stones on the heads of the Rājāh’s troops that rested behind the wall at its foot, that these woke up from their slumber. It was only then that Shaikh Ghalam Qadīr and his kinsmen and followers came to know of the arrival of the English regiment, and rose up to fight. Before, however, these Shaikhs could arrange their force in fighting array, the English regiment commenced firing their muskets, and killed Ghalam Qadīr and his kinsmen, whilst others fled. At this time, Rājāh Beni Bahadur asked Ghālib Khān, a native of Delhi, what course he was to follow. Ghālib Khān answered that if the Rājāh cared for his honour, he must die fighting, or else must run away. Then for a time the Rājāh engaged in fighting, but shortly after changing his mind, and preferring not to die, ran away. In the meantime, hearing the booming of cannon by the English regiment on the heads of Shaikh Ghalam Qadīr and Rājāh Beni Bahadur, Shuja Quli Khān’s jealousy was aroused, and fancying that the booming proceeded from the Lā’l’s army, and that the Rājāh would soon achieve the honour of a victory, without stopping to enquire into the matter, he forthwith saluted out of his position, advanced across Sumroo and Madak, who in consequence had to suspend their cannonade, and waded across the jhul full of mud. The English artillery from front now quickened their cannonade, and Shuja Quli Khān and his soldiers uselessly sacrificed their lives, having lost the cover of their own artillery. The British regiment now penetrated through the entrenchments of Rājāh Beni Bahadur who had fled, and attacked the wing of the Nawāb-Vizier, as the ground between was already cleared by the foolish and disastrous forward movement of Shuja Quli Khān. Then the Nawāb-Vizier’s army reeled and broke, the Nawab-Vizier himself stood the ground for some time, but seeing himself deserted by his troops, retreated to Allahabad, whilst his Mughal and Durānian troops as well as English troops, commenced plundering his tents. Mir Qasim who was a prisoner in the hands of the Nawab-Vizier had been released one day before this battle, and after the battle fled to Benares. (See Sir, Vol. II, pp. 761-763).
Jagat Set Mahtāb Rāi, Rājah Saiūp Chānd (Jagat Set's brother), the Zamindars of Dīnwānpūr, Nadiah, Khirāhpūr,1 Birbhūm, and Rājawāl, and Dulāl Rāi, Diwān of Bhujpūr, Fatih Singh, the Rajah of Tikāri, son of Rājah Sundar, and Rāmnarāin, Deputy Governor of the Sābāh of Azīmābād, Muḥammad Māṣīm, and Munsī Jagat Rāi and others, the Nawāb threw them into prison. And after strengthening the Fort of Monghyr, the Nawāb sent a large army to Bengal. In the vicinity of Rājmahal, on the banks of the river Adhīāh, he reviewed his army, and sent despatches to the Faujdāris and the Deputy Nāzīm of Bengal, directing and instructing them peremptorily to fight with the English.

Amongst these, Shāikh Hīdāyītū-l-lāh,2 Deputy Faujdār of Nadiah, with a force, Jafar Khān, and Alam Khān, Commandant of the Nāwāb's bodyguard of the Nāwāb, swiftly advanced to Katwāb; to fight. From the other side, the English army proclaiming Nawāb Jafar Khān as Subdar of Bengal, and taking him in their company advanced to fight, and at a distance of two ārōh entrenched itself at Dainbāt.3 On the 3rd of the month of Muḥarram, both the armies arraying themselves for battle kindled the fires of warfare. The army of Qāsim Ali Khān, after the fall of 1,000 men of his whose moment for death had arrived, being defeated, fled to Āsā (Plassey) to Muḥammad Taqi Khān, Faujdār of Ḫirāhpūr. After two or three days, when the army of Bengal had collected together, the English Generals arrived pursuing them.

This decisive victory at Baksar in 1764 (more than the battle of Plassey) gave the English a firm foothold in Bengal, as a Ruling Power. It was soon followed by the indemnity of Shāh Alam's grant of the Diwānī of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa to the English in 1765. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 773).

The English evaluated to pay annually twenty-four lakhs to the Emperor on account of the Revenue of the above three Subsahs.

In this note, I have thought fit to summarise the events as narrated in the Seir-i-Mutakheef, a contemporary record, the author whores of was either an actor in, or a spectator of, the many scenes enacted in those times. The note is long, but I have thought fit to give it, in order to follow the development of the many important and stirring events that at length culminated in the transfer of the Ruling Power in Bengal from Moslem into English hands.

1 Probably a misreading or misprint in the printed Persian text for Kharakpur.
2 In the Seir, his name is mentioned as Šabīkh Hābatu-l-lāh. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 728, and n. ante).
3 This must be the name of a market-place in Katwāb itself.
Muhammad Taqi Khan, with a large army, and a District Officers, fell on being wounded with a gun-shot. He retired to Murshidabadd. Syed Muhammad Khan, the brother of Deputy Nizam of Bengal after a short time was taken off by Turab Ali Khan for Monghyr, came out a day or two after Murshidabadd with the troops at hand, and encamped himself at Chuna Khali. But when the news of the approach of the English army arrived, his troops (many of whom had received wounds in their fighting with the English) left him and went in battle and without firing their guns and muskets from their entrenchments, and fled to Suti. The army of Qasim Ali Khan arrived at Suti, where Sunroor the French Commander Generals and troops, was already from before. But our English not abandoning their pursuit followed them up, and a great battle ensued at Suti. In that the star of Nawab Qasim Ali Khan’s luck was waning, and the fortune of the English was in the ascendant, after severe fighting, in this battle also the English triumphed. The army of Nawab Qasim Ali Khan, unable to stand the cannonade of the English artillery, were defeated, and retired to the banks of the Adilah nalla, which was their camping ground from before. There all the troops of the Nawab collected together, and renewed fighting. At length, many of the Generals of Nawab Qasim Ali Khan’s army, including Gurgin Khan, Commander of the Nawab’s Artillery corps, as well as others, conspired with the English. The English, thus freed from anxiety, made a night attack, and broke the Nawab’s army, which fled. A severe defeat was thus sustained by the Nawab. The defeated army in a worsted condition retreated to Monghyr. Nawab Qasim Ali Khan, on receiving news of this defeat, lost heart, and was thrown into consternation. In view of the disloyalty and treachery of the traitors who had eaten his salt, the Nawab felt himself unequal for a contest, and abandoning all ideas of warfare he set out in an anxious mood for Agimabadd. The Nawab now killed Gurgin Khan on account of his treachery, and also slew Jagat Seth and his brother, who were the plotters of this treacherous conspiracy, and who had sent out secret messages inviting Jafar Ali Khan and the Christian English, and whose treasonable correspondence had been intercepted. The Nawab also killed other Zamindars, etc., who from before were in prison, and each of whom was unreviled in his day for hatching plots and intrigues. After arrival at
o, not finding himself secure, the Nawab sent his Begams to the Fort of Rohitas, whilst he himself proceeded to the Subah of Oudh to the Vazirul Mulk Nawab Shujau-d-daulah Bahadur. There also he fell out with the Nawab-Vizier, who contested for some of his treasures. From thence departing, the Nawab retraced the hills, and in those tracts he lingered some years in depredations, and at length died.

IZ MAAP FOR THE SECOND TIME OF JAFAR ALI KHAN BAHADUR.

At Khan’s defeat, the English Chiefs again placed Khan on the masnad of the Nizamet of Bengal, and of the revenue of the Provinces were allotted to the English for their service as Diwan, whilst the annas of the same were the Nawab Jafar Ali Khan. This time also for a period of three years, he displayed great feebleness in his Nizamet, as in 1761 A.H., Nawab Jafar Ali Khan died. The English appointed the masnad of Nizamet his son, Najmu-d-daulah, and the Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan Bahadur Muzaffar Naib Nazim (Deputy Nazim) Najmu-d-daulah, the masnad of Nizamet for two years, passed to the English. After Najmu-d-daulah’s death, his young brother d-daulah succeeded to the masnad of Nizamet, and Muzaffar Jang continued to hold the office of Naib daulah after holding the Nizamet for two years, and another brother of his, Mubark-khan, went to the masnad of Nizamet. The English Chiefs 1011, Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan Muzaffar Jang from the office of Deputy Nazim, having fixed sixteen laks of rupees as an annual allowance for the Nazim, this amount the English pay each year. The English have now acquired domination over the

1. For some time, Wazir Qasim stayed in the Rohilla country, subsequently left the Afghan tract and proceeded to the country of the Rana Gahad, thence he proceeded to Rajputana, whence again he moved to the tract between Agra and Delhi, where he died in distress. See Sevr-i Mutakemen, Vol. III, p. 983.
three Šubahs, and have appointed Žilâdärş (District Officers) at various places. They have established in Calcutta the Khâlişah Kâẖârî (the Court for Crown-lands), make assessments and collections of revenue, administer justice, appoint and dismiss Āmîls (Collectors of revenue), and also perform other functions of the Nizâmât. And up to the date of the completion of this History, namely 1202 Š.A.H., corresponding to the thirty-first year of the reign of Emperor Šâh Ālam, the sway and authority of the English prevail over all the three Šubahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

1 The English divided the country into six Žillahs, viz: (1) Žillah Calcutta; (2) Žillah Bardwan; (3) Žillah Rajshahiye-Murshidabâd; (4) Žillah Jahangirnagar (or Dacca); (5) Žillah Dinajpur; (6) Žillah Azimabad (or Patna); and appointed English Žillaĥdars to each Žillah with a Council. See Sen, Vol. II, pp. 782-783.

2 That is, 1788 A.C.
CHAPTER IV.

DESCRIBING THE DOMINATION OF THE ENGLISH CHRISTIANS IN THE PROVINCES OF THE DAKHIN AND BENGAL, AND CONTAINING TWO SECTIONS.

SECTION I. DESCRIPTIVE OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AND FRENCH CHRISTIANS, &c., IN THE DAKHIN AND IN BENGAL.

Be it now known from the bright hearts of the bankers of the nations of the History and the appraisers of the jewel of Chronicles, that the Jewish and Christian communities, before the advent of Islam, were in many ports of the Dakhin, like Malabar, &c., for a purpose by the sea-route, and after acquiring lands, to the people of that country, they settled down in some of the towns, erected houses with gardens, and in this manner dwell there several long years. When the planet of the Musulmans rose, and the bright effulgence of the Muslim sun shone, and the West, gradually, the countries of Hindustan and the Dakhin were recipient of the rays of the moon of the Muslim faith, and Muslims commenced visiting those countries. Many of the kings and rulers of those parts embraced the Islamic faith, whilst the Rajahs of the ports of Goa, Bijapur, and Jaf-bal, &c., like Muhammadan rulers, gave Musulman emigrants from Arabia quarters on the sea-shores, and treated them with honour and respect.1 In consequence, the Jews and the

1 See Hunter's History of British India, Vol I, p. 29. writes Dr. Hunter: "The Saracen Arabs who under the conquering impulse of Islam next seized the countries of the Indo-Syrian route (682-685 A.D.) soon realised its value. They were a trading not less than a fighting race, and Bussorah and Baghdad under the Caliphs became the opulent headquarters of the Indian trade." The Saracens conquered Egypt, Syria, and Persia, 682-691 A.D. In a footnote to p. 28 of the above History, Dr. Hunter refers the reader for
Christians burnt in the fire of envy and malice. And when the Kingdoms of the Dakhin and Gujrat became subject to the Musalman Emperors of Dehli, and Islam became powerful in the kingdom of the Dakhin, the Jews and the Christians placed the seal of silence on the door of their tongues, and ceased to utter words of enmity and hatred. Subsequently in the year 900 A.H., weakness and decay set in in the kingdom of the Dakhin. At that time, the Portuguese Christians, on behalf of the king of their own country, were directed to build forts on the sea-shores of India.

an account of the Jewish trade with the East to an article on 'The Jews under Rome' by Lieut.-Col. Conder. Again says Dr. Hunter (p. 45): "The trading colony of Arabs at Canton included at the beginning of the 7th century A.D., an uncle of Muhammad the Prophet." Again in p. 46, says Dr. Hunter: "It was a commercial dispute that brought about the first Musalmân conquest of an Indian Province. In 711 A.D., Ka'im led a naval expedition against Sindh, to claim damages for the ill-treatment of Arab merchants and pilgrims near the mouth of the Indus in their voyage from Ceylon. During the following centuries the Indian Ocean became an outletting domain of Islam. The Arab geographers mapped the course from the Persian Gulf to China into 'seven seas,' each having a name of its own, and with the Arab-Chinese harbour of Kampoo on their eastern limit. Abu Fida, the princely geographer of the fourteenth century (1273-1331) mentions Malacca as the most important trading place between Arabia and China, the common resort of Moslems, Persians, Hindus, and the Chinese. Colonies of Arabs and Jews settled in an early century of our era on the southern Bombay coast, where their descendants form distinct communities at the present day. The voyages of Sindbad the Sailor are a popular romance of "dian trade under the Caliphs of Baghdad, probably in the ninth and tenth centuries."

From the above it is clear that India, including Bengal, was the theatre of the commercial influence of the Saracen Arabs, from about the 7th and 8th centuries. The first Musalmâns conquests in the Dakhin were made in the reign of Jalâlu'd-din Khilji, Emperor of Delhi, through the military genius of his nephew, Alan-u'd-din Khilji. See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 170, and n. 2, ante, p. 90.

"In 1564, Vijayanagar finally went down before the Moslems in the field of Telikot after an existence of 41 centuries. The Bahmani dynasty formed from the coalition of the Musalmân adventurers in the fourteenth century began to break up in 1489, and by 1525, its disintegration was complete. The Portuguese arrived just as this once powerful kingdom was evolving itself through internecine war into the Five Musalmân states of Southern India. At the time (1498, when Vasco da Gama landed in India) the Afghan sovereignty in Northern India was dwindling to a vanishing point." See Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, pp. 101-102.
In the year 904 A.H., four ships of the Portuguese Christians\(^1\) came to the ports of Qandrinah\(^2\) and Kalikot, and the Portuguese after ascertaining thoroughly the state of affairs\(^3\) of the sea-board sailed back. And the next year, six Portuguese ships arrived at Kalikot,\(^4\) and the Portuguese disembarked, and made a prayer to the ruler of that place, who was called Samri, to prevent the Musalmans from trading with Arabia, urging that they (the Portuguese) would yield more profit than the Musalmans. The Samri did not listen to their prayer. But the Christians commenced molesting the Musalmans in mercantile business, so that the Samri \(^5\) becoming enraged ordered the former’s slaughter and massacre. Seventy rendering Christians were slain; whilst the rest getting into ships sailed out to save themselves, and alighted near the town of Kochin, \(^6\) the ruler whereof was on terms of hostility with the

\(^1\) Spovilham, the first Portuguese explorer in India, stayed some time on the Malabar coast (having come there from Aden on an Arab ship), in 1487-8. Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on May 20th, 1498. See Dr. Hunter’s History, Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

\(^2\) The European form of Qandrinah is, I guess, Conlon or Calicual. For Conlon, Cash, ad, Cochin, Calicut, see the map at p. 96, of the above History. Muslim (1304-1377) mentions Quiton and Calicut amongst the five chief ports that he had seen. See p. 48, n. 2 of the above History.

\(^3\) Dr. Hunter states that at the time the Malabar chiefs were tolerant of the religions of the many nations who traded at their ports. Abu Zaid when mentioning the foreign colonies records that the king allows each sect to follow its own religion (Abu Zaid al-Hasan of Siraf translated in Sir Henry Ellis’ History of India) Manicheans, Musalmans, Jews, and Christians alike came at the Malabar ports. Not only Jews from the earlier time (6th century B.C.) and ‘St. Thomas Christians,’ from 6th A.D., but Arab traders (Moplaha) both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times were settled on Malabar coasts. (See Dr. Hunter’s History, Vol. I, pp. 98-100).

\(^4\) The Zamorin of Calicut received the Portuguese graciously. But the foreign Arab merchants, then the most powerful community at his port, perceived that the new ocean-route must imperil their ancient monopoly by way of the Red Sea. They accordingly instigated the court officials to intrigue which nearly ended in a treacherous massacre, p. 103, Hunter’s History, Vol. I. The Biyya’s account would however show that the provocation came from the side of the Portuguese, who came with a crusading spirit. (See p. 101, ibid).

\(^5\) In English histories, he is called the ‘Zamorin,’ which is the European form of the Tamil Samur, meaning ‘son of the Sea.’ See Hunter’s History of British India, Vol. I, p. 86, n. 1.

\(^6\) Or Cochin. From Hunter’s History, Vol. I, p. 103, it would appear Da Gama departed from Calicut, and for some time stopped at Cannanore.
Samri. There they obtained permission to build a fort, and within a short time they erected quickly a small fort, and dismantling a mosque which stood on the sea-shore they built on its site a church. And this was the first fort which the Christians erected in India. In the meanwhile, the inhabitants of the port of Kanor also leagued with them. The Christians erected a fort also there. Being freed from anxiety, the Christians commenced a trade in pepper and ginger, and obstructed others from trading therein. Consequently, the Samri advancing with his forces slew the son of the king of Kuchin, and ravaging that province returned. The successors of the slain ruler collecting again a force raised the standard of sovereignty, re-populated the province, and under the advice of the Ferengis placed a flotilla of galleys in the sea. And the ruler of Kanor also similarly fitted out a flotilla of boats. The Samri, getting enraged at this, bestowing all his treasures on the army, twice or thrice advanced with his forces against Kuchin. At every time, the Portuguese helped Kuchin.

1 In 1500 King Emmanuel of Portugal sent a fleet of thirteen ships under Pedro Alvarez Caleral, who was well received by the Zamorin, and established a factory on shore at Calicut for purchase of spices. He captured an Arab vessel and a Moslem vessel. The Arab merchants were roused to indignation, and sacked the Portuguese factory at Calicut, slaying the chief agent and fifty-three of his men. Caleral retaliated by burning ten Arab ships, and sailed down to Cochin, burning two more Calicut vessels on his way. Caleral concluded a friendly treaty with the Raja of Cochin, promising to make him some day Zamorin of Calicut and established a factory at Cochin. Friendly overtures were also received by him from the Raja of Quilon and Cannanor. See Hunter’s History, Vol. I, p. 107. The fanatical vandalism of the Portuguese Christians in demolishing a Moslem Mosque, is in sad contrast to the toleration and scrupulous regard for the sanctity of the Christian Church shown by the early Moslem Arabs under Omar, after the latter had conquered Palestine and visited Jerusalem—See Sir William Muir’s ‘Annals of the Early Caliphate,’ p. 210.

2 Animated by a crusading spirit the aim of the Portuguese Government was to destroy the Arab commerce, and to establish an armed monopoly. See Hunter’s History, Vol. I, p. 108.

3 I.e., the Portuguese Christians. For the origin and significance of the term Ferengi, see Dr. Hunter’s History of British India. Vol 1, p. 184. Says Dr. Hunter: “The ravenous hordes thus let loose in India, made the race-name of Christian (Ferengi) a word of terror until the strong rule of the Mughal Empire turned it into one of contempt.” See also n. 2, ibid.

4 In 1505 Vasco da Gama as Portuguese Admiral of the Indian Seas came to India for the second time, with a fleet of twenty vessels. He bombarded Calicut
so that the Samri did not succeed in subduing it, and without attaining his object retired. Becoming powerless, he sent envoys to the rulers of Egypt, Jiddah, the Dakhin and Gujrāt. Complaining of the malpractices of the Christians, he asked for help, and sending out narratives of the oppressions practised by the Christians over the Musalmāns, he stirred up the veins of their zeal and rage. At length, Sultan Qābūr Ghuri despatched to the

ruined Arab merchant-fleet. At Cochin, Cannanore, Quilon, and Malacca, his established factories. Da Gama's successes were stained by reporting grudges never to be forgotten. For a gruesome detail of those barbarous cruelties see Hunter's History, Vol. I, pp. 109, 139, 140 and 141. Da Gama, now 'fondly', returned to Lisbon. The Zamorin and the Arab merchants bound to express the tortures and outrages inflicted by this Christian fanatic. They attacked the Cochin Raja, seized his capital, and demanded surrender of the Portuguese factors left under his protection. The Cochin chief bravely resisted until relieved by arrival of the next Portuguese fleet in September. See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 110. This fleet operated against Indīa under Alfonso de Albuquerque and his cousin Francisco de Albuquerque, the two Albuquerque built a fort at Cochin, established a fuerte and severely punished the Zamorin. Alfonso returned to Lisbon, his cousin was lost on his way home together with his


Newattack was sent in 1504 under Lopo Soares de Albergaria. He contended vigorously of unsparing destruction against the ports in which Arab fortresses held; laid part of Calicut in ruins, and burned Cranganore. See Hunter, Vol. I of Portuguese supremacy on the Malabar coast. In 1505, King Emmanuel I of Portugal sent Don Francisco da Almeida as the Portuguese viceroy. His principal duty was to coerce the Malabar sea-coast and to yield to the Arab merchants, to strengthen the Portuguese, and secure shore, and thirdly, to break the Moslem naval supremacy, including the armed Arab merchantmen of Calicut and the regular Navy of the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, who menaced the existence of Portugal in the East. This was the third and last act in the long conflict between Medieval Christendom and Islam. In four years (1505-1509), Almeida overthrew the power of the Moslem Arabs at the Malabar ports, defeated the Zamorin and destroyed his fleet of 84 ships and 120 galleys, and slew 3,000 Musalmāns. See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 118.

1 "The Mameluke Sultan of Egypt sent forth in 1509 a great expedition under Admiral Amir Husain, who effected a coalition with the Moslem fleet of the northern Bombay coast, and was aiming to effect also a junction with the southern Calicut squadron. Lourenço Almeida, son of the Portuguese Viceroy, attempted to oppose this junction, but was shot down. The Moslem victors chivalrously gave him honorable burial, and respectfully congratulated Almeida on a son who at the age of twenty-two had covered himself with
the Jews, so that no trace of them remained there. After this, with the support of all the Musalmāns of Malabar, he advanced to Kālikot, besieged the fort of the Portugese, and fighting bravely defeated the latter, and stormed their fort. In consequence, the power and prestige of the Malabarese Musalmāns grew, and without any pass from the Portugese they despatched on their own behalf vessels loaded with pepper and y to the ports of Arabia. In the year 938 A.H., the Portugese erected a fort at Jāliat, which is six kālaḥ from Kālikot: and passage of ships from Malabar was thereby reined ult. Similarly, the Christians in those years, during of Buḥān Nizām Shāh, erecting a fort at Raikundal port of Jābul, settled down there. In the year 943 A.H., the Christians acquired much fort also at Kadatklor, the Christians acquired much at this time, Sultān Sulaimān, son of Sultān Salim of Pla planned

1 The word ʿĀḏār means both 'a Christian,' as well as a 'fire-worshipper.'

In the latter sense, it would imply the 'Parsees.'

2 In 1538, Solyman the Magnificent, Emperor of Turkey, captured Aden (Hunter's History, Vol II, p. 147). Constantinople, the capital of the old Eastern Roman Empire, is still known amongst Musalmāns in India as 'Rūm.'

"To the 'martyr's blood' of the Portugese, the Moslems opposed their Holy Fleet. First the Arabs of the Indian ports supplied the fighters for the faith. Then the Mameluke Sultān of Cairo sent armaments. Finally entered on the scene the mighty power of the Turkish Empire, which deemed its subjugation of Egypt incomplete as long as the Portugese threatened the Red Sea. The Arabs of the Indian ports quickly succumbed to the cavaliers of the Cross. The Mameluke Sultān of Egypt, hard-pressed by the Ommānas from the north, could make no headway against the Portugese in the sea. But the Turks or 'Rūmis' turned back the tide of Christian conquest in Asia. 'The cry, the Rūmis are coming' which afflicted Albuquerque, for ever resounded in the ears of his successors. When the Portugese closed the Malabar shore route to the Moslem world, the Arab ships struck boldly across the Indian Ocean for Aden to south of Ceylon, passing through the Maldive Island or far out at sea. When the Portugese seemed the strong position of Dū at the north entrance to Indian waters, the Turks constantly harassed that station and tried to outflank it by menacing the Portugese factories westward on the Persian Gulf. When the Portugese sought the enemy in the Red Sea, they were often repulsed, and their momentary successes at Aden ended in lasting failure. In vain the Lisbon Court tried to make a few years' arrangement with the Turks, offering in 1541 to supply pepper in exchange for wheat, and pass for Moslem ships in Indian waters in return for free entrance to Aden and the Arabian ports of the Red Sea. The unholy project came to naught. Four years later, in 1545, the Turks boldly attacked
to turn out the Portuguese from the ports of India, and to take possession thereof himself. Accordingly, in the year 944 A.H., he sent his Vazir, Sulaimān Pāshā, with a fleet of one hundred warships to the port of Aden, in order to take it first, as it formed the key to the maritime position of India, and then to proceed to the ports of Laccadives. Sulaimān Pāshā in that year wresting the port of Aqīl Dāud from the latter, sailed out for the port of Aden and commenced warfare. He had nearly stormed it, when victualling and treasures ran short. Therefore, without accomplishing his mission, he sailed back to Turkey. And in the same year the Portuguese became dominant over the ports of Muscat, over Sumatra, Malacca, Milāfor, Nāk, Para, and Ceylon, and over Bengal to the confines of China, and he formed the fort of Sumatra; and the ruler of Ceylon also, during the Portuguese, put a stop to their molestations on his country. And the Samrī, ruler of Kālikot, being hard pressed, sent envoys to Ali Adil Shāh, and persuaded the latter to aid him with the Portuguese, and to expel them from his kingdom. And in the year 979 A.H., the Samrī besieged and stormed the town of Jaliat, whilst Nāẓīm Shāh and Adil Shāh, went with them to Taiz and Goa. The Samrī, by the prowess of his men of bravery and heroism, captured the fort of Jaliat, and Nāẓīm Shāh and Adil Shāh, owing to the valour of their followers who suffered themselves to be taken in by the brilliance of the arms of the Portuguese, had to retire without having any decisive effects. From that time forward, the Portuguese


1 I.e., Ormuz.
2 Malacca was taken by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in 1511. See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 127.
3 On the Portuguese seizing Goa in 1510, the Portuguese naval supremacy along the South-Western Indian coast was thoroughly established, and no Musalmān ship could safely trade in Malabar waters without a pass from the Christians. See Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 126.
Christians, adopting a settled policy\(^1\) of molesting and oppressing the Musalmāns, perpetrated much highhandedness. Whilst some ships of Emperor Jalālū-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, which without a pass from the Portuguese had proceeded to Makkah, were returning from the port of Jiddah, they looted them, and inflicted various molestations and humiliations on the Musalmāns, and set fire to the ports of Adilābād and Farabin which belonged to Adil Shāh, and ravaged them completely. And coming under the guise of traders to the port of Dabil, the Portuguese schemed by means of fraud and treachery to get hold of it also. But the Governor of that place, Khwajah Aliu-I-Mulk, a merchant of Shīrāz, becoming apprised of their intention, killed one hundred and fifty principal Portuguese, and quenched the fire of their disturbance.


Be it known to the minds of enlightened researchers, that from the date that the ships of Jalālū-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādshāh\(^2\) were captured at the hands of the Portuguese Christians, the sending of ships to the ports of Arabia and Ajam was totally suspended, inasmuch as the Emperor viewed the acceptance of passes from the Portuguese to be derogatory, whilst to send the ships without such passes was attended with danger to the lives of passengers, and with peril to their property. But the Emperor’s Umarā, like Nawāb Abdu-r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i-

\(^1\) "From the time of Albuquerque the ineradicable issue between Catholicism and Islam in Asia stands forth. Each side firmly believed itself fighting the battles of its God. ‘I trust in the passion of Jesus Christ in whom I place all confidence,’ Albuquerque declared in 1507 before entering on his governorship, ‘to break the spirit of the Moors (Musalmāns).’ ‘We desire nothing else but to be close to God’ ran the Moslem summons in 1539. It denounced the aggressions ‘of the Christians of Portugal,’ and warned an Indian prince that if he held back, his soul would descend into hell.’ (Sulaiman Fīshā to the ruler of Cambey, May 7th, 1539.) See Hunter’s History, Vol. I, pp. 129-130.

\(^2\) Akbar the Great, Emperor of India, born 1542, reigned 1556-1605, and was the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth.
Khanān1 &c., taking passes from the Portuguese Christians, sent out ships to the ports. And for some time the state of things continued in this wise. When Emperor Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir ascended the throne of Delhi, he permitted the English Christians, who, in their articles of faith, totally differ from the Christian Portuguese and the Christian French, &c., and who thirst for the latter's blood, and are in hostility with the latter, to settle down in the tract of Surat,2 which pertained to the Province of Gujarāt.3 This was the first place amongst the Indian sea-ports, where the English Christians settled down. Before this, the English Christians used to bring their trading ships to

1 Abdur Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan, was a son of Bairam Khan, and was born at Lahore, 964 A.H. In 984, he was appointed to Gujarāt. He conquered for Akbar Gujarāt, and defeated Sulṭān Musaffar, King of Gujarāt, at the battle of Lankan. His great deeds were the conquests of Gujarāt and Sind, and the defeat of Suhail Khan of Bijapur. (See Blochmann's Translation of A n-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 334).

2 In 1607 Captain William Hawkins landed at Surat with a letter from James I. to the Mughal Emperor (Emperor Jahangir reigned 1605-1627), and proceeded to the Court at Agra. In 1611 Sir Henry Middleton landed at Swally. In 1612 Captain Best routed the Portuguese squadron near Surat, and obtained congratulations of the Mughal Governor, who allowed the English to settle at Surat in 1618. Downton's sea-fight in 1615 established English supremacy over the Portuguese. In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I. to be 'ambassador to the Great Mogul.' Surat was the chief starting place for Mecca, and the Portuguese squadron had troubled the ocean path of pilgrimage. The Imperial Court, too happy that one infidel fleet should destroy another, granted to Sir Thomas Roe an 'order' for trade. Roe obtained a 'permit' in 1616 for the English to reside at Surat and to travel freely into the interior, and also a similar 'grant' in 1618 from Prince Khurram (afterwards Emperor Shah Jahan) who was then Mughal Viceroy of Gujarāt. The English by their good conduct gradually acquired the position of a useful sea-police, and as patrol of the Moslem pilgrim-ocean-route, and as a 'sure source of revenue,' under the Great Mughal. In 1657 the English Company decided that there should be one 'presidency' in India, that being at Surat. See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. II, Chap. II.

3 Akbar conquered and re-conquered Gujarāt and the province on the shore of the Gulf of Cambay between 1572-1592; and these were finally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1593. Surat was the Capital of Gujarāt and the Chief Mughal port on the western coast for the embarkation of pilgrims to Mecca. Surat is the modern representative of the ancient province of Surashtra which included not only Gujarāt but part of Kathiwar. See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. II, p. 47, and his reference to Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.
the ports of India, and after sale of their cargoes used to sail back
to their own country. After they settled down at Surat, the
trading factories of the English Christians, like those of the
Christian Portuguese and the French, &c., gradually sprang
different centres both in the Dakhin, and in Bengal, the

1 For the first English settlements on the Madras Coast (161
Hunter's History of British India, Vol. II, Chap. III. Their
under Captain Hippen on that coast was in 1611 at Masulipatam
sea-port of the Moslem Golconda Kingdom (founded in 1511
by the Shabi line on the breaking-up of the Moslem Bahmani
subdued by the Mughal Empire until 1687). In 1632, the English
gained the 'Golden Phenom' (farman) of the Golconda King for the
shuffled the English to Masulipatam. In 1639, the English under Francis Day built
a fort at Madras. In 1645, the Moslem King of Golconda confirmed
Madras for an English settlement. In 1653, Madras was raised to the
'presidency,' and in 1658, the English Company declared all
residents in Bengal and the Coromandel Coast subordinate to Fort
the

2 For an account of the English settlements in Bengal (between
see Hunter’s History of 'British India,' Vol. II, Chap. IV, and
‘Early Annals of the English in Bengal,’ Vol. I.

In 1632, by order of Emperor Shāh Jahan, Qasim Khan
Tartar settlement at Hugli, and expelled the Portuguese who were
trading with the Moslems. The English Company’s agent at the Masulp
revised the occasion, and sent out in 1633, on a country boat, a
lancer to try and open up trade with the fertile provinces at the
the Ganges. These headed by Ralph Cartwright reached Harishpur,
and then quietly crept up to the court of Malanday, in Fort Cuttack, where resided a Mughal Deputy-Governor for Orissa, Muhammad Zaman. This brave Persian—the Deputy-Governor
sent the Englishmen in his Audience-hall, affably inclined
Mr Cartwright, then slipping off his sandal offered his foot to
the merchant to kiss, which he twice refused to do, but at last was forced
(Hunter’s History, Vol. II, p. 89). The Deputy-Governor on Map
sealed an order giving the English ample license to trade. (See to
in Wilson’s ‘Early Annals of the English in Bengal,’ Vol. I, pp. 11-12). The
beginning of the English trade with Orissa is usually ascribed to a farman
granted to the English in 1634 by Emperor Shāh Jahan, confining them to
Pippil near an old mouth of the Subarnarukha river. On May 5th, 1633, the
English built a house of business at Haripur, near Jagatsingpur in the
Cuttack district, this being the first English factory in the present Lieutenant-
Governorship of Bengal. In June, 1633, Cartwright founded a factory at
Balasore. In 1650, the English founded a factory at Hugli. Gabriel Bough-
ton, an English Surgeon, who was in 1650 Surgeon to Shāh Shuja (Mughal
Viceroy of Bengal who resided at Rajmahal), used his influence in the Vice-
regal Court, in getting favour extended to the English, who received in 1650


customs-duties like others. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, the English rendered loyal services to the Emperor, and were, therefore, granted an Imperial Farman, permitting them trading factories in the Imperial dominions generally, and especially, and also remitting customs-duties on the of the English Company, in consideration of an annual by the latter of three thousand rupees, as has already mentioned in connection with the foundation of Calcutta. That time, the English acquired much prestige in Bengal.

The year 1162 A.H., Nawâb Muqaffar Jang, maternal grand-
nâb, Nizâmu-l-Mulk Aṣaf Jâh, at the instigation of Husâin Chând, who was one of the leading men of Arkat and allied himself with the Christian French, and attacked -d-din Khân Shahâmat Jâng Gopâmâni, who was Nâzîm, from the time of Nawâb Nizâmu-l-Mulk Aṣaf Jâh, in wrest the province of Arkat. A great battle was fought, âb Shahâmat Jâng, on the battle-field, displaying bravery ism, was killed. Nawâb Nizâmu-d-daulah, second son b Aṣaf Jâh, who, on the death of his father, had suc- ced the masnad of the Viceroyalty of the Dakhin, on hear-
the hostility of his maternal nephew, with a force of thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry, set eastise Muzaffar Jang. Arriving at the port of Bûchârâ returnery) on the 26th Rabî'-l-âwâl 1163 A.H., Nizâmu-d-ought a battle, in which he triumphed, whilst Muzaffar captured. Nizâmu-d-daulah spent the rainy season at the Khân and other Afghân generals of Karnatak, who were the English revenues, Zîlâd, Calcutta.

a ‘nishan’ or ‘permit’ from Shah Shuja to trade duty-free in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000.

1 His Majesty Emperor Aurangzeb on 27th February, 1690, granted a farmān to the English. The farmān sets forth that ‘all the English having made a most humble, submissive petition that the ill-crimes they have done may be pardoned,’ and promised to pay a fine of Rs. 150,000, to restore all plundered goods, and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner, the Emperor accepts their submission and grants them a new license for trade, on condition that ‘Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled’ (See Hunter’s History, Vol II, p. 266). In 1690, Charnock returned from Madras, and for the third time anchored at Calcutta.
tions. Those traitors tied up the waist of mutiny and treachery, and conspiring with the Christians of Bûłcharî (Pondicherry), on the night of the sixteenth Muharram, 1174 A.H., delivered a night-attack, and killed Nawâb Nizâm-u-d-daulah. After the fall of Nawâb Nizâm-u-d-daulah, the Afghâns and the Christians (the French) placed Nawâb Muâ¿affar Jang on the masnad. Muâ¿affar Jang proceeded to Bûłcharî (Pondicherry) with a contingent of the Afghâns, and taking a large number of Christian French in his service made them his confidants. In the same year, taking a large force consisting of Afghâns and Christians, he set out for Aûdarbâd, and crossing the confines of Arkat came to the Afghân tract. From the vicissitude of fortune, hostility broke out between Muâ¿affar Jang and the Afghâns, and it led to a fight. On the 17th Rabîû-l-awal of the aforesaid year, both sides arranged themselves in battle-array. On one side were arrayed Muâ¿affar Jang and the Christian French, and on the other the Afghâns. Himmat Khân and other Afghan Generals, meeting with their deserts for disloyalty, were killed, whilst Muâ¿affar Jang from an arrow-shot which pierced the pupil of his eye was also killed. After this, the Christian French entered the service of Amîru-l-Mumâlik Salâbat Jang, third son of Asaf Jah, received as jâqîrs Sikakûl and Râjbandari, &c., and acquired so much influence, that their orders became current in the Dakhin. No Musâlman ruler had before this taken into employ the Christian French, though from a long period they used to frequent the ports of the Dakhin. It was Muâ¿affar Jang who taking the Christian French into his service, introduced them into the Moslem dominions. When the Christian French acquired so much influence the Christian English, who thirsted for the blood of the French, also cherished ambition to meddle with the Imperial dominions, acquired possession of some tracts in the Dakhin, brought the fort of Sûrat into their own possession, and established fortified factories in Bengal. In that the French slaying Nawâb Anwâru-d-din Khân Gopamani, the Sûbahdâr of Arkat, and nominally installing another person at its head, had become dominant in the Dakhin, Nawâb Muâ¿ammad Âli Khân, son of Nawâb Anwâru-d-din Khan, entered into an alliance with the English Chiefs. The latter advancing to the assistance of Nawâb Muâ¿ammad Âli Khân spared no measure to help him, and exerted themselves strenuously to exterminate the French. In 1174 A.H., the English besieged
the fort of Būlcharī (Pondicherry), and wresting it from the hands of the French rased it, whilst Sikakāl, Rājbandāri, and other Jāγūs were unexpectedly abandoned by the French. Nawāb Muḥammad Ali Khān, with the support of the English, succeeded his father on the throne of the Viceroyalty of Arkat (Arcot), under the surname of Wālājāh Amiru-l-Hiud Muḥammad Ali Khān Mansūr Jang, subordinated himself to the English Chiefs, and passed his life in ease and pleasure. Now the province of Arkat (Arcot), like Bengal, is under the domination of the English Chiefs.

And as has been related before, when Nawab Sirāju-d-daulah, Nāzīm of Bengal, owing to his inexperience, flung the stone into the hornet’s nest, he suffered of necessity the sting. And Nawāb Jīfar Ali Khān, treating the English as his confidants and colleagues in the Nizāmat of Bengal, suffered them to acquire control over administrative affairs. Inasmuch as complete disintegration had overtaken the Moslem Empire of Delhi, in every Şūbah the Provinc’al Governors acquiring authority grew into semi-independent Feudatories. Now, since a period of thirty years, the Provinces of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa have come into the possession and authority of the English Chiefs. An English Chief, styled the Governor-General, coming from England, resides in Calcutta, and selecting Deputies for the collection of the revenue and for administration of civil and criminal justice, and for trading business, sends them out to every place. And establishing the Khāliṣah Kačhirī¹ (the Court of Crown-lands) in Calcutta, the English Governor settles on his own behalf the assessment of the revenue of each Zila (District). And the Deputies and the Zilādārs (District Officers) collecting revenues, remit them to Calcutta.

In the year 1178 A.H., when the English became victorious² over Nawāb Vaziru-l-Mulk Shajāu-d-daulah, Nāzīm of the Şūbah of Audh and Ilahābād (Allahabad), a treaty was entered into, and the English left to the Nawab Vazir his country. From that time, they have acquired influence over that Şūbah also, and seizing the district of Banārās have separated it from that Şūbah. And their soldiers quartering themselves in the dominions of the Nawab-Vazir, as the

¹ That is, the Board of Revenue or the ‘Sudder Board’
² For this victory and the treaty that followed, see note ante and Seir-ul-Mutakkrin.
latter's servants, exercise influence over all affairs. Heaven knows what would be the eventual upshot of this state of things.

Similarly, in the Dakhin, the English have got in the fort of Madras an old factory and a large army. They have also acquired possession of the Province of Arkat. They hold as jagirs under Nizam Ali Khan, the towns of Ganjām, Barampur, Ichaper-Sikakul, Ishaqpatan, the fort of Qasim kotah, Rājba (or, it may be called Ellore), Machlibandar (Masullipatam), Bajwārah, and the fort of Koudali, &c., and the Zamindārs of those places appearing before them pay in revenue. And whenever Nizam Ali Khan needs auxiliaries, they furnish him with strong contingents and outwardly do not disobey his orders.

But the English Christians are embellished with the ornaments of wisdom and tact, and adorned with the garments of considerateness and courtesy. They are matchless in the firmness of their resolutions, in the perfectness of their clearness in the organisation of battles, and in the arrangement of feasts. They are also unrivalled in their laws for the administration of justice, for the safety of their subjects, for extermination of tyranny and for protection of the weak. Their adherence to their promise is so great that even if they risk their lives, they do not deviate from their words, nor do they admit liars to their society. They are liberal, faithful, forbearing, and honourable. They do not learn the letters of deceit, nor have they read the book of falsehood. And notwithstanding their difference in creed, they not interfere with the faith, laws, and religion of Muslims.

All wranglings between Christianity and Islam, after all, lead to the same place:

The dream of empire is one and the same, only its interpretations vary.

1 The author of the Rūgas appears to be remarkably liberal and catholic in his views, as the concluding lines of his History would indicate. Compare this picture of the 'new English rulers' with that in the Seir-ul-Mulakherin.

The End.
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PIYAZU-S-SALĀṬĪN,

A HISTORY OF BENGAL

by

GHULAM ḤUSAIN SALIM,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN, WITH NOTES,

by

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