INDEX TO
RIYAZU-S-SALĀTĪN,
A HISTORY OF BENGAL

by
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TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN
WITH NOTES,
by
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1904.
"And now shall India's paroquets on sugar revel all,
In this sweet Persian sugarandy that is borne to far Bengal."

_Hafiz to Sultan Ghiasu-d-din, 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 des-
tined 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 _Riyāgu-s-Salāṭin._ From the European side, the only
standard History of Bengal is Stewart's History, but this last,
too, whilst mainly based on the _Riyāz,_ incorporates also the
less reliable accounts from Ferishta. To appreciate the his-
torical value and position of the _Riyāz,_ I need only quote the
opinions of two eminent Orientalists. "The _Riyāgu-s-Salāṭin,_"
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 (1788-
88)"; whilst Dr. Hoernle observes in a letter to me: "The
_Riyāz 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.

BARI, BAKHEROUNJE:
17th November, 1903.
RIYĀZU-S-SALĀTIN, OR A HISTORY OF BENGAL.

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TRANSLATION

OF THE

RIYĀZU-S-SALATĪN OF GHULĀM HUSAIN SALĪM.

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 Creativity, and worlds of panegyric befit the shrine of that Supreme Author who has drawn by means of his brush of perfect art the portrait of Life in particolored 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 Raisumddir of the creation of this world, the First-born: the Last-disclosed, that is, the Pride of the Prophets, the Leader3 of the Innocent, the Intercessor 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, this humble servant who is hopeful of the intercession of the Prophet, namely, Ghulam Husain, whose title is Salim Zaidpuri, so says that since some period, according to chances of time, he has been in the service of Mr. George Udny, who is a gentleman of high position and high rank, of graceful character, of kind heart, mild disposition, praiseworthy deportment and great generosity, who is the Hatim4 of

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1. This has reference to the Muhammadan belief that the Nour 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 Husain 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 lazzad in Arabic, and is followed by Na't or praise of the Arabian Prophet.

4. Ghulam Husain Salim Zaidpuri is the author of the present historical work entitled the Riazul-Salatin, or History of Bengal. Ihabi Bakht in his history "Kharshid Jahan Namah" of which Mr. Beveridge has published lately an Analysis in the Journals of the Asiatic Society, has some notice of Ghulam Husain. He states that Ghulam Husain was of Zaidpur in Oudh, migrated to Maldah in Bengal, and held the office of Dak Munshi or Post Master there, under Mr. George Udny. Noticing the Charitable Dispensary at Maldah, Ihabi Bakht observes that here need to be the house of Ghulam Husain, and that in the quarter known as Cak Qurba Ali is the tomb of Ghulam Husain who died in 1233 A.H. or 1817 A.C. This chronogram composed in honour of his memory by his pupil, Abul Karim, which yields 1233. Mr. Udny appears to have been at the time Commercial Resident of the East India Company’s factory at Maldah.

5. Hatim was a Prince of Yemen, in Arabia. His generous hospitality is a by-word in the East.
the world of bounty, the Naushirwân 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-springing 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 dine for the indigent.

(As much 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, 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.)

1 Naushirwân was a King of Irán or old Persia. He flourished in the sixth century, and belonged to the Sassanian dynasty. His wazir was the famous Burzunmushor or Burzour, author of the Zafarnâmâh. Naushirwân’s justice is proverbial in the world.

2 Dinar, a gold coin weighing one misqil, i.e., 1½ dirhams. For details see Ain-i-Akbâri, Vol. I (Bloomman’s Trans., p. 30).

4 Our author calls Bengal “Jinnâb-ul-khidâd,” or ‘Paradise of Provinces.’ I am not sure if there is any historical basis for this expression, as there is for the expression “Jinnâb-al-hidâd,” which latter epithet was bestowed by Emperor Humayun on Gaur in Bengal (see Tabâqât-i-Akbâri, Elliot’s History of India, Vol. V, p. 281, Ain-i-Akbâri, Vol. II, p. 123, and Radaoni, Vol. 1.
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 Riyâṣu-a-Salāṭīn, 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. 240). However that may be, Bengal well deserved to be styled "Jannat-al-ultābād" or "Paradise of Provinces," owing to the fertility of its soil, the richness of its produce, and the vastness of its natural resources. During the Mamluk rule, the Province of Bengal yielded the largest revenue to the Delhi Emperors, and in consequence its Vicereignty was always coveted by Princes Royal of Delhi, from so remote a period as the times of Emperors Shamsuddin Alamsh and Ghiasuddin Bahman—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 Chutia 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 revenue 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 1801, Vol. LXX, Part I, No. 1, pp. 24-25.

1 "Riyâṣu-a-Salāṭīn" is a chronogram yielding date 1302 A.H., corresponding to 1788 A.C., the year in which this historical work was completed.

"Bengal" in Persian means a "garden," its plural being "Riyāz" meaning "gardens." "Salāṭīn" means "Kings"; therefore, "Riyâṣu-a-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 Rūdas of Hindustān.

Chapter I relates to a description of the rule of the Musalmān rulers who as Viceroy’s 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 Khutba1 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 Tahqiq-Nāsirī by Mīhrān-Sirāj, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī by Ziauddin Barni and by Sirāj Afīr (which contain references to the history of Bengal only for the period between 1198 to 1339 A.C.) and Tahqiq-i-Akhbar by Nizamuddin Ahmad (which contains an account of Bengal for the period 1338 to 1338), the Badacchi and Akbaranāmah by Abul Fazīl (for the period under Akbar) and other similar standard historical works on India such as the Turāk, the Ḥaflīnāmah, the Padakhanāmah, the Ainsaqraamah, and the Nāvāzi-i-Ahmādī. Salim 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 Haji Muhamnad of Qumābar, 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 Pandua—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 Hussain is pre-eminent the Historian 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 ‘Riyāž’ though Stewart very often has preferred the less accurate account of the Dakhin historian, Firdawsī, 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 Riyāż is much praised as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal.” Professor Blochmann further observes “for the early portions, Ghalīm Hussain Salim has used books which are unknown at present; yet he gives valuable dates which are often confirmed by collateral evidence. Salim has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District.”

1 The Khutba is a Musalmān prayer-book recited on Fridays. 11 days, and
Chapter III relates to a description of the careers of the Nāzīma who were appointed to the Nizāmat of this country by the Caghtā'ī 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 noon and the minting of coins, was regarded by Muslim sovereigns as emblems of sovereignty.

The Nāzīma were functionaries created by the Mughal Government or by Sher Shāh (Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 268). To each Province or Sīlah, the Mughal Emperors appointed two Principal Heads of administration, one being the Nāzīma and the other being the Diwān. The Nāzīma 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 Nāzīmas, there was a chain of subordinate officials, called Naib Nāzīmas, Seriāshkars, Faujdārs, Kotwāls and Thana-dārs on the executive side, and under Diwāns on the Judicial side, were Qazī-ul-Qazwī (Chief Justice), Qazīs, Muftis, Mir Aflīs, Saḍr-ī-Sādār, and on the revenue side were Naib or local Diwāns, Amlīs, Shiβdārs, Karkans, Qanungos, and Patwaris. The Judiciary, both Civil and Criminal, were often, however, independent of both Nāzīmas and Diwāns, and subordinate only to the Imperial Saḍr-i-Sādār or Saḍr-ī-Kāt or Saḍr-ī-Jahān (or Minister of Justice) at Delhi, who was responsible for good conduct to the Mughal Emperor himself. (See Asa, Vol. II, p. 37-49, and do. Vol. I, p. 268.)

Caghtā'ī Kān was a son of Caghtā'ī Kān. Emperor Bābur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, was descended on the mother's side from a nobler stock, that is, from Caghtā'ī Kān; hence the Mughal Emperors of India commonly styled themselves as Caghtā'ī 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 wayfarers of the climes of travels and histories that the Šūbah¹ of Bengal is in the second climate.² From Islāmābād, ³ otherwise known as Chittagong, to Teliaradihi,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 Šūbah originated from the time of Emperor Akbar, who designated the fiscal areas as follows from the time of the ten-years' settlement:—A Šūbah was an aggregate of Sarkars, a Sarkār or Division was an aggregate of Dastārs, a Dastār (which Sir Henry Elliot in his Glossary explains as an abbreviation of Dastār-i-Amul, corresponding to a district under a Sarkār) was an aggregate of Parzanas or Mahals (used as equivalent expressions), and a Parzana 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 Parzana, were Šījaq, Khutbah, 'Arshā, Dīyār, Vilayet, Iqta, Bilād and Mamalakat. Thus in the earlier Musalmān histories before the end of the fourteenth century, we come across Šījaq-i-Samā, Khatbah-i-Oudh, 'Arsh-i-Gurakpūr, Dīyār-i or Vilayet-i-Lakbusati, Vilayet-i-Mann Dush, Iqta-i-Kara, Bilād Bang, Mamalakat Lakhmanītī. See Elliot's Glossary, and Aris, Vol. II, p. 115, and Talaqqi-i-Nasiri, pp. 148 and 263.

² The Musalmān 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 Islāmābād or Chittagong. The district was first conquered by the Independent Musalmān Kings of Bengal. In 1350 A.C., about which year Ibn Batūtah was in Chittagong, it belonged to King Fakhruddin of Sungrāna. It was re-conquered in 1665 by the Mughals under Umir Khān who changed the name of the place to Islāmābād during the rule of Nawab Shaista Khān, Viceroy of Bengal.—See Blochmann's contributions to History and Geography of Bengal and the Alamgīr-nasāh, p. 940, and the Aris, Vol. II, p. 126.

⁴ Teliaradihi or Teliagarhi is a pass lying between Rajmahal on the south, and the Ganges on the north; formerly of strategic importance, as commanding the approaches to Bengal Proper. The ruins of a large stone fort still exist, through which the R.I. Railway passes. See Hunt, Imp. Gazetted, Vol. XIII, p. 203 and Aris, Vol. II, p. 116.

⁵ Karoh or Kos—Ain 16 says:—The Kos was fixed at 100 tanales, each consisting of 30 Dehi gas or 400 poles (base), each pole of 121 gas. Sher Shāh fixed the Kos at 60 jords, each of 60 Sikantri gas. A karah is equal to three Kos.—See Aris-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 414.
Sarkar Madaran, which is the southern limit of this Sūbah, is 200 Kārok. And since in the period of Jalāl-ud-dīn Mahommād Akbar Pādāshāh Ghūrā, the Sūbah of Orīsa was conquered by Kālpāshār and annexed to the Empire of the Sovereigns of Delhi, and made a part of the Sūbah of Benga, the extent of the latter Sūbah became extended by 43 Kārok in length and by 20 Kārok in breadth. In the southern limits of this Sūbah is the sea, and towards its north and east, are high mountains, and on the west, it adjoins the Sūbah of Behar. During the rule of Emperor Akbar, ‘Īsā Khān Afghān conquering the eastern provinces struck coin and recited Khutbā in the name of Akbar, and annexed it to the Sūbah of Benga. There are twenty-eight

1 Sarkar Madaran extended in a semi-circle from Nagpur in western Bīrbhūm over Rangnaj along the Damādar to above Haridwār, and from there over Khāntghog, Jahānabad, Chandrakous (western Hugli district) to Mandalghat, at the mouth of the Rupnarayan river, and consisted of 16 mahalls with a revenue of Rs. 235,085. See Blochmann’s Contributions to the History and Geography of Benga and the Aīn-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 141.

2 Kālpāshār is the famous general of the Afghān King of Benga, Sulaimān Kararīn, and the renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath in Puri in south Orissa. Kālpāshār was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Masām and Qutb of Orissa and ‘Arīz Kōkāh, which in 990 A.H., took place between Calγung and Gadhī. A detailed description of Kālpāshār’s conquest of Orissa is given in the Makhāṣ-Afghāni. See Aīn, Vol. I, p. 370 and Vol. II, p. 128.

3 ‘Īsā Khān Afghān. The famous general of the Afghān King of Benga, Sulaimān Kararīn, and the renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath in Puri in south Orissa. ‘Īsā Khān was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Masām and Qutb of Orissa and ‘Arīz Kōkāh, which in 990 A.H., took place between Calγung and Gadhī. A detailed description of Kālpāshār’s conquest of Orissa is given in the Makhāṣ-Afghāni. See Aīn, Vol. I, p. 370 and Vol. II, p. 128.

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6 ‘Īsā Khān Afghān. The famous general of the Afghān King of Benga, Sulaimān Kararīn, and the renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath in Puri in south Orissa. ‘Īsā Khān was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Masām and Qutb of Orissa and ‘Arīz Kōkāh, which in 990 A.H., took place between Calγung and Gadhī. A detailed description of Kālpāshār’s conquest of Orissa is given in the Makhāṣ-Afghāni. See Aīn, Vol. I, p. 370 and Vol. II, p. 128.

7 In the Ain, the Sūbah of Benga is stated to have consisted of 24 Sarkārs including 767 mahalls, and the revenue is stated to have been 50 Krossa 84 lakhs 59 thousand and 19 dace, equivalent to Rs. 14,961,482. It's standing army, according to the Ain, consisted of 23,599 cavalry, 601,150
Sarkārs with eighty-seven mahala in this Šūbah'. In past times, the fixed revenue of this Šūbah was fifty-nine krore eighty-four lak, fifty-nine thousand and three hundred and nineteen dams, which is equal to about one krore forty-nine lak, sixty-one thousand four hundred and eighty-two rupees and fifteen annas in seven Rupees. Twenty-three thousand three hundred and thirty cavalry, eight lak infantry, 1,170 elephants, 4,350 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 Muslim feudal barons.—See Aml-i-Akkbari, Vol. II, p. 129 and Vol. I, p. 370.

(ON THE FRONTIERS OF MUHAMMADAN BENGAL.)

The text as well as the Akbarnama and the Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri 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 west by hills (that is, those of Chittagong and Arakan), on the west by the Šūbah of Behar. During the reigns, however, of the independent Muslimān Kings (such as Ilyas Shāh, and Afzuldin Hussain Shāh), in 1502 and his son and successor Naṣir Shāh), the Muslimān Kingdom of Bengal was more extensive than its geographical limits, and included northern portions of Orissa or Jānpur, Koch Behar, Kamarup or Western Assam with portions of Eastern Assam, and the whole of Upper Behar (a Governor to represent the Benga Muslimān King being posted at Hājpur opposite to Patna), and the eastern portions of South Behar including Sarkār Monghīr and Behar.—(See J.A.S. No. 3, 1873, pp. 221-222). The whole of Orissa was conquered and annexed to the Bengal Muslimān Kingdom in the reign of Sulaiman Kāarak, the last but one independent Muslimān Afghan King in Bengal.

When Bakhštīyār Khilji conquered Bengal, he ruled (ostensibly as Viceroy of the Muslimān Emperor of Delhi, Kustuddin Ainak) over portions of Dinajpur, Māidah, Bangpur, Nadish, Birkhām, and Bardwan comprising what was then called Diyar-i-Lakhnauti, and also he held Behar (Tahmaq-i-Nasiri, p. 150). This state of things continued during the rule of his two immediate successors, when we find Kustuddin Iwan (a contemporary of Sulaiman Shamsuddin Altamah) extending the frontier eastward to the Brahmaputra and southward to the sea-board, and reigning as an independent king under the title of Sultan Ghaisuddin (Tahmaq-i-Nasiri, p. 163). The Tarikh Fīrūz Shāh, p. 57 mentions that Emperor Ballān in his pursuit of Moghuddin Tughrīl, had to go so far eastward as Sūnarpur, which would appear to have been within the limits also of Tughrīl's Bengal Kingdom. Again, in 1350 A.G., when Ibn-i-Balītshāh was in Chittagong, we find this important seaport was in the hands of King Fakhruddin of Sūnarpur. As Mr. Thomas in his learned discussions on old coins of Bengal Muslimān 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 Nya Mānik. The nobles have the title of Narānā.

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 Biharband, which is included in the conquered provinces, to Pātagāon, which is the limit of the tract of the Mūrag, is 55 kos, and its breadth from south to north, that is, from Parganah Najbāt, which is included in the conquered country, to Pūshakarpur, which adjoins Khontāghat, is fifty kos. This tract of country, in point of the sweetness of its water, and mildness and salubrity of its air, and

of Baghāš and Basorah; and it would seem it was this commercial Muslim activity combined with superior martial and moral qualities that paved the way for Muslim domination throughout Bengal.

Subsequently in the reign of Ghiasuddin Taghlib Shahī, we find the Bengal Muslimān Kingdom has grown an extensive and unwieldy, that we find him separating Behār 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-Smargam, comprising Eastern Bengal; (2) Diyar-i-Sāggaun, comprising Western Bengal; and (3) Diyar-i-Lakhnāti, comprising Northern and Central Bengal. A Governor was appointed to each of the above three administrative Sections or Divisions, the Governor of Lakhnāti being the Supreme Governor or Viceregal, whilst the two other Governors were placed generally in subordination to him (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, p. 451). But this state of things did not last long; for in the reign of Muhammad Shāh Taghlib (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, p. 480) Bengal again rose as an independent Muslimān Kingdom, and as has been mentioned above, the whole of Upper Behār with eastern portions of Southern Behār was again annexed to the Bengal Kingdom, whilst Orissa also was subsequently added to it. This state of things continued until Akhbar came to the throne, when Bengal, with Behār and Orissa, was annexed to the Mughal Empire of Delhi. See Teboqat-i-Nasirī, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, Akbarnāma, Ibn-i-Batūtah’s Travels, and Mr. Thomson’s “Initial Coinage of Bengal,” J.A.S.R., No. 1, 1867 and No. IV, 1873 pp. 221-222 and 343.

1 The same in Ain-i-Akhbar, Vol. 2, p. 117.

3 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 thin, 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, Makhi and Kūj.1 its Rājah is of the first 
tribe. They mint gold coins, and the coins are called Nāsiri. 
Notable Rājahs have ruled there. One lak and one thousand 
infantry are always in the service of the Rājah.)

And the country of Kamrūp which is also called Kamrūp2 or 
Kāmṭāh is subject to those Rājahs. The inhabitants of Kamrūp 
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 
tree over ponds, and produces mango-fruit; and other similar 
stories are related.

And the mountain of Bhūtān, which is the abode of the Bhūtīlahs, 
lies to south of Kucha Behār. Tāngar3 horses and Bhūt and Bari 
horses and the musk-deer are found in this mountain. In the

1 In Talaqāt-i-Nasiri, p. 156, "Meck" and "Koch." See J.A.S. for 1872, 
p. 49. Almangirnāmah, p. 683. Akbarnamah, p. 207. Taszk p. 147, and Pad- 
shahnamah, p. 64. Vol. II.

2 Kamrūp (in Talaqāt-i-Nasiri, p. 163, Kamrūd) included the Western portion 
of Assām together with the Bengal Districts of Rangpur, Rangmati (now in 
Gaolpār District) and Sylhet. It was first conquered by Masalmān in the 
reign of Hussainuddin Iwaz alias Sultan Ghiasuddin, an immediate successor 
of Bakhtiyar Khiļī, in the early part of the thirteenth century. (Talaqāt-i- 
Nasirī, p. 163.). At the close of the fourteenth century, its Rājah Nebumbar was 
overthrown by Husain Shāh, King of Bengal. In ancient days, Kamrūp was 
noted for its scenery and the beauty of its women. Rangpur is stated to 
have been founded by Bakhtiyar Khiļī, during his expedition into Tibet.— 
See also J.A.S. for 1872, p. 49; Almangirnāmah, p. p. 678 and 730, makes it 
equivalent for Hajo (Kucha Hajo) Gaṅhati and dependencies.

3 "Tangistan," in the general name for that assemblage of mountains 
which constitute the territory of Bhūtān, "tanga" meaning "foalies." Abul 
Fazl also mentions these 'Tangian' horses. He states: "In the lower parts 
of Bengal near to Kucha, a species of horse is produced called Tongian." 
The tāngar poney 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 eels 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 baggages are ferried across this river along this very chain. The people of this tract are ruddy-complexioned and fat; their hairs fall hanging down their heads and necks. Their dress consists of only one rag, just sufficient to cover the private parts. Man and women of this place dress in the same manner. The pronunciations in their language resemble those of the people of Kûch Behâr. 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 Kâmrûp, is the vilayant or province of Asâhâm (Assam). In its middle, the river Brahmapûtrâ flows from east to west. Its length from west to east—that is, from Gawahati to Sadiâh—is about two hundred karoh or kos, and its breadth from north, that is from the rocky fastnesses of the tribes of Mari, Majmi, Daphla and Vâlandâm, to the hills of the Nângâ tribe, is approximately seven or eight days' journey. Its southern mountains adjoin lengthwise the mountains of Khâsia, Kuchar and Kashmir; and breadthwise they adjoin Autân or Aţîwâ, the abode of the Nângâ tribe. Its northern mountain skirts lengthwise the lofty ridges of Kâmrûp, and breadthwise it faces the

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

All these tribes belong to the Non-Aryan Tibetan-Burman stock, which have clung to the skirts of the Himalayas, they crossed into India by the north-eastern passes, and in prehistoric times they had dwelt in Central Asia, side by side with the ancestors of the Mongolians and the Chinese. The principal types of the Tibetan-Burman stock are the following:—(1) Cacharis, (2) Garos, (3) Tipras or Mraoga, (4) Bhutias, (5) Garungs, (6) Marmús, (7) Sowras, (8) Lepchas, (9) Miris, (10) Akas, (11) Mischris, (12) Nagas, (13) Daphlas.—See J.A.S. for 1873, p. 76, Col. Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal": and also description of Assam and the Assamese in Alomgirunnah, p. 732.

8 This seems to be a copyist's mistake for "Gençar hills" (see J.A.S. 1872, p. 761). The Alomgirunnah has Srinagar! p. 722.
mountains of the Valandāh tribe. The tract in the north of
the river Brahmaputra, from Gówahātī to the abodes of Marī
tand Majmi tribes, is called Uttarakūl; and the extent of the
Dakkīnkūl is from the country of Naktrānī to village Sadīāh.
The climate of the lands bordering on the Brahmaputra 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 deities 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
wilde 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 Brahmaputra, gold is found; twelve thou-
sand Assamese are employed on this work. Every year one tula
of gold per head is paid into the Rājah's treasury. But the gold
is not quite pure, so that one tula 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 Assām. The bladder of musk
is large, and full of large pieces of musk, and is beautiful-looking.
The aloes-wood, which grows in the mountains of Kāmrūp and
Sadīāh 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 de-
prived of his ṭuj. 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
Sarg—and 'Sarg' in the Hindi language means 'heaven.' And

4 "Naktirani" or "Naktrani" has been identified with Deokrani, a
pargana of Kāmrūp.—See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 76.
the Rājāhs of that country are powerful and notable. It is said that when the Rājāh of that place dies, his servants, male and female, with some conveniences and necessaries, and carpets and clothes and victuals together with a chhiragh full of oil, are placed with him in a sepulchral monument, securely covered over with strong logs of wood.1

And adjoining to Assam (Ashām) is Tibet, and adjoining Tibet, are Khata and Māchā.2 The capital of Khata is Khān Bāligh,3 which is at a distance of four days from the sea. It is said from Khān Bāligh 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 Ashām towards Utrakāl, at a distance of fifteen days' journey, the tribes of Mari and Majīm 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 Majīm) 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 shoots 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 Arghung (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 obedience 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 desecrated graves."—See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 82, footnote.
2 Chins was long known to Asians under the name of Khutai or Khata or Khata and Mackie.
3 Khān Bāligh is the name given to Pekin; it means the Court of the Great Khan. See D’Herbecez and Tule’s Marco Polo.
4 Arracan or the Magha 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 Humayun-nama, p. 930, wherein Arracan is called "Rakhang," and its inhabitants are called "Machs."
'Walli,' are always firm in their allegiance to him. Women-soldiers turn out at *durbār,* 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 Pegū,* 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 Pigoons 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 Odissah (Orissa). From Lāndahdālū to Mālwah and the passage of the Chikrah lake, are its limits. In the period of the sovereignty of Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn Mahammad Akbar Padshāh Ghazi, 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 Bāhār and who was bold and could work miracles, under order of Mahammad Akbar Pādshāh, engaged in conquering that country with 12,000 select cavalry.) Rajah Makum Deo,

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1 Pegū is now a division of British Burmah comprising the districts of Rangūn, Bassein, &c.

2 The Maghās and Arracansae 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 Mogul Viceroy of Bengal at Dacca, Nawab Shāhā Muhammad Khān, these raids were considerably checked, and several of the Maghē fleets were captured at the mouth of the Megna River, and the fort of Chittagong was also re-stormed. The Maghās were also expelled from the island of Saadip. A large number of Maghā settlers are to be found still in Chittagong, Bakarganj, Nowkhali and Tipperah. Though originally Buddhists, they have now intermingled with the people, and have become Hinduised or semi-Hinduised. See *Athenaeum,* p. 940.

3 The first Muhammadan incursions into Jajnagar or Northern Orissa appear to have taken place about 1294 A.C., under Mahammad Shīru, an officer of
the ruler of that country, was very luxurious and given to idleness 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 Kālāpāhār, with the imperial forces, came to the ear of the Rajah, he built the fort of Bārahbāṭī, which is a strong fort, for his security, and entrenched himself in it. And placing

Bakhtiyar Khalji, and subsequently under Husainuddin Iwan, Taghan Khan, and Tughral (see Tahqiqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 107, 108, 244, 362). Under Husain Shah Ismaiil Ghazi invaded also Jajungar 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 Karanji, King of Bengal, with a large army under his famous General Kālāpāhār advanced into Orissa and defeated the last independent Rajah Makand Deo under the walls of Jājpūr 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 Bajhaun, Badami p. 190) at Mudulamuri, near Jajungar in Bacular, in which Daulat, the last Afghan king, was defeated, and Orissa practically shortly after (1582 A.C.) became a Mughul Province, administered by the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal. In the Ahm, Aml Faqir mentions that the Hindu rulers of Orissa had the title of Gajpati, or Lord of the Elephant. In the time of Nawah Ali Vardi Khan, Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, Orissa became the hunting-ground of Mahratta free-booters. The struggle between Ali Vardi and the Mahrattas is graphically described in the Sīr-i Maktābī. See Tahqiqat-i-Nasiri, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī. Akharnamah and Makhzan-i-Afghan Jajungar is mentioned by Badami 1, p. 238, as having been subdued by Ilhām Khān in 1533 A.C. or 723 A.H., in Ghuzzuddin Tughlak’s reign, and is mentioned as having been subdued in 1380 A.C., by Firuz Shah Tughlak, Badami 1, 248 and Tarikh Firuz Shāhī by Shams-Sera, p. 115. Seraj mentions that the idol of Jagannath was carried off to Delhi by Firuz Shah (p. 110).

1 In the Sīr-i-Maktābī it is called Bārahbāṭī. The fort of Bārahbāṭī 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 summarized by me from the Sīr: “The fort Bārahbāṭī with the city of Cuttack is situate on the strip of land lying between the rivers Mahanada and Kachnarī. The fort is on the bank of the Mahanada, and the circumference of its enclosing rampart is about three Kros. The rampart is built of stone, brick, lime and cement, and a wide moat runs round the rampart. The city of Cuttack is situate on the banks of the Kachnarī river, and the distance between the fort and the city is about two Kros.”
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 Odisah (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 drunkard 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 Bārahbāṭī, which was his (the Rajah's) place of sleep, Kālāpahār engaged in fighting. The officers and employees 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 Islam. The country of Orissa and the fort of Bārahbāṭī being subjugated, were added to the dominions under the sovereignty of the Musalmān Emperors. The firm Muhammadan religion and the enlightened laws of Islam were introduced into that country. Before this, the

1 This was Rajah Mukund Deva, Haricandaro, who reigned from 1560 to 1568. Mukund Deva was a Telugu by birth. In 1568-69 A.C. a treaty was concluded between Emperor Akbar and the Rajah, preceded by mutual dispatch of ambassadors on both sides (see Badamal p. 70, wherein it is stated that Hasan Khan Khaznachi and Mahāpurī where sent by Akbar as ambassadors to the Rajah of Orissa). As mutual jealousies prevailed between Mughals and Afghans, this political measure was adopted by Akbar, in order to serve as a counterpoise to the ambition of the Musalmān Afghan King of Bengal, Salāman Karrāsh, who had planned to extend his Bengal Kingdom by winning 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, Salāman Karrāsh, the King of Bengal, attacked the Orissa-Rajah, who had come close to the Ganges; the Rajah fled to Fort Kota, The Bengal King detached a force under Kālāpahār, his general, to Orissa across Mayurbanja and thence southward by the Kambha 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, Salāman Karrāsh (who reigned from A.C. 1568 to A.C. 1572) left his Vazir, Khan Jahan Lodi, as Viceroy of Orissa with headquarters at Cuttack; and Qutb as Governor at Puri. (Badamal II, 174).
Musalman Sovereigns exercised no authority over this country. Of the miracles of Kālāpahār, 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, Kālāpahār left a drum in the jungle of Kācūbhār, which is lying in an upset state. No one there from fear of life dares to set it up; so it is related.

And Jagannāth, which is a big temple of the Hindus, is in this Sūbāh. It is said when the Hindus reach Parsūtam, where Jagannāth is, in order to worship Jagannāth, first they shave their heads like Musalmans; and at the first door of the house of Šaikh Kabir, who was a great saint of his time and whose parents were weavers, they eat and drink his food and water,

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1 This is not strictly correct. See note 7, p. 3 note.

2 Professor Blochmann has surmised that Kālāpahār was originally a Hindu who embraced Islam, from the circumstances that his proper name was Rājū. Mr. Beveridge in his Analysis of Khurshid Jahān Numā has followed in Professor Blochmann's wake. I see no warrant for this surmise. The Makhzan-i-Afghani and the Akhrarnamah, 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 Musalmān historians. The text describes him as one of the "Oura of Bāhar"; and Bāhar never dreamed of the policy of his grandson, Akbar, to employ Hindus in high military capacities or to make them his "Oura." Furthermore, the same Raiju is current amongst Musalmāns. (See Blochmann's Jīr. Vol. 1, which mentions Syed Raiju of Bāhar and Bāschamī, p. 328; Jīr. Vol. 2, and Jīr. Vol. 3, p. 371). Badini, too, in the Musalmānī-Tawārid, (p. 42, Vol. 1), mentions Kālāpahār as a brother of Sikandar Shāh (alias Ahmad Khan Sār of Shey Shāh's family) who occupied Bīhar as viceroy under Akbar. (The Makhzan-i-Afghani gives a full description of Kālāpahār's conquest). He was killed in 1582 A.C. in a fight with Asis Kekah between Colcem and Bājmāl.

3 Šaikh Kābīr flourished about the beginning of the 15th century during the rule of Independent Musalmān Kings in Bāngal. He was the leader of a great theistic movement, the object in view being to harmonize Musalmān 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 tarām. After having done so, they proceed to worship their God of Jagannāṭh. At Parsūtām, Hindus unlike their practice elsewhere, eat together with Musalmans and other races. And all sorts of cooked food sell in the basar, 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 Noah (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 Habash, the fourth Zanaj, the fifth Barbar, 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 Hindustān, 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 Pūrab, 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 Marhāṭ, Kanār, and Talang; and Dakhinans are all descended from him, and up to this time all the three tribes dominate there.

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

of Musalmans is the Parmeshur of the Hindus, that they ought to be tolerant of each other's creeds, and to regard each other as fellow-brethren. The labours of Kābir 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 Kābir'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 Kābir, received expansion in the following century by the labours of Chaitanya, the Nadda leader of Vishnautism, in Bengal who flourished in the reign of Sultan Alan-d-dīn Husain Shāh, King of Bengal,
And Pārah, who was the eldest son of Hind, had forty-two sons; and, within a short time, their descendants multiplied and colonized different countries, and when they became numerous, they raised one of themselves to be the chief and to look after the management of the realm.

And Bang, the son of Hind, getting children born to him, colonized the country of Bengal. The name of Bengal was originally Bang. And the reason why the word al was added to it, is this: al in the Bengali language means an 'embankment' or raised ground, which is placed round a garden or cultivation, so that floods may not enter it. As in ancient times, the chieftains of Bengal on lowlands which were situated at the foot of hills, used to raise mounds about ten cubits high and twenty cubits broad, and to make homes, cultivations, and buildings within them, people used to call this country Bāngalā. The climate of Bengal is temperate, and owing to proximity to the sea and owing to heavy rains, is very damp. The rainy season begins from the month of Ŭrdi Bihisht, which in Hindi is called Jast, and for six months the rains continue; this is unlike other parts of Hindūstān, where rains set in from the middle of the month of Khürdād, which the Hindus call Āsār and last till Shahriwar which Hindus call Āsin, for four months. In the rainy season, the lowlands of Bengal get flooded, and the climate becomes bad, especially towards the end of the rainy season. Human beings as well as animals become sick and die. The soil contains much damp, so that in many places they build two-storeyed buildings, made of lime and brick. Notwithstanding that they make the floor of lime and brick, the lower rooms are not fit for habitation, and if any one lives there he soon falls sick. And owing to excessive humidity, the soil of Bengal has much power of sprouting, for instance, some sorts of paddy, in proportion to the rise of water, so long as they are not inundated, shoot.

1 Abul Fazl similarly in the Ain-i-Akbari explains the origin of the term Bangalā. (See Jat Tr., p. 113, Vol. III). In the Tahqat-i-Nawī, the expression "Bang" is invariably used. In the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, the expression "Bangalā" or "Bengal" is used.

2 The Persian Calendar consists of twelve solar months, named (1) Farvardin (March), (2) Ardihašt (April), (3) Khurshid (May), (4) Tir (June), (5) Ordibisht (July), (6) Shahrivar (August), (7) Mīhr (September), (8) Abān (October), (9) Adar (November), (10) Dī (December), (11) Bahman (January), (12) Sepherdwans (February). See Richardson's Pers. Dict. and also Ameer Ali's History of Saracens, p. 316.
forth higher up and their ears do not sink under water, and similarly from one paddy-seed two or three seors of paddy are obtained in the case of certain sorts of paddy. And most of the lands grow three crops in a year. And the crop of that country is all paddy, whether fine or coarse. Other crops, such as wheat, barley and pulse, &c., are scarce. And strange to say the paddy crop grows in so much abundance that it needs not the rains in dry months nor the water of wells and rivers. But in cases of drought in the rainy season, the paddy crop is totally destroyed.

The dwellers in villages are loyal and submissive to their rulers, and unlike the Zemindars and tenants of other provinces of Hindustan, they do not fight with their rulers. They pay in the land revenue of each year in eight instalments in eight months, and the tenants personally pay their rents at the Kacherie. The appraisement of each crop is based on nasaq—and nasaq is a document which remains with the maharir and the patwari and the Karkus, with the seal of amil. But in affairs relating to bargains of giving and taking and purchases and sales and other worldly matters, no race in all the four quarters of the globe is equal to the Bengalis in wickedness, duplicity, knavery and villainy. They do not consider loans repayable, and the promises which they pledge to perform in one day, they do not fulfil in one year. And the food of the natives of that kingdom, from the high to the low, are fish, rice, mustard oil and curd and fruits and sweetmeats. They also eat plenty of red chilly and salt. In some parts of this country, salt is scarce. The natives of this country are of shabby tastes, shabby habits and shabby modes of dress. They do not eat breads of wheat and barley at all. Meat of goats and fowls and clarified-butter do not agree with their system. And there are many amongst them who, if they eat the same, cannot digest them, and vomit them out. The dress of both males and females,
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 purdah, and go out of their houses for the performance of evacuations and other household duties. And the wildness and habituation 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 jowadah. 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 Musalmān fiscal system, Shīqdār (corrupted into Hindu family names Śikdār) presided over Mahals, Majmudhār (corrupted into Hindu family names of Moamudār) 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 Diwans, 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 Abū Fazl's "Sukhasan" in the Ain. (See Ain-i Akbār, Vol. 2, p. 125).
the prow of it, which is called in the dialect of the country gulla, 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 limeseed 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 stains, 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 kausī, and small oranges, which are called sārangī, grow well in this country. And varieties of citrons are available. And lemons, pineapples, cocomanuts, betel-nuts, 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 Goomakhāh, flows through the provinces of Hindūstān, Farrakhābād, Alāhābād, and Behār into Bengal, and in Bengal at a place called Qāzīhātā, within the Sarkār of Bārbakābād, it is named Paddā. From this place, a branch of the Ganges separates, flows down Marahidābād, and at Nadiāh joins the Jalangi river, and then flows into the sea. This branch is called Bhāgrāti, and it goes towards Chittagong, flowing through the sea. The Ganges at Alāhābād joins the rivers Joun (or Jamma) and Sūrsati, and near

1 Qaṣīhātā mentioned by Abū Fazl in the Āin and quoted by our author appears to be Hajrahātī, on the left bank of the Paddā, now also a ferry place, near the entrance of the Boral river, below Rampūr Boalia.
Hājipūr it unites also with the Gandak, the Sarū, and the Son, and becomes very broad. And the place where these three rivers unite is called Tīrbānī by Hindus, and its sanctity in the eye of the Hindus is immeasurable. And the Ganges, Sūrātī, and Joun or (Janāū), 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 ghāt of the Ganges, such as Benāras, Alāhābād, and Hardwār, is regarded as very sacred. The rich amongst the Hindus, 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 taste, 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 Brahmaputra, which flows from the regions of Khaṭā towards Koch, and thence by the way of Hāzāhā 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 Rāi, the Rājah of Hindūstān, being defeated by Rustam Dastan, fled to Tirhūt, and from thence fleeing to the mountains of Jhārkhand and Gondwārah, died, Rustam Dastan, who

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, "Chhattis Nagpur," was known in Mahārāṣṭrān times; whilst "Bharkundāh," denoted "Sontal Parganas including Birbhum."

3 I think "Gondwārah," in the text here is a抄写ist's mistake for "Gundwānah," which has been identified with the "Centre Provinces," of which the capital is Garha-Katangā (Jabalpur).
was displeased with his insolence, not bestowing the kingdom of Hindustan on the Rajah's children, awarded the sovereignty of Hindustan to a Hindu, named Suraaj. Suraaj became a powerful Rajah, subjugated the kingdom of the Dakhin and also the kingdom of Bengal. When Suraaj 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 Kedar, coming out from the mountains of Sawalkik, and becoming victorious after fightings possessed himself of the reins of sovereignty. Towards the end of his reign, a person named Sangal-dib, emerging from the environs of Kuch, which adjoins the limits of Bengal, brought to his subjection, first, the countries of Bengal and Behar, and then fighting against Kedar became victorious, and building the city of Lakhnauti, made it his capital. And for

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

2 In Finishta, 'Shangal' in the list of Hindu kings given in the Ain-i-Akbari, 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-Nasiri, p. 161, Pers. Text). This was the period when were erected numerous mosques and other Muhammadan buildings. (See Hunt, Imp. Gazetteer, Vol. III, p. 333, also Ravenshaw's and Creighton's "Ruins of Gaur"). When the Muslim kings of Bengal established their independence, they transferred the seat of government to Sunargaon and Pandua. Pandua was soon after destroyed, and the royal residence re-transferred to Gaur, whilst Sunargaon continued as capital of East Bengal. Mubajah Suraj visited the city in 841 H. or 1246 A.C., and gives an account of it in his Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. (p. 162, Pers. Text) Abul Faqih in the Ain notices it (see p. 128, Vol. 2, Ain, Jat. 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 Humayan. Badami (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 Karaman's time farther westward to Tandah. 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 Munsim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, the first Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, occupied it. A pestilence, however, broke out, in course of which Munsim died—and also thousands of troops and people daily (see pp. 318 and 376, Ain, Vol. 1, Bloch's Tr. and Badamai, Vol. 2,
two thousand years it remained the Capital of Bengal. In the
time of the Mughul Emperors it became ruined, and instead of it
Tanah became the Viceroyal Capital. Afterwards Tanah was
also ruined, and Jahangirnagar, and lastly Murshidabad, became
the Viceroyal Capital. The reason for the name of Gaur is un-
known, but it is guessed that in the period of the rule of the sons
of Nojgoriah, perhaps this name was given. And Emperor
Humayun, considering Gaur an inauspicious name, changed it to
Jimmatabad. This city at present is in complete ruin, and has
become the haunt of lions and tigers. Excepting traces of gates
of the fort, and dilapidated buildings, and the mosque, and founda-
tions of the building of Qadam-Rasul, 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 Jhatiah and
Bhatiah and other lakes, and the embankments continue from that
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. 217), and the Mughal metropolis of Bengal was removed to Tanah, and
thence shortly after to Bajnunah or Akbarnagar, which remained the capital
of Bengal, until it was removed to Dacca or Jahangirnagar, and lastly to
Murshidabad. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton places the inhabited area of Gaur at
30 square miles, containing over 600,000 souls. The author of Khurshed
Jahanmama states the following principal buildings as still existing:

1. The Qadam-Rasul, a square, con-domed building in the enclosure of the
Fort, erected by Sultan Nasrul Shah, son of Sultan Alauddin Hussain Shah in
937 A.H. (1530 A.C.).

2. The Minar, north-east of the Qadam-Rasul, built by Sultan Firuz Shah.
The height of the Minar is about 50 cubits, and its circumference about 5.

When I visited Gaur from Malda, in 1887 I found also portions of the
rampart, the gateway, and the Qadam-Rasul building yet exist.

1. The embanked road is described in Tabagari-Nasiri (p. 162). It
connected Lakhauri with Lakhnum in Bar on the western side, and
Lakhauri with Deswati in Harnal on the eastern side, and was constructed
by Hussamuddin Iwan alias Sultan Ghiasuddin.
tance of one for, a large building of ancient times existed, and also a tank called Peāhārī—the water whereof was noxious, whoever drank it became attacked with bowel-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.

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**CITY OF MURSHIDĀBĀD.**

The city of Murshidābād¹ is a large town situated 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 Quār Khān also known as Jāfār Khān (then the Mughul Diwan) falling out with Prince Aḥmed-uz-Zaman, the Mughul Viceroy or Nawab at Dacca, transferred the seat of government from Dacca to the little town of Makhāhidābād, 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 an 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 Muslim sovereignty: it merely affected the substitution of a new Nawab (Mir Jāfār) for Sirajudaula. In 1765, the East India Company received the grant of Divani or financial administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa from the Mughul Emperor of Delhi, Shāh Aḥmad, 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 Nasim (as administrative and military representative of the Mughul Emperor of Delhi) sat on the sazād, 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 (Nizamat 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 1790. Thenceforth, Murshidābād has been left only as the residence of the Nawāb, a descendant of Mir Jāfār, and now it has ceased to be of importance.
In the beginning, a merchant named Makhsúṣ Khán built a serai or guest-house there, and called the place Makhsúṣábád. The houses of a few shop-keepers were placed there. (In the reign of Emperor Aurangzáb Alamgír, Nawáb Jawár Khán Nasír, who held the office of Diwán of Orissa, received the title of Kártaláb Khán and obtained the office of Diwán of Bengal. After his arrival at Jahángír-nagar, otherwise called Dhákah (Dacca), which at that time was the Viceregal Capital and where from before Prince Azím-u-sháh, who had been appointed Viceregal by Emperor Aurangzáb (as will be set forth hereafter) lived, finding that he (Jáfar Khán) could not pull on with the Prince, put forward the pretext that the maháls of Bengal were at a long distance from that place (Dacca), separated himself from association with the Prince, and established himself at Makhsúṣábád, and placed there the Amlás of Zemindárs, and Qánúngos and other officials employed in connection with the Revenue Administration of Crownlands. And at Dugharíah, which was quite a wilderness, he erected a palace, established the Board of Revenue (Dewánkhánah) and the Court of Exchequer, and made collections of the Imperial revenue. And when he was appointed permanently Súbahdár (Vicereoy) of Bengal and Orissa in addition to the office of Diwán, with the title of Muhshíd Qái Khán and with the gift of a valuable Khil'at, and of the standard and the Naqáráh (a royal drum) and the advancement of Múnsáb, on arrival at Makhsúṣábád, he improved the city, and called it after his own name “Muhshídábád.” And establishing a mint there, he had the words “struck at Muzhídábád” 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 Súbahdárs, being thrown into contact with the people of Delhi, in point of refinement of manners and conversation, resemble the people of Hindústán, unlike those of other parts of Bengal. Amongst its buildings, none that was seen was noteworthy, except the Imámburah building, which was erected by

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1 It may be of interest to note here that the following mint towns existed in Bengal during the earlier Muhammadan kings: (1) Lakhnáuti, (2) Fírúzbáid (Pándásh), (3) Sútríán, (4) Shahr-i-Nau (not identified), (5) Ghíyaspúr, (6) Sunargíén, (7) Múnsámábád (i.e., Sylhet or Mymensingh), (8) Fathábád (Faridpur town), (9) Khálsábaíd (Bagerhat town in Jessore), and (10) Husainábád (probably close to Gaur) "See Thomas’ “Initial Coinage” and Blochmann’s Contributions."
Nawab Sirajud-daulah. Its praise is beyond description; its equal is not to be found in the whole of Hindustan. 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 Manlana 'Urifu Shirazi,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 Mutijhil² and Hirajhil, which were most beautiful, at present have been dug up from their foundations, and are in complete ruin.

PORTS OF HUGHILI AND SATGAON

The Ports of Hughili and Satgaon³ are at a distance of half a krah from each other. In former times, Satgaon was a large city, thickly populated; and was the seat of a Governor. And the factories of the Christian Portugeese, and of other traders were also there. When Satgaon fell into ruin owing to its river sitting up, the port of Hughili became populous. (The Faujdars of

¹ Urifu was a famous Persian poet of Shiraz, 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 "Qasidas," many years ago.
² The period of Mutijhil was for several years, after the installation of Nawab Mir Jafar, the residence of the British Political Resident attached to the Court of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.
³ Satgaon, the ancient royal port or "Ganges Regia" of Bengal. It lay at the point of junction of the Hughili and the holy Saraswati. The river Saraswati sitted up during the first-half of the sixteenth century, and the Portuguese merchants found that the harbour of Satgaon was no longer practicable, and accordingly fixed their port at Golaghat in 1537, a few miles lower down on the same east bank of the river. Golaghat soon became the chief emporium, and took the name of the river, that is, Hughili town or port. Satgaon is now become a petty village, though when I visited it from Hughili in 1888, I found traces of a ruined mosque. The first mention of Satgaon that I find in Muhammadan history is in the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah who invaded Bengal to chastise Bahadur Shah, King of Sunargaon. (See pp. 44-46 Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi).
this port had always been appointed directly by the Emperors of Delhi, and had little concern with the Názim or Viceroy of Bengal. Nawâb Jâfar Khân brought the office of Faujdar of this port within his jurisdiction, as an appendage to the Nâgâmat and Dīwânī of Bengal, as will be mentioned hereafter, if God pleases. And in that the abovementioned Nawâb placed the centre of the financial resources of the country of Bengal upon the custom duties levied from traders, he maintained peaceful and liberal relations with the merchants of England, China, Persia, and Turân, and beyond the legitimate imports he did not levy one dam oppressively or against the established usage. Hence the port of Hûghli, in his time, became more populous than before. And merchants of all the ports of Arabia and Ajâm, 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 hazâras and forts and moats. After this, when oppression and extortion of the Faujdar increased, the port of Hûghli 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 Calcutta, in past times was a village in a field that was endowed in favour of Kâli, which is the name of an idol which is there. Inasmuch as in the language of Bengal, a Kartik and

1 Ajâm. The Arabs divided the races of the world into the Arabûn and the Ajânis or non-Arabs. Persia Proper was called Irâk-i-Ajam.
2 In 1596 A.C., it is mentioned in the Ains-i-Akhbâr as a rent-paying village named “Kalikata” under Sarkâr Sâtíson. (See Ains, p. 141, Vol. 2, Dar Tr.) In 1686, in consequence of a rupture with the Musulmaâ authorities at Hûghli port, the English merchants, led by their Chief, John Charne, were obliged to quit their factory there and to retreat to Sâtanâî (now a northern quarter of Calcutta). Their new settlement soon extended itself southwards first over the village of “Kalikata” (between the present Custom-House and the Mint) and subsequently over the village of Gobindpur (which existed to the south of the present site of Fort William). In 1696, 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 Kalikatā, meaning that its owner was Kālid. Gradually, by a process of the modulation of the tongue, the alif and the eā being dropped it was called Kalikata. The following is the account of the foundation of this city and the establishment of the English factory there. In the period of the Niẓamat of Nawāb Jāfar Khān, the factory of the English Company, which existed in the port of Hūghli, close to Lakhoghat and Maghulpūrah, 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 Gāmāshtā, which was situate in Lakhoghat, adjoining to the town, cut down its trees, and laid the foundation of a factory, and commenced erecting two-storied and three-storied 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 Mir Nāsir, Faujdār 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 Jāfar 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 Jāfar Khan despatched an order to the Faujdār 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 prohibiting, directed that none of the masons and

new ones in 1742, the above three villages being purchased in 1700 from Prince Assan, son of Emperor Aurangzeb. In 1736, the town was sacked and Fort William captured by Nawāb Sirāju’d-daulah, who changed its name to Aliagur. In January 1757 it was re-taken by the English under Admirals Wataum and Clive. A new fort, the present Fort William, was commenced by Clive, but it was finished in 1773, when the maiden was also opened out. In this connection, it may be added, that the author of the “Seirul Muntakhārin,” 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 Jâfar Khân was overarching, and the Mughals were numerous, and the powerful Faujdar 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 lense-burner towards the populous part of the town alongside the bank of the river including Chandanagar, he set it on fire and started. The Faujdar, 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 Maghi 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 Karnatak 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 Sasan (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)
lanced. He sent agents with presents, tribute, and gifts, &c., to Nawab Jaffar Khan, and obtained permission to build a factory at Calcutta, in accordance with the Imperial Sumad, 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 Bhagirati. 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 Koro 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 ban, and the tide which occurs daily is called jojor. 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 Delhi, 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 apart 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 1773, 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 Nizam 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.

Chandannagor (Chandannagar) alias Farāshdjangah, 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*), the Dutch hold authority.

Chandanagore, founded as a small French settlement in 1673, rose to
mercantile importance under Dupleix in the middle of the eighteenth century.
In the seventeenth century, the Dutch merchants who had hitherto resided at Saigon and Hōghli ports, founded their factory and port at Chinsūrāh, a little below Hōghli town.
Chinshar, or Chinsurah, which adjoins the port of Hugli, is to the south of that port, and is one kroh to the north of Chandernagore. And similarly Chirampur (Sirampur) \(^1\) is on the banks of the same river, opposite to Channak (Barackpur). The factory of the Danes is there, and it is also called Dinamarragar. In those places, besides the owners of the factories, no one else has authority.

(TOWN OF PURNIAH.)

In former times it was called Pargana-i-havili. Rupees 32,000 were its revenue collections. Since the Raja of Birnagar also had a force of 15,000 cavalry and infantry, and other inhabitants of that part of the Chakwâr tribe, &c., were refractory and of plundering propensity, and used to annoy much the travellers, therefore on the limits of the Mûrang, \(^3\) the fort \(^4\) of Jalâlgudah, to a distance of two krohs from Purnia, was erected, and a commandant, in charge of the fort, was posted there. (In compliance with the petition of Nawab Saif Khan, \(^5\) grandson of Amir Khân the elder, who enjoyed the same and title of his father, and was descended from Syeds and illustrious Omras, and had royal connections, Nawab Jâfar Khân applied to Emperor Aurangzeb for the former's deputation, and accordingly Saif Khan was deputed for the purpose of chastising the Raja of Birnagar \(^6\) and other mal-

\(^1\) The Danes in the seventeenth century founded their factory and port at Sirampur, about eight miles south of Chandernagore.
\(^2\) In the thirteenth century, Purnia fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. Sarkar of Purnia is described in the Ain-i-Akbari, as containing nine mahals, with revenue 6,408,775 oomah (See Jarrett’s Trans. of Ain, Vol. 2, p. 134). Under its administrator, Nawab Saif Khan, a contemporary of Nawab Jâfar Khân, the Viceroy of Bengal, it attained the height of its prosperity. Its manufacture in brass works, once so famous, was found by me to have nearly died out when I was at Purnia in 1868.
\(^3\) The tract of country between the northern limits of Purnia districts and the foot of Nepal Proper is locally known as the Mûrang.
\(^4\) Ruins of the fort still stand. It is now in the reminiscence of Mr. Forbes of Purniah, a few miles to the north of Purnia railway station.
\(^6\) Birnagar is now a circle under the Sub-Manager of the Durhanga Raj at Purniah.
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' Purniah and that of Commandant of Jalālgadāh upon him, and also settled on him the Pargana of Birnagar alias Dharnpūr, and Gündwārah, which is in the province of Behar, pertaining to Purniah, 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, the son of Bir Shāh, the Rājā 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 unprofitable. In consequence, the Emperor Aurānqezb 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 lakh 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, Purniah is a large city, and the rivers Kūst and Sūma 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 Sīnghs are mentioned in the Alomīrnamāh. One Bir Singh, Zamindar of Srinagar, is also mentioned in it.

3 It did not appear to me so when I was at Purniah in 1898. 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 saltpotre, 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 Mūrangi wood, which is called Bahadūri, is obtained from these 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, Sārnāī was more populous than Purniah. And Gandāh-golāh (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 dwell there. And very often boundary disputes led to fightings with the Rājāh 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-golāh (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 Rājāh 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 1835.
3 A fair is still held annually at Caragola, and is largely attended by Nepalese, Bhutias and other hill-tribes, though not to the same extent as before.
4 Three routes to Kuch Behār and Assam are described in the Alompir-nama (p. 683).
This city is on the banks of the Budhigangā and the Ganges, named Padmā, flows three krok or kos distant from this city. In past times it was known by this name. During the sovereignty of Nuruddin 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

(Dacca or Jahangirnagar was the Musalmān Viceroyal Capital of Bengal during Mughal 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 Khān, the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, shifted the Viceroyal Capital from Rajmahal or Akbarnagar, to Dacca. This transfer of capital appears to have been decided upon, because the Musalmān dominions in Bengal had considerably extended eastward, and Rajmahal ceased to occupy a central position, and also because Magh and Arraeanse 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 Musalmān feudal barons (most of whom have now died out or sunk into oblivion), were planted throughout Eastern Bengal, especially at places of strategic importance, in order to hold in check all disloyal Afghan elements, and to prevent their intrigues with the Magh raiders. Except for about sixteen years, when Prince Shāh Shujā re-transferred the Viceroyal Capital to Rajmahal, Dacca remained the Viceroyal Capital of Bengal throughout the seventeenth century under three illustrious Mughal Emperors, viz., Jahangir, Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzeb. The most notable amongst the Mughal Viceroys of Dacca were Islam Khān, Mīr Jumla, the General of Aurangzeb, and Shāhān Khān (nephew of Empress Nur Jahan). The latter two Nawabs 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 Kaira, built by Shāh Shujā in 1645, and the palace of Lal Bāgh, both of these also being in ruins. (See Taylor’s Topography of Dacca and Dr. Wight’s History of Dacca). Dacca, or Dhakka, occurs in the Akbarnāma as an Imperial Thana in 1584 the mahal to which it belonged is named “Dhakka Bāzīn,” it pertained in those early days to Sarkar Bāzīn. (See Ain-i-Akbarī Jarrett’s Trans., Vol. 2. Fasc. II., p. 158). Dacca, though it has lost its former Viceroyal 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 Nawab of Dacca.)
Viceregal Capital of Bengal. Since the period of his Nizamat, when Nawab Jafar Khan made Murshidabad 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 Jahangirnagar. White muslin is excellently manufactured there.

SARKAR SUNARGAON.

Sarkar Sunargaon is to a distance of six krosh to the south-east of Jahangirnagar. A species of very fine muslin is manufactured there. And in the Mouza of Kathalasundar 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 Musalmān Capital of Bengal. To this place in 1231 A.C. (see p. 87 Tarihi Firuz Shahi by Barab) Emperor Balban from Delhi came, and pursued Tughral, who had proclaimed himself Sultān Moghūluddin in 1279 A.C., and about 610 A.H. (1214 A.C.) it was together with Bang (East Bengal) subdued (Tahaqat-i-Nasiri, Pers. text, p. 163) by Sultan Ghiasuddin, one of the immediate successors of Bakhtiar Khalji. Sunargaon is a place of melancholy historical interest, for it was here that the line of Balbani kings of Bengal (1232 to 1331 A.C.) ended, and it was also here that the last Balbani sovereign of Bengal, Hahadur Shah, in 1331 A.C., under the order of Emperor Muhammad Shah, was captured, put to death, and his skin stuffed and paraded throughout the Emperor's dominions. Subsequently, in 1336 A.C., the first Independent Mussalman king of Bengal, named Fakhruddin Abul Musaffar Mubarak Shah, proclaimed his independence at Sunargaon, where he resided and minted coins Thomas' "Initial Coinage" and Tarihi Firuz Shahi, p. 480. Mubarak Shah's son, Ghazi Shah (third Independent king), also resided at Sunargaon, and minted coins there. In 1532 A.C., Haji Ilyas or Sultan Shamsuddin Abul Musaffar Ilyas Shah (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 (1532 to 1635 A.C.), and divided their residence between Guzer and Sunargaon. It was to Sunargaon that the illustrious poet of Shiraz, Hafiz, sent his famous gift to Sultan Ghiasuddin (son of Sikandar Shah and grandson of Ilyas Shah), 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. 89).
(ISLĀMĀBĀD aīsā CHĀTGĀON.)

Islāmābād aīsā Chātgāon (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.

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(SARKĀR BOGİA)

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 Rajāḥ 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 lakes of human beings and cattle were engulfed in the sea of annihilation.

Chittagong was found to be in the hands of King Fakhruddin of Sunargao about 1350 A.C., when Ibn-i-Batutta visited it. It was re-subdued by King Nāsrāt Shāh, son of Husain Shāh, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. In Todar Mal’s cumbuli, it is assessed at Rs. 285,807, 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 Muslim hands, and had to be re-conquered in 1664 A.C. by Nawāb Shamsa Khān, Emperor Aurangzeb’s Viceroy at Dacca, who named it Islāmābād. (See the charming description of the re-conquest of Chittagong, in the Almāgināmah, pp. 949-956.) Chittagong was, from very early times, an important place of trade, and the early Portuguese traders called it “Porto Grande.”

* Sarkēr Bogla or Bagla in Abul Fasıl’s list is stated to have contained four mahals, and its revenue was Rs. 178,759. It comprised portions of the Backergunj and Sundarban districts, and the southermost portions of the Dacca district. The author of the Seirah Mutakherin calls it Sarkar Hugla.
(SARKAR RANGPUR AND GORAGHAT.)

Rangpur and Ghoraghat.—Here silk is produced, and Tungas ponies, coming from the mountains of Bhutan, sell. A fruit called Latkan of the size of walnuts, and with the taste of pomegranates, and containing three seeds, grows there.

9

(SARKAR MAHMUDABAD.)

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

1 Sarkar Ghoraghat comprised portions of Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bogra districts. Being the northern frontier district skirting Koch-Bihar, numerous colonies of Afghan and Maghal chiefs were planted there under the feudal system, with large jopir lands under each. Many of the mahals bear purely Muhammadan names, such as Baza Zafar Shahi, Baza Faqir Shahi, Naaratkhali, Rayisidpur, Tanak Hussain, Tanak Ahmad Khan, Khatul, Masjid Hussain Shahi. The Sarkar produced much raw silk. Eighty-four mahals; revenue, Ru. 203,077. The old Muslim military outpost of Decawate near Gangarampur was in this Sarkar. It was established in the time of Bakhtiar Kiliji (see Blochmann’s Conr. J.A.S., 1873, p. 215, Tahqat-i-Nasiri, p. 156, Xin-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 395 and Vol. I, p. 397). After the battle of Patna, 1833 A.H., when Daud retired to Orissa, (Badshai, p. 184, Vol. II), his generals Kalapahar and Babu Mankhi proceeded to Ghoraghat, (Badshai, p. 192). Akbar’s general, Majnu Khan, died at Ghoraghat.

2 Sarkar Mahmudabad, named after one of the Sultan Mahmud Shâhe of Bengal, comprised north-eastern Nadia, north-eastern Junore, and western Faridpur. Eighty-eight mahals; revenue Ru. 209,025. Its principal mahals were Saniar, Nadli, Mahmudshahi, and Naaratkhali. When Akbar’s army in 1574 under Mullin Khan-i-Khanan invaded Bengal, Murad Khan, another Imperialist-General, invaded South-Eastern Bengal. He conquered, says the Akbarnamah, Sarkara Bakht and Pattahabad (Faridpur) and settled and died there. It is remarkable that close to Faridpur there is a village (now a railway station) called Khan-Chandpur, which probably was the residence of Murad Khan, and which again is close to a place called Tajbari (probably the seat of the old Rajaha). His sons were treacherously murdered at a feast to which they were invited by Mukund, the Rajah of Bhuma and Patahabad. (See Xin-i-Akbari, p. 374, Bloch, Trava.) During the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, Satrajit, son of Mukund, gave trouble, and at length in Shah Jahan’s reign he was captured and executed at Bhaga (1635 A.C.) Nawab Jafar Khan about 1772 broke up this Sarkar, and annexed part of it to Rajahabad and part to the new Chakliah of Bhuma. Bhuma lies near Romshadiah and Dakhinbari, ancient Muslim colonies, and it is curious that most of it, on the Nabanganga, we find Satrajidpur close to an ancient Muslim colony, at Aklikhi; whilst opposite to Faridpur we find Mukund-chor, which is again close to 6 Khan-
number of elephants belonging to the Rājā 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 BĀRBĀKĀBĀD.**

Bārbakābād. A good stuff called *Gaugājal* is manufactured there, and large oranges also thrive there.

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**SARKĀR BĀZŪHĀ.**

Sarkār Bāzūhā 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.**

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

Khanāpur station, referred to above. Satraji's descendant or successor, the notorious Raja Sitaram Bai, had his head-quarters at Mahmūdpur town, at the confluence of the Barasī and Mahmātī rivers, in Jassora, quite close to Mahmūdpur, is an old Musalman colony at Shigsaam. (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 132, and Blochmann's Contr., J.A.S., 1878, p. 217).

1 Sārkār Barbakābd, so named after Barbak Shāh, King of Bengal. It extended from Sārkār Lakhnumūni, or Gaur, along the Padda to Bagāra, and comprised portions of Maldah, Dinajpūr, Rajshāhi, and Bogra. Its clothes were well known, especially the stuffs called kānsā. Thirty-eight mahāla; revenue Rs. 438,383. (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 137, and Blochmann's Contr., J.A.S., 1878, p. 215.)

2 Sārkār Bāzūhā extended from the limits of Sārkār Barbakābd, and included portions of Rājshāhi, Bogra, Pāls, and Malmanisingh, and reached in the south a little beyond the town of Dacca. Thirty-two mahāla; revenue Rs. 987,921. (See Jān, Vol. II, p. 197.)

3 Sārkār Silhat adjoining to Sārkār Bāzūhā, chiefly extended east of the Sarsba 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 Shāhsuladdin ruled over Bengal with his capital at Gaur. Shāh Jallāl's shrine in Silhat town still exists. Silhat supplied India with canuchs, and Jahangir issued an order forbidding people of Silhat from carrying boys, Eight mahāla; revenue Rs. 167,032 (Jān, Vol. II, p. 139, Blochmann's Contr., J.A.S., 1873, pp. 210, 233, 278).
out the empire of Hindustân. 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 ād 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 Bauraj, 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, Shīrōŋaj is the name of another bird; it is not different from Bauraj in any way, except in this that the legs and the beak of Shīrōŋaj are red. Both these are flesh-eaters, and prey on small birds like sparrows, &c.

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**SARKĀR SHARĪFĀBĀD.**

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

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**SARKĀR MĀDĀRAN.**

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.**

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

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1 Sarkār Sharīfābād comprised south-eastern portions of Bīrbhūm and a large portion of Bardiwa, including Bardiwa town. Twenty-six mahalā revenue Rs. 562,218. (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 139).

2 Sarkār Madāran extended from Nagor in Western Bīrbhūm over Sānīganj, along the Damādar to above Bardiwa, and thence from there over Khānd Ghoṣā, Jāhānībād, Chandrakona (western Hugli district) to Māndālghāt, at the mouth of the Rūpānātī river. Sixteen mahalā, revenue Rs. 235,685 (Sānī, Vol. II, p. 141).

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

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MALDAH

The town of Maldah is on the banks of the river Mahananda. At a distance of three carak towards the north is situate holy Pandialah, which contains the sacred shrine of Hazrat Makhdūm Shāh Jalāl Tabriz (May God sanctify his shrine!) and the last stand against Mughals under Khán Jahan, Akbar's general (Baldari, Vol. II, p. 230). 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 Khán Fateh Jung, who was killed (Ighbalnamah-i-Jahangir, p. 221). It was for about twenty years the Viceroyal Capital of Bengal, under Prince Shāh Shuja, who adorned the city with beautiful marble-palaces, no trace of which, however, now exists.—(See Âin-i-Akbari, 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 bazar, close to Maldah, was fixed upon as the Commercial residency. Maldah is mentioned in the Tazk-i-Jahangiri: "When I (Jahangir) was prince, I had made a promise to Mir Ziyandin of Tanwir, a Saiy Syed, who has since received the title of Mustafa Khan, to give him and his children Pargana Maldah, a well-known Pargana in Bengal. This promise was now performed (1617 A.C.)."—See J.A.S., 1873, p. 215n.

2 Panduah, like Gaur, is situate in the district of Maldah. 'Ali Mubarak had his capital at Panduah, and the third independent Muslim, Afghan King of Bengal, named Shamsuddin Ilyas Shāh, fortified the place, and permanently removed the headquarters there about 1583 A.C. Pandua 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 Nasiruddin Mahmud Shāh re-transferred to Gaur, which was retained by Muhammadans for about three centuries as their capital. The principal buildings at Pandua are the mausoleums of Makhdūm Shāh Jalāl and his grandson Qutb Shāh, the Golden Mosque (1585 A.C.) with wall of granite, and ten domes of brick, the Eriakhi Mosque containing the grave of Ghiasuddin II, the fifth Muslim independent King of Bengal, the Adina Mosque (fourteenth century) characterised by Mr. Ferguson as the most remarkable example of Pathan architecture, and the Satyapark (seventy towered) palace. Pandua 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 Pandua, and the Khureshid Jahannama (an analysis of which Mr. Beveridge has published) supplements it.

3 Shāhīd Jalaluddin Tabrizi was a disciple of Saiy Tabrizi, a vicegerent of Shahabuddin Shamswardi, and a friend of Khwajah Qutbuddin and Shāhīd Bahauddin Zakariyā. Shāhīd Najafuddin, Shāhīd-ul-Islam at Delhi, bore him
sacred mausoleum of Hazrat Nūr Qutbū-’l-ʿAlam Bangāli (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 Zilhajj, 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 Ĥāqāli, Silhat and Jāhāngirmāgar, &c., come and congregate, and benefit by pilgrimage. And in Mālīyah 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 baṣ’ālām. 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 Gōāmāli, another masonry-built factory has been erected; at it also indigo is manufactured. Although a description of the town of Mālīyah was not necessary, yet as since two years my master, Mr. George Udney (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

sumisy; so the saint went to Bengal. His tomb is in the port of Dar Mahal (or Maldive islands).—See Ains. t.Ābaori, Vol. II, p. 369.

1 Shaikh Nūr Qutbū-’l-ʿAlam was son and viceroy of Shaikh Alan-Ḥuḍ (the latter having been viceroy of Shaikh Akhī Sirāj). He was a mystic of eminence, and died in A.H. 808 (A.D. 1403) and was buried at Pandua.—See Ains, Vol. II, p. 371.

3 Note on Sarcars of Bengal (principally compiled from Blackman’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 another, Tahaqat-i-Nasiri, Tarih-i-Firuz Shahi, Ain-i-Akbari, Badshahni, Thomas's Initial coinage, Iqbalunnahar-Jahangiri, Badshahunnah, and Alamgirunnah.)

(Previous proceeding to the next section, it may be noted here that our author has not described all the Sarks or old Musulman administrative divisions or districts of Bengal.)

Bengal before Muhammadan conquest in 1198 A.C. consisted of five divisions, namely (1) Radiha, the tract south of the Ganges and west of the Hugli; (2) Bagdi, the deltaic tract of the Ganges; (3) Banga, the tract to the east and beyond the delta; (4) Barandra, the tracts to the north of the Padma and between the Karatia and Mahananda rivers, and (5) Mishra, 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 Bahadur Khilji with eighteen troops stormed Nadia, thus the Hindu capital of Bengal, and conquered Bengal, in 1198 A.C. (594 H.) he appears to have conquered Mishra, Barandra, Radiha, 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 Tahqat-i-Nasiri, p. 162, where its author Minhaj-a-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 Barandra, to which Deokot belongs; and the western called Rai (Radiha) to which Lakhnauti belongs, that on one side the town of Lakhnauti is connected with Deokot, and on the other side with Lakhnur by a causeway or embanked road, ten days' distance. Deokot has been identified with an old fort, now known simply as Daulatabad, on the left branch of the Punahaba, south of Dinaapur, and close to Gogrampur. Bang or East Bengal appears to have been subdued in 1214 A.C. (610 A.H.) by Sultan Ghiasuddin, an immediate successor of Bahadur Khilji (Tahqat, p. 162.)

During the rule of the Independent Musulman Kings of Bengal (1338 to 1538 A.C.), the extent of the kingdom of Bengal or Bengal was much more apparent than what is described in the Ain-i-Akbari, and in the rent-roll of Bengal prepared by Akbar's Finance Ministers, Kirwajah Muzaffar Ali and Todaer Mall in 1583 A.C. (See J.A.S., 1573, p. 254, Tahqat-i-Nasiri and Tarih-i-Firuz Shahi, Thomas's "Initial Coinage"). In Akbar's rent-roll, the following 19 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 Jumnahabad, extending from Telalgadhi (near Goal-
gon), including a few mahals now belonging to Bhagalpur and Purnah district, and the whole of Maldah district. Sixty-six mahals; khalsa revenue, Rs. 4,71,174.

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

3. Sarkar Tajpur, extending over eastern Purnah, east of the Mahananda and western Dinajpur. Twenty-nine mahals; revenue Rs. 1,92,066.

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

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

6. Sarkar Barbakibad, comprising portions of Maldah, Dinajpur and large portions of Rajahari and Bogra. Thirty-eight mahals; revenue Rs. 4,38,398.

7. Sarkar Srimah comprisng portions of Rajahari, Bogra, Pabna, Mainam-
sigh, and reaching a little beyond the town of Dacca in the south. Thirty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 9,87,901.

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

9. Sarkar Sunargan, extending to both sides of the Megna and the Brahmaputra, including portions of western Tipperah, eastern Dacca, Mahan-
sigh and Noakhali. Fifty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 2,59,283.—(See also U. Wiss's note on Sunargan, J. A. S., 1874, No. 1, p. 82.)

10. Sarkar Chategum. Seven mahals; revenue, Rs. 2,55,607.

(Sarkars in the Delta of the Ganges.)

11. Sarkar Setgoan comprised a small portion of the west of the Hugli,
while a large portion comprised the modern districts of the 24-Parganas to the Kadalak river, western Nadia, south-western Murshidabad, and extending in the north to Hatigarah below Diamond Harbour. To this Sarkar belonged mahal Kalkutta (Calcutta) which together with 2 other mahals paid in 1882 a land revenue of Rs. 23,405. Fifty-three mahals; revenue Rs. 4,18,113.—See also J. A. S., 1870, p. 290.

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

13. Sarkar Khalisatabad, comprising southern Jessore and western Bager-
gan (Bakergunga). The Sarkar is so named after the bawi perganah Khalisatabad (or 'cleansing of Khalis,' Khan Jakhan) near Bagerhat. The largest mahal of this Sarkar was Jessar (Jessore) or Rasulpur. Thirty-five mahals; revenue, Rs. 135,623. In this Sarkar is also Alapsur, which Professor Beckmann surmises to have been the residence of Salih Almuddin Rasin
Shah, before the latter became King of Bengal.)
the country. The first person who presided over the sovereignty

(14.) Sarkar Patshahib, so called after Path Shakh, King of Bengal (886 A.H.) comprising a small portion of Jessore, a large part of Faridpore, northern Bagonia, a portion of Dhaka district, the island of Dakhin Shubbarpur, and Sandip, at the mouth of the Megna. The town of Faridpore lies in the narrow pargana of Pathshahib. 31 mahals; revenue Rs. 1,99,239.

(15.) Sarkar Bakra or Bogla, south-east of the preceding, comprised portions of Bagonia and Dhaka districts. Four mahals; revenue Rs. 1,78,759.

Sarkar South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirathi (Hugli.)

(16.) Sarkar Udana, or Tundah, comprising the greater portion of Marshallahib district, with portion of Birbhum. Fifty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 0,01,886. Sulaiman Shakh Kuran Ali, the last but one of the Afghan kings of Bengal, moved the seat of Government to Tundah from Durur in 1564 A.C., that is, 11 years before the ruin of the latter.-(Ann. of Abar, Vol. II, p. 120a.)

(17.) Sarkar Sharifshahib, 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. 5,52,218.

(18.) Sarkar Salimshahib, so called after Salim Shakh, 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. L. R. belonged to this Sarkar. The chief town of the Sarkar called Salimshahib (afterwards changed to Salimshahib) was on the left bank of the Damdara, south-east of the town of Burdwan. Thirty-one mahals; revenue Rs. 4,40,749.

(19.) Sarkar Madarag, extended in a semicircle from Nagor in western Birbhum, over Raniganj along the Damdara to above Burdwan, and from there over Khand Gosh, Jahnunahib, Chanderngou (western Hugli district) to Mandalghat at the mouth of the Rupnarain river. Sixteen mahals; revenue Rs. 2,33,545.

(The above 19 Sarkars which made up Bengal Proper in 1583, paid a revenue on khalsa lands (crown lands) inclusive of a few duties on salt, hats, and fisheries, of Rs. 6,3,36,012. According to Grant, the value of jajar land was fixed at Rs. 1,348,832, so that in 1583 A.C. and from before it, Rs. 10,695,944 was the total revenue of Bengal.—(See J.A.S.; 1873, p. 219.) This was levied from raya in specie, as the equivalent of the sixth share of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as his share.—(See Ann. of Abar), pp. 55 and 63, Vol. II. This rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahangir. Under Shakh Jahin, the boundaries of Bengal were extended on the south-west, Medinpur and Rijli having been annexed to Bengal, and in the east and north-east by conquests in Tipperah and Koch-Haja; and when Prince Shuja was made Governor of Bengal he made about 1658 A.C., a new rent-roll which showed 34 Sarkars and 1,890 mahals, and a total revenue, in khalsa and jajar lands, of Rs. 1,51,15,017.—(See J.A.S., 1875, p. 219.) Shuja's rent-roll remained in force till 1722 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 Bhāgiratā, of the Khatri tribe. For a long period he held the sovereignty of Bengal. At length he went to Delhi and was killed with Darjūdhan 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. After that, the sovereignty passed that year, Nawāb Jafar Khān (Murchid Quli Khān) prepared his "Kamal Janna" Tumari or "perfect rent-roll," in which Bengal was divided into 34 Sarkars, forming 13 chaiktas, and subdivided into 1,660 parganas, with a revenue of Rs. 1,42,88,150. After the rule of Nawāb Jafar Khān, Abūwah revenue (imposts as fees, &c.), appeared in the books. In the time of Shuja Khān, Nawāb Jafar’s successor, the Abūwah (see Blochmann’s Contributions and Grant’s report) amounted to Rs. 21,72,932, and they rapidly increased under Nawāb Ali Vardi Khán and Kazim Khán, so that when the R.I. Company in 1765 acquired the Desuari from Emperor Shāh Alum, the net amount of all revenue collected in Bengal Proper was (see Grant’s report) Rs. 2,36,34,223.

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 1582 and also from the Aīn-i-Akbari, Iqbalnāmah, Padshahnāmah and Aḥsimnāmah, might be taken to represent the territorial and fiscal strength of the Musalmān Bengal kingdom of pre-Mughal times—(J.A.S., 1873, p. 214). This inference is vitiated, in view of the fact that the Musalmān Bengal kingdom in pre-Mughal times included for the most part the sake of north Behar, and, under several Musalmān Bengal rulers, also south Behar as far westward as Sarkars Mungger and Behar, besides Orissa. This consideration would indicate that the territorial and financial strength of the Musalmān Bengal kingdom in pre-Mughal times was greater than what is arrived at in Professor Blochmann’s conclusions. In the Aīn-i-Akbari, Orissa is included in the Sūba of Bengal, Orissa consisting of 5 Sarkars. Thus, the Sūba of Bengal is described as consisting of 24 Sarkars (that is, including 5 Sarkars of Orissa), and 757 mahals, and the revenue is stated to be Rs. 1,42,88,152-15-7. (See A.B., Vol. II, p. 129). Mutasim Khān who was attached to Emperor Jahangīr’s Court, in his account of the seventh year of Jahangīr’s reign, states that the revenue of Bengal was one kroı and fifty lakhs in rupees. (Vide Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri, p. 60).

1 Rājāh Bhāgirath or Bhagishat, son of Narak, had his capital at the city of Pragjataspur (identified with the modern Guhati), is described in the Mahābhārat as exposing the cause of Darjūdhan, and as being slain by the victorious Arjūn. According to the Aīn-i-Akbari, p. 144, Vol. 2, Bhagirat or Bhagisat had twenty-three successors in his dynasty.

2 According to the A.B., p. 187, Darjūdhan.

3 This is the period during which his dynasty ruled. In the A.B., p. 144, 2418 years.
from his family to Noj Gouriah,¹ who belonged to the Kyesth tribe, and for 250³ years he and his eight descendants ruled. The fortune of sovereignty passed from his family also to Adisur,² 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 Blupal 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 (Bangalal) for 160⁴ years. And these sixty-one persons ruled absolutely over this kingdom for a period of 4,240⁵ years. And when the period of their fortune was over, their fortune ended. Sukh Sen,⁶ 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 Madhur Sen for ten years, after him Kaisat Sen for fifteen years, after him Sadat Sen for eighteen years, and after him Nang⁷ for three years ruled. When the turns of these were over, Rajah Lakhmanis,⁸ son of Lakhman, sat on the throne. At that time, the seat of government of the Rais of Bengal was Nadia,⁹ and this Nadia is a well-known city, and a seat of Hindo 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 Gauriah."
² In the Ain, p. 145, "Adisur."
³ In the Ain, p. 146, "520 years."
⁴ In the Ain, p. 146, "160 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, "Nangah."
⁸ In Forishta "Lakhmanis", in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri "Lakhmanis."
⁹ In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, "Nadiah" or "new isla." 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 troops—a sad commentary on the feebleness of the Hindu Rajahs.
at the time of delivery, informed Lakhmania'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. Rājāh Lakhmania 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 Rājāh Lakhmania: "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 Lakhmania, not regarding this prediction as truthful, put the cotton of neglect and ignorance in his ear, but many of the elite of that city secretly moved away to different places. And this prediction was fulfilled by the invasion of Malik Ikhtiar-ud-din Muhammad Baghtiar 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 HINDUŚṬĀN.

Be it not hidden that, in ancient times, the Rais of the Kingdom of Bengal (Bangālah) were powerful, and of high rank and dignity, and did not owe allegiance to the Mahārājāh of Hinduśṭān, who ruled over the throne at Delhi. For instance, Sūrāj,\(^1\)

\(^1\) This account is repeated in several Musalman histories, such as Tabaqat-i-Nasirī, Farishta, Ain-i-Akbari. The Tabaqat, p. 151, being the nearest contemporary record, may be specially referred to, especially as its author, Minhāj-u-Sirāj, shortly after, in 541 A.H. visited Lakhnauti. Our text concurs in this.

\(^2\) Minhāj-u-Sirāj in the Tabaqat, pp. 150 and 151, pays a high eulogy to this Rājāh, and extols his virtues and liberality, and winds up by saying: "May God bless his punishment in the next world!" Verily, Minhāj was himself liberal in his views!

\(^3\) In Farishta (Pers. text), Vol. I, p. 121, Banda, father of Sūrāj, is described as descended from Noah. It is worthy of note, that in the district of Monghyr,
who was a powerful Rājā, subjugated the Kingdom of Dakhin (Dakin). At that time, his deputies commenced grasping and usurping; and in the Kingdom of Hindustān, idol-worship dates from his time. It is said that, in the beginning, Hind, having seen and heard from his father Ham, 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 Rāi Mahārāj, a person coming from Persia perverted the people of Hindustān to sun-worship. In the time of Rāi Sūraj, a Brahmin, coming from the mountains of Jharkand, entered his service, and taught the Hindu 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 Hindus, the worship of idols, and of the sun, and of fire is very common. Some say that fire-worship was introduced by Ibrāhīm Zardasht in

on the southern bank of the Ganges, near Mauhatagar, there is a town called "Sūrajgarh," or "fort of Sūraj." Might not this place have been the birthplace or seat of government of Bājī Rāj Sūraj in the text? The locality is one which would facilitate his excursion into the Dakhin through the deñies of the Vindhyā range, of which the text speaks.

1 This is apparently a mistake in the text for "Rāi Bahītāj," who is mentioned in Ferishta as the father of Rāi Sūraj, and as a descendant of Noah.

2 We meet with the name of "Jharkandī" in the "Abhāmanah"; it was the Musalman appellation of "Chūtaī Nagpūr" just as Bharūndā was the Musalman appellation of "Sonthalī Parganna."

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

This imprintment of "spiritual light" from the deñies of Chūtaī Nagpūr tract, in the time of Bājī Rāj Sūraj, strengthened my surmise that Sūrajgarh, which is not far from Chūtaī Nagpūr, was the home or residence of Bājī Rāj Sūraj. It may also be noted that the Sonthali worship images of their ancestors, which worship is referred to in the text.

3 Zardasht or Zarathuṣtra or Zarathussastra is the name of a person descended from Maniakhar, and a disciple of Thragoras. During the reign of Emperor Gaishasp 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 Ibrāhīm, and consider his book the Zend (or Zendavesta) as a revealed book. He is supposed to have been the Zoroaster of the Greeks.
the time of Gashtasp, Emperor of Persia, and spread to Kabul and Sistān and throughout the empire of Persia, and that, in process of time, the kingdom of Bengal became subject to the Rais of Hindustān, and the Rais of Bengal paid revenue and sundry tributes. After this, Shangaldip, emerging from the environs of Koch, became victorious over Kidar, 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 Hindustān. When Shangaldip collected four thousand elephants, one lac 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, as was hitherto the practice with the Rais of Hindustān. And when Afrasiab deputed some one to demand the tribute, he rebuked and insulted him. Afrasiab flew into rage, and despatched his General, Piran-visah, with fifty thousand

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1 Gashtasp or Keshthub was the Darius Hyrtaspus of the Greeks, and belonged to the Kainian dynasty; his son, Isfandiar, was the Xerxes of the Greeks, and his grandson, Bahman, was the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks. (See Namah-i Khurram, p. 59).

2 In Ferishta, "Shangaldip" is called "Shungal," and so in the text in another place. In Ferishta (Persian text), Vol. 2, p. 293, the following account of Shangaldip or Shangal appears: "Shungal, towards the close of the reign of Bahāb Kidār Brahman, emerging from the environs of Koch (Koch Behar) won a victory over Kidar, and founded the City of Lakhnauti, which is otherwise known as Gaur. Shungal mobilised a force of four thousand elephants, one lac cavalry, and five lac infantry, and stopped paying tribute to Afrasiab, the King of Turn or Tartary or Scythia. Becoming enraged, Afrasiab deputed his general, Piran-Visah, with fifty thousand cavalry, to chastise Shungal." 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 "Turn" or Tartary or Scythia, of which Afrasiab was monarch. This indicates the subjection of India (like Persia) to the Scythians at a remote period.

5 Afrasiab (conqueror of Persia) was an ancient king of Turn 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 Ores by a famous chief called Zalsar. Afrasiab again overran Persia, but was at last defeated and slain in Arabia by Zalsar and his celebrated son, Rustam, the Persian Hercules. Afrasiyab appears, however, to have been a family surname, like the Pharaohs, the Ptolemys, the Czsars.
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 Afrasiāb an account narrating the state of things. At that time, Afrasiāb was in the town of Gangdogh, which is situate midway between Khāta and China, and is distant a month’s journey on the other side from Khānbālīgh. 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 Rās of the surrounding countries, was pressing the siege hard against Pirān, and was about to put all to the sword, he (Afrasiāb) attacked him on the way. The Hindūs, on the first onalaught, losing heart and feeling paralysed, dispersed, like the constellation of the bear. Pirān, relieved from the anxiety of the siege, paid his obeisance to Afrasiāb. Afrasiāb 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 Afrasiāb, 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 Afrasiāb planned an expedition towards the hills of Tirhūt, Shangal begged forgiveness for his misbehaviour through wise envoys, and presented himself before Afrasiāb with a sword and a winding-sheet, and prayed for leave to go to the country of Šarān. Afrasiāb, 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-

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1 The capital of China used to be called in those days “Khānbālīgh,” or “City of the Great Khan.”
waran Shangal was killed at the hands of Rustam. And in the reign of Rajāh Jaihind, owing to whose neglect, decay had overtaken several provinces of Hindustān, and for years Hindustān did not see its normal state, ruin was visible over the whole empire of India. At that time, certain Rajāhs of Bengal, finding an opportunity, and grasping at domination, became independent. And when Für (Poru), who was a relation of the Rajāh of Kumayun, emerged, he first subdued the province of Kumayun, and then capturing in battle Rajāh Dahlū, brother of Jaihind, who had founded Delhi, subjugated Kanauj, 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 Poru is he, who was killed at the

1 Rustam, the Persian Hercules. He was a successful general under the first kings of the Kaisanian dynasty, in their wars of defence against the incursions into Persia of the Tarian or Scythian monarchs. For a graphic account of these stirring war-heroes between the Scythisans or Tarianians or Mongolians and Iranians or Persians, see "Shahnamah" of Ferdowsī, the Muse of the East. It is worthy of note that Ferdowsī, 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 Afrāshīb, the Scythian 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) Pahlavians, including the Kaishmares, the Jamahides, and the Partisans; (2) the Kaisians, founded by Kaishkab about 600 B.C., including Khawarc or Kais Khawarna, Rahman, and Durah or Darun &c. (3) Ashkansans, including Hormuz, &c., &c. (4) the Sassanians, founded in 222 A.D. by Ardeshir Babagan, including Bahram Gaur and Naqshvaran, &c. (See Namai-Khwaran; a short Persian History of Persia by Mirza Muhammad).

2 At the time when Subhā Muhaddīn Muhammad Sam ains Kishân-un-Ghori, made incursions into Hindustān, Rajāh Jaihind Rathor ruled at Kanauj and Benares, and Rajāh Puthanaa Tonwar ruled at Delhi. Tabaqat, p. 130.

3 But it must be noted that there is in the text (probably owing to mistake of the抄写ist 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 Hindu princes, Poru, who had advanced from Kanauj, and put him to rout.

5 Abū Farī in the Aīn 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 mukh-deer and the Kūlus cow and silkworms". Aīn-e-Aḥārī, Vol. 2, p. 280.
hands of Alexander. After this, Rājāh Madīw Rāthor, like whom there had been few such powerful Rājās 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 Rājā of Bengal again asserting independence, continued to rule peacefully.

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.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNING OF THE ILLUMINATION OF THE DARKNESS OF BENGAL BY THE RAYS OF THE WORLD-ILLUMINATING SUN OF THE RELIGION OF MUHAMMAD (PEACE BE ON HIM!) BY THE ADVENT OF MALIK IKHTIARU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTIAR KHULJI, AND OF HIS SUBJUGATION OF THAT KINGDOM:

1 In Ferishta, "Ramdeev 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 from which, 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 Aryan 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, 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 Khilji (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 146), in 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. (for the discussion of the date, see Tabaqat, p. 190, 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 597 A.H. or 1191 A.C. (Tabaqat, pp. 159, 140 and 128). He was called “Aibak,” because his little finger was feeble or paralyzed (Tabaqat, p. 138), whilst according to another account, “Aibak” signified the “brilliant chieft.” 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 Khilji is 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 Malikas and Sultanis under Shahabuddin alias Muizuddin contained in Tabaqat (pp. 146 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-Mughal Moslem rulers of India have been described as “Pathan rulers of India.” As pointed out by Major Ravery in his translation of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, neither the Ghoria, nor their slaves, the Slavekings of Delhi, nor the Tughluks, nor the Khiljis were Afghans or “Pathans,” but that they were all Turkish tribes. (See also Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 150, where the expression “Turkis” 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 Sultan Qutbuddin in 900 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 Sultan Mu‘izzu-d-din Muhammad Sâm, also called Sultan Shahâbu-d-din, had planned expeditions for the conquests of Kanûj and Banâras. Sultan Qutbuddin 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 Banâras, he routed them, and at length, slaying on the battle-field Rajah Jaichand, the Rajah of Banâras, he became victorious. Sultan Shahâbu-d-din, marching with a force from the rear, moved up and entered the city of Banâras, and pillaging the whole of that tract up to the confines of Bengal, carried off as booty, incalculable treasures and jewels. The Sultan then returned to Ghazni. And the Kingdom of Bengal as an adjunct of the Empire of Delhi, was left in the hands of Qutbuddin. Sultan Qutbuddin entrusted to Malik Ikhtiaru-d-din Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji the Viceroyalty of the Provinces of Behar and Lakhnauti. 

According to the 'Mazalik-ul-Mumalik,' says Major Raverty in an article in A.S.I. for 1875, No. 1, p. 37, "the Khalji are a tribe of Turks which in former times settled in Gurmâr, 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 "Ghiljis." The first Afghan or "Pathan" who sat on the throne of Delhi was Sultan Bahâlî of the Lodi tribe, the thirtieth Muzzulman ruler of India, counting from Qutbuddin Aibak.

1. It is worthy of note that in the times of Bakhtiar Khilji and his immediate successors, South Behar was included in the Bengal or Lakhnauti, Viceroyalty. South Behar was separated from the Bengal Viceroyalty in 622 H. by Emperor Altamsh who placed it under a distinct governor, named Alauddin Janti. On withdrawal of the Emperor, Behar was again annexed by the Bengal ruler, Ghiyasuddin (see Tâbaqât-i-Nasiri, p. 163). It continued to be a part of the Bengal Kingdom till 1330, when Emperor Ghiyasuddin Tughlak again separated it. Behar belonged to the Shâh Kingdom of Jaunpur from 1397 A.C.; again under Ismâ’îl, Bahadur Khan, son of Governor Darya Khan, assumed independence in Behar, with the title of Shâh Muhammad, and about 1435 A.C. or about 963 A.H. South Behar.
chiefs of Ghor and Garmsir, was a brave man, well-built and very strong. In the beginning, he was in the service of Sultan Shabaha-d-din Ghorii at Ghazni. He was allowed a small allowance, as neither he was externally prepossessing, nor was his appearance grand. Becoming despondent, Muhammad Bakhtiir came to Hindustan in the company of the Sultan, stayed behind, and did not even then get into the good graces of the Ministers of Hindustan. Departing thence, he went to Burdawon to Anghal Beg who was the ruler over the Doab country, and there gaining in eminence, he advanced himself to the exalted office of generalissimo. And the tract of Kambalab and Betall was given to him as a jagir. From there he went in the service of Malik Hassama-d-din to the Subah of Andh (Oude). Subduing again became more or less subject to the Musslman Kings of Gaur, Hassin Shih, and Naarin Shih. Under the early Mughul Emperors, Behar was again formed into a distinct Subah, but under the later Mughuls, it again became incorporated along with Orissa in the great Bengal Viceroyalty. North Behar appears to have been generally included in the Musslman Kingdom of Bengal (see Tarikh-i-Firoz Shih, pp. 461 and 588).

1 Abul Fazl places 'Ghor' to the north of Kandahar, and 'Garmsir' to the west of Kandahar. In 'Garmsir' lay the city of Ferozshoh, the capital of the Ghurian Sultan.

2 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, (Pers. text, p. 146) which is the nearest contemporary account, describes Bakhtiar Khilji as "active, agile, brave, bold, learned and intelligent." It says that he went to Ghazni to seek service under Sultan Muzaffar, but owing to his slender appearance was rejected by the Sultan's War Minister. Disappointed, Bakhtiar came to Delhi, where also he was rejected by the War Minister (Dewan-i-Ara).

3 In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri p. 147, which is the most reliable account, 'Badami.' The Tabaqat mentions the name of the feudatory of Badaun to be Berti恍or Harbana-d-din Hassan Arunab.

4 Major Raverty identifies Bakhtiar Khilji's jagir lands with the provinces of 'Bhagyut and Bholi,' south of Benaras, and east of Chunar. Professor Blochmann considers this identification satisfactory. (See Raverty's translation of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri and Blochmann's contr. to history and Geography of Bengal).

5 This account does not accord strictly with what is contained in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, (Pers. text, p. 147), the nearest contemporary account for the period. In Tabaqat, it is stated that after being rejected by War Ministers both at Ghazni and at Delhi, owing to his slender appearance, Bakhtiar Khilji proceeded to Badaun, presented himself before its feudal baron, general Harbana-d-din Hassan Arunab, who allotted him a fixed pay, that thence Bakhtiar proceeded to Oudh and presented himself before its feudal...
that province, he advanced himself farther in rank and dignity. When the fame of his bravery and liberality, and the reputation of his heroism and gallantry, spread over the confines of Hindustan, Sultán Quṭb-ud-din who, not yet ascending the throne of Delhi, was still at Lāhore, sent to him valuable Khilā't, and summoned him to his presence, and granting to him an illuminated Fārmān of Chiefship over the province of Behār, deputed him there. And Muhammad Bakhtīār marching quickly to that side, spared no measure of slaughter and pillage. It is said that in Behār there was a Hindu Library which fell into the hands of Muhammad Bakhtīār. The latter enquired from the Brahmins as to the reason for the collection of the books. The Brahmins replied that the whole town formed a college, and that in the Hindi language a college was called Behār, and that hence that town was so called. After this, when Muhammad Bakhtīār being victorious returned to the service of the Sultān, he became more renowned and enviable than other servants. And his rank was advanced so much, that the juice of envy set allowing amongst Sultān Quṭb-ud-din’s other officers, who burned in the fire of envy and shame, and combined to expel and destroy him, so much so, that one day in the presence of the Sultān, in regard to his strength and prowess, they said unanimously that Muhammad Bakhtīār, owing to exuberance of strength, wanted to fight with an elephant. The Sultān wondering questioned him. Muhammad Bakhtīār did not disavow this false boastfulness, though he knew that the object of the associates of the king was to destroy him. In short, one day when all the people, the elite as well as the general public, assembled in baron, Malik Haseemuddin Ughalbak, who conferred on him hefs of Sahlat and Sahli (identified with Bhagwat and Bhoeli), and finding him brave and bold sent him (apparently on reconnoitring expeditions) towards Munir near Patna, and Behar town. In these reconnoitring expeditions for one or two years, Bakhtīār gathered a large booty, when the Delhi Viceroy (Quṭbuddin) recognized tardily Bakhtīār’s merits. It would thus appear that but for Bakhtīār’s own tenacity, the stupidity of the War ministers of Qasmin and Delhi would have robbed the Indo-Moslem Empire of a valuable recruit, and perhaps postponed indefinitely its rapid expansion towards Behār and Bengal!

1 In Tahāwat-i-Nasiri, pp. 147 and 148 it is stated that Bakhtīār presented himself before the gate of the fort of Behār with two hundred horse-girths and armours covered with fur-cloth (فرشکاران), and stormed the fort, and that Bakhtīār had with him at the time two wise brothers, named Nizamuddin and Basmamuddin (of Farghana).
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 Lakhmānti was bestowed on him; and with peace of mind, having gained his object, he proceeded to the metropolis of Delhi. That year Malik Bakhtīār, bringing to subjugation the Sābāh 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 Lakhmānta, and who had reigned for eighty years over that Kingdom, was at the time taking his food.1

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

The text is not strictly in accord with the account given in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri which is the most reliable and the nearest contemporary account for the period. Whilst in the service of the feudatory of Ouluq (Tabaqat, Pers. text, p. 147), Bakhtīār reconnoitered Behār for one or two years, and carried off much plunder. Quth-ud-din, the Delhi Viceroy, then called Bakhtīār to Lahore tardily recognized his merits, and loaded him with presents. Bakhtīār returned to Behār, and conquered it, and carrying off again a large booty, presented himself to Quth-ud-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 Quth-ud-din, returned to Behār, and the second year after his conquest of Behār, he invaded and conquered Bengal, storming and sacking Nadia, and establishing himself at the village or source of Lakhmānta (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 151). This would indicate that Lakhmānta was founded by him, and was distinct from Gaur, though possibly close to it.

1 The Tabaquot (Pers. text, p. 151) states that the Rajah (Lakhmānta) was then sitting in his inner apartments, with his food set before him in gold and silver plates, when the sudden invasion 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 Rajah 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 Lakhmanin 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 Kamrup.1 Muhammad Bakhtiar sweeping the town with the broom of devastation, completely demolished it, and making anew the city of Lakhnanti, which from ancient times was the seat of Government of Bengal, his own metropolis, he ruled over Bengal peacefully, introduced the Khutbah, and minted coin in the name of Sultan Qutbuddin, and strove to put in practice the ordinances of the Muhammadan religion.2 From that

Sanknat and Bang, his treasures, harem, slaves and servants and women and elephants all falling into Bakhtiar’s hands.

1 Some copies of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri have ‘Saknat,’ and also ‘Sanknat,’ Tabqat-i-Akhari has ‘Jagannath.’

According to other and more reliable accounts, the Rajah fled from Nadiah to Bikrampur, south-east of Decca. I think therefore “कनट रबन” in the printed text of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri is a copyist’s mistake for “स्कनट बंगा,” meaning the Rajah’s “Bengal Residence” which was at Bikrampur from before.

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

2 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-Nasiri (Pers. text, p. 151), that both in Behar and Bengal, just after their conquest, he established Mosques, Colleges, Khanaqahs
the Kingdom of Bengal became subject to the Emperors of Delhi. Malik Ikhtiarud-din Muhammad Bakhtiar was the first Muhammadan ruler of Bengal. In the year 599 A.H. when Sultan Quṭbu-d-din after conquest of the fort of Kālinjar, proceeded to the town of Mahubah which is below Kālpī and conquered it, Malik Muhammad Bakhtiar going from Behar to wait on him, met the Sultan, at the time, when the latter was proceeding from Mahubah towards Badraun. He presented jewelleries and divers valuables of Bengal and a large amount in cash. And for a time remaining in the company of the Sultan, he took permission to return, and came back to Bengal, and for a period ruling over Bengal he engaged in demolishing the temples and in building mosques. After this, he planned an expedition towards the Kingdoms of Khāta and Tibbat, with a force of ten or twelve thousand select cavalry, through the passes of the north-eastern moun-

or Charitable establishments consisting of Students' Hostels and travellers' Guest-houses, founded cities, and established military outposts at strategic points, and introduced the coinage of money (see Tapasgi, pp. 131 and 149). He laid down embankments, constructed roads and bridges connecting his northern military outposts at Deokot and his southern military outpost at Laknor (perhaps Nagor in Birbhum) with his newly-founded capital at Lakhnauti.

1 i.e., 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. This subordination (during Bakhtiar Khilji and at least two of his immediate successors) was nominal, as Bakhtiar conquered Bengal and Behar on his own account, though he outwardly acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi.  
2 A town and a celebrated hill-fort in Banda district.  
3 In the text 'Mahbā,' which is evidently a mistake of the copyist. Mahaba is a town about 15 miles from Lucknow city.  
4 A town in Jalal district, North-Western Provinces, on the right bank of the Jamna.  
5 On the banks of the river Set, North-Western Provinces, first conquered by Sayid Sabar Masid Ghazi, nephew of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, in 1028 A.C., and re-conquered by Qutub-ud-din in 1196 A.C.  
6 In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 152, “Tibbet and Turkistan.”

One can easily imagine what an immense Mussulman army Bakhtiar Khilji must have subsequently poured into Bengal from the Upper Western Provinces, to have enabled him to detach 10,000 cavalry for an expedition into Tibbat, without weakening his garrison in the newly conquered Provinces of Bengal and Behar, especially as we read in the Tabaqat (p. 157), that at the same time he sent a detachment under Muhammad Shihin to invade Jajangar (Orissa). Those who are given to amusement at the present numerical
tains of Bengal. Guided by one of the Chiefs of Koch, named 'Ali Mich, who had been converted to Muhammadan faith by Muhammad Bakhtiär, he reached towards those mountains. 'Ali Mich led Bakhtiär's forces to a country, the town whereof is called Abardhan, and also Barahmangadi. It is said that this town was founded by Emperor Garshāsp. Facing that town, flows a river called Namakdi, which in its depth and breadth, is thrice as much as the river Ganges. Since that river was tumultuous, broad, and deep, and fordable with difficulty, marching along the banks of the river for ten days, he reached a place where existed a large bridge made of stone, and extending over twenty-nine arches, erected by the ancients. It is said that Emperor Garshāsp, at the time of invading Hindūstān, constructed that bridge, and came to the country of Kāmrūp. In short, the strength of Musalman population in Bengal, and are at pains to evolve theories to account for it, might as well bear in mind these elementary facts of history.

1 In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri p. 152. "Maridhan-Kote" and "Baridhan-Kote;" in Badoni, p. 58, Vol. I. "Brahman." The ruins of "Baridhan-Kote" lie north of Bogra close to Gohindghat, on the Karatān river, not far from Ghoraghat, and this is the place meant according to Professor Blochmann.

2 A King of Turān or Turkistan or Tartary or Scythia; but in Nemah-i-Khusrau, p. 7, he is described as the last sovereign of the Peshdadian dynasty of Persia. In Ferishtā it is stated that when Garšāsp made an incursion into Hindūstān from Turkistan, he founded the city of Bardhan.

3 In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri p. 152, "Bagmati" and "Bakmadī;" in Badoni, p. 58, Vol. I. "Brahmanput" and "Brahmakali." The river referred to has been identified by Professor Blochmann to be the Karatān, which formed for a long time the boundary between ancient Muhammadan Bengal and Kāmrūp.

4 This ten days' march extended northward along the banks of the Karatān and the Teesta, which latter before 1784 flowed west of the Karatān, joined the Atrai, and fell into the Padma, and of all Bengal rivers extended furthest into Tibet. This march then was along the frontier between ancient Musalman Bengal and the territory of the Rajah of Kāmrūp. Bakhtiār's Tibbatān expedition must have commenced in the latter part of 805 A.H. (1209 A.C.) or beginning of 806 A.H. (1210 A.C.)

5 This bridge must have been in the neighbourhood of Darshelling (or Darjeeling) which in those days appears to have been the boundary separating the Moches from the hill-tribes. The author of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Pers. text, p. 152), in this connection mentions the following three tribes as then inhabiting Northern Bengal, viz., (1) Koch, (2) Mech, and (3) Tharo; vide also Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal.
Muhammad Bakhtiār sending across his forces by that bridge, and posting two commandants for its protection, planned to advance. The Rājāh of Kāmrūp, dissuading him from an advance, said that if he (Muhammad Bakhtiār) 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 Bakhtiār 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 Garshāp, 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 farsangs from that fort, was a large and populous city.5 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.6 And they said "you have an impracticable scheme in your head with this small force." Muhammad Bakhtiār, 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,7 for fifteen days, the soldiers did not see a handful of food-grains, nor did the cattle see one bushel of fodder.

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1 In the Tahāqat-i-Naṣīrī (Pers. text, p. 153), this march is thus related: "After leaving a Turkish officer and a Khalji officer with a large body of troops to guard the bridge..... Muhammad Bakhtiār Khalji 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 Tahāqat-i-Naṣīrī names the city Karmātān. Bakhtiār Khalji's march from the bridge was northward for sixteen days.

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

4 In 16 days Bakhtiār Khalji retreated from the hills of Tibbat into the plain Kāmrūp. According to Major Raverty, from the hills of Darjeeling, Bakhtiār Khalji had advanced through Sikkim into Tibbat towards the Sāngpa.
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 cap. Muhammad Bakhtiār 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 manuds. In short, Muhammad Bakhtiār with his force took refuge in this temple, and was busy improvising means for crossing the river. The Rājah of Kāmrūp² 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 Bakhtiār 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 idols 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 Musalman 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 Mahumani in Kāmrūp district.
² It would appear that the Rājah of Kāmrūp who had offered his services to Bakhtiār Khilji, in the end turned out treacherous.
were drowned. Only Muhammad Bakhtiar 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 Bakhtiar 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 1 died. And according to other accounts, Ali Mardan Khilji, who was one of his officers, during that illness, slew Bakhtiar, and raised the standard of sovereignty over the kingdom of Lakhnauti. The period of Malik Ikhtiarâd-din Muhammad Bakhtiar’s rule over Bengal was twelve years. When Muhammad Bakhtiar passed 2

1 For a discussion of the route of Bakhtiar Khilji’s expedition into Tibet, and of his retreat thence, see Kaverty’s notes in his translation of Tabqat-i-Nasiri, and Blochmann’s Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal, J.A.S. for 1875, No. 3, Part I, p. 293.
2 Tabqat-i-Nasiri (Pers. printed text, p. 190) states that Bakhtiar Khilji successfully swam across the river with only one hundred troopers, whilst all the rest of his army were drowned.
3 Deokot or Daudamah, near Gungurimpur, south of Dinajpur, was the northern Mulsman Military outpost in the time of Bakhtiar Khilji, who had set out for Tibet either from Deokot or Lakhnauti.
4 Ali Mardan assassinated Muhammad Bakhtiar 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 Bakhtiar 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 Bakhtiar’s assassination, but he accepts 594 A.H. as the date of the Bengal conquest—which involves chronological contradiction.

Mr. Thomas in his “Initial Conquest of Bengal” states that Ali Mardan assumed independence under the title of Alaudin when Qutbuddin Aibak died in Lahore in 607 A.H. Thus allowing 8 months for Malik Azuddin’s rule, Bakhtiar Khilji appears to have been assassinated about the middle of 606 A.H.—the date previously arrived at by me.

In Badonii, it is stated that Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji returned to Deokot from Tibet 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 Bakhtiar’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 'Aziz-ud-din Khilji succeeded to the rule over Bengal. Eight months had not passed, when 'Ali Mardan Khilji slew him.

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RULE OF 'ALI MARDAN KHILJI IN BENGAL.

After the assassination of 'Aziz-ud-din, his assassin, 'Ali Mardan Khilji became ruler of Bengal, styled himself Sultan 'Alauddin, him with one blow of a dagger. The above account is rendered thus by the Tahqiqat-i-Nasiri, the nearest contemporary account, (Pers. text, I, p. 153)—When Bakhtiar Khilji with about one hundred troopers made good his escape across the river, 'Ali Mich with his relatives rendered good service, 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, women 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 misfortune must have befallen Sultan Muzamal, for the tide of fortune to have thus turned against me." And it was a fact, for at that time Sultan Muzamal had fallen at the hands of an assassin (a Gujhar). 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 'Ali Mardan Khilji who was bold and ferocious, and held the file 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 'Azizuddin Muhammad Shirasa Khilji (Tahqiqat-i-Nasiri, Pers. text p. 157). The following account of him is summarised from Tahqiqat, the nearest contemporary account: Muhammad Shirasa and Ahmad Iraw were two brothers, both being Khilji noblemen, and in the service of Bakhtiar. When Bakhtiar led his expedition towards Tribhat, he sent the above two brothers with an army towards Lakhmani and Jajnagar (Orissa). When these heard the news of Bakhtiar's assassination, they returned to Deokot, and after performing funeral ceremonies, proceeded towards Narkati (not identified, but must have been not far from Deokot) which was held in file by 'Ali Mardan Khilji. They captured the latter, and placed him in charge of the Kotwal (the police commissioner) of that place, named Haba Kotwal Ispahani, and returned to Deokot. Muhammad Shirasa was an energetic man endowed with noble qualities. At the conquest of Nadaun, 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 Qutbuddin to depute from Ursul Qaimnasi Rami to Lakhmani, in order to put down the Khilji oligarchy in Bengal. Husamuddin Iwaz who held the file of Kanktori (Kangour, near
and introduced the Khutbah and the coin in his own name. 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 Ghiyas-d-din Khilji.

RULE OF GHIYASU-D-DIN KHILJI IN BENGAL.

Ghiyas-d-din Khilji succeeded to the rule of Bengal. In that year 607 A.H., Sultān Qutbuddin, whilst playing at polo at Deokot) from Bakhthiār Khilji, went ahead to receive Qaimz Rozi, and in the latter’s company proceeded to Deokot, and on the initiative of Qaimz, received the Sieg of Deokot. When Qaimz was returning from Deokot, Muhammad Shirān and other Khilji nobles collected together, and attempted to re-take Deokot. Qaimz came back, fought with the Khilji nobility and Muhammad Shirān, who being defeated, dispersed, quarrelled amongst themselves near Makidah (Masidah, a parganah south-east of Deokot) and Mantosh (Santosh, a parganah south-east of Deokot), and Muhammad Shirān was slain. He lies buried at Mantosh (on the banks of the Airā river).

1)  Ali Mardan Khilji, assassin of Bakhthiār Khilji and Aamuddin Khilji, ruled from 607 A.H. to 610 or 610 A.H. and assumed independence and title of Sultān Aamuddin, on the death of Qutbuddin Aibak. In Taḥaṣṣat-i-Naṣiri it is stated that he reissued the Khutbah; but Badaoni 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 Aamuddin’s successor, Ghiyasuddin, struck in A.H. 616, see J.A.S., p. 334, p. 1, Vol. XLII for 1878.] It is also stated in Taḥaṣṣat-i-Naṣiri (Pers. text, p. 159), that from excessive insolence, he divided the country of Irān and Tārūn amongst his adherents, and no one dared to suggest that those dominions did not pertain to him. One person complained of poverty to Aamuddin, who emquired whence his 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 Taḥaṣṣat, that on escape from the custody of the Kotwal of Narkot, Ali Mardan went to Sultān Qutbuddin, and received the Viceroyalty of Lakhnauti. When he crossed the Kosi river, Hassamuddin from Deokot received him, conducted him to Deokot, where Ali Mardan 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 Hassamuddin ‘Iraq-bin Aḥṣan. He was a noble of Khilji and Garmir, and on joining Bakhthiār Khilji was first ap-
Lahor, fell from his horse, and died, and his son, Aram Shāh, mounted the throne of Delhi, and the Empire fell into decay. Ghāṣū-d-dīn establishing completely his rule over this province, pointed to Sef of Kangir, (which lay south-east of Deokot) and next promoted to charge of the important northern military outpost of Deokot. On the appointment of Ali Marīān 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 Marīān, who had since the death of Emperor Qubuddin Aḥṣak assumed independence, Hussainuddin was elected chief of the Khilji oligarchy in Bengal in 609 or 610 A.H. Seeing the feebleness of Qubuddin’s successor, Aram Shāh, Hussainuddin assumed independence, made Lakhuanti his capital, and assumed the title of Sulṭān Ghāṣū-d-dīn about 612 A.H., and minted coins in his own name. Mr. Thomas in his “Initial Coinage of Bengal” notices several coins of Sulṭān Ghāṣū-d-dīn struck at Gaur or Lakhuanti between 614 and 620 A.H. An examination of these coins indicates the interesting and curious fact that Ghāṣū-d-dīn had put himself in communication with the Khalīfah of Baghdad 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 sovereignty 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 Baghdad, than between Musalmans of more inland places in India and the Arabs of the aforesaid seaports.

In 623 A.H., Emperor Altamsh from Delhi invaded Bengal, and on Sulṭān Ghīṣuddin paying him tribute, peace was concluded. In 624 A.H., Sulṭān Nāṣiruddin, eldest son of Emperor Altamsh, invaded Lakhuanti, whilst Ghīṣuddin was engaged at Kamrup and Bang (East Bengal), and fought a battle with Sulṭān Ghīṣuddin, 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 Sulṭān Ghīṣuddin extended and consolidated the Moslem sovereignty in Bengal, and extended his empire over Jajnagar (Orissa), Bang (East Bengal), Kamrup (or Kamrup, Western Assam), and Tīrchn (see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Pers. text, p. 183.) Mihājaṣ-Sirīj, Author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri who visited Lakhuanti shortly after in 641 A.H. and appreciated the material improvements effected by Ghīṣuddin, 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 Ghīṣuddin should in his grave be styled as a Sulṭān. Amongst his public works, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri mentions that he founded the Fort of Raikot (Rasankot near Gaur), established mosques, and Public Halls, &c.
introduced the Khatibah 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 Sultan Shamsu-d-din Altamsh received salut in the year 622 A.H., the latter marched with his forces to Behar, and invaded Lakhnau. Sultan Ghiyasu-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. Sultan Shamsu-d-din Altamsh introducing there the Khatibah and the coin in his own name and bestowing on his eldest son the title of Sultan Nasiru-d-din, and entrusting to him the rule over the kingdom of Lakhnau, and presenting to him the royal umbrella and staff, himself returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Sultan Ghiyasu-d-din was just and liberal, and the period of his rule was twelve years.

RULE OF SULTAN NASIRU-D-DIN, SON OF SULTAN SHAMSU-D-DIN ALTAMSH, EMPEROR OF DELHI.

Sultan Nasiru-d-din succeeded to the rule of Bengal. After the return of Sultan Shamsu-d-din Altamsh towards Delhi, Ghiyasu-d-din who had gone towards the kingdom of Kamrup, returning, raised the standard of revolt. Sultan Nasiru-d-din killed him after a bloody engagement, and obtaining much booty, sent many valuables and presents of this country to many of his acquaintance at Delhi, and for three years and some months, he continued to rule over Bengal. In the year 626 A.H., at Lakhnau, he tasted the unattractive potion of death. And Hussainu-d-din Khilji3

1 His body was brought to Delhi, and enshrined by the living father in a beautiful mausoleum (known as the mausoleum of Sultan Ghiyas), about three miles west of the celebrated Qoth Minar. In the inscription on the mausoleum, Nasiruddin is entitled "Emperor of the East," or "Mulik-ul-Malik-ul-Sharq," Emperor Altamsh so much loved the memory of his eldest son (the King of Bengal) that he bestowed his name (i.e., Nasiruddin) on his (Emperor's) younger son who afterwards mounted the throne of Delhi, after whom Talagat-l-Nasiri is named.

2 In Talagat-l-Nasiri, "Balka Malik Khilji," The correct name appears to be Malik Ikhtiaruddin Balka, who assumed the title of Donlat Shah, 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.

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RULE OF 'ALAU-D-DIN KHAN.

When Sultan Shamsud-Din Altamash 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 Nasiruddin, proceeded to Lakhnauti, and after fighting with Malik Hussainud-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 Khutbah and coin. After ruling three years, he was recalled.

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RULE OF SAIFU-D-DIN TURK.

After supercession of Izzul-mulk 'Alau-d-din, Saiful-d-din Turk received the Royal patent of Viceroyalty of Bengal. He, a coin of Doulat Shah, struck in 627 A.H. To put down Doulat Shah, Emperor Altamash personally invaded Bengal for the second time in 627 A.H., defeated Doulat Shah or Ikhlaaruddin Balka, and entrusted the government of Bengal to Alauddin Khan or Alauddin Jani. (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Pers. text, p. 174).

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

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

RULE OF IZZU-D-DIN TUGHAN KHAN.

Since the juggling sky at that time had thrown the reins of Viceroyalty of Bengal (Lakhmanti), when Ala-ud-din Jahi, the Bengal Vicerooy, was recalled. He captured several elephants in Vilayat-I-Bang (East Bengal), sent them as presents to the Delhi Emperor (Shahbuddin Altanah) and received the title of Ighansat.

The following account of him is summarised by me from Tabaqat-I-Nasiri, the nearest contemporary account (Pers. text, p. 242);—Malik Tughan Khan Turkic 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 Sultan (Emperor Altanah) 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 Chashniqir (a taster to a prince), and after a long time, was appointed Superintendent of the Imperial stables (Amir-I-Akbar); and after some time, was appointed feudal lord of Budaun, and next appointed Governor of Behar, when Lakhmanti (Bengal) was conferred on Ighansat Salfuddin Aibak. At length when Salfuddin died, Tughan Khan was appointed to the vacant Bengal (Lakhmanti) Viceroyalty. After the death of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (son of Emperor Alamsh, and Vicerooy of Bengal), between Tughan Khan and the feudatory of Lakhmanti named Lakor Aibak, who enjoyed the title of Al Khan, ill-feeling broke out. Tughan Khan fought with Lakor Aibak before the fort of Basankot, close to Lakhmanti, defeated and killed the latter, and subdued both wings of Lakhmanti, one being in Bedh on the side of Lakor (probably Nagor) and the other being in Harand, on the side of Beckot. At this time, Empress Raxiah 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 Jalluddin. Tughan proceeded from Lakhmanti to Tirhan district, and acquired much booty and treasure.

When SultanMuizzuddinBahramShahi ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, Tughan Khan sent the former also presents. When Sultan Ala-ud-din succeeded Bahram Shahi, Bahsuddin Hullah Sulah invaded Oudh, Manikpur, and Karah and cast eyes on the eastern provinces, and so Tughan Khan went to Karah and Manikpur, (to conciliate Bahsuddin and to turn him back), and in Oudh met Minhaju-Siraj, (author of Tabaqat-I-Nasiri), and with the latter went back to Lakhmanti in 641 A.H. At this time the Rajah of Jajnagar (Orissa) committed depredations in Lakhmanti. Tughan Khan that year, by way of reprisal, invaded Jajnagar (Minhaju-Siraj accompanying him) and reached and stormed the fort of Baktasan,
the empire of Delhi into the hands of Sultan Razia, daughter of Sultan Shamsud-din Altamah, during her reign, the Viceroyalty which is on the Orissa frontier. Fighting ensued, and the Musalmans were defeated. Tughlu Khan returned to Lakhnauti, sent Sharif-ul-mulk Aghari to the Emperor of Delhi, to seek for help. Under Emperor’s order, a large army led by Tamar Khan Qurrad din Qirman, feudatory of Uddi, was sent to Lakhnauti, in order to repel and chastise the invader of Jajnagar (Orissa). The Raja of Jajnagar invaded Lakhnauti, owing to Musalmans in the previous expedition having demolished the Orissa fort of Kattan (or Baktasan). The Orissans first took Lakor (probably Ngor), and slaughtered a large body of Musalmans including the Commandant of Lakor, named Fakhru-din Karimuddin, and then approached the gate of Lakhnauti, but after fighting retreated. Then between Tughlu Khan and Tamar Khan ill-feeling ensued, and they fought against each other, and on both sides many were killed. By the intercession of Minhaja-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 Tughlu Khan with his treasure and elephants and effects would retire to Delhi. Tughlu did so (in his company being Minhaja-s-Siraj); the Emperor loaded him with presents, bestowed on him the Government of Uddi, whilst Tamar Khan held the Bengal Viceroyalty. On the same night, both died, Tamar Khan at Lakhnauti, and Tughlu in Uddi.1

It would appear from the above that the invasion of Bengal by Mughals under Chagiz 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 Altamah 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 Badani, 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 Khulla, 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 Izzu-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 Shafiu-l-Mulk Sanqari, and the Emperor sent to Izzu-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 Chagiz Khan, making an incursion into the kingdom of Lakhnauti through the passes of the northern mountains, created much confusion. Malik Izzu-d-din sent an account of this to Sultan Ala-u-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 Khwaja Tah, 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 Izzu-d-din Tughan Khan and Malik Qarabeg Tamar Khan, dissension set in; consequently, Sultan Ala-u-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 Izzu-d-din Tughan Khan. Tughan Khan ruled for 13 years and some months.

RULE OF MALIK QARABEG TAMAR KHAN.¹

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

¹ Malik Qarabeg Tamar Khan or Qamru-d-din Qisan Tamar Khan was Governor of Bengal from 642 A.H. to 645 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 shill, appointed him Deputy Superintendent of the Royal Stables, whilst Tughan Khan was the Chief Superintendent. In the reign of Empress Razia, he becamefactor of Samaj, and fought in the expedition against Kahwar and Malwah, and rendered good services. He received title of Karm, and also did good
himself to administrative affairs. After ruling ten years, he died. And in the reign of Emperor Nasiru-d-din Mahmūd, son of Sultan Shamsu-d-din Altanah in the year 655 H. the Viceroyalty of Lakhnauti was entrusted to Malik Jalalu-d-din Khān.

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**RULE OF MALIK JALALU-D-DIN KHĀN.**

When Malik Jalalu-d-din 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 superseded, and Arsalan Khān was appointed Viceroy of that province.

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**RULE OF ARSALĀN KHĀN.**

When Arsalan 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 Nasiru-d-din, and shortly after died at Lakhnauti.

Service there. On the death of Nasiru-d-din, he was appointed Governor of Oudh. Whilst at Oudh, he invaded all the eastern tracts including Tihut, and carried off immense booty. He was then sent to Lakhnauti to help Tughlu Khān in repelling the Ooriya invasion, and after that settled down in Bengal as its Viceroy.

1 After him the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri is named; it is a general history of India from the commencement of Mussalmans Rule down to 958 A.H. (1560 A.C.) Sultan Nasiru-d-din succeeded Sultan Alanu-d-din to the throne of Delhi in 1246 A.C. His Visier was Ghiasu-d-din Balban (afterwards Emperor Balban). Of the six years which intervened between 656 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-din Barni only began from Ghiasu-d-din Balban's reign. Emperor Balban reigned from 1266 to 1287 A.C.

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

I do not find any detailed account of him given in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.

3 Issu-d-din Balban was Governor of Bengal in 657 A.H., in which year he was attacked by Taju-d-din Arsalan Khān Sanjar-i-Khwarizmi, who was subsequently captured or killed at Lakhnauti by Issu-d-din. Hence Taju-d-din Arsalan Khān cannot count amongst Governors of Bengal (see Blochmann's Contr. to Hist. and Geog. of Bengal, and Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Pars. text, p. 267).
RULE OF MUHAMMAD TĀTĀR KHĀN.

After the death of Arsalan Khān, his son, Md. Tātār Khān, who was illustrious for his bravery, liberality, heroism and honesty, becoming independent in his rule of Lakhmanti, did not much bend his head in submission to Emperor Nāṣiru-d-din. And after a while, he had the Khutbah in the kingdom of Lakhmanti recited in his own name, and for some time he passed in this wise. And when in the year 664 A.H. the throne of Dehli received eclat from the accession of Sultān Ghiās-u-d-din Balhan, and the fame of high aspiration and steadiness and high ambition of that Emperor spread to all sides, Md. Tātār Khān, using foresight, sent sixty-three head of elephants, together with other presents, to Dehli. As this was the first year of his accession, Sultān Ghiās-u-d-din Balhan considering this an auspicious augury, illuminated the City with lamps, and the nobles, feudatories and the principal officers presenting nazr became recipients of gifts. And the envoys of Muhammad Tātār Khān, after being loaded with presents, got permission to return. Tātār Khān pleased with the Imperial gifts, submitted and enrolled himself in the ranks of the Emperors' Omara. Sultān Ghiās-u-d-din Balhan appointed a Turkish slave named Taghral to the Vicereignty of Lakhmanti.  

1 Muhammad Arsalan Tātār Khān, son of Arsalan Khān Sanjar, had been for some time Governor of Bengal, when the Emperor Balhan ascended the throne (664 A.H.) (See Tarikh Fīrūz Shāhi, by Ziau-d-din Barni, Pers. text, pp. 63 and 66.) He was generous, liberal and brave. After a few years he was succeeded by Tughral, who proclaimed himself king, under the title of Sultān Mughis-u-d-din.

2 This account differs slightly from Professor Blochmann's conclusions derived from inscriptions and the evidence of coins, as set forth in his Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal. Professor Blochmann holds that on the death of Muhammad Tātār Khān, which took place shortly after Balhan's accession, Shōr Khān was appointed Imperial Governor of Lakhmanti; that Shōr Khān was succeeded in the office by Amin Khān, whose Deputy or Naib was Tughral. Tughral heard of Balhan's illness, attacked and defeated Amin Khān, and proclaimed himself king of Bengal under the title of Sultān Mughis-u-d-din (A.C. 1279). Balhan recovered from his illness shortly after, invaded Bengal in person, defeated Tughral, at some place near Sunargaon, where Daulāt Bāi was the zamindar (Tarih-i-Fīrūz Shāhi, p. 87), and in 681 H. (A.C. 1282) before leaving Bengal conferred the throne of Bengal on his (the Emperor Balhan's) son, Bugjira Khān, who assumed the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din. Nāṣiru-d-din appears to have died in 691 H. (1292 A.C.), that is about five years after the death of his
RULE OF TUGHRAL,Styled SULTAN MUGHISU-D-DIN.

Tughral became Viceroys of Lakhnauti. In that, in liberality and bravery, courage and sagacity he was unequalled, in a short time he brought the kingdom of Lakhnauti to subjection and order, and subjugated Kamrup (Western Assam). In the year 678 A.H. he marched with his forces from Lakhnauti to Jajnagar, and vanquishing the Rajah of that place, obtained many elephants and much riches and chattels and stuffs. In that Sultan Ghiasu-d-din Balban had become old, and both of his sons were at Multan with large forces engaged in fighting the Mughals, the kingdom of Lakhnauti was lost sight of. In consequence of this circumstance, Tughral failed to despatch elephants and booty to the Emperor. And also as at the time the Emperor was sick at Delhi, and had not come out of the palace for one month, and rumours of his death had spread in the Empire, Tughral finding the field completely open, sallied out, and collecting a large force proclaimed himself Sultan Mughisu-d-din, and unfurling on his head the red Royal umbrella, had the Khusb in that country recited after his own name. Simultaneously with this event, the Emperor recovered health, and royal edicts announcing the recovery were received. Tughral, not becoming ashamed of what he had done, struck the hand of disloyalty on the hem of hostility. When Sultan Ghiasu-d-din Balban became aware of this, he despatched Malik Abtakin who had long hairs, and who had the title of Amin Khân and was Governor of Oudh, appointing him generalissimo illustrious father Emperor Balban. For a full account of Tughral styled Sultan Mughisu-d-din, see Tahaqat-i-Najiri (Pers. text, p. 261), and also Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi (Pers. text, pp. 81 to 94), by Zia-ad-din Barni. Before becoming Governor of Bengal, he held the following offices: Chaknigir (Taster to a prince) under Shamsu-d-din Altanah; Amir-al Majlis or Lord Chamberlain under Emperor Ruknu-d-din, Superintendent of Elephants, next Superintendent of Stables under Empress Kaizah, soudatory of Tabarhind under Sultan Alau-d-din, next soudatory of Kanaaj and Governor of Oudh, and next Viceroy of Bengal. He invaded Jajnagar (Orissa), Oudh, and Kamrup (Western Assam) successfully, and then proclaimed his independence. Tughral was active and energetic, bold and courageous, liberal and generous. It is worthy of note that in this connection, the author of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi (p. 93), for the first time uses expressions like these, "Iqlim-i-Lakhnauti," "Iqlim-i-Sunargum," "Arrah-i-Bangalah,"—indicating that Tughral had considerably extended his Bengal Satrapy.
of the expedition, and also Viceroy of Lakhnaunti, together with other nobles, such as Tamar Khan Shamai, Malik Tazu-d-din, son of ‘Ali Khan,1 and Jamalu-d-din Qandahari, for destroying Tughral. And when Malik Ahtakin with a large force crossed the river Sro, and marched towards Lakhnaunti, 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 Tarminil 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 Ghiaśu-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 pretence of a hunting excursion went towards Sanām and Samānah. Appointing Malik Sūnaj to be governor of Samānah, he took his young son, Būghrā Khān, with a select force in his own company, and passed from Samānah to Deob. Leaving Malik-i-Umara-Fakhru-d-din Kotayd 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 Lakhnaunti. Tughral who in this interval had collected his efficient troops, marched in state towards Jānjāgar with his treasures and a large army, and planned to take it and to encamp there, and subsequently to return to Lakhnaunti, when the Emperor would return to Dehli. But when the Emperor reached Lakhnaunti, after staying there a few days, he despatched General Hassāmn-d-din Vakil-dar Bārbay (Secretary of State), who was the grandfather of the author of the Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, to subjugate the

1 In Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, “Qutlug Khān Shamai.”
kingdom of Lakhmanti, and the Emperor himself marched towards Jajnaur, to chastise Tughral. At the time, when the Emperor reached the confines of Sunargaon, Bhuj Rai, who was the Zamindar 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 Kārol 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 Muqaddar, 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 befall 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 Jajnaur 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 “Jajnaur,” see Bichmann’s “Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal.”
2 In Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, “Dannj Rai,” (p. 87).
3 Probably the river Brahmaputra or Megna is meant. Sunargion is situated on the banks of the Brahmaputra, 13 miles S.-E. of Dacca. For a contemporary and graphic description of Emperor Ghiyas-ud-din Bāban’s expedition to Bengal, see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi (pp. 89-90 Pers. text.)
5 In Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. (“Malik Muhammad Sherandaz,” p. 88).
6 Koel is a tehsil in Aligarh District.
7 From the description given, Tughral alias Sultan Mahfiz-ud-din would appear to have pitched his tent at the time on the western banks of the Brahmaputra, not very far from Sunargaon. 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 Manicknagar.
we are returning from there. Between you and Tughral, there is a distance of half a fareakh. To-day he is encamping there; to-morrow he will march to Jajnagar." Malik Mohammad Tirandaz sent the grocers with two troopers to Malik Barbak 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 Vilayet of Jajnagar which is in the kingdom of Bengal, and leaguing 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 himself arrived. Becoming totally confounded, he slipped out in great perplexity by the bath-room door, and mounting an unsaddled 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 Jajnagar. 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, severed 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 Darca side to the Tipperary tract (which has been identified here with Jajnagar), with the old and powerful Emperor of Delhi (Ghiasu-d-din Balban) shadowing him. This Jajnagar, therefore, in Bengal, is different from Jajnagar 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 Baras4 arrived, and Muqaddar running 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 Tirandās2 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, Sultan Ghiāsan-d-din 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 Dehli 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 Khusrau, the poet-laureate of Emperor Ghiāsan-d-din Balban.
2 In Tārīkh Fīrūz Shāhī (p. 88) Malik Muhammad Shirandās.
3 In Tārīkh Fīrūz Shāhī (p. 89) Malik Muqaddar and Tughral-kush would seem to be two different individuals.
4 The author of Tārīkh Fīrūz Shāhī remarks that on both sides of the principal bazaar of Lakhnauti that was more than one thousand long, scaffolds were set up, and men, women and children were hanged. Such cruelty, sorrowfully remarks Ziau-d-din Barni, had never before been perpetrated by Musalmān sovereigns of Delhi. (See pp. 91-92 Tārīkh Fīrūz Shāhī).
Lakhnauti on his own son, Bughrâ Khan, giving him at the same time the treasures, etc., and other valuables of Tughral that

1 Bughrâ Khan, younger son of Emperor Balban, assumed the royal title of Sultan Nasiru-d-din at his elevation to the throne of Bengal. He was the first of a succession of Baluchi Kings who ruled over Bengal, from 1282 A.C. to 1311 A.C. (or 681 A.H. to 711 A.H.) and had mostly their court at Sunargao near Dacca. Nasiru-d-din Bughrâ Khan, 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 Bakru-d-din who assumed the title of Sultan Kali-Kaua. From inscriptions found at Gangarampur and Khagol, near Lakhnauti, 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 Shamsu-d-din Firuz Shah. Firuz Shah had several sons, namely, Bughrâ Khan, Nasiru-d-din, Ghiasu-d-din or Bahadur Khân, Qutlu Khân, and Hâtim Khân. The third son, Ghiasu-d-din, made conquests in Eastern Bengal, established himself at Sunargao near Dacca, and struck coins from 1311 A.C. under the name of Bahadur Shah. The fifth son Hâtim Khân was in 1309 and 1315 A.C. Governor of Owk. Firuz Shah died in 718 H. (1318 A.C.) Quarrels then broke out between the several sons of Firuz Shah, who was succeeded by his eldest son who took the title of Shahbod-d-din Bughrâ Shah who reigned at Lakhnauti in 1318-19. Soon after his accession, Bughrâ Shah was defeated by his brother Bahadur Shah who reigned at Sunargao. Bughrâ Shah and his brother Nasiru-d-din took refuge with Emperor Tughlak Shah who in 1320 had mounted the throne of Delhi. Qutlu Khân, another brother, was killed by Bahadur Shah who was now supreme king over Bengal and Behar, and held a magnificent Court at Sunargao.

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

With the accidental death of Emperor Tughlak Shah and the accession of his successor Emperor Muhammad Shah Tughlak, other changes took place in the administration of Bengal. The new Emperor released Bahadur Shah, allowed him to return to Sunargao, on condition that the Bengal coinage was to bear the joint names of Bahadur Shah and the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak, and also that in the A.Kh. the names of both were to
had been captured, except the elephants; and conferring on him the title of Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn, he placed on the son’s head the royal umbrella, and allowed also the Khuṭbah 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, 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 subjects, 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

he replied. Tātar Khān who was hitherto Military Governor of Sunarganī, received the title of Bahram Khān, and was stationed at Sunarganī at the Court of Bahadur Shāh, as a sort of Imperial Resident. Nasīr-ud-dīn was continued as Subordinate Governor of Lakhnauti.

In 726 A.H. (1329 A.D.), Nasīr-ud-dīn died, and Muhammad Shāh appointed Malik Bīdar Khilji as Governor of Lakhnauti with the title of Qādir Khān. Bahadur Shāh, the king, at Sunarganī, 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 Ghias-ud-dīn 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 Fakhr-ud-dīn successfully revolted, killed Qādir Khān and established the independence of Bengal. (See Blochmann’s contribution to History of Bengal, Thomas’ Initial coinage, Ihm-i-Ratutah, Tarikh Fīrūz Shāhi, pp. 92, 181, 234, 450, 461, 461, 480).

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-Fīrūz Shāhi (pp. 95 to 108), and will repay perusal. They contain golden rules for the conduct of sovereigns, and indicate that this Mūsâlman Emperor cherished a noble and exalted ideal of kingly duties and responsibilities.
should not act unjustly from selfishness. In the care for the
ting 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 hens 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.

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RULE OF BUGHRÁ KHÁN,Styled SULTÁN NAŠIRU-
D-DÍN, SON OF EMPEROR GHIASP-D-DÍN BALBAN.

When Sultán Naširu-d-din became ruler of the kingdom of
Lakhnáuti, after some time, his elder brother who was named
Sultán Muḥammad and was known as Khán-i-Sháhid was killed
at Máltán, fighting against the Mughals. And Sultán Ghíasu-d-
din Balban who was much attached to him, became dejected by
his death, and summoned Sultán Naširu-d-din from Lakhnáuti.
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 Fírúz Sháhi (p. 107), “after three years.”
2 Sultán Muḥammad, eldest son of Emperor Ghíasu-d-din Balban, was
Imperial Viceroy of Máltán Province or Vilkyat at this time. This Prince
was brave, gallant and accomplished, and in fell gallantly fighting between
Lahore and Díbalpur against the Mughal borders under Támar from Central
Asia who were harrying at this time the North-Western frontier of India.
Hence the Prince is styled “Khán-i-Sháhid” or “Martyred Prince or
Chief.” His death was a great shock to the aged Emperor. (See Tarikh-i-
Fírúz Sháhi, pp. 109-10). The Prince was a patron of learning, and to his
court at Máltán were attached the celebrated poets, Amir Khwánum and Amir
Hasan, for whose biographical sketch, see Badacá, 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 Khusrān, 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." Nāṣiru-d-din, 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 686 A.H., passed from this transitory world. And when Sultān Muizu-d-din 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 frivolities and dissipations, he became unmindful of the affairs of the Empire, excepting women and wine. And Malik Nizāmu-d-din setting himself to the destruction of the Balkani family, induced Muizu-d-din to call his cousin Kaikhusrav from Multān, and to kill him on the way, and to dismiss many of the loyal Umarā. Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din Bughra Khān at Lakhnauti, on receiving news of the negligence of his son, and of the overbearing influence of Malik Nizāmu-d-din, wrote to his son letters containing instructions, and by insinuations and hints, advised

[1] Ziauddin Barni, author of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi (p. 121) states that shortly before his death in 686 A.H. (1287 A.C.), the aged and venerable Emperor Ghizāu-d-din Balkam summoned him to his presence in his palace in Delhi, Malik-ul-Umara Fakhru-d-din Kotwai (or police commissioner) of Delhi, Khwaja Husain Buṣrī, the Vizier or Prime Minister, and some others, and instructed them to place Kai Khusrān, son of Sultān Muhammed, on the throne. After the Emperor's death, however, the Kotwai and his party placed Kaiqubād, son of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din Bughra Khān (King of Bengal, and second son of the Emperor) on the throne. The personnel of Sultān Muizu-d-din Kaiqubād's administration consisted of (1) Malik-ul-Umara Kotwai of Delhi, (2) Nizāmu-d-din, nephew of Malik-ul-Umara, who became Dadluq or Chief Justice, and subsequently Wazir or Prime Minister, (3) Malik Quānum-d-din, who became Wakhādar 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 Kīlakhari, in the suburbs of Delhi. Nizāmu-d-din the Wazir who now assumed the title of Nizāmu-Mulk, set about devising means to destroy the house of Balkam (see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi, p. 132)
him to beware of the wily enemy in the person of Nizam-u-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, Nasir-u-d-din Buhran Khān marched with his army. On reaching Behār, Sultan Nasir-u-d-din passing from Behar to the banks of the river Sarā, encamped.

The standards of the Emperor of the world were pitched On the banks of the Ghagar, in the environs of the town, The Ghagar was on one side, and the Sarā on the other, From excessive heat, the soldiers fomented 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 Nasir-u-d-din, abandoning the idea of the conquest of Delhi, made overtures for peace. And Sultan Muiz-u-d-din, owing to the instigation of Malik Nizām-u-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 Nasir-u-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 who am consumed by the fire of misfortune, may behold

The text here is rather confused. In Firdausi, the rendering is as follows: "When Sultan Muiz-u-d-din Kalâbâd heard of the intention of his father (Sultan Nasir-u-d-din Buhran Khān, King of Bengal) and of the latter's arrival in Behār, he (Emperor Kalâbâd), too, arrayed his forces, and in the hottest part of the year reached the banks of the Ghagar river, and halted. And Sultan Nasir-u-d-din, on hearing of the news, advanced from Behār, reached the banks of the river Sarā, and halted." The meeting between Sultan Nasir-u-d-din Buhran Khān and his son the Emperor Kalâbâd is immortalized in the pages of "Qiran-u-Sudain" by Amir Khurasân, the celebrated poet of Delhi. The camp of the father was on the bank of the river Sarā or Sarāj or Sarju, the old river boundary-line between the Musliman Kingdom of Bengal (which included Behār in those days) and the Empire of Delhi, and the camp of the son was on the opposite banks of the Sarā. Tarîk-i-Firuz Shâhi, p. 141. The Qiran-u-Sudain fixes the meeting-place at Ajudhsây in the banks of the Ghagar."
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 Nasiru-d-din being touched by the perusal of his father's letter desired to proceed unattended, to meet his father. Nasimu-d-din used dissimulation, 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 Bughrā Khan embarking on a boat crossed the river, and proceeded to the tent of Nasiru-d-din Kaiqubad. Kaiqubad 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: "Today I have bid the last farewell to my son."

1 It is stated that on the day of departure, Sultan Nasiru-d-din Bughrā 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 Khawan and other noted Amirs and Malik of Ghuanu-d-din Balkan, and advised him to dismiss Nizamu-d-din alī Bahauddin Mulk, the Wazir. (See Tarıh-i-Firuz-Shahī, pp. 144 to 156).
Then marching back from that place, he returned to his kingdom. And when Sultan Muizudd-din Kaikubad at the end of 689 A.H. was slain, and the Empire was transferred from the Ghorian dynasty to the Khaliji family, and Sultan Jalaludd-din Khaliji mounted the throne of Delhi, Sultan Nasirudd-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 fief of Lakhnauti. Till the reigns of Sultan Alaudd-din and Sultan Qutbudd-din, Sultan Nasirudd-din Buγhra Khan conducted himself in this wise. The period of the rule of Sultan Nasirudd-din in Bengal was six years.

RULE OF BAHAADUR SHAH.

In the reign of Sultan 'Alaudd-din, Bahadur Khan who was one of the connexions of Sultan Nasirudd-din, and was one of the leading nobles of Sultan 'Alaudd-din, was entrusted with the Vicerealty of Bengal. For many years he occupied the Viceregal throne, and enforced the recital of the Khutbah and the minting of

1 See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 173. According to other accounts Emperor Kaikubad was poisoned at the instigation of the Amir-ul-Umara who was in league with Jallaludd-din Khaliji. With him (Kaikubad) ended the Bahmani 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 Bahmani Kings of Bengal.

2 Sultan Jallaludd-din Khaliji is said to have been descended from Qalaγ Khan, son-in-law of Changer Khan. He was Governor of Samanah and held the office of State Secretary (Arcta-Manalik) in the Cabinet of Emperor Kaikubad. Jallaludd-din ascended the Delhi throne in 1280 A.C. or 689 A.H., and with him commenced the Khaliji 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, Alauudd-din Khaliji. See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 170-174, Badaoni, p. 167, vol. 1. Badaoni states that "Qali" and "Khaliji" were different, and that "Khaliji" was one of the children of Yafira, son of Noah.

3 Sultan Qutbudd-din Khaliji was son of Sultan Alauudd-din Khaliji. See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 408 and 381.

4 In respect of the weak rule in Bengal of Sultan Nasirudd-din Buγhra Shahi (son of Emperor Babur), Ziaudd-din Burchi (p. 189) relates that Emperor Jallaludd-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 Sultân Qutbuddin Khilji, he usurped the sovereignty of Bengal, and proclaiming himself Bahâdur Shâh, introduced the Khâshah 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 Shâh, in the year 724 A.H. petitions from Lakhnauti describing the oppressions of the rulers of that country were received. Sultân Tughlak Shâh with an efficient army marched towards Bengal. When he reached Tîrânt, Sultân Nasiruddin, 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 Shâh, submitted to his fate, marched from Lakhnauti to Tîrânt, and presenting himself before the Emperor offered

1 On the defeat of Khurram Khan, (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shâh, 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 Shâh. His father was a Turkish slave, named Malik, of Sultan Ghiasuddin Balkhan, 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 (1320-1414 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 Shâh at Sunargao in Bengal, Ghiasuddin Tughlak marched to Sunargao, fought a decisive engagement, took Bahadur Shâh a prisoner, and marched back with the latter towards Delhi, storming the fort of Tîrânt, and leaving Nasiruddin as Governor of Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti. Ghiasuddin divided Bengal into three provinces, namely (1) Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti, (2) Vilayet-i-Sûtâgíon, (3) Vilayet-i-Sunargao, placing each under a distinct Governor, and placing a Viceroy (stationed at Sunargao) over all the Governors. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shâh, pp. 451.

2 This Nasiruddin was a grandson of Sultan Nasiruddin Bughra Shâh, son of Emperor Balkhan. He was Governor of Lakhnauti, but had been ousted by his brother Bahadur Shâh, king of Bengal, who held his court at Sunargao. This Nasiruddin and another brother Bughra Khan had taken refuge at the time with the Emperor of Delhi (Tughlak Shâh) who at their instigation invaded Bengal to chastise their brother, Bahadur Shâh (king of Bengal). The text, however, is misleading, and would incorrectly indicate that the Nasiruddin here referred to is Sultan Nasiruddin Bughra Shâh, king of Bengal (son of Emperor Balkhan). See, however, Blochmann's "Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal" and Tarikh-i-Firuz Shâh, pp. 460-461.
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 fief. 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 Ghiasuddin, appointing his adopted son, Tatar Khan, Governor of Sunagou, and entrusting to Nasiruddin the over-lordship of Sunagou, Gaur and Bengal, returned to Delhi. But soon after, Sultan Nasiruddin died. The period of the rule of Bahadur Shah in Bengal was thirty-eight years.

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RULE OF QADR KHAN.

When Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlak Shah returned from Bengal, before he could reach Delhi, on the way, in the month of Rabiul-awwal in the year 725 A.H., he perished under the roof of a newly built pavilion. His son, Ulugh Khan, 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 Bahmani dynasty in Bengal.

2 Ulugh Khan or Alugh Khan was Fakhruddin Juna, nephew and son-in-law of Emperor Ghiasuddin 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 Mohammad 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 evoluted 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 Khilifa 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 Sunagou on certain conditions, but subsequently deposed him. In his reign, Bengal became independent under Fakhruddin. (See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 429, 453, 457 to 461, 478, 479, 89, 462.)
Khân on Malik Bedâr Khîlji, who was one of his leading nobles, he assigned to him the country of Lakhnautî, which had fallen vacant by the death of Sultân Nasîru-d-dîn. And giving the title of Bâhrâm Khân to Tâtar Khân, whom Tughlak Shâh had appointed Governor of Sunârgâon, and who was an adopted brother of Sultan Muhammad Shâh, 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 Sunârgâon, he sent him to Bengal with all honours. And after fourteen years' administration of that country, Qâdr Khân was killed at the hands of his servant, Fakhru-d-dîn, 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 Qutbuddin Aibak to the reign of Sultan Ghiasuddin Md. Taghlakh Shah, 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 Viceroys 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 Viceroys 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 Shah, Qadir Khan, being appointed Governor of Lakhnauti, for fourteen years administered the affairs of that State. Then Malik Fakhruddin, who was Qadir Khan's Armour-Superintendent, meddling in administrative matters, obtained much influence, and, resolving in mind to usurp the Vicereoyalty, watched for an opportunity. Finding Qadir Khan off his guard, Fakhruddin revolted, killed his own master, and became Vicereoy of the kingdom of Bengal. When the Empire of Muhammad Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, fell into complete decay, aiming in his mind amongst other things at the Emperor's capture, Fakhruddin 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 Fakhruddin Abul Musaffir Mubarak Shah, who was Nilakantha or armour-bearer to Babram Khan, the Governor of Sambargoon. On his master's death in 730 H. or 1338 A.C., Fakhru killed Qadir Khan, Governor of Lakhnauti, and subdued provinces of Lakhnauti, Sotgarn and Sambargoon, 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. Fakhrud-din was the first king who had the Khutbah of sovereignty recited after his own name in the Kingdom of Bengal.¹

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF SULTAN FAKHRU-D-DIN.

When Sultan Fakhrud-din ascended the throne of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, he sent out his officer Mukhali 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 Mukhali Khān, and routed the latter's entire force. Sultan Fakhrud-din who had just become king, and was not confident of the loyalty of his officers, did not venture to attack

¹-Firuz Shāh, p. 580). His coins minted at Sunārgān (published in Thomas's “Initial Coinage”, would indicate that he reigned for ten years and some months. Ibn-i-Batūrah mentions that he was an eminent man, and very generous. His capital appears to have been at Sunārgān. His son-in-law, Zafar Khān fled from Sunārgān to Firuz Shāh in Delhi, who at his request (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāh by Shams-i-Siraj, pp. 105-114) invaded Bengal a second time during Sankar Khān's reign. Bengal attained great prosperity during the rule of these Independent Muslim Kings. Ports and public buildings were erected, Mosques, Colleges, Students' Hostels and Travellers' Guest-Houses and Khaqans were established in all parts of the Kingdom. Tanks excavated, and roads laid down. Two great Royal Houses—one of Haji Ilyas and another of Allād-din Husain Shāh (with a brief break of about forty years, during which Bajār Khan and his successors usurped the Bengal Kingdom) reigned during this period. The Kingdom of Bengal received territorial expansion during this period. Western Assam (or Kamrup), portions of Koch-Bihar, and portions of Jagannath (or Orissa), the whole of North Bihar, (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāh, p. 580) and eastern portions of South Bihar up to generally the town of Behar, were subject to the Bengal Kingdom. Muslim arms were carried far to the east across the Megna, which had hitherto proved a great barrier to Muslim extension, right up to Silhara and the western portions of Tiparh and Noakhali districts, including Chittagong. Great sectarian movements having for their object the conciliation of the two zems, sprang up. Kabir and Chaitanya, the great spiritual leaders who preached orthoi lines, flourished in this period.

¹ This was in 1338 A.C.
'Ali Mubārik. And Malik 'Ali Mubārik collecting a large army proclaimed himself Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, marched with his forces against Sultān Fakhr-ud-dīn, and, in the 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, Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, after leaving an efficient force to garrison Lakhnauti, himself proceeded to subjugate the outlying provinces of Bengal. The rule of Sultān Fakhr-ud-dīn lasted two years and five months.

THE ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF 'ALI MUBĀRIK STYLED SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN.*

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

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* The account in Badaoni (vol. I, p. 230 Pers. (text) gives a different version. Badaoni states as follows:—On the death of Bahram Khān, Governor of Sunargoon, in 739 A. H. Malik Fakhraddin who was his Subahdar or Quarter-master General, revolted, assumed the title of Fakhruddin, and fought against Qadr Khān, Governor of Lakhnauti, and was defeated. A second time, Fakhruddin fought against Qadr Khān, and defeated the latter (Qadr Khān's own soldiers killing Qadr Khān), established his rule over Sunargoon Province, and detached his officer Mukbalī to operate against Lakhnauti, Ali Mubārik, Adjutant General (Arix-i-Laghkar) of the Army of Qadr Khān killed Mukbalī, established his own independence (in Lakhnauti), and sent out letters to the Emperor Muhammad Shāh Taghlak, 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 Fakhruddin of Sunargoon) Ali Mubārik in Lakhnauti assumed regal honours and the title of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn. Malik Ilyas Haji, who was a tribal chief and a military commander, after some days, in collusion with certain Omera and Malik of Lakhnauti, killed 'Alā-ud-dīn, and himself assumed the title of Shams-ud-dīn. In 743 A.H., the Emperor Muhammad Shāh Taghlak marched to Sunargoon, captured Fakhruddin, brought him to Lakhnauti, and killed him, and then retired to Delhi. Thereafter Shamsuddin Ilyas Haji ruled independently over Bengal.

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* His name appears from his coins (published in Thomas's 'Initial Coinsage'), to be 'Alā-ud-dīn Abul Muzaffar 'Ali Shāh. His capital appears to have
a nephew of Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din 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 Mahdum Jalalud-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 Pandia, at a place where thou shalt find three bricks, one over the other, and one fresh hundred-leaved 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 Fakhru-d-din revolting against Qadr Khan, and killing his benefactor, assumed the reins of sovereignty, ‘Ali Mubarak proclaiming himself Sultan Alau-d-din and drawing his forces against Fakhru-d-din, as has been mentioned before, avenged the murder of his benefactor, by slaying Fakhru-d-din. With great promptitude, posting a garrison at Lakhnauti, Sultan Alau-d-din turned his attention to the conquest of other provinces of Bengal. When he introduced the Khutbah and the

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

1 Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi was a disciple of Shaikh Said Tabrizi. After travelling for some time, he joined Shaikh Shahabuddin and became the latter’s Khalifa or chief disciple. He was a great friend of Khwaja Qutbuddin and Shaikh Bahamidin. 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 Sear, Vol. I, p. 231 and Anh.
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: "'Alāu-d-din, you have obtained the kingdom of Bengal, but forgotten my bidding."' Alāu-d-din 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 Pandūnah. Sultan 'Alāu-d-din for some time kept him a prisoner, but by the intercession of Ilyās's mother, who was the nurse of Sultan 'Alāu-d-din, 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 Sultan 'Alāu-d-din, and proclaiming himself Shamsu-d-din Bhangrah usurped the provinces of Lakhmānti and Bengal. The reign of Sultan 'Alāu-d-din lasted one year and five months.

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REIGN OF HĀJI ILYĀS STYLED SULTĀN SHAMSU-D-DIN.

When Sultan 'Alāu-d-din was killed, and the sovereignty of Bengal passed to Hāji Ilyās 'Alāi, proclaiming himself Sultan Shamsu-d-din he mounted the throne in the holy city of Pandūnah. As he took much hāng, he was called Shamsu-d-din Bhangrah. In conciliating the people, and winning the heart of the army, he put forth noble efforts. After a while, mastering an army, he went to Jāngāgar, 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 Pandūnah is situate 12 miles north of English Bazar in Maldah district. From the beginning of the reign of Shamsuddin Ilyās to the end of the reign of Hājah Kaus, six kings ruled there for a period of 62 years, from 743 to 795 A.H. But perhaps 'Ali Mubārik should also be included amongst the kings who ruled at Pandūnah. His reign appears to have commenced in 741 A.H. (1340 A.C.) Professor Blochmann calls Pandūnah '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 'Ali Mubārik building a shrine of the saint Jalāluddin at Pandūnah, and also about Shamsuddin Ilyās's arrival at Pandūnah. In 795 A.H. (1392), king Jalāluddin (son of Hājah Kaus) who became a Muhammadan, removed the capital back again to Gaur or Lakhmānti.
time of Sultan Muhammad Shāh, for thirteen years the Emperors of Delhi did not turn their attention to Bengal. Sultan Shamsuddin I 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 Firūz Shāh,

Haji Ilyās first appears to have in 746 A.H. made himself master of Western Bengal, whilst at that time Ikhlasuddin Abūl Muzaffar Ghazi Shāh (son of Mubarak Shāh) still reigned at Sunargaon in Eastern Bengal. Haji Ilyās 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 896 A.H. or nearly a century and a half. He extended his western boundaries as far as Baran, founded Hațpur, and though Firūz Shāh Taghlik the Emperor led an expedition into Bengal to punish him, he had to return unsuccessful. For Ilyās 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 Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāh p. 690 by Ziauddin Barai and Sīraj Afsī p. 77.

Sultan Firūz Shāh Taghlik alias Malik Firūz Bárbak was a son of an uncle of Muhammad Shāh Taghlik, and a nephew of Ghiauud-din Taghlik Shāh. His father was Hākī Bahār who abandoning all worldly affairs, became a saint. When fifty years old, in 753 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-revenues, and regulated its assessment according to the produce of the lands assessed and also according to the capacity of the tenure 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 Hansi, he erected a fort called Hisar-i-Firūz, 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 Sutlej 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 Abūl Fath Khalif of Egypt. He reigned from 1351 to 88 A.C. The Taghlik dynasty ended in 1414 A.C.; the Empire being shattered by the invasion of Timur in 1398 A.C., during the reign of Mahmud Shāh Taghlik, the last real Taghlik king. (See Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāh pp. 548-570 by Ziauddin Barai, and by Shama-i-Sera).
of Rajah, who attempted to re-conquer Bengal. It is said that at that time Sultân Shamsu-d-din built a bath, similar to the Shamai-bath of Delhi. Sultân Firuz Shâh who was furious with anger against Shamsu-d-din, in the year 754 A.H., set out for Lakhnauti, and after forced marches reached close to the city of Pânduâh, which was then the metropolis of Bengal. The Emperor encamped at a place which is still called Firuzpûrabad,¹ and riding from that place besieged the Fort of Pânduâh. Sultân Shamsu-d-din leaving his son with an army in the fort of Pânduâh, entrenched himself in the fort of Ekdâlah which was very impregnable. Firuz Shâh, not oppressing the people of Pânduâh, 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 Pânduâh.
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.B., 1873, p. 213 and also Mr. Beveridge's Analysis of "Khurâkid Jâhân Numa."

In Tarikh-i-Firuz Shâhî by Zia 'Barnî, Ekdâlah is described as follows (Pers. text, p. 588): "Ekdâlah is the name of a mawra close to Pânduâh, on one side of it is a river, and on another a jungle." Zia 'Barnî is a contemporary historian for the period; therefore, this description given by him fixes the site of the Fort of Ekdâlah near Pânduâh, and sets at rest all the speculations to the contrary raised by Mr. Beveridge (in his Analysis of Khurâkid Jâhân 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. Bowell gives another Ekdâlah north of Dacca "map of Hindustan." Shams-i-Sîraî in his Tarikh-i-Firuz Shâhî (Pers. text, p. 79) 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 humorously described by Zia 'Barnî, a contemporary historian, in the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shâhî (Pers. text, p. 556), who
of the Ganges. Then, alone, he searched for a proper camping ground. Sultan Shamsu-d-din thinking that Firuz Shah closes his history with a narrative of this expedition and of the events up to the sixth year of Firuz Shah's reign. The object of the expedition was to punish Sultan Shamsu-d-din Hajj Ilyas 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 Shawwal 754 A.H., reached Oudh, crossed the Sro river, when Ilyas Shah withdrew to Tirhut. The Emperor crossing the Sro, marched through Aras-i-Khrosah (not identified) and Gorakpur, the Rajahs whose roof paid him homage and enlisted themselves on his side. Ilyas Shah then returned from Tirhut to Panduh, the Emperor following him towards Lakhnauti and Panduh, after traversing Jagat or Jakat (not identified) and Tirhut (the Rajahs whose roof also paid homage to the Emperor). Ilyas Shah, on approach of the Emperor to Panduh, retired to Fort Ekthalah, where he entrenched himself. The Emperor did not plunder Panduh, but left its population unmolested, crossed the river in front of the fort Ekthalah, 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 Ilyas Shah 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 Ali, another nearly contemporary historian, who continued Barni's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. (See Pers. MSS., text, p. 76). From this account, the following additional interesting facts are gleaned:

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

2. That when Firuz Shah crossed the Kosi river, Ilyas Shah, king of Bengal, retired from Panduh to Ekthalah, which is called here the "Isles of Ekthalah."

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

4. That then Ilyas Shah escaped again to the Fort of Ekthalah, 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, bled 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 Sháh, 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 Sháh. It is said that at that time the Saint Shaikh Rája Biyábáni in whom Sultán Shamsu-d-din had great faith, died. Sultán 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 Sháh, and without the latter recognizing him, returned to the Fort. When the Sultán 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 became one sheet of water, and cause for anxiety arises, Sultán Firuz Sháh made overtures for peace. Sultán Shamsu-d-din, who was hard-pressed by the siege, partially made his submission, and also sought for peace. Firuz Sháh, releasing the son of Sultán Shamsu-d-din together with other prisoners of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, raised the standard of return. And in the year 755 A.H., Sultán Shamsu-d-din sent many presents and numerous raraeties, in charge of wise envoys, to Sultán Firuz Sháh. The latter also showing attentions to the envoys, sent them back. And since Sultán Shamsu-d-din had which softened the heart of Firuz Sháh, who abandoned the work of destruction.

5. That before marching back towards Delhi, Firuz Sháh halted for some days at Panduah, named it "Firuzabad," introduced there the Mustáh after his own name, and also named "Ekdahal," "Asádpur."

6. That Firuz Sháh's expedition lasted eleven months.

1. He died in 1333 A.C. (754 A.H.) when Emperor Firuz Sháh besieged Sultán Shamsu-d-din Haji Ilyáš in Ekdahal 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-dīn again sent from Bengal Malik Tājū-d-dīn 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-dīn Arab and Turkish horses, together with other valuable presents, in charge of Malik Saitu-d-dīn Shānasaflī. In the meantime, Sultan Shāmsud-dīn had died in Bengal. Malik Tājū-d-dīn and Malik Saitu-d-dīn had approached Behar, when they heard the news of the death of Sultan Shāmsud-dīn. Malik Saitu-d-dīn 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 Tājū-d-dīn returned to Bengal. The reign of Shāmsud-dīn lasted 16 years and some months.

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

When Sultan Shāmsud-dīn Bhangra passed away from this fleeting world, on the third day, with the consent of the nobles

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1. Regarding coinage of Ilyās Shāh, see Thomas's Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S., 1867, pp. 57-58.

2. 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." (Brockmann'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 Haratul Jallal 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-dīn Abūl Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh."
and the generals, his eldest son, Sikandar Shah, 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 Shah, he sent, in the shape of presents, fifty elephants with sundry rarities. In the meantime, Firuz Shah, Emperor of Delhi, in the year 760 A.H. marched to subjugate the kingdom of Bengal.

The object of this second expedition of Emperor Firuz Shah into Bengal in 760 A.H. (1359 A.C.) was to reinstate Zafar Khan (son-in-law of Sultan Fakhru-d-din Mubarak Shah, king of Sunargamon) on the throne of Sunargamon. See details in Tariikh-i-Firuz Shahi by Shams Siraj Afif (Pers. M.S. text, p. 97). From it, it appears that the Mussalmn throne of Sunargamon was more ancient than the Mussalmn throne of Pundah, that on Firuz Shah's return from Bengal after his first expedition (this would necessitate a slight modification of Professor Blochmann's date in his note p. 103) Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah sailed and reached Sunargamon in a few days. At that time (755 A.H. or 1354 A.C.) Sultan Fakhru-d-din was reigning in security at Sunargamon. Shamsuddin took him by surprise, captured and slew him, and usurped the Sunargamon Kingdom, in addition to his Kingdom of Lakhnauti and Pundah. At that time Zafar Khan, son-in-law of Fakhruddin who was touring out in the interior of Sunargamon, to collect revenue and to locally enquire into the conduct of collectors of revenue, heard the above news, sailed on a ship from Sunargamon by the ocean-route to Thatta and thence proceeded to Delhi, and sought help from Firuz Shah. Peace was concluded with Sikandar Shah, on the latter agreeing to reinstate Zafar Khan in the kingdom of Sunargamon—which however did not come to pass, as Zafar Khan preferred to go back to Delhi. Like Ilyas Shah, Sikandar took refuge in the Fort of Ekthalah. From Bengal, Firuz Shah invaded Jajnagar (Orissa), defeated the Rajah who made his submission, carried off the idol of Jagannath to Delhi, (p. 119) and captured many elephants. The Emperor's stay in Bengal and Jajnagar during this expedition covered 2 years and 7 months (p. 121). In this connection, an interesting description of Jajnagar is given by Shams Siraj Afif (Tariikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Pers. M.S. text, p. 115); and in Muntakhib ul Tawarikh (Pers. text: p. 247, Vol. I, Fasc. III). Bearing in mind what Zia 'Tarni states regarding Jajnagar in connection with Emperor Balban's expedition to Sunargamon, I am inclined to agree with Professor Blochmann that there were two Jajnagars—one in Orissa, and another towards Tippera. The account in Muntakhibul Tawarikh referred to above, is slightly different from that in Tariikh-i-Firuz Shahi by Shams Siraj Afif. Radami in Muntakhib states that Firuz Shah, after completing his second expedition into Bengal (760 A.H.), returned from Pundah by forced marches to Jauhar (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 Bahar, he marched into Jajnagar (Orissa), passing through Sakhigarah, Baraami, and crossing the Mahamdi river (the Rajah of Bara
When he reached Zafarabad, the rains setting in, the Emperor encamped there, and sent envoys to Sikandar Shâh. Sikandar Shâh was in anxiety about the aim of the Emperor of Delhi, when Firduz Shâh's envoys arrived. Sikandar Shâh immediately sent his aide-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, Sultan Firduz Shâh marched to Lakhnauti. When the Sultan encamped in the environs of Pandua, Sikandar Shâh feeling that he was no match for the Sultan followed his father's tactics, and entrenched himself in the Fort of Ekdâlah. Firduz Shâh pressed the siege hard. When the garrison was reduced to straits, Sikandar Shâh sending forty elephants together with other goods and presents and numerous rareties, and agreeing to pay an annual tribute, sought for peace. Firduz Shâh accepting these returned to Delhi. After this for some years, Sikandar Shâh 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 Pandua, at a distance of one karok from the town. The Author of this history has seen it. In fleeing to Talings 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 Padmavati and Pirsimla which contained powerful and big elephants, begged three live elephants, and killed two elephants, and, in 762 A.H., returned to Delhi victorious.

The account in Tahir-i-Firduz Shahi by Shams-i-Siraj is more reliable, as Siraj's father was with Firduz Shah during the expedition (p. 115)—Siraj correctly mentions 'Banares' (which means evidently 'Katak Banares'), therefore; Badaunie 'Bamunsi' appears to be an error, also names 'Adabah' as Rai of Jajnagar, also 'Rai Shaniest,' also 'Rai Thuli.' The Bajah 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 Gomti, a little below Jampilur, which lies on the left bank. The maps give instead 'Jaffarabad,' which is a corruption of 'Zafarabad.' Zafarabad is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari as a pargana in Sarkar Jampilur under the Subah of Jabalabad (Allahabad) Jarrett's Tr., Ain., Vol. II, p. 164.

1 This beautiful mosque is at Pandua. Its inscription has been published in J.A.S.R., 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 Shah had seventeen sons by his first wife, and by his second wife he had one son, named Ghiaasu-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 Ghiaasu-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: "Unboast 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 Ghiaasu-d-din. He is scheming to mount the throne, by killing the king and destroying 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 safeguarding 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 Ghiaasu-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 Sunārgaudhī. From the other side, the father also with a powerful army advanced. On the next day, on the battlefield of Goalpāra, both sides marshalling their forces prepared to fight.

The son showed 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 remnant 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 his cheek, and he said: "Father, open thy eyes, and express thy dying

1 Not identified, but it must have been close to Sunārgāon.
2 Identified by Professor Blochmann to be a village quite close to Pundahā, S.-W. of it (J.A.S., 1873, p. 298). But Dr. Wise in his interesting "Notes on Sunārgāon" (J. A. S. for 1874, p. 85) correctly places it near Jafarganj in Dhaka district, and nearly opposite to the junction of the Ganges and the Jamuna. "Eight years ago," says Dr. Wise, "Sikandar Shāh's 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 in 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. Ghiāṣū-
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 Pandnah, and ascended the throne. The reign of
Sikandar Shāh 1 lasted nine years and some months. He was a
contemporary of the saint 1 Alaul Haq. 2

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THE REIGN OF GHIĀṢŪ-D-DIN, 3 SON OF SIKANDAR
SHĀH.

When Sikandar Shāh was laid in the grave, the throne of
Bengal received eclat from the accession of Sultan Ghiāṣū-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 Ghiāṣū-d-din falling seriously ill despaired of life, and
selected three maids from his harem, one named Sare, the

1 For his coinage see Thomas's Initial Coinage (J.A.S. 1867, pt. 11).
His name from coins (see pp. 55-57 J.A.S., 1867), appears to be "Abul
Majahid Sikandar Shāh." Some of his coins are of Sunargoon mint.
2 Shaikh Alau'dha Alaul Haq died on the 1st Rajab, 899 A.H., or 20th
March, 1398, and his tomb is at Pandnah. A short biographical sketch
of this saint is given by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.R., p. 362 for 1873.
His son and successor was Shaikh Nuruddin Nur Qutb Alam who died in 891
A.H. or 1447 A.D., and lies buried at Pandnah. Nur Qutb Alam was succeed-
bcd by his son Rafiuddin and Shaikh Anwar.
3 On the coins, he is called "Ghiiauddin Abul Musallar Azam Shāh."
(See Thomas's Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S. for 1867, pp. 58-60). His
early coins were minted at Muzzamabad in Eastern Bengal, and he held
court at Sunargoon, during the lifetime of his father, Sikandar Shāh, against
whom he rebelled. His court was an asylum for the learned and the cultured,
and he was himself a just and righteous sovereign, and a man of light and
sweetness. He invited the illustrious Persian poet Haftz to his court. His
tomb is at Sunargoon (See pl. 8 in J.A.S. 1873, p. 65.)
second named *Gul*, and the third named *Lakah*, 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—

"Cup-bearer, this is the story of *Sara* (the cypress) *Gul* (the Rose) and *Lakah* (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 Hafiz to Shiraz. Hafiz quickly supplied the next line:

این اعت بِکَلَاتَة غَالَة میسرود

("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 شونه مبه طوطیسییان هند
زن قد فارسی که به یگاله میسرود
حافظ زهربی حسنی سلطان غیاث دین
خامش مشرو که کار تو از تالکه میسرود

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

From this Persian sugar-candy that goes forth to Bengal.

Hafiz, from the yearning for the company of Sultan Ghiyasu-d-din,

Rest 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 Jarrett (See Ain p. 148 Vol. 2)
"And now shall India's parakeets on sugar revel all.
In this sweet Persian lyric that is borne to far Bengal."
In short, Sultan Ghiasuddin 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 Qazi Sirajuddin. The Qazi 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 Qazi’s peon reached the palace, finding access to the king impossible, he commenced shooting out the call to prayer (Azan). The king hearing this untimely call to prayer, ordered the Muqazzin (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: “Qazi Sirajuddin 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 Qazi, the latter not at all paying attention to the king, said: “Consulate the heart of this old woman.” The king consolated her in a way that he could, and said: “Qazi, now the old woman is satisfied.” Then the Qazi turning to the old woman enquired, “Have you received redress and been satisfied?” The woman said: “Yes, I am satisfied.” Then the Qazi 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: “Qazi, 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 Qazi 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 Commination 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 Qāzī, 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-din2 Kunjna-
shin Nagori. At length, in the year 775 A.H., by the stratagems
of Rajah Kāns who was a zamindar in that part, the king was
treacherously killed. The reign of Ghiāṣu-d-din lasted seven
years and some months, and according to another account, it lasted
sixteen years, five months and three days.3

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REIGN OF SAIFU-D-DIN STYLED SULTANU-S-SALATIN.4

When Sultān Ghiāṣu-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 Nasalman regime in Bengal. History fails to furnish an
instance that can surpass this, in exemplifying the honesty and sense of duty
of a humble pasha, 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 Coins, J.A.S.B., 1867,
pp. 68-70.

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

4 On the coins he is called Saifu-d-din Abul Mūjahid Hamzah Shāh, son
of Azam Shāh (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 259). Ferishta says: "The Rajahs of
the country did not draw their heads out of the yoke of obedience, and did not

Sekhar Mt. K. Elia: 9-7-28
of the army placed his son, Saifu-d-din, on the paternal throne, styling him Sulṭān-u-s-Salāṭin.

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.

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REIGN OF SHAMSU-D-DIN, SON OF SULṬĀNU-S-SALĀṬIN.

After the death of Sulṭānu-s-Salāṭin, 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-Salāṭin, and that his name was Shahabu-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 Bāthūriah* attacking him, slew him, and usurped the throne.

neglect or delay in paying reverence to him.” According to the Tahāqat, he reigned 10 years. The coins discovered of him, were struck at Firzābād (or Pandosh).

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 Tahāqat 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 Murāzīr Bayazid Shāh, whose coins are noticed by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S., p. 255, for 1873. Bayazid Shāh, according to Professor Blochmann’s theory, was “a puppet king—a banani transaction,” whilst Rajah Kāns ruled over Bengal.

2. Professor Blochmann says (J.A.S.B., p. 293 for 1873) —

“The name of Bāthūriah does not occur in the Ain; nor have I seen it before the time of Renel’s Atlas (1778) in which the name of Bāthūriah is
USURPATION OF RAJAH KÀNS A ZAMINDAR.

When Sultan Shamsu-d-din died, Rajah Kàns a Hindu Zamindar, subjugating the whole kingdom of Bengal, seated himself on the throne, and commenced oppressions, and seeking to destroy the Mussalmans, slew many of their learned and holy men. His aim was to extirpate Islam from his dominions. It is said one day Shaikh Badrul Islam, father of Shaikh Muinu-d-din 'Abbas, 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 Mussalmans.” 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 on 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 Parnabha, 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 Ghoghat. Bhaturiah therefore is the district to both sides of the Atri river.” Professor Blochmann (J.A.S.B. for 1875, p. 287), identifies “Bhaturiah” as part of old Barendra, in Rajahshahi proper, between Amrit and Bagura, and signifying Northern Rajahshahi Proper including Takrirpur. Professor Blochmann also considers, that the name “Rajahshahi” is connected with Rajah Kàns, who was a Rajah-Shah, that is, a Hindu Rajah who ascended a Mussalman throne.

1 The Tabaqat-i-Akbari merely notices Kàns’s usurpation. Ferishta says that though not a Mussalman, Kàns was a friend (St.) of Mussalmans. The Biyas gives the best account, based perhaps on local traditions. Mr. Westmacott inaccurately identifies “Rajah Kàns” of Bhaturiah with Rajah Ganesh of Dinajpur.” Professor Blochmann (I think correctly) identifies “Rajah Kàns” with “Rajah Kàns Narayan” of Takuirpur which latter is included in Bhaturiah. (See J.A.S.B., p. 287 for 1875).

Rajah Kàns does not appear to have issued coins in his own name, but during his reign, posthumous coins of Azam Shah (noticed by Romé & Sir E. C. Bayley in J.A.S., 1874, p. 294c.) and coins in the name of Shahabadin Raynaid Shah, a puppet king or a benam king (noticed by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.B. for 1875, p. 295), were issued.

Rajah Kàns 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 Nur Quṭb-Allah becoming impatient by reason of the oppressions of that infidel and his slaughter of the Musalmans, wrote as follows to Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi 1 who ruled at that time up to the limits of Behar: "The ruler of this country, named Kaṇa, 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 Islam 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-din Ibrahim Shaḥ 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 Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shaḥ, son of Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Firuz Shaḥ Taghluq, owing to the increasing feebleness of the Delhi Empire. The Sharqi kingdom, extended from Qum to Behar. Mahmud first bestowed the title of Sultan-us-Sharqi on Malik Sarwar, a nephew who already held the title of Khujah-Jahan. The following table will be useful:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khajah Jahan</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobarak Shaḥ</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamsu-d-din Ibrahim Shaḥ</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>1401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud Shaḥ</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>1441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Shaḥ</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>1451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>1451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last took refuge in the court of Alau-d-din Hussain Shaḥ, king of Bengal about 900 A.H. or 1407 B.C. Jaunpur continued to be governed by the Lodi dynasty till the defeat and death of Ibrahim, grandson of Bahol at Paniput by Babar in 1526 A.C. A local kingdom was for a short time established under Bahadur Khan, governor of Behar; it was recovered by Humayun, passed again into the hands of Sher Shaḥ and his son Salim Shaḥ. Jaunpur continued under the Afghans until Akbar in the 4th year of his reign took possession of it through Ali Quli Khan. In 1575, the Viceroyal court was removed to Allahabad, and Jaunpur was thenceforth governed by a Nazari—See Jarrett's Tr. of Xin, Vol II, pp. 169-170, and also Boden, Vol. I, pp. 264, 272, 273, 316, 307, Pers. text.
be on you." When this letter reached Sultan Ibrahim, the latter opened it with great respect, and read it. Qazi Shahabuddin 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 Sultan 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 Nuri Qutbu-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." Sultan Ibrahim 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. Rajah Kansa, on hearing this news, was confounded, and hastened to wait on the Saint Qutbu-l Alam. Shewing 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 Sultan Ibrahim 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, Kansa 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." Kansa assented to this condition, but his wife casting that misguided man into the well of misguidance, prevented his conversion to Islam. At length, Kansa brought to the presence of the Saint his son named Jadu who was twelve years old, and said: "I have become old, and desire to retire from the world. You may convert to Islam this

1 "Qazi Shahabuddin, a sage of Hindustan, flourished in the time (of Ibrahim Shâh). 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 Maulana Khwajigî who was the successor of Nasiruddin Cheragh of Delhi, and then continued his progress and became the envy of his time."—Ani-i-Akbari (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, pp. 169-170).

2 i.e., Panduah.
son of mine, and then bestowed on him the kingdom of Bengal. The saint Qutb-ud-Din, taking out from his own mouth some chewed betel, put it into Jadu’s mouth, and making him pronounce the creed of the Musalmans, converted him to Islam, and naming him Jalalud-Din, had the fact proclaimed in the city, and caused the Khutba 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 Qutb-ud-Din 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 Shahabud-Din. The Qazi said: “Saint, the king has come here at your requisition; and now you yourself siding with Kasa, 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 Jihad (or holy war) is enjoined 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 question 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 Jaunpur. It is said that shortly after Sultan Ibrahim and Qazi Shahabud-Din Jaunpuri died.

*Whoever quarrels with saints, suffers.*

Rajah Kasa hearing that Sultan Ibrahim had died, displaced Sultan Jalalud-Din, and himself re-ascended the throne. According to the injunctions of his false creed, the Rajah prepared several gold-figures of cows, shoved in Jalalud-Din through their mouths, and pulled him out from their buttock-sides, and then distributed the gold of those cow-figures among the Brahmanas, and thus re-perverted his son to his own creed. As Jalalud-Din, however, had been converted by the Saint Qutb-ud-Din, he did not abandon his faith in Islam, and the persuasions of the infidels had no effect.
on his heart. And Rajah Kâns again unfurling the standard of misbehaviour, attempted to destroy and extirpate Muhammadans. When his cruelties passed all bounds, one day Shaikh Anwâr, son of the Saint Qâṭbu'l-Ālam, 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 Anwâr 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 Zâhid, what is your will?" The saint said: "The drum of the virtues of Zâhid shall resound till resurrection-day." In short, Rajah Kâns 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 Anwâr and Shaikh Zâhid. As he had heard the Saints' prophecy about Shaikh Zahid, not daring to kill him, he banished both to Sunârgaon, 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 Sunârgaon, they perpetrated many cruelties, yet not finding any clue to the hidden treasures which did not exist, first they murdered Shaikh Anwâr, and when they attempted to take the life of Shaikh Zâhid, 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?" Zâhid 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 Anwâr was murdered at Sunârgaon, and his sacred blood shed on the earth, Rajah Kâns passed away from his sovereignty to hell. According to some accounts, his son, Julâlu-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 JALALU-D-DIN, ¹ SON OF RAJAH KANS.

After this, Jalālūd-din 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 Zahid from Sunārgaon, 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 Jalālī 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., ² 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 SHAḤ, ³ SON OF JALALU-D-DIN.

When Sultan Jalālūd-din was laid in the grave, his son Ahmad Shaḥ, 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. 207, for 1873), as Jalalud-din Abul Musaffar Muhammad Shaḥ. 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 Sunārgaon. 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 Shamsul-d-din Abul Muqali Ahmad Shaḥ. 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. Firishta says he was a good and generous king, whilst Iyass states he was a tyrant. With Ahmad Shaḥ ended the dynasty of Rajah Kans, and commenced the restoration of the Iyass Shaḥi dynasty. (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 268).
nothing, and used to cut open the bodies of pregnant woman. When his oppressions reached the utmost limits, and the low and the high were exasperated to desperation by his tyranny, Shâdi Khân and Nâsir Khân who were his two slaves and held the rank of nobles intrigued, and killed Ahmad Shâh; and this event occurred in 830 A.H. His reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years.

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REIGN OF NÂSIR KHÂN, THE SLAVE.

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

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REIGN OF NÂSIR SHÂH. 1

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

1 His name, as appearing on his coins, is Nâsiru-d-din Abul Musaffar Mahmûd Shâh. With him commenced the restoration of the Ilyas Shâhi dynasty in Bengal. He reigned for thirty-two years in peace (this peace being probably due to the wars that then prevailed between Jamppur and Delhi), and according to another account for not more than twenty-seven years, and died in A.H. 882. In the histories, he is simply called Nâsir Shâh. Dates of his reign, as ascertained from coins and inscriptions, are 847; 861; 863, whilst the earliest dates ascertained for the reign of Barbak Shâh, Mahmûd Shâh’s successor, is 885. Mahmûd Shâh therefore must have reigned till the beginning of 884 A.H. If his reign lasted twenty-seven years, this would put back the commencement of his reign to 836 (the year in which Mirza’l’s Ahmad Shâh’s coin was struck), and render Mahmûd Shâh an opposition king during 14 years of Ahmad Shâh’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,† SON OF NĀṢIRU-D-DIN.**

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.†

† The coins do not give his full name, which however appears from inscriptions (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 272), to have been Ruknud-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.)

† His name from inscriptions (published in J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 275) appears to be Shāhne-d-din Abul Muqaffar Yūsuf Shāh. He appears to have reigned from 879 to 886 A.H., when he died. From his inscriptions found at Panduah, Hazrat Panduah, 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 Ulama to see the law of the Prophet duly observed. “No one dared to drink wine” (Blochmann's Contrib. J.A.S. for 1873, p. 275).
REIGN OF FATH SHAH, SON OF YUSUF SHAH.

After the death of Yusuf Shāh, his son Sikandar Shāh, 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 superceded him, and raised to the throne another son of Yusuf Shāh, named Fath Shāh. 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 Shāh, bearing the name of Barbag, lengthened with the paiks, and slew Fath Shāh. This event took place in the year 896 A.H. Fath Shāh’s reign lasted seven years and five months.

REIGN OF BARBAG, THE EUNUCH, STYLED SULTĀN SHĀHZĀDA.

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 Tahqat gives him two and a half days; Ferishta 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 Jalālu-d-dīn Abūl Mazraḥ Shāh. 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 Hābaš Salīh’s mosque at Bandar, near Dacca (dated 886 A.H. or 1482 A.C.), of Birkampur (Dacca District) on Adam Shāhīd’s mosque (dated 886 A.H. or 1483), of Samarpur on Maqbara-ul-daulah-din’s mosque (dated 889 or 1484 A.C.) are published in J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 283–285), and fix the dates of his reign. Fathabad (or Faridpur town) is named after him.
He styled himself Sultan Shâhzâdâ. He collected together eunuchs from all places, and bestowing largesses on law 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 those, 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 egress from the darâbar, the eunuch despaired of destroying him. In consequence, one day, the eunuch arranging an entertainment, showed great intimacy towards Malik Andil, and placing a Qurâ'n, 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 leagueing 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. Sultan Shâhzâdâ, 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 Yagush Khân who was standing outside the room, to come up quickly. Yagush Khân, the Turk, with a number of Abyssinians, instantly
came in, and finding Malik Andil under 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 Yuqarul 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." Yuqarul Khan gently inflicted some strokes with his sword on the back and shoulder of Sultan Sháhzáda, who feigned being dead. Malik Andil then got up, and along with Yuqarul Khan and the Abyssinians, went out, and Tawachi Bashi, entering the bed-room of Sultan Sháhzáda, lighted up the lamp. Sultan Sháhzáda, fancying him to be Malik Andil, before the lamp was lit, from fear not mounting the throne, had escaped into a cellar. Tawachi Bashi proceeding towards the cellar, entered it; then again Sultan Sháhzáda feigned being dead. The Bashi cried out: "It is a pity that rebels have killed my master, and ruined the kingdom." Sultan Sháhzáda, 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 Sháhzáda 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 Jahan, the Vizier. And after the arrival of the Vizier, he held a council for the election of a king. And since the son of Fateh Sháh 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 Fateh Sháh, 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, know 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 Shâh." 1 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 Shâhsâdâ’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 Shâhsâdâ, 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. 2 In one pamphlet, the period of the rule of Sultan Shâhsâdâ is stated to be six months. God knows the truth.

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REIGN OF MALIK ANDIL, THE ABYSSINIAN,Styled FIRUZ SHâH.³

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

1 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 Musalmanas.

2 "The pretorian band of Abyssinians, which Barbak Shâh had introduced into Bengal, became from the protectors of the dynasty the masters of the kingdom, and ensuchas 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 Shâh, low hirelings flourished; and Ferozâta sarcastically remarks that the people would obey him who had killed a king and usurped the throne," Blochmann’s Contr. (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 280).

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

³ His name, as appearing on his coins (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 288), is Sultâ-ud-dîn Abul Musaffar Firuz Shâh. He was an Abyssinian or Habshi, and reigned from 593 to 595 A.H. (according to the testimony of coins); whilst histories give (incorrectly) the year of his death to be 590. He was (according to Riyaz) the premier nobleman and generalissimo under Fath Shâh. 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 confused, 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 humorous description of the cowardice of the Bengal Paiks (an infantry corps of Bengal) in the time of Sultan Ilyās Shāh (1353 A.C.), see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi by Zia’l Barni (Pers. text, Fasc. 7, p. 593), from which the following is translated: “And the well-known Bengal Paiks who for years dubbed themselves “Abu Bangal,” and gave themselves martial airs, and proclaimed their readiness to sacrifice their lives for Ilyās 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 Firuz Shāh Taghhak).”
THE REIGN OF SULTÁN MAHMÚD, SON OF FIRÚZ SHÁH.

When Firúz Sháh passed to the secret-house of non-existence, the nobles and the ministers placed on the throne his eldest son, named Mahmúd. And an Abyssinian slave, named Habash Khán, 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 Mahmúd Sháh, and the latter was compelled to live in this way, until another Abyssinian, who was called Sídi Badr Díwáná, despairing of his ways, killed Habash Khán, and himself became the Administrator of the affairs of government. After some time, leaguing with the commandant of the Fárka, at night-time, he killed Mahmúd Sháh, 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 Sháh. The reign of Mahmúd Sháh lasted one year. And in the history of Haji Muhammad Qandahari, it is related that Sultán Mahmúd Sháh was a son of Fath Sháh, Jashu Khán, a slave of Barbag Sháh, under order of Sultán Firúz Sháh, trained him up; and after the death of Sultán Firúz Sháh, Sultán Mahmúd was placed on the throne. After six months had passed, Habash Khán, harboured notions of sovereignty in his head. Malik Badr Díwáná killing Habash Khán, as has been related before, himself mounted the throne.

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THE REIGN OF SÍDI BADR, STYLED MUZAFFAR SHÁH.

When Muzaffar Sháh 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 Nasíru-d-dín Abú Mujáhid Mahmúd Sháh. Though the histories generally call him a son of Firúz Sháh, the account of Haji Muhammad Qandahari referred to in the text, namely, that Mahmúd Sháh was a son of Fath Sháh, appears to be more reliable. Mahmúd Sháh reigned in 896 A.H.

2 "Jashu Khán" in the text is evidently a copyist's mistake for "Habash Khan," an esnuch-slave of Barbag Sháh, who according to Haji Muhammad Qandahari, was entrusted by Firúz Sháh with the bringing up of Mahmúd Sháh, who was only two years old, when his father Fath Sháh died, and Malik Andíl Firúz Sháh ascended the throne, with the consent of Fath Sháh's queen.
learned, and the pious and the nobility of the city, and also killed
the infidel Rajahs who were opposed to the sovereigns of Bengal.
He bestowed on Syed Hasain Sharif Maktu 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 injuries
at the hands of Mazaffar 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 Sultan Mazaffar Shāh with five thousand Abyssinians and
three thousand Afghans 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. It is said that, during the period
Sultan Mazaffar 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, Mazaffar Shāh, sallying out with
his force from the city, gave battle to the nobles, whose leader
was Syed Hasain Sharif; and from both sides, twenty thousand
men fell, either by the sword or the arrow.

3 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
bounds, as set by the Shara’ 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
“Annals of the Early Caliphat.”)
4 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 Musaffar Shāh. His
inscriptions and coins show that he reigned from 896 to 900 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 Suli-ba’ir.
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 Qaudahari, during that time, from the beginning to the end of the war, one lakh and twenty thousand people, of both Musalmān and Hindū 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 Nizamuddīn 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 Sultan 'Alā'ī-d-dīn. 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 Vizīrat, used to treat the people with affability. He used to tell them:

1 Nizamuddīn Ahmad was Bakhshū under Akbar, and was a patron of the historian Badānī. Nizamuddīn completed his history called 'Tabaqat-i- Akbarī' in 1590 A.D.; he is the first writer who gives a concise connected account of the Independent Musalmān kings of Bengal from 1338 A.D. to 1538 A.D.

2 His name on coins and inscriptions (see J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 292-293), is "Alau-d-dīn Abūl-Muzaffar Husain Shāh, son of Syed Ashraf-al-Husnain." Nowhere on coins and inscriptions is he called "Sharif Maki," as in the text. The Tābqat-i-Akbarī simply calls him "Alaaddin." Ferishta 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 Alauddīn, 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-dīn's town,' on the Bhatiab, east of Khulna, in Jessore district, as the place where the Husain dynasty of Bengal
“Muzaffar Shāh 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 Shāh first obtained power in the adjacent district of Faridpur or Farshāhābad (which latter at the time was included in, or rather included portions of, Jussur), where his first coins were struck in 890 A.H. (Marsden's pl. XXXVIII, No. DCCCXXIX), and also because Husain Shāh's son, Naṣrat Shāh, erected a mint at the neighbouring place of Khalisatābād (or Bagerhat, formerly in Jussur district) and minted there coins in the lifetime of his father in 923 A.H. (see p. 297, 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 Alauddin Husain Shāh's adopted home, appears to be this, that the names of Husain Shāh, his brother Yaṣuf Shāh, and his sons Naṣrat Shāh, and Māhmūd Shāh, are found in connection with several parganas of Jussur (Jassar) district (as formerly constituted, before it being split up into Fāhun, Khulna and Faridpur districts), such as parganas Naṣratshāhī and Māhmūdshāhī and Yaṣufshāhī, and Māhmūdabad (a whole Sirkar including Northern Jassar or Jassar and Bomanī). In regard to Alauddin Husain Shāh, 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 Shāh 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 Sackar and Humphry, where his son Danyal erected a vault over the shrine of Peer Naft. (See Tabaqat-i-Akbari and also Badamī, Vol. I, p. 371). A cathedral mosque amongst his other edifices was erected by this king, in 907 A.H. at Machala, opposite to Faridpur in Dhakālī; the inscription of this mosque appears in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 293. The Husain Shāh dynasty consisted of four sovereigns: (1) Alauddin Husain Shāh who reigned from 890 to 929 A.H. (2) Alau-d-din's son, Naṣiru-d-din Abul Muzaffar Naṣrat Shāh (929 to 939). (3) Alau-d-din Firuz Shāh (939), a son of No. 2, and (4) Ghissu-d-din Māhmūd Shāh, (945-945 A.H.) the last independent king of Bengal, who was defeated by Sher Shāh's army at Gaur under Jalāl khan and Kiwas Khan in 944 A.H. or 1538 A.D. That is, for forty-four years, this Husaini dynasty, consisting of four kings, reigned over Bengal. (See J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 332). The Tabaqat-i-Akbari's notice of Gaur's census with an account of the reign of Naṣrat Shāh, the second king of the Alauddin Husaini dynasty. The fourth king of the Husaini dynasty, it is to remark, is the "El Ray Mamlīk du Bengale" of the Portuguese described (Gaur, the capital at the time, as being "three leagues in long, all-fortified and with wide and straight roads, along which rows of trees was planted to shade the people.” This Māhmūd Shāh died in 945 A.H. at Golgong (Kalaghon), where he lies buried.
noblility, 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 Mazzafer Shâh’s vices were known to the public and to the elite, on the day that Mazzafer Shâh 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 Khâlifa and the coin in his own name. Historians write that his name was Syed Sharif Maki, and that when he ascended the throne, he styled himself ‘Alau-d-din. But I note that throughout the kingdom of Bengal and in the neighbourhood of Gaur, his name as Husain Shâh is on the lips of the elite and the mass. Since I did not find the name of Husain Shâh 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 Rasûl building, and on the Golden Mosque, and also on some other shrines, which are amongst the edifices erected by Sulţân Husain Shâh and his sons Nasrât Shâh and

1 The Tâlaqat-i-Akkari and Badâwi (p. 317 vol. 1) simply call him Alauddin (which however was obviously the Jalîl’s name), Ferishta erroneously calls him “Sayid Sharif Maki,” whilst Stewart incorrectly calls him “Shirif Meca,” erroneously... doubt by the remark of the ‘Riwa’ whose author thinks... perhaps have been a son of Meca. The Ahsanulmomineen (p. 730) calls him Husain Shâh.

2 The inscription dated 937 A.H. on the Qadam Rasûl building at Gaur is published in J.A.S.H. for 1871, p. 333; in it Nasrât Shâh is described as son of Husain Shâh, son of Syed Ashrafal Hussain.
Mahmūd Shāh, it appears that Syed Alān-d-dīn Abul-Muzaffar Husain Shāh is the son of Syed Ashrafal-Husaini. In regard to the months and years of Syed Sharif Makti’s period, all these inscriptions tally, and thus all doubts are set at rest. It appears that apparently his venerable father—Syed Ashrafal-Husaini—was Sharif of Makka; hence the son also was known as Sharif-i-Makti; or else, his name was Syed Husain. In a pamphlet, I have noticed that Husain Shāh and his brother Yūsuf, together with their father, Sayyid Ashrafal Husaini, were residents of the town of Tārmūz.1 By chance, they came to Bengal, and stayed in the mouzā of Chandpur in the zillā of Raḍha,2 and both the brothers took their lessons from the Qāzī of that place. On knowing their noble pedigree, the Qāzī married his daughter to Husain Shāh. After this, he entered the service of Muzaffar 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 Alān-d-dīn Husain Shāh, since he was a wise and sagacious sovereign, showed considerateness towards the influential nobles, and raised his select officers to high positions and trusty offices. And he prohibited the Faikz—which 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 Faikz, in the Guard-room and on the Band-stand, he appointed other body-guards. And he also expelled totally the Abyssinians from his entire dominions.

1 A town in Turkistan.
2 That is, the Western Bengal tract. See however, note 13 to p. 45, where Professor Blochmann identifies Chandpur, near Alair, on the Raireb, 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 Gujrat and the Dakhin. Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah, girding up the waist of justice, unlike other kings of Bengal, removed his seat of government to Ekdala, which adjoins the city of Gaur. And excepting Husain Shah, 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 environs 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, Kaimtah 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.A. for 1872, p. 335. Particulars of this invasion of Assam in 1498 A.C. or 1003-4 A.H. are given in the Alamgirnamah, pp. 730 and 731 and the Assam Journi (J.A.A., for 1874, p. 281). Husain Shah'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 Shah at Gaur. This inscription is also published in J.A.A., for 1874, p. 303. Husain Shah'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 Sikanadar Lodi in Behar, and immediately before setting out on this Assam expedition (Badooni, p. 317 Vol. 1). He was followed as Governor of Assam by Musumdar Ghazi, who was succeeded by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-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,1 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.2 And for the maintenance of the Rest-house in connection with the eminent saint, Nur Qutb-ull-‘Alam, he endowed several villages, and every year, from Ekdalā, which was the seat of his government, he used to come to Pandun, for pilgrimage to the bright shrine of that holy saint.3 And because of his meekworthy courteousness 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 Hūsain Sharqi, ruler of the Jaunpūr kingdom, on being defeated and pursued by Sultan Sikandar, proceeded to Colong (Kahlgaon),4 and took shelter with Sultan ‘Alān-d-din Hūsain 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 Hūsain Sharqi passed the rest of his life at the above place. Towards the end of ‘Alān-d-din’s reign, Muhammad Bahar the Emperor invaded Hindustan. Sultan Hūsain Shāh, in the year 927 A.H., died a natural death. His reign lasted 27 years, and according to some, 24 years.

1 Stewart less ‘Batah,’ 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 inscriptions of 907 A.H. published in J.A.S.I., for 1874, p. 305. This inscription opens with the remarkable saying of the Prophet, “Search after knowledge even as far as China.”
3 See note p. 46.
and according to others, 29 years and 5 months. Amongst the sovereigns of Bengal, none has been equal to Alâû-d-dîn Husain Shâh. And traces of his beneficence in this country are well-known to all. He had eighteen sons. Naṣrat Shâh, after his father, became king of Bengal.

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THE REIGN OF NAṢRAT SHÂH, SON OF ‘ALAU-D-DÎN HUSAIN SHÂH.

When Sultan ‘Alau-d-dîn Husain Shâh died, the adherents of the kingdom and the members of the government placed on the throne his eldest son, named Naṣrat Shâh, commonly known as Naṣib Shâh, 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 Tirhut, he killed him. And he set two officers, named ‘Alau-d-dîn and Makhdum ‘Alîm, otherwise known as Shâh ‘Alîm, and who were sons-in-law of Husain Shâh, for the conquest of the limits of Tirhût and Hajipur, and posted them there. And when Emperor Babar, killing Sultan Ibrâhîm, son of Sultan

1 His name, as appearing on his column and inscriptions, in Naṣiru-d-dîn Abû Murrayâf Naṣrat Shâh. (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 396 and 397). Historians call him also Naṣib Shâh. (Badaoni, p. 348), but perhaps whilst as a prince, he held the name of Naṣib Khân. He appears to have reconquered Chittagong Tract (see Tarîkh-i-Hamidi and J.A.S. for 1872, p. 336) and to have subdued Tirhût and Hajipur tracts in North Behar—and to have also held temporary sway over Assimgarh in the N.-W. provinces (see Sikandarpur Azimgarh inscription published in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 299). Khâtîd mentioned in this inscription is on the right bank of the Ghagra river.

Naṣrat Shâh reigned from 929 to 939 A.H. (J.A.S. for 1872, p. 333).

2 Hajipur was long the head-quarters of the Bengal Governors of Behar from the time of Haji Iyyâs, and was founded by Haji Iyyâs, alias Shamsu-d-dîn Iyyâs, king of Bengal. It sank in importance with the transfer of the head-quarters to Patna, on the establishment of Moghul rule under Emperor Akbar.

3 Ibrâhîm Lodi, son of Sikandar Lodi and grandson of Bahadur 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 Afghān Ommra escaping, sought refuge with Naṣrat Shāh. And at length, Sulṭān Māhmūd,1 brother of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, being expelled from his kingdom, came to Bengal. Naṣrat Shāh showing kindness to every one, bestowed on all parganahs 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 Qub 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 Jaunpur, and when in the year 930 A.H., Emperor Babar came to Jaunpur, 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 Osmans of Ibrāhīm who had joined Babar, and invited the latter to India. (Badauni, 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 Māhmūd was a son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi. He was set up as a King by Haman Khan 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 Khan 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 Badauni, pp. 361 and 388, Vol. I).

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

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

937 A.H., and Emperor Humayun ascended the throne of Delhi, it was rumoured that the Emperor of Delhi was planning the conquest of Bengal. Consequently, Nasrat Shâh in the year 939 A.H., in view of demonstrating his sincerity and friendship, sent rare presents in charge of Malik Marjan, the eunuch, to Sultan Bahadur Gujarati. Malik Marjan met Sultan Bahadur in the fort of Mandu, and became the recipient of a special Khiltat. In the meantime, Nasrat Shâh, in spite of his being a Syed, indulged in dissipation and audry oppression, to detail which would be to harrow the feelings of all. And a world was grinding under his tyranny. In that interval, Nasrat Shâh rode to Akhurah, in the city of Gaâr, 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 Nasrat Shâh 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 Rasul 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 Nasrat Shâh, son of Sultan Alau-d-din Husain Shâh, amidst the ruins of Gaâr. And the foundation of the luminous shrine of the saint Makhdum Akhi Siraju-d-din at Sadu-l-lahpur is also amongst the noble relics of that monarch.


2. He foolishly engaged in a war with Humayun and was defeated. (Vol. II, p. 266, and Balasuri, p. 346, Vol. I.)

3. This building was in fair order when I visited Gaâr 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 Bhagatni flows to the west of it, about a distance of 30 rods. This building was erected by Nasrat Shâh in 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.). Inside the mosque under the dome, there is a foot-print of the Arabian prophet on a piece of stone, which is said to have been formerly at Pandua in the Chillas of the Saint Jallana-d-din Tahrist, who is supposed to have brought it from Arabia.

The inscription on the building is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 338.

4. The date on the inscription is however, 937 A.H. (See J.A.S.B. for 1872; p. 338).

5. See Ravenshaw’s and Creighton’s “Ruins of Gaâr.”

6. He was a Saint of Gaâr. He came as a lay to Nisam-u-d-din Afsah of
[Note by the author, Sultan. In all the inscriptions that engraved on stones exist to this time, the king's name is mentioned as Nasrat Shah, son of Sultan 'Alau-d-din Husain Shah. In histories, his name is mentioned as Nasib Shah. Apparently, this is a corruption or a mistake, in that there is no room for mistake in the inscriptions engraved on stones.]

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REIGN OF FIRUZ SHAH, son of NARSHAT SHAH.

When Nasrat Shah drank the disagreeable syrup of death, his son, Firuz Shah, by the counsels of the grandees, ascended the throne. He had reigned for three years, when Sultan Mahmud Bengali, who was one of the eighteen sons of Sultan 'Alau-d-din Husain Shah, and whom Nasrat Shah had installed to the rank of a nobleman, and who in the life-time of Nasrat, conducted himself like an amcer, finding an opportunity, slew Firuz Shah, 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 Nizam-u-d-din's death (according to the Haft i Quis), he went to Lakhnauti—(See J.A.S. for 1873 p. 290).

Nasrat Shah 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), shows that its dome was built by Nasrat Shah's father, Sultan 'Alau-d-din Husain Shah, in 916 A.H. (A.C. 1510).

Akhi's pupil was the Saint Alau-i-Haq, father of the Saint Nurb Quoth 'Alam of history.

Akhi was a contemporary of Shamsu-d-din Abul Muzaffar Ryaz Shah, King of Bengal.

1 His name appears to be 'Alau-d-din Abul Muzaffar Firuz Shah, both on his coins and his inscriptions (See J.A.S. for 1873, p. 297). He reigned for only one year (939 A.H.) when he was slain by his uncle Mahmud Shah the next King. This would also put back the date of Nasrat Shah's murder to end of 938 or beginning of 939 A.H.; but Babosa's account (p. 348, Vol. I), renders it doubtful.

2 "Three years," is evidently a copist's mistake, for Stewart who bases his history on the Ryaz, mentions "three months" which he must have found in his copy of the MS. of the Ryaz, and which appears otherwise more consistent, chronologically.
REIGN OF SULTÂN MAHMÚD, 1 SON OF 'ALÁU-D-DÍN.

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

1 The name of this King as appearing on his coins and inscriptions is Ghânû-d-din Abal Musaffar Mahmúd Sháh (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 Mamun de Bengala,” with whom the Portuguese Alfonso de Mello made a treaty. At this time, Sher Khan and his brother Adil Khan had deserted the Mughal cause, and gone over to the side of the King of Bengal. But subsequently Sher Khan on the pretext of avenging the murder of Firuz Sháh, made war on Mahmúd Sháh, besieged him at Gaib, and Mahmúd Sháh fled to Golcang (Kabalgam), where he died in 945 A.H. (1538 A.C.) of injuries received on the battlefield. (See Badauni, p. 348, Vol. I).

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 Hajipur was the head-quarters from a long time of the Bengal Governor of North Behar. West of Sarkar Monghyr is South Behar, which was subject to the Sharqi kingdom of Junapir, on the decay of the latter kingdom, fell into the hands of semi-independent Afghan chiefs, including Dâris Khan, his son Bahadar Khan (who proclaimed himself Sultan Mahommed), Sultan Mahmúd, and Sher Khan. At this time, as the text shows, Makhdúm 'Alam, Mahmúd Sháh’s brother-in-law, who was his Governor of North Behar, and had his head-quarters at Hajipur, also rebelled against his sovereign, and intrigued with Sher Khan (afterwards Sher Sháh). (See Badauni, pp. 360, 358, 361, Vol. I).

3 How Sher Sháh acquired the Delhi Empire, is related in Tarikh-i Sher Sháhi, and also in Badauni and the Akbarnamah.
and Sakrigali for one month continued fighting. At length, the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali were captured, and Sher Khan entered Bengal, and Mahommed Shah, drawing his force, encountered the former, when a great battle ensued. Sultan Mahommed, being vanquished in the field, entrenched himself in the citadel, and sent a message to Emperor Humayun in Delhi, seeking for help. Humayun Shah in the year 944 A.H. turned towards the conquest of the province of Jamnur. Since at that time, Sher Khan was in Bengal, Emperor Humayun going to the foot of the fort of Chunar, laid siege to it. Ghazi Khan Sar, who was in the fort on behalf of Sher Khan, raised the standard of opposition, and for six months the siege was protracted. By the efforts of Rumi Khan, ladders being mounted, the fort was scaled and captured by Humayun. Sher Khan also put forth grand efforts for capturing the fort of Gaour, and the garrison were hard pressed. But as in the meantime one of the zamindars of Behar, becoming refractory, raised disturbance, Sher Khan, finding it inexpedient to halt at Gaour, left his son, Jallal Khan, and Khawas Khan, one of his trusty nobles, to besiege the fort of Gaour, whilst he himself marched back to Behar. And Jallal Khan, son of Sher Khan, skirmished with Mahommed Shah, so that the garrison were reduced to straits, and food-grains became scarce in the city. On Sunday, the 13th of the month of Farwardi, corresponding to the 6th of Zil-Qadah, 944 A.H., Jallal

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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 Shah's order by Qub Khan, son of Sher Khan and Khawas Khan, slave of Sher Khan. (See Buddon, p. 349, Vol. I).
2 In the Ain-i-Akbari, under the Sahab 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—Ain-i-Akbari (Juretti's Tr., Vol. 2, p. 159).
3 It is stated that its siege by Emperor Humayun commenced on 8th January, 1538 A.C. As its siege lasted six months, and as it was stormed before Gaour fell (on 6th April, 1538 A.C.) into the hands of Sher Shah's general, Khawas Khan, the siege of Chunar must have commenced in October 1537 A.C. (See Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi), or it may be that the fall of Gaour took place in July 1538 A.C. (See Buddon, pp. 348 and 349, Vol. I).
4 See p. 441 Blanhmann's Trans. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 441, and Buddon, p. 349, Vol. I. Chunar was captured by Humayun in 943 A.H.
5 This corresponds to 6th April, 1538 A.C.
Khān with other grandees, such as Khawās Khān, etc., struck up the kettle-drum of battle. Sultan Mahmūd, 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 Khān assisted the latter, Sultan Mahmūd, unable to cope in battle, escaping by the way of Bhata, fled, and Mahmūd Shāh’s sons were taken prisoners; and the fort of Gaūr, together with other booty, fell into the hands of Jallāl Khān, son of Sher Khān. Jallāl Khān and Khawās Khān, entering the fort, engaged in slaughter and capture and plunder of the garrison. And Sher Khān also, being set free from the disturbance in Behar, pursued Sultan Mahmūd. When they closed each other, Sultan Mahmūd was obliged to fight, and receiving a serious wound, fled from the battle-field. Sher Khān, victorious and triumphant, spurred on to Gaūr, and became master of Bengal. The Cathedral Mosque at S’ādnu-l-Jāhpur, amongst the buildings of Sultan Mahmūd, son of Sultan ‘Alāū-d-dīn Husain Shāh, exists to this day. From the inscriptions engraved on it, it appears that he was a son of Sultan ‘Alāū-d-dīn Husain Shāh. The period of his reign appears to have lasted five years.

ACCESSION OF NAṢĪRū-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD HUMĀYUN PĀDSHĀH TO THE THRONE OF GAŪR.

Sultan Mahmūd, fleeing wounded from the battle with Sher Khān, turned to meet Sultan Mahammad Humāyun, the Emperor. At the time when Sultan Humāyun the Emperor captured the fort of Chunar, Sultan Mahmūd arriving at Darvīshpur, meeting the Emperor, and using much cajolery and persuasion, requested the Emperor to invade Bengal. The Emperor, taking pity on Mahmūd, left Mirzā Dost Beg in charge of the fort of

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1 See note ante.
2 This was a quarter of Gaūr. The inscription on this mosque is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 330.
3 The fate of Mahmūd Shāh is fully described in the Tarīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, of which the Hon’ble Sir Edward Coley Bayley has published a translation in Dowson’s edition of Ellice’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 Bulāwati (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 Khan,² learning about this, despatched Jallal Khan and Khawas Khan to defend the pass of Teligadhi, which leads to Bengal. And this Teligadhi 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 Humayun detached Jahangir Beg³ Mughal to capture Teligadhi and Sakrigali. On the day that Jahangir Beg reached that place, just after he had dismounted, Jallal Khan and Khawas Khan, marching up quickly with an efficient force, attacked him. The Mughal forces, unable to cope, were vanquished, and Jahangir Beg, getting wounded, in a hapless condition, retreated to the Emperor's camp.⁴ But when Emperor Humayun himself marched up to Teligadhi and Sakrigali, Jallal Khan and Khawas Khan, seeing their inability to stand the Emperor's onslaught, fled towards the hills, and from thence, to Sher Khan at Gaar. The Imperial army, forcing its way easily through that narrow defile, marched up, stage by stage. And when the Imperial camp halted at Kohal Gai (Colgong), Mahmud Shāh, who was in the company of the Emperor, heard that his two sons who had been taken prisoners by Jallal Khan, had been slain. From this grief and affliction, he pined away

(named erroneously Nasib-Shāh, which should be Mahmud Shāh) getting wounded in the war against Sher Shāh, came and met the Emperor (Humayun), and invoked his help, the latter left Mir. Hinda Beg Qushin in charge of Jaunpur province, and marched (from Chunar) towards Bengal, forcing the pass of Teligadhi, which was fortified and held by Quth Khan and Khawas Khan (son and servant respectively of Sher Shāh).

¹ i.e. 1538 A.C.
² Sher Khan or Sher Shāh was at this time at Gaar and had made himself master of it. (See Balsow, pp. 348 and 349, Vol. I). Mughal historians, to please the Mughal Emperors, invariably belittle Sher Shāh by calling him "Sher Khan." Sher Shāh finally defeated Humayun (Darrett's Tr., Asia, p. 421), and Badami, pp. 354 and 355, Vol. I) near Kaunji in A.H. 947 (A.C. 1538), when Humayun fled to Sindb.
³ He is mentioned as Governor of Bengal under Humayun (vide Blochmann's Tr., Ain-i-Akbari, and also the text, Facs. 1, p. 331, and also Badami, p. 352, Vol. I.)
⁴ This must have been near Colgong (Kahlgon), at the time.
day by day, and in a short time died. And since Sher Khan, on hearing about the approach of the Imperial forces, became anxious, he removed the treasures of the kings of Gaur and Bengal, fled towards Râjâhâ, and from thence towards the hills of Jâhârkand. Emperor Humâyûn captured without opposition the city of Gaûr, which was the capital of Bengal, and owing to the ominous nature of its name, he changed it to Jinnâbâd, and introduced the Imperial Khûtbas and coin. The ports of Sumâr-gâon and Châtgâon (Chittagong), etc., came into the possession of the Emperor. For some time, the Emperor lived in ease and comfort, and did not pursue Sher Khan, 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 Afghâns, marching by way of Jâhârkand, had captured the fort of Rohiâs, and that leaving a force for the defence of the fort, Sher Khan 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 Mirzâ Hindal which had come to pass at Delhi, was also received. The Emperor becoming anxious on the a receipt of the

1 Mahârûd Shâh, the last Independent Mussalman king of Bengal, died at Colong in 1538 A.C.
2 This was the name which Western Bengal bore under Hindu Raja.
3 Chitta Nagpir tract was so called during Musalman rule in India.
4 Humâyûn captured Gaûr, about July 1538. Humâyûn stayed at Gaûr for three months, that is, till September 1538 A.C., and named the place Jinnâbâd. (See Baclesse, p. 340, Vol. I).
5 This important fort in South Behar was captured by Sher Shâh in 943 A.H. or about September 1538 A.C. by an ingenious stratagem. (See Baclesse, p. 343, Vol. I). Sher Khan induced the Rajah of Rohiâs to give shelter to his family in the Fort, and then sent in there two thousand armed Afghâns in scâkos or palanquins, these latter killed the Rajah and his soldiers, and easily captured the Fort for Sher Shâh.
6 In Firdausi occurs the following: “At this time news was received that Mirza Hindal had raised the standard of rebellion in Agra and Murât, had caused the Khûtbas to be recited after his own name, and had killed Shaikh Bahadûr” (Vol. I, p. 423, Pers. text). Delhi mentioned here therefore appears to be a mistake for Agra, as appears also from the text which follows. (See Baclesse, p. 340, Vol. I).
news from Delhi, appointed Jahangir Quli Beg Governor of Bengal, and leaving Ibrahim Beg, who was one of the principal Qaim, 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 SHAH² TO THE THRONE, IN THE CITY OF GAUR.

When Emperor Humayun in the year 946 A.H. withdrew towards Agra, Sher Khan, apprised of the unpreparedness of the Imperial army and of the rebellion of Mirza 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 Khan bivouacked facing it,² and caused as much harassment as he could. At length, by way of treachery and stratagem, sending to the Emperor Shaikh Khalil, the well-known saint who was his spiritual guide, Sher Khan sought

¹ In Baduson (p. 350, Vol. 1). "Jahangir Beg Moghal."
² His regal style was Fakher-ul-din Abul Mansur Sher Shah. He reigned from 944 to 952 A.H. or 1538 to 1545 A.C. He lies buried at Sultanum (Sassan) in Dehur. His first Governor of Bengal, Khur Khan, who married a daughter of Malikuddin Shah III, King of Bengal, was replaced by Qazi Fizal, of Agra. Those who care to know the life and career of this remarkable Sovereign, will find a full account in Baduson (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 occupied 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, Joger or benefits, generous in supporting learning and the learned) wise in his army-reforms (coped subsequently by Akbar) manifest in laying down trunk roads, planting trees, sinking wells, establishing caravanserais, building mosques, Madrasahs and Khansahis, and erecting bridges, few Indo-Muslim 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 Baduson (p. 363, Vol. 1), 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.

³ Sher Khan had encamped on the right bank of the river between Chausa and Naligarh. The river here is called Thar Nahi. The battle of Chausa was fought on 9th Safar 946 A.H. or 28th June, 1539. (See Baduson, pp. 351 and 352, Vol. 1).
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 Khatba 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 reassured by this oath. But Sher Khan, on the following day, with an efficient and well-equipped Afghān 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 Afghāns, plunged pell-mell into the river Ganges, so that besides the Hindustans, 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 Jahāngīr Qull 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 Khatba and the coin after his own name, and brought the provinces of Bengal and Behār absolutely under his domination. And from that time he assumed the title of Sher Shāh, and that year devoting himself to the

1 Rather the overtures for peace were made by Humāyūn, who sent Mulla Muhammad Azis for the purpose to Sher Khān, who was then at Chausa. At the time, Sher Khān 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 Shāh then sent to the Emperor his spiritual guide Shāikh Khaliṣ, a descendant of Shāikh Fariḍ Ganj Shakar. (See Bādshāh, pp. 350 and 351, Vol. I).

2 After defeating Humāyūn at Chausa on 26th June, 1539 A.C. (9th Safar, 946 A.H.), Sher Khān marched to Gaūr, slew Humayun's Governor, Jahāngīr Qull Beg, and assumed the same year at Gaūr the royal title of Faridu'd-dīn Abu Mansūr Sher Shāh, and struck coins. Sher Shāh 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., the tenth day of the month of Muharram, in the neighbourhood of Qasaunj, 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.

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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 virtue, 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 Qasaun in Badshahi, p. 354, Vol. I.
2 He married a daughter of Mahmod 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 Badshahi, p. 365, Vol. I.)
ACCOUNT OF THE OVER-LORDSHIP OF MUHAMMAD KHĀN SUR IN BENGAL.

When in the year 352 A.H., Sher Shāh, in capturing the fort of Kalinjar,1 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 Jallāl Khān, ascended the throne of Delhi and assumed the title of Islām Shāh,2 popularly known as Salim Shāh, Muhammad Khān Sur, who was one of the principal Omra and a connexion of Salim Shāh, 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 Shāh’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, viz., 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 instalment of Qazi Fazilat, 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 Shāh died on 12th Rabi‘ I, 952 A.H. (3rd June, 1545); he lies buried at Saharan, in South Behar. See Tarikh-i-Sher Shāh for an interesting account of Sher Shāh’s career, and also Badonī, p. 385. Vol. I, Firuzsha and Akbarnamah.

Sher Shāh 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. Mughal historians generally (no doubt from their delicate position) have failed to appraise Sher Shāh’s qualities as a statesman and as a soldier at their proper worth. His reign was fruitful of military, fiscal, agricultural, economic, currency and revenue reforms in Bengal, and also of many public works of utility, such as roads, rest-houses, bridges, fortifications, Khanqas, colleges and walls, etc.

1 “Kalinjar is a stone fortress in Sūbah Allahabad; upon heaven-reaching hill.”—Ain. During its siege in 1545 A.C., a shell rebounded from the walls into the battery where Sher Shāh 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 Badonī, p. 572, Vol. I).

2 Jallāl Khān assumed the royal title of Jallān-ul-dīn Abul Munsafar Islām Shāh in 1545 A.C. (or 952 A.H.) He reigned from 1545 to 1553 A.C. He appointed his relative Muhammad Khān Sur as his Governor of Bengal, removing Qazi Fazilat. Islam Shāh lies buried at Sasaram. He drew up a comprehensive Procedure Code, and followed the enlightened and statesman-like policy of his illustrious father. See Badonī, Vol. I, p. 374.
conquest of Chnnar, Jaunpur 1 and Kalpi 2. Muhammad Shah "Adili 3 taking in his company Hemu 4 the grocer, who was one of his leading Omras, with a large army, proceeded to encounter Muhammad Khan, and in the village of Chaparghatha, which is fifteen kro distant from Kalpi, between the two armies, a sanguinary engagement took place. 5 Many persons on both sides were killed, and Muhammad Khan, too, was killed. The grandees who escaped from the sword fled, and rallied together at Jhosi, 6 and installed in power Muhammad Khan'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 Janat."—Atif.

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

3 Mubara Khan killed Firuz Khan, son of Islam Shah, and assumed (in 900 A.H. or 1553 A.C.) the title of Muhammad Shah "Adili. Owing to this unwarned assassination, popularly he was known as "Adil Shah or simply as "Andhali" which means "the blind" in Hindustani.

In Firdaws and Stewart, it is stated that Muhammad Khan Sur ruled over Bengal and North Behar wisely and beneficently till the close of the reign of Salim Shah; but when in 900 A.H. Muhammad 'Adili who was addicted to debauchery and pleasures, mounted the throne, after slaying Firuz Khan, Muhammad Khan refused to pay him homage, viewing him as the assassin of his late master's son.

Muhammad Khan Sur was appointed in 952 A.H. (1545 A.C.) Governor of Bengal and North Behar by Islam Shah, who had deposed Qazi Fuzilat, the nominee of Sher Shah. Islam Shah at the same time confirmed Miyan Sulaiman Karrarani to continue as Governor of South Behar.

4 Hemu the grocer was made a Superintendent of the Markets by Salim Shah, and raised to the office of Administrator-General of the Empire by Muhammad Shah "Adili. He was defeated by Akbar's General, Bihram Khan, in 1556 A.C. at Panipat.

5 Muhammad Khan Sur, Islam Shah's Governor of Bengal, refused to acknowledge Muhammad 'Adil Shah, and himself assumed the royal title of Shahum-d-din Abu Muminar Muhammad Shah, and invaded Jaunpur and Kalpi. The battle of Chapparghatha was fought between the two in 962 A.H. (1555 A.C.) Chapparghatha is east of Kalpi, on the Jamuna river. He ruled as Islam Shah's Governor of Bengal from 952 to 960 A.H. and reigned as king of Bengal from 960 A.H. to 963 A.H., that is from 1553 to 1555 A.C. (See Patchai, p. 432, Vol. I).

6 Jhosi is on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite to Allahabad, there Khizr Khan, son of Muhammad Shah, who was killed in the battle of Chapparghatha, celebrated his jals, and assumed the royal title of Bakadur Shah in 962 A.H. (1555 A.C.) (See Patchai, p. 433, Vol. I).
Khān. Bahādur Shāh (that is, Khzier Khān), 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 Bahādur Shāh, with an efficient army, invaded Bengal, Shahbāz Khān, who, on behalf of Muhammad Shāh ‘Adil, was at that time Governor of Gaur, advanced to fight. The grandees of Shahbāz Khān, seeing the overwhelming force of Bahādur Shāh, deserted to the latter. Shahbāz Khān, 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?

Bahādur Shāh, 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 Shāh ‘Adil, and a great battle was fought at a point between Sarajgadh and Jahangirah.² Muhammad Shāh, receiving mortal wounds on

¹ Bahādur Shāh or Khizer Khān, son of Muhammad Khān Sur alīs Shāhmad-dīn Abul Muzzaffar Muhammad Shāh, was installed in power at Jhaut, where Muhammad Shāh’s defeated grandees and officers rallied after the battle of Chappar Qhatta. He reigned over Bengal as king from 902 to 938 A.H. (or 1565 to 1591 A.C.) Radaoni calls him Muhammad Bahadur. The most important event of his reign was his war with ‘Adil Shāh, whom he defeated at the decisive battle of Sarajgarha in Moughly district, in 904 A.H. At this battle, Sulaimān Karamani, who held South Behar from Sher Shāh’s reign assisted Bahādur Shāh. (See Tarikh-i-Dandī and Radaoni, pp. 433-434, Vol. I).

² Bahādur Shāh was king of Bengal and North Behar from 902 to 968 A.H. (that is 1565 to 1591 A.C.). During this period, South Behar continued under its old Governor, Miyan Sulaimān Karamani.

It may be noted here that Bahādur Shāh was a contemporary of Emperor Akbar who ascended the Imperial throne in 988 A.H. (or 1576 A.C.).

² Jahangirah village is close to Jamalpur railway station, in Moughly district. Sarajgadh or Sarajgara is a town close to Manasagar, on the banks of the river Ganges, in Moughly district.
the battle-field, was killed. And this Muhammad Shāh alias Muharrīs Kān, was a son of Nizām Kān Sur, who was a nephew of Shor Shāh, and a cousin and brother-in-law of Salīm Shāh. After the death of Salīm Shāh, on the third day, slaying the former's son, named Firuz Shāh, who was his nephew, Muhammad Shāh mounted the throne of Delhi, and assumed the title of Muḥammad Shāh ‘Adil. As the latter had no capacity for Government, the Afghāns nick-named him ‘Adil,’ and by a slight change of pronunciation, they called him ‘Audli.’ And ‘Audli,’ in the Hindustani language, means “the blind.” After this, Bahādur Shāh, reigning over Bengal for six years, died:

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

After Bahādur Shāh’s death, his brother Jallālu-d-din ascended the throne, and after five years’ reign, in the City of Gaur, died.

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REIGN OF JALLĀLU-D-DIN’S SON.

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

1 At this battle in 964 A.H. (1557 A.C.) Bahādur Shāh was assisted by Salāmān Karāramī. According to Tarikh-i-Daulī, the decisive battle was fought at the “stream of Sarajgarh, near Mungīr” (which is the Koel Nadi). Professor Borchmann locates the battle-field at Fathpur village, 4 miles west of Surajgarh and the Koel nadi. Tarikh-i-Dauli inaccurately places Sarajgarh one kos, more or less, from Mungiār.

2 See Badauni, p. 384, Vol. I.

3 His royal title was Ghazi-d-din Abul Muzaffar Jallāl Shāh. He reigned over Bengal and North Behar from 963 to 971 A.H. (or 1561 A.C. to 1564 A.C.) During this period, Sulaimān Karāramī continued as semi-independent Governor of South Behar, whilst Fathpur which had risen in importance from the time of Nasrāt Shāh continued to be the head-quarters to the Bengal Governor of North Behar. Patna became the seat of Behar Governors from the time of Emperor Akbar. Shor Shāh had built the Fort of Patna (see Borchmann, J.A.S. for 1873, p. 202). Jallāl Shāh died at Gaar in 971 A.H. With Jallāl Shāh and his son, ended the Sur dynasty in Bengal. Badauni (p. 430, Vol. I) states “that Muḥammad Khān Sur, ruler of Bengal, assumed the title of Sultan Jallālu-d-din, and extended the Bengal Kingdom up to Jaunpur.”
as yet more than seven months and nine days had not elapsed, when Ghiāsu-d-dīn, slaying him, usurped the reins of the sovereignty of Bengal.

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REIGN OF GHIĀSU-D-DĪN.

When Sultān Ghiāsu-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 Kranī gathering strength, slew him, and by means of the sharp sword conquered the kingdom.

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REIGN OF TĀJ KHĀN KRAÑI.

Tāj Khān Kranī was one of the grandees of Salīm Shāh, and Governor of Sambhal. At the time of the decline of Mūhammad Shāh Ādī, escaping from Gwalior, he set out for Bengal. Mūhammad Shāh Ādī detached a large army in pursuit of him. In the environs of Chaprampūr, which is forty kro distant from Akbarahād and thirty kro distant from Qansuq, 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 Mūhammad Shāh Ādī, he levied from them in the shape of cash and goods whatever he could, and taking one khalqā of elephants—a khalqā consisting of 100 elephants—from the parganahs, united with his brothers, ‘Ahmād Khān and Iyās Khān, who were Governors of certain districts alongside the

1 Sulaimān Khān Karansī, Governor of South Behar in 971 A.H. (1564 A.C.) sent his elder brother Tāj Khān Karansī to Gāūr, to put down the usurper, Ghiāsu-d-dīn. Tāj Khān killed the usurper, and established himself at Gāūr, 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 Karansī (J.A.S. for 1875, p. 285, and Badawī, pp. 439, 440 and 424, Vol. I. Badawī describes Tāj Khān as one of the most learned scholars of his time. He died in 972 A.H.

2 Sākhar Sambhāl under the Sūrah of Delhi is mentioned in the Ain (Jarrett’s Tr., Vol. II. p. 164).

The Ain further states: “In the city of Sambhāl in a temple called Harī Mandārī (the temple of Vishnu) 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 Khwaspur Tandah, and raised the standard of rebellion. When Muhammad Shah Adil 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 Muhammad Shah Adil’s army, taking with him one hundred elephants, and crossing the river, and fighting, became victorious. And when Ibrahim Khan Sur, who was Adil’s sister’s husband, escaping and capturing Delhi raised troubles, Muhammad Shah Adil 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 Gaúr, after nearly nine years ruling over it, and conquering the kingdom of Bengal, like others, he died.

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REIGN OF SULAIMĀN 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 haqqī, Hemū rose to the officer of Vizier and generalissimo under Muhammad Shāh Adil, and exhibited great personal courage at the battle of Panipat fought in 964 A.H. between him and Akbar. He assumed the title of Rajah Bikramadit 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 Badauni, Vol. II, pp. 15 to 16).

2 See Badauni, Vol. I, pp. 422 to 425. During the phase which arose during the latter part of the feeble reign of Muhammad Shāh Adil, 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 Panjāb, Mūlan and other western tracts.

3 According to the Akbarnamah, Badauni and the Tabaqat-i-Akbari, he died in 980 A.H. and reigned in Bengal from 971 to 990 A.H., or 1563 to 1582 A.C. He is sometimes called Kararani and sometimes Karani and also Kranji. It is related of him that he held every morning a devotional meeting, in company with 150 Shāikhs and Ulamaas, after which he used to transact business during fixed hours. (See Bloch, Tr., Ain, p. 171, and Badauni, Vol. II, pp. 76, 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, Kalambar, is detailed in a following section in the text, and also in Firishah, Akbarnamah, and Tarikh-i-Daud.
uery of the Subah of Behar, which he continued to hold in the reign of Salim Shah. When Salim Shah passed to the regions of eternity, in Hindustan, tribal chiefs established themselves, and in every head the ambition of sovereignty, and in every heart the aspiration of supremacy, arose. Sulaiman Khan, after the death of his brother, Taj Khan, established himself with full independence as king of Bengal and Behar, and abandoning the City of Gauter, 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 Hindustan. And when Emperor Humayun returned to Hindustan from Persia, Sulaiman Khan, exercising foresight, sent a letter embodying sentiments of loyalty and

His principal nobleman and officer, Khan Jahan Lodi, held a conference with Akbar's general, Munim Khan-i-Khanan, in the neighbourhood of Pusa, and it was arranged to recite the Khutba and strike coins in Bengal after Akbar's name (see p. 437, Bloch, Tr., Ain, and Budhna, p. 174). In 973 A.H., Sulaiman removed his capital from Gauter to Tandah. Akbar sent an embassy to him (Badauni, p. 78, Vol. II).

And Tandah was on the west side of the Ganges, nearly opposite to Gauter.

In 972 A.H. (1564 A.D.), Sulaiman Karanani, the Afghan king of Bengal, abandoned Gauter on account of its bad climate, and shifted the capital westward to Tandah, which was also called Khawarqar Tandah. In 983 A.H. (1575 A.D.) Munim Khan-i-Khanan, Akbar's Subedar, re-occupied Gauter, where a pestilence soon broke out, and he as well as many Mughal officers and soldiers died. (See Budhna, pp. 216 and 217, Vol. II). About 1242 A.H. (1825 A.D.) Tandah was destroyed by floods, and disappeared into the river. Now a days it lies as a heap of dust along a mile from Lakhigar. (See Beveridge's Analysis of Khushial Jahan Numa, A.A.S., 1835, p. 216).

1. Taking advantage of the dissensions between the Afghans under Sher Shah and the Mughals under Emperor Humayun, Kuch Behar which had previously been subdued by Alam-ud-din Hansal Shah, king of Bengal, and partially re-conquered by Sulaiman Karanani rose into semi-independence in 944 A.H. under Rina, and became independent under Rajas Nana Narayan (1682 A.H.) and Bal Gosain (1688 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 Khudba and the coin after his own name in the kingdom of Bengal, he styled himself Hazrat 'Alā (the Supreme Chief), and outwardly showing submission to Jallālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh, he sent occasionally presents and gifts. Nearly sixteen years, ruling independently over Bengal, in the year 981 A.H. he died. And he was very energetic, industrious, and strict. In the history of Firishta, 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,\(^{4}\) SON OF SULAIMĀN KHĀN.

After Sulaimān's death, his son Bayazid 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 Afghan named Hauso, who was a cousin and brother-in-law of Bayazid, attacking him,

\(^{4}\) From note ante, it would appear that he ceased to do so in Akbar's time.

\(^{5}\) 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.

\(^{6}\) He reigned in 990 A.H. or 1572 A.D. (See extract from Badami and the Sawanami. Akbar regarding the death of Sulaimān, accession and assassination of his son Bayazid, and the installation of Bayazid's brother Dāud, chiefly through the efforts of Lodi Khān, the premier nobleman of the Bengal kingdom (J.A.S. for 1875, pp. 304-305).

Badami who was a zealous Moslem remarks that 'Sulaimān conquered the town of Katak-Barsa, the mine of unbelief,' and made Jagannāth (Puri) a dar-ul Islam, and ruled from Kamrup to Orissa. Sulaimān's first Viceroy of Orissa (including Katak) was Lodi Khān alias Khān Jahan Lodi, and his first Governor of Jagannath or Puri was Quilla Khān (see Badami, 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 Hasan, to avenge the death of his brother. Either way, after Bayazid, his brother, Daud Khan, succeeded to the throne.

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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 Khand 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, and 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 Sawani Akbari and Baadami that Bayazid, in his youthful folly, read the Aṣba in his own name, neglected all forms of courtesy, and also ill-treated the chief nobles of his father whom consequently hated him. Hasan, the son of his uncle Imad (brother of Sulaiman), who was also his brother-in-law, then killed him. Lodi Khan then killed Hasan and installed Daud. (See J.A.S. for 1875, pp. 304-305).

2 Daud Khan became King of Bengal, Behar and Oрисa in 980 A.H. (1572 A.C.) and reigned from 980 A.H. to 984 A.H. (1572 to 1576 A.C.), under the title of Abul Mousaffer 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 Mughalsari or Takaroi north of Jalisar, was fought in 1575 A.C. between him and the Imperialists, commanded by Musim Khan-j-Khanu. 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. Mmim Khan-i-Khanan died of malaria at Gaik, 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, Hussain Quli Khan Jahan, at Akhmath or Rajmahal, captured and beheaded. (See Tarikh-i-Daudi, Firashka, Baadami and Akhbarnamah). 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 dis-
smaded him from this policy, and gave him good counsel, he did not
listen. And Munim Khān, ¹ styled the Khān-i-Khānān, who was
Akbar's Governor of Jaunpur, and held a musāb of Panjhatārī,
under the order of the Emperor, turned towards the destruction
and extirpation of Dānd Khān, and sent in advance of himself a
small body of Mughal officers. Dānd Khān, on hearing of this,
appointed Lodi Khān Afghān, 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 Rāja Todar Mal ² (after

¹ He was appointed to his jagir in Jaunpur in the 13th year of Akbar's
reign, when he concluded peace with Salāmān Karranian, king of Bengal, who
promised to read the khatāb and strike coins in Akbar's name. Munim in
982 A.H. was appointed Governor of Behar (after Akbar captured Hajipur
and Patna from Dānd) and ordered to follow Dānd into Bengal. Munim
moved to Tandah, opposite to Gāur, on the right side of the Ganges, to settle
political matters, and left the pursuit to Muhammad Quli Khān Barlas. The
latter followed Dānd to Satgaon, whence however, Dānd withdrew to Oriasa,
and Muhammad Quli Khān Barlas from Satgaon invaded the district of Jaun
(Jessoro), where Sarmad, a friend of Dānd, had rebelled, but the Imperialists,
here too met with no success, and returned to Satgaon. Muhammad Quli
soon after died at Midnapur, and Munim Khān with Todar Mal invaded Oriasa,
defeated Dānd at the battle of Mughalmar or Tikaro, when the Peace of
Katak was concluded, under which Bengal and Behar were ceded by Dānd
to Akbar. Munim died of malaria at Gāur in 983 A.H. The great bridge of
Jaunpur was built by him. It may also be of interest to note that another
general, named Murad Khān, under Munim Khān-i-Khānān, about 982 A.H.
invaded Fathabad (or Farīdpur), and conquered it as well as Sarkar Bogha.
This Murad Khān died at Fathabad (Farīdpur) in 988 A.H., and Mukand,
the zamīndar of Fathabad and Bhoana, invited Murad's sons to a feast and
treacheryously murdered them. See Bloch. Trans., Ain, Vol. I, p. 318 and
Budāuni, pp. 178 and 189.

² For a biographical account, see Blochmann's Trs. of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I,
p. 32. He was a Khātri by caste, and attained the musāb of Chakhar-
hasari 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 Hazâri) to the office of Administrator of Bengal, and sent him in advance of the Khân-i-Khânân, and detached other officers and soldiers under the command of the aforesaid Khân for chastising Dâd Khân, and repeated his order to the Khân-i-Khânân in regard to the conquest of Behar. Since at that time, between Dâd Khân and Lodi Khân, some estrangement had arisen, Lodi Khân, being displeased, opened with the Khân-i-Khânân communications of conciliation, and avowed towards Emperor Akbar sentiments of submission and loyalty. Another Afghan officer, named Qâlâ Khân, who bore a grudge against Lodi Khân, shaking the chain of enmity, denounced Lodi Khân before Dâd Khân, stating that Lodi Khân had been in collusion with Akbar’s grandees, and that covertly he was of one mind with the latter. Dâd Khân, on being apprised of this, writing a soothing letter to Lodi Khân, and bringing him over to his side, had him in his presence, and charitably slew Lodi Khân, who was renowned for his soundness of views, sagacity, bravery and valour. Dâd Khân 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, Sru 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 hurly of daggers rose to the skies, 
Hearts were pierced, and a torrent of blood set a-flooding 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 Afghâns
being routed, took to flight, and retired to Patna. Some of 
their war-vessels fell into the hands of the Mughals. The
Khân-i-Khânân also following up and crossing the river, marched 
with the greatest expedition to Patna, and investing that fort, 
where Dâd Khân had entrenched himself, prepared to assault it.

Brockman’s Tr.) It would appear that this great rent-roll which has made
Todar Mai so famous, was jointly prepared by him and his Chief, Munafir
Khân, Akbar’s Chief Finance Minister or Dewan. (See Ranaoni)
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 Muhammad Jallâlu-d-dîn 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
flotilla 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 'Achâ Khan Nââî, who
was one of the faithful officers of Dâudi Khan, sallying out of the
fort, had been killed whilst fighting with the Khan-i-Khânân,
and that the garrison of the fort were contemplating flight. The
Emperor then detached Khan 'Alîn with a corps of 3,000 cavalry
for storming the fort of Hajipur; and the latter arriving there,
wrésted the fort from Fath Khan, and reduced it to his own
possession. Dâudi Khan, 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." Dâudi Khan, on receiving this message, was frightened,
and seeing no advantage in tarrying at Patna, at night-fall slipped

1 His name was Chalma Beg. He was Humâyûn's Safarî or table-
attendant. Humâyûn 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 Khán 'Alîn. 2 When Akbar moved against Dâudi
Shâh in Patna, Khán 'Alîn 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 Afghan army to a distance of 25 kro, and 400 war-elephants of Daud Khan, 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 Khan to subjugate the outlying provinces and to extirpate Daud Khan, retired from Daripaur.¹ When the Khan-i-Khanan reached Sakrigali, Daud Khan 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 Jumaid Khan, son of Daud Khan, Munim Khan, hearing of this, himself³ marched to Orissa. Daud Khan advanced to encounter the latter; when both the forces approached each other, they fell into battle-array.⁴

¹ There is a Daripur about 2 miles south of Mokamah railway station. This was probably the point up to which the Emperor Akbar advanced from Patna on boats in pursuit of Daud Shah, the king of Bengal. With the fall of the forts of Patna and Hajipur, (See Badash, pp. 180-181, Vol. II), Bebar was practically lost by Daud Shah, who under the Peace of Katak subsequently ceded Bengal also.

² The route appears to have been through Bardwan across Madarai, and Midnapur to parganas Chittna in Orissa, where Todar Mal was subsequently joined by Munim Khan. Daud Khan at this time advanced to Haripur lying intermediate between Orissa and Bengal (see Akbarnamah).

³ At this time the Khan-i-Khanan was at Tundah, opposite to Gaur, settling political matters. On receiving Todar Mal's appeal for help, the Khan-i-Khanan promptly left Tundah, and quickly advanced to Orissa across Birbhum, Bardwan and Midnapur into pargana Chittna in Orissa, where Todar Mal was.

⁴ See Akbarnamah, Tahqat-i-Akbari, Badash, for full particulars of this battle. The Akbarnamah places the battle in a village called Takadhi or Takroli (two miles from the bank of the Sohanarika river and close to Jalees). Professor Blochmann has traced also a village called Mughalnari (or Mughal's Flight) close to this Takroli or Tookroli. (See Blochmann's Tr. of Ains, Vol. I, p. 375, and also Badash, p. 193, Vol. II.)

Todar Mal, says Professor Blochmann: "moved from Bardwan over Madarai into the pargana of Chittan, where he was subsequently joined by Munim. Daud had taken up a strong position at Haripur 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 Gujrā,¹ who in heroism and valour was the
Rustam of his time, and who commanded the van of Dād Khān's
army, made a bold onslaught on the commander of the Khān-i-
Khānān's van, named Khān-i-‘Alīm, discomfited the Imperial
vanguard, slew Khān-‘Alīm, and shook the van. And a number
of Imperialists who were between the centre and the van,
becoming discomfited by the attack of Dād Khān, reeled back to
the centre, and caused confusion. The Khān-i-Khānān, with the
small remnant of troops that yet held the ground, advanced in
front of Gujrā, and by chance, Gujrā and the Khān-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 Gujrā,
The body of the Khān-i-Khānān got wounded.
Other adherents came in the midst,
And intervened between the two combatants.

writes to Manūs to come up and join him, as Dād had collected his troops
near Katak, and the whole Imperial army moves to Katak, where a peace
is concluded.²

¹ When Bayzaid was killed by Hānūn, it is related in the Sawānih Ṭakhrūi
that Gujrā Khān attempted to raise in Behar Bayzaid's son to the throne.
It may be noted that a village called Gujārpur lies about 5 miles from Katak,
and that there is a family there that claims Gujrā Khān 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 of Daud Khan. When Daud Khan reached the environs of the river Chin, 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

1 It appears from the Akbarnama 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 Bahr and Bengal to Akbar, retaining only Orissa. The battle of Takroi (3rd March, 1575 A.D.)—called by Badanpur Biqwa—was a most decisive battle, as it virtually ended Afghan supremacy in Bengal and Behar, and substituted Mughal rule in its place.

2 “Chin” is apparently a copyist’s mistake for the “Mahanadi” river. In skilful 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 Khan. The Khan 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 Tanah, and set himself to administer the country. Since in former days, from the time of Muhammad Bakhtiār Khalji down to the time of Sher Shāh, Gafr had formed the Capital of Bengal, (though owing to the climate of the latter place not suitting foreigners, the Afghāns had built Khawaspūr Tanah for the settlement of the rulers), the Khan Khānān, setting himself to the reconstruction of the city of Gafr, 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.\(^2\) died. Dāud Khān, on hearing the news of the Khan Khānān's death, with the assistance of the Afghāns, re-occupied Bengal and Behar, and immediately marched to wrest the city of Khawaspūr Tanah. The Imperialists, not being able to tarry, evacuated the place. Dāud Khān with full independence resumed his former sovereignty.

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THE RULE OF NAWĀB KHĀN JAHĀN IN BENGAL, AND AN ACCOUNT OF DĀUD KHĀN'S DEATH.

When the news of Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān's death reached Delhi, Emperor Akbar appointed Husain Quli Khān

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

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

Professor Bachelard, in his Tr. of Ain-I-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 376, gives a list (compiled from the Akbarnamah) of 14 other principal Mughal officers who died at Gafr of malaria, at this time (983 A.H. or 1576 A.C.). Badauni also gives the list.
Turkman, after bestowing on him the title of Khan Jahán,¹ to the office of Governor of Bengal. And when Khan Jahán reached the frontiers of Bengal, Khwaja Muzaffar Ali Turhati,² who was a servant of Bahram³ Khan, and, obtaining the title of Muzaffar Khan, was Governor of Behar, and had come for the conquest of the Rohtas fort, joined him with the troops of Behar, Tirhat and Hajipur, &c. And all the Imperialists uniting their forces, advanced to storm the fort of Telisagarhi and Sakrigali. Daud Khan also with a formidable army advanced to Akmahal,⁴ which lies midway between Gadhi and Tandah, to fight with Khan Jahán. But Khan Jahán, by delivery of the first assault, stormed Gadhi, slaughtered about 1,500 Afghans, and advanced towards the site where Daud Khan 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 Manum Khan Khan-i-Khanan. His second-in-command was Rajah Todar Mal. He was a sister's son of Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khanan. See his biographical sketch in Blochmann's Tr. of Xim-i-Akhari, Vol. I, p. 329, and also Munsir-ul-Umara.

² At Bhojpur, the Amir of Bengal waited on Khan Jahán.

³ From this period the whole of Behar, including South and North Behar, was placed under a separate Mogul Governor, whilst Bengal was similarly governed by another separate Mogul 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).

⁴ "Turhati" is a copyist's error in the text for "Turhati." He was Akbar's Governor of Behar, and held all Behar from Chuna to Telisagarhi. He was ordered by Akbar to assist Khan Jahán, Akbar's Governor of Bengal, when the latter encountered opposition from the Afghans under Daud Khan, who had at this time entrenched himself in the fort of Akmahal (subsequently, Bajunahal or Akbaranagar). 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-Hasil-i-hal," 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-Majid (now in ruins) of Agra was erected by him. He was killed at Tandah by Manum Khan, the rebel. (See his full biographical sketch in Blochmann's Tr. of Xim-i-Akhari, Vol. I, p. 328, and also Munsir-ul-Umara.)

⁵ "Bahrám" is a copyist's mistake in the text for "Bairam."

⁶ i.e., Bajunahal or Akbaranagar—Previous to Man Singh selecting it, Shah Shihb 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, spread consternation, and Muẓaffar Khān assaulting the left wing of Dāud Khān, caused it to reel back, and simultaneously, Khān Jahān assaulted the centre of Dāud Khān, and a great battle commenced.

On that battle-field, 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 Jahān;
Whichever side he turned with his sword,
He fell 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 Akmal or Agmal (subsequently called Bajmal or Akharnagar), 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 Sāḥib of the Great Mughal Empire, and extinguished for ever Independent Muslim Royalty in Bengal.

See full account of this great battle in the Akhārnamah and Badzoni, 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 Khān fled from the battle-field, the heroes of Khān Jahān’s army, not abandoning Daud’s pursuit, followed him up, and at length Daud Khān was captured, and brought to Khān Jahān. 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!

Junaid Khān, son of Daud Khān, who receiving a mortal wound, had fled from the battle-field; some two or three days subsequently also died. Khān Jahān reduced to subjection as much of the country as was in the possession of the Khān-i-Khānān, and sent all the elephants captured from the Afghāns, together with other booty, to Emperor Akbar. And Muzaffar Khān, striking up the kettle-drum of return, proceeded to Patna, and in 983 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, Khān Jahān. If he possessed one-quarter of the chivalry of his own predecessor in office, the Khān-i-Khānān, he could have never extended his hand to the perpetration of this brutality, which was as fierce as it was uncivil. A worthy and heroic foe like Daud Shāh deserved a better fate, and it is a pity that Khān Jahān’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 Shāh. (See Badamī for a description of it, as it existed in Akbar’s time). During his reign and that of his son Salīm Shāh, Fath Khān Batni commanded the Fort. Subsequently, it came into the hands of Sulai-
AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXTERMINATION OF CERTAIN GRANDEES OF DÆUD KHÂN.

When Mu¿affar Khân planned to return to Patna, on the way he detached Muhammad Ma`sûm Khân to conquer Husain Khân, an Afghan who was in those parts, and he causing Husain Khân to flee, came to the Parganna which was his jagir, and entered the fort. And Kãla Pãhrã coming with 800 corps of cavalry, besieged Ma`sûm Khân. The latter seeing a breach made, battered down the rear-wall of the fort, sallied out, and gave battle to Kãla Pãhrã. As ill-luck would have it, in the heat of warfare, the war-elephant of Kãla Pãhrã, with its trunk, flung down Ma`sûm Khân's horse, and threw down Ma`sûm Khân 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 Afghãns. From this cause, the Afghãns were vanquished, Kãla Pãhrã was killed, and his elephant turned back. The province of Orissa and Katak Benares, the whole kingdom of Bengal and Behãr, by the efforts of Khân Jahân, 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 Khuṭbah read after his name. And the leading Afghan grandees, like Husain Khân and Kãla Pãhrã, as related above, were totally extirpated, and some fled to the jungles in the tracts of Bengal. 1 In the

nân Kararani and Junaîd Kararani. The latter appointed Syed Muhammad Commandant of the Fort. The latter being hardpressed by Mu¿affar Khân, Mughal Governor of Behãr, fled to Shabbãz Khân (who had been deputed by Akbar to chastise Rãjãh Gajpãtã). See Ain-i-Akbari, Bloch, Tr., Vol. I, p. 399), and handed over the Fort to him (684 A.H.) In the same year, Akbar appointed Mahbub Ali Khân Bahârãi Governor of Rohtãs, and Shabbaž Khân made over the Fort to him. (See Bloch, Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 422).

1 He fought against Kãla Pãhrã. See particulars of his career in Bloch, Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 431 n. and also in Bahawal and Maazir-ûl-Umara.


3 After the battle of Akmahl or Bajmahl (1576 A.C.), in which the last independent Afghan king of Bengal, Behãr and Orissa, named Dãud Shãh, was defeated and killed, Khân Jahân proceeded to Satgãon, where Dãud's family lived at the time, defeated remnants of Dãud's followers under Jumãshid and Mûtã, and re-annexed Satgãon to the Mughal Empire. Dãud's mother came to Khân Jahân as a supplicant. With the defeat and death
year 987 A.H., Khān Jahan died, and the Afghāns, 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 Afghan commander, named ‘Ogmān Khān, combining with other Afghāns, raised an insurrection. Emperor Akbar appointed Khān ‘Aṣim Mirzā Kokah, together with other principal Omra, to the Government of Bengal and Behār. And he made needworthy efforts to destroy and extirpate the Afghāns. And when he did not succeed in completely extirpating them, Shāhbaz Khān came with re-inforcements, as an auxiliary to the Imperialists; and then engagements ensued with ‘Ogmān Khān. The ferocious Imperialists did not stay their hands from the slaughter, capture and extirpation of the insurgent Afghāns. In short, in the life-time of Akbar, the fortune of the Afghāns declined, but as their extirpation was not completed by the time of the death of Emperor Akbar, which took place in 1014 A.H., ‘Ogmān Khān rising again, re-sharpened his sword. And mobilising nearly of Dānd, Bengal was by no means thoroughly conquered, as troubles broke out in Bhatî (Sundarbans including tracts along the Megna), where the Afghāns had collected under Karim Dad, Ibākīm and ‘Isa Khān, whom Abul Pažīl calls “Marzban-i-Bhatī.” (See Ain-i-Akhbar, Bloch, Tr., Vol. I, pp. 330 and 343).

1 He died at a town called Sihatpūr (the ‘Sanitarium’) which he had founded near Tandah.

2 In 986 A.H., Aźīz was promoted by Akbar to command of Five Thousand, received the title of Amān Khān, and was in 986 A.H. detached with a large army to Bengal and Behār, to quell disturbances. In 990 A.H. he was again sent there, when he occupied Teliagadhi, the “key” to Bengal. He fought against the rebels Maqṣūm-i-Kabuli and Majmūn Khān, and also operated against the Afghan Quiltu, who had occupied Orissa and a portion of Bengal. He took ill, retired to Behār, leaving the command in Bengal to Shāhbaz Khān Kambā. Of him, Akbar used to say “Between me and Aźīz 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 Manṣur-ul-Uṣūr).

3 For interesting details of his career see Blochmann’s Tr., Ain-i-Akhbar, Vol. I, p. 339 and Manṣur-ul-Uṣūr. Maqṣūm Khān Kabuli rebelled, fled to Bhatī, and took refuge with the Marzban-i-Bhatī, ‘Isa Khān. Shāhbaz Khān followed him to Bhatī, crossed the Ganges at Khairpur (near Narainganj) plundered Bakhtīmpur, ‘Isa Khān’s residence, occupied Sunargaon and encamped on the banks of the Brahmaputra. ‘Isa Khān made proposals of peace which were accepted; under it, an Imperial Resident was to stay at Sunargaon, Maqṣūm was to go to Mecca, and Shāhbaz was to withdraw. But these terms were not carried out, as his officers shewed insubordination, and Shāhbaz had to retreat to Tandah.
20,000 Afghan, 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.

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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 Nizāmat of Bengal from the lofty presence of the Chagītāi 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 NIZĀMAT OF BENGAL BY THE TIMURIDE EMPERORS OF DELHI.

NIZĀMAT OR VICEROYALTY OF RAJAH MĀN SINGH.

When on the 19th Jamādi-ul-Sāni 1014 A.H., Nuru-d-din Muḥammad Jahāngir 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 'Osmān Khān was continually received (on the very day of his accession, the Emperor, bestowing rich khill'at with charqul, and a sword set in jewel, and a splendid horse, appointed Rajah Mān Singh to the Nizāmat of the Subah of Bengal, whilst Wasir Khān was exalted to the office of Diwān and Anditor of this Province. After their arrival in this country, the refractory 'Osmān advanced to fight, and a battle ensued. 'Osmān with great shrewdness opened secret negotiations. As the war was protracted, and the extirpation of the Afghān was not accomplished, in that very year of accession, Rajah Mān Sing ¹ was recalled from office, and

¹ For the first time, we hear of the offices of Nazim and Diwan. Hitherto we heard of Military Governors, called “Sipasalars” or “Siraghkars” or “Hakima” 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 Jahangir, 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 Nazim (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 Jahangir’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 “Flomad” or “Son,” and raised him to the Mawla of Haft Hauari. See full
Quṭbudd-Dīn Khān Kokaltāsh was exalted to his place, being the recipient at the same time of khīlat 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.

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**NIZĀMAT OF QUTBU-D-DIN KHĀN.**

When Quṭbudd-Dīn Kokaltāsh, on the 9th Safar, 1015 A.H., was honoured with the khilat of the Nizāmat of Bengal, he was raised to the rank of a Panjhaḍīrī, 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 ‘Alī Quṭl Beg Astajlū, styled Sher Afghān Khān. And the detail of particulars of his career in Bloch. Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 340, and also in Masīr-ul-Usūra, and Iqbalamah-i-Jahangiri.

1 His name was Shāhī Shāhī (Quṭbudd-Dīn Khān-i-Chištī) and his father was Shāhī Shāhī of Badam, and his mother a daughter of Shāhī Shāhī of Fathpur Sikrī. He was a foster-brother of Jahāngīr, who whilst a Prince conferred upon Khub the title of Quṭbudd-Dīn Khān, and made him Sāmadar of Behar. On Jahāngīr’s accession to the throne, Khub was appointed Sāmadar of Bengal, (1015 A.H.) At that time Sher Afghān ‘Alī Quṭl Astajlū was tāsūdar (or jāgujar) of Bardwan, and his wife Mehrunnisā (afterwards Empress Nūr Jāhān) was coveted by Emperor Jahāngīr. Quṭbudd-Dīn had instructions to send Sher Afghān to court, but the latter refusing to go, Quṭb went to Bardwan, where Sher Afghān came to meet him. On his approach, Quṭb lifted up his horse-whip. Sher Afghān thereon rushed with his sword against Quṭb, and inflicted a cut on his abdomen. Quṭb died, and one of his followers, Mubāh Khān, gave Sher Afghān a sword-cut on the head, when the latter was also killed. (Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 406 and Iqbalamah-i-Jahangiri, p. 10).

2 He was sufavāti or butler of Ismail II, king of Persia. After the latter’s death, he went to India, and met at Multan, Abdur Rahman Khān-i-Khān, and received a manah, and on arrival at court, Akbar gave him in marriage to Mehrunnisā (the future Nūr Jāhān), daughter of Mīrza Ghiyār Tāhrānī. Prince Salīm fell in love with her, and brought about, on his accession to the throne, Sher Afghān’s death. Sher Afghān had received Bardwan district as fāqīl or jagir, on Jahāngīr’s accession. His body was buried in the shrine of the saint Bahram Ṣaqqā at Bardwan. (See Iqbalamah, p. 22).

Four tigers had been caught, and Nūr Jāhān requested Jahangīr (Tuzuk, p. 188), to let her shoot them. She killed two with one bullet, and the other
this incident is this. 'Ali Quli Beg Astajlu was a butler of Shâh Ismâ'il, son of Shâh Tahmasp Šafavi. On the death of Shâh Ismâ'il, coming to India via Qandahâr, at Multan he entered the service of 'Abdur Rahim Khân, Khân Khanân, who was then employed on the conquest of Thatah and Sindh. The Khân Khanân informally enlisted him in the ranks of Imperial officers, and in that expedition, 'Ali Quli shewed bravery and rendered valuable services. When the Khân Khanân 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 Mirzâ Ghiyâs Beg Tehrâni, named Mehru niyâsa, was wedded to him. And at the time when Emperor Akbar proceeded from Akbarabad (Agra) to the conquest of the Dakhân, and the Crown-Prince (Prince Salim, afterwards Emperor Jahângir), was ordered to undertake the subjugation of the Râna 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 BLOCK, Tr. Ain, Vol. I, p. 524.

1 These were kings of Persia. See p. 97, NAUJAU, Khânzâda.

2 He was a seapeaker 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 Babur. See BLOCK, Tr. Ain, Vol. I, p. 334 and YASA, YASA, YASA, Incarnations, p. 287.

3 His real name was Mirzâ Ghiyâs-ud-din Muhammad, and his father was Khwajâ Muhammad Sharîf, who was Yasa to Tahâr Sultan and his son Qusaq Khân, and who was subsequently appointed, by Shâh Tahmasp, Yasa of Yasa. After his father's death, Ghiyâs Beg fled from Persia with two sons and one daughter. On the way at Qandahâr, his wife gave birth to a daughter, named Mehru niyâsa—the future world-renowned Nûr Jâhân, consort of Emperor Jahângir. On his arrival at Fathpur Sikri, Akbar appointed him Diwân of Kabul, and subsequently, Diwân-i-Bayâtî. In Jahângir's reign, he received the title of Iltumish-d-dântâh. After the death of her first husband, Shâh Afghan, at Bardwan in the sight with Qutb-ud-din Khân, Jahângir's Governor of Bengal, Mehru niyâsa was brought to court, and married in 1629 A.H. by Jahângir, who bestowed on her the title of Nûr Mahâl and then that of Nûr Jâhân, her father Ghiyâs Beg being at the same time advanced to the office of Prime Minister or Yasa-i-Khal. See BLOCK, Tr. Ain, Vol. I, p. 608, and YASA, YASA, Incarnations, pp. 3, 54 and 55.

4 Udaipur is mentioned by Abl Fasul in Sâsâr Chitori under the Siâbah of Ajmãr. (See JARRETT's Tr. of Ain, Vol. II, p. 273). It is related that a daughter of Naqshbandânan, the Persian king, whose wife was a daughter of Maurice of Constantâinople, 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 Bardwan 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 Khan 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 Qutbuddin Khan 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. Qutbuddin Khan 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 Khan, on receipt of the Imperial order, instantly marched swiftly to Bardwan. Sher Afghan on getting news of the arrival of the above Khan, advanced forward with two grooms to receive him. At the time of meeting, the soldiers of Qutbuddin Khan crowding in stood at a distance, like a ring. Sher Afghan said: "What is this treatment, and what does it mean?" The Khan 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 Qutbuddin on the abdomen with a sword, so that the latter’s entrails came out. The Khan seizing his abdomen with both hands, shouted out: "Don’t spare him, don’t let this wretch escape." A Kashmirian, named Aina Khan, who was one of Qutb’s principal officers, sparring his horse, struck Sher Afghan with a sword on the head. In that plight, Sher Afghan with another blow finished Aina Khan’s work. At this moment, the soldiers of Qutbuddin Khan collecting from all sides, killed Sher Afghan also, by inflicting successive cuts. Sher Afghan Khan 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 Khan, also “Raibah Khan” and “Dailah Khan” in Iqmdnamah-i-Jahangiri, p. 24.
whose widow, Nūr Jahān, as Consort of Emperor Jahāngir, is so renowned. A poet says:

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

**Translation:**

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

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

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**THE NİZĀMAT OF JAHĀNGIR QULLĪ 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 Šabah of Behar, was appointed to be Governor of Bengal. And his name was Lālāh Beg, and he was a slave-boy

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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 Kāwībā, 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 Jahāngir on the Imperial farman 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 Mahabat Khān’s hands. She lies buried at Lahore near her husband. On Jahāngir’s coins, the following inscription was engraved.

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2 Note the pun here. See Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, pp. 56 and 57.
of Mirzâ Ḥakim. After the Mirzâ’s death, he entered the service of Emperor Akbar, who bestowed him on Prince Nūr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr. 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, Islâm Khān,1 son of Shaikh Badru-ud-dīn Fatehpuri, who held the office of Governor of Behar, was appointed Governor of Bengal. And the Governorship of Subhāb Behar and Patna was conferred on Afzal Khān,2 son of Shaikh Abū Faḍl ‘Allāmī.3

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

When in the third year of Emperor Jahāngīr’s accession, the Nizāmat of the Subhāb of Bengal was entrusted to Islâm Khān, the latter had strict orders to extinguish the fire of insurrection and rebellion that had been kindled by ‘Osmān Khān. Islâm Khān on

1 Islâm Khān was married to a sister (named Ladli Begam) of Abū Faḍl, Akbar’s renowned Prime Minister. Islâm Khān died as Governor of Bengal in 1022 A.H. (Tuzuk, p. 120). His name was Shaikh Abū-ud-dīn Chihrī, and he was a grandson of Shaikh Salīm, the Saint of Fathpūr Sīkri. He received the title of Islâm Khān, and was Governor of Bengal from 1015 to 1022 A.H. He shifted in 1015 A.H., the Mughal Viceroyal Capital of Bengal from Tamluk to Dacca. See Iḥbāsīn-ī-Jahangīrī, p. 33 and Mānīr-ul-Emara.

2 Shaikh Abū Faḍl Allāmī, Akbar’s friend and Prime Minister, was born on 14th January, 1551 A.C., (8th Muharram, 958 A.H.) at Agrah, during the reign of Islâm Shāh. He was a son of Shaikh Muḥerī; he held the office of Prime Minister under Akbar and actively co-operated with the latter in the emancipation of a liberal policy of toleration in the government of the mixed races subject to the Mughal Rule in India. He was a great scholar, and author of several works including the Akbarnamah and the Aḥn-ī-Akbārī. He was murdered by Bir Singh, at the instigation of Prince Salīm (afterwards Emperor Jahangīr) on 12th August, 1602 A.C. See his life in Blochmann’s Tr. of Aḥn-ī-Akbārī, Vol. I, and also in Mānīr-ul-Emara.

3 Abūrāhman, son of Abū Faḍl Allāmī, received the title of Afzal Khān, and was appointed by Emperor Jahangīr, in the third year of his reign, Governor of Behar, vice Islâm Khān who was appointed Governor of Bengal. Iḥbāsīn-ī-Jahangīrī, p. 33, and Mānīr-ul-Emara.
arrival at Jahāngīr-nagār (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 Nizāmat 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 Panjḥāstārī, including soldiers and troopers. Islam Khān detached a large force under the command of Šahīkh Kabīr Shujā’ī’ Khān for the extermination of ‘Osmān Khān, leader of the Afghān insurrection, whilst other notable grandees, like Kishwar Khān, son of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān Kokah, I’tīkhār Khān, Syed Adam Barha, Šahīkh Aqṣīḥa, Munkaq Khān, the sons of

1 At this time (1015 A.H.) the Capital of Bengal was transferred from Tandah to Dacca or Jahāngīr-nagār (so called after Emperor Jahāngīr) by Jahāngīr’s Viceroy of Bengāl, named Islām Khān. Dacca continued to remain henceforth the Mughāl Viceroyal Capital of Bengāl for nearly a century (barring a few years when it was temporarily shifted to Rajmahal).

2 His name was Šahīkh Kabīr Oḥīšt, and his titles were “Šujā’ī’ Khān Rustān-ī-Zūmān.” In the printed Pers. text, Ḫarse is inserted by mistake between “Šahīkh Kahrī’” and “Šujā’ī’ Khān,” thus misleading the reader to fancy that these were two individuals. See note post. He was a relation of Islām Khān-ī-Čhīšt, Governor of Bengāl, and received first the title of “Šujā’ī’ Khān” from Prince Salīm, who on ascending the throne, gave him the additional title of “Rustān-ī-Zūmān,” on account of his services in putting down the Afghāns under ‘Osmān in Bengāl. See p. 64, Iqbal’-namsaḥ Jahāngīrī and Muntakīb-ul-Umara.

3 His title was ‘Kishwar Khān,’ in the text it is misprinted as “Kir Khān.” His name was Šahīkh Ibrāhīm; he was a son of Šahīkh Khubā (Qutb-ud-dīn Khān-ī-Čhīšt), Governor of Bengāl. In 1015 A.H., he was a commander of 1,000 foot, 300 horses, and received the title of Kishwar Khān from the Emperor Jahāngīr. He was for some time Governor of Rohāna, and served in Bengāl in 1021 A.H., under Šujā’ī’ Khān (Šahīkh Kabīr Oḥīšt) against ‘Osmān Khān Lohānī, the Afghān. See Iqbal’-namsaḥ, pp. 61 and 66 and Muntakīb-ul-Umara.

4 See n. 1, p. 169, ante.

5 Two sons of Ahmad Beg Kabulī (see Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. 1, pp. 465-466) named Maqbul Khān and Abnīум Bāqshād received the title of “I’tīkhār Khān,” either of them in vacan.

6 He was a grandson of Syed Mahmūd of Barha, who served Akbar. Most of the Barīsyeds received from the Mughal Emperors the honorific distinction of “Khān,” which in those days was considered the highest title of Indo-Muslem princiage, next only in rank to Prince Royal and the “Khān-i-Khānān” and “A’in-i-Umara.” (See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. 1, p. 399, and Akbarī, namsaḥ).

7 He was nephew of Šahīkh Ḥasan or Ḥassu alī Muqarrab Khān who
Mu'azzam Khān, together with other Imperial officers, were appointed his auxiliaries. When they 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., Ain, Vol. I, pp. 321 and 543).

1 Sheikh Bayazid (Mu'azzam Khān) was a grandson of Sheikh Salim Ghiahi of Fatehpur Sikri. He was made Subadar of Delhi by Jahangir. His son Makkaram Khān was a son-in-law and nephew of Isām Khān, Vicerey of Bengal, and served under the latter, conquered Koch Hajo and Khurdah, became Governor of Orissa and subsequently of Bengal. See Masire-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 Moga, in fact, the whole tract from Ghoraghat (or Ganges) southward to the sea. His residence is mentioned in the histories (see Bloch, Ain, Vol. I, p. 529) to have been at "Kohistan-i-Dacca," the "Vilayat-i-Dacca," but his father 'Isa Khān's residence (vide p. 343 of do.) is mentioned to have been at Bakkarapur, close to Khirarpur. Khirarpur has been identified with a place about a mile north of modern Narayanganj, close to which are ruins of the forts built by Mir Jumla, Mughal Vicerey at Dacca, in the 17th century. There is still there a Moghabar, which is supposed to be the resting-place of one of Jehangir's daughters. Here was the chief naval fort of Muhammadan Government, it lay at the confluence of the Ganges, the Lakhiya and the Brahmaputra rivers. It is three miles west of Sonargam, and nine miles from Dacca. About thirty miles north of Khirarpur, are two villages within a mile of each other, called "Bakkarpur," and "Jasurpur," 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'ud Khān Kabuli, who was a Turki Sayyed and whose uncle had been Vasir under Humayun, took refuge in "Bhati," where he fought against Zamin and Shahjâhâ, and at length died in 1007 A.H. (See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 521).
rallied his forces on the banks of a river, full of mud. When news of this daring impudence reached Jahangir’s officers, in the seventh year of accession, towards the end of the month of Zilhaj, 1029 A.H., the latter arrayed their forces, and advanced to the field of warfare. From the other side, ‘Osmān Khan 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 battlefield turned into the field of the Day of Resurrection.

[rocks, Showered from every side cannon-halls, 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, ‘Osmān, 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 Rastam and a Sam. Syed Adam Barha and Shaikh Anja, who were Commanders of the Imperial vanguard, fell gallantly fighting. At this moment, the flanks of both the armies came into line. Iftikhar Khan, Commander of the left wing, and Keshwar Khan, Commander of the right wing, with a large number

1 Probably this was the small Lakhya river, on which modern Narailganj is situated, and close to which were Khairpur and Baptarpur. Iqbalamah, pp. 61 and 64.

2 The Tuzuk (p. 103) mentions that Keshwar Khan (son of Qutub-ud-din Khan, late Governor of Bengal), Iftikhar Khan, Syed Adam Barha, Shaikh Anja, brother’s son of Muqarrab Khan, Mutamid Khan, and Iftim‘am Khan were under Shaista’s command in his fight with ‘Osmān. Syed Adam, Iftikhar, and Shaikh Anja were killed (the Tuzuk, p. 132). Later Abdus Salam Khan, a
of adherents, were killed; and on the enemy's side also many passed to hell. On seeing that some of the leaders of the Imperialists had been killed, and their ranks emptied of veterans, a second time Osmân placing before himself the rogue elephant, named Bacha, himself mounted on a saddled elephant, personally assaulted the Imperial van, and delivered successive onsets. From the side of the Imperialists, Shujâ'î Khân, 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 Shujâ'î Khân, 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 dung down both the rider and the horse. Shewing agility, Shujâ'î dismounted from his horse, and stood erect on the ground. At this juncture, Shujâ'î'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. Shujâ'î Khân, 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. Shujâ'î Khân's horse sprang up unhurt, and the Khân mounted it again. In the meantime, another elephant attacking the Imperial standard-bearer threw him down with the standard.

son of Mu'azzam Khân (a former Governor of Bengal) joined the Imperialists, and pursued Osmân. See also Iqbalnamah, pp. 61 to 64.

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

5 The Tuzuk calls the elephant “Gujpati,” Iqbalnamah (p. 62)

Rakhrah.”

6 His name was Shaikh Kahir-i-Qishâl, and his title was Shaikh Shujâ'î Khân Rustam-i-Zaman. He was a relative of Isâlm Khân, Governor of Bengal and served under the latter in Bengal, and commanded the Imperialists in the fightings with Osmân, the Lohani Afghan. (See Bloch, Tr, Ain, Vol. I, p. 530, and the Tuzuk, and the Mazar and Iqbalnamah, p. 68). 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 'Osmän 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 adversity, with the last breathings of a dying man, he reached Bengal. And the triumphant Imperialists following him up to his camp, halted. 'Osmän expired at midnight. Wali Khan, his brother, and Mumtaz 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, Mut'assad Khan, who was afterwards honoured with the title of Laukhar Khan, 'Abdus-Salâm Khan, son of 'Abdul Mu'azzam Khan, and other officers of the Emperor arrived with a fresh reinforcement of 300 cavalry and 400 mus-

1 Khwaja 'Osmän, according to the Makhan-i-Afghani, was the second son of Miyan 'Iz Khan Lohani, who after the death of Quli Khan was the leader of the Afghans in Orissa and South Bengal. 'Osmän succeeded his brother Sulaiman, who had "reigned" for some time, had killed in a fight Hima Singh, son of Rajah Muni Singh, and had held lands near the Brahma-putra, and subdued the Rajas of the adjacent countries. 'Osmän succeeded him, and received from Muni Singh lands in Orissa and Satgama and later in Eastern Bengal, with a revenue of 5 or 6 lacs per year. His residence is described to have been at "Kohistan Daoca," the "Vilâyut-i-Daoca," and Daoca itself. The battle between 'Osmän and the Imperial General, Shujait, took place at a distance of 100 kos from Daoca on 9th Muharram, 1021 (or 2nd March, 1612 A.D.) Stewart places the battle on the banks of the Subharmika in Orissa, which is improbable. 'Osmän's brother, Wali, on submission, received a title with a jagir, and was made a commander of one thousand. According to the Masa'ir he was murdered. See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 329, Makhzan-i-Afghani and Jâhilmah, p. 61.

2 He was a Subadar of Delhi. See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 493.
koteera. Shujâ'ît Khân taking this corps with him, chased the enemy. Wali Khân despairing sent the following message: “The root of this insurrection was 'Ogâmân; 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 'Ogâmân, in the shape of tribute.” Shujâ'ît Khân and Mu'taqad Khân, shewing chivalry, arranged terms of peace. The following day, Wali Khân and Mamrîx Khân, with all their brothers and connexions, came to meet Shujâ'ît Khân, and presented forty-nine elephants as tribute. Shujâ'ît and Mu'taqad Khân, taking charge of them, moved victorious and triumphant to Islâm Khân to Jahângirnagar (Dacca). Islâm Khân sent a despatch containing news of the victory to the Emperor at Akbarabad (Agra). On the 16th of the month of Muharram 1021 A.H., this despatch reached the Emperor, and was perused. In recognition of this good service, Islâm Khân was raised to the mansab of a Shabkhanârî, and Shujâ'ît Khân had his mansab raised, and received the title of Rustam-i-Zamân; whilst all other Imperialists who had loyally and gallantly co-operated in the extirpation of 'Ogâmân Khân, received similarly befitting mansabs. The insurrection of 'Ogâmân Khân 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, Islâm Khân led an expedition against the Mags, who were brutes in human form. Islâm Khân sent to the Emperor, in charge of his son, Hosîbang Khân, a number of the Mags that were captured, and in the same year (1022 A.H.) Islâm Khân died in Bengal. Thereupon, the Governorship of that country was entrusted to his brother, Qâsim Khân.

NIZÂMAT OF QÂSIM KHÂN.

After the Governorship of Bengal was conferred on Qâsim Khân, brother of Islâm Khân, he ruled five years and a few months, when the Assamese making an incursion into the conquered Imperial domains, captured and decoyed Syed Abû Bakr.1 Qâsim Khân failed to make a sitting 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 Naẓīm in his place.

NIZĀMAT OF IBRĀHĪM KHĀN, AND THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCE SHĀH JAHĀN IN BENGAL

Ibrāhīm Khān Fateh Jang, 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, Ahmad Beg Khān, to be Governor of Orissa, whilst he himself resided at Jahangirnagar (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. In consequence thereof, Zainul-'Abidin, the Pay-Master General of the Ahadī troops, communicated an order to Prince Shāh Jahān at Burhānpur, directing the latter to march quickly to the Imperial presence with troops, artillery and elephants. The Prince marching from Burhānpur reached Mando, sent a message to the

1 He was the youngest son of Mīrzā Ghāz Beg, and a brother of Empress Nūr Jahan. (See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 512).
3 In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahār, Khān Jahan was appointed by Jahangir Governor of Multan. In the 17th year, Shāh Akbar, king of Persia, took Qandahār, after a siege of forty days. Khān Jahan was called to court for consultation, and it was decided that Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) should be placed at the head of the expeditionary force to reconquer Qandahār. In the meantime, Shāh Jahān rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahār was not undertaken. See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, pp. 503-504.
4 They were a body of troops intermediate between the Regulars and non-Regulārs and Auxiliaries. They were created under Akbar. See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 248, for a full description of Ahadī troops. Zainul-'Abidin was a son of Anāf Khān (III). See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 412.
5 A town in the Dakhīn; it was for some time the Mughal head-quarters, during the military operations in the Dakhīn.
6 Mando is name of a Sirkār or district as well as the name of a city in Sirkār-Mando, included in the Šahāb of Malwah. (See Jarrett's Tr. of Ain, Vol. II, p. 396).
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 Daria Khan 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 Shahryar, and Sharifu-l-Mulk, servant of Prince Shahryar, had taken possession of the fort of Dholpur. Soon after, Daria Khan 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 miscalculation 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 Shahryar, whilst Mirza Rustam Safavi was appointed Ataliq of the Prince and Generalissimo of

2 Daria Khan Rohilla was an officer of Shah Jahan in the Dakhin. (See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, pp. 504-505).
3 Another name of the renowned Empress Nur Jahan, consort of Emperor Jahangir.
4 Sher Afghan was the first husband of Nur Jahan, by him she had one daughter named Lalai Begum, to whom Prince Shahryar (fifth son of Jahangir) was married. Shah Jahan or Prince Khurram was Jahangir's third son. Nur Jahan had no children by Jahangir.
5 That is, Empress Nur Jahan.
6 Mirza Rustam Safavi was third son of Sulthan Husein Mirza, nephew of Shah Tahmasp, king of Persia (1530-1584 A.H.), and Governor of Qandahar under the latter in 965 A.H. Mirza Rustam's daughter was married to Prince Parviz, second son of Jahangir. He invaded Qandahar, but met with no success. In 1021, Jahangir appointed him Governor of Thatha, and afterwards Shahshwar and Governor of Allahabad, and in the 21st year, Governor of Behar. He died in 1051 at Agra. His third son Mirza Hassan-I-Safavi was Governor of Koch under Jahangir and died in 1059 A.H., and his grandson (son of Mirza Hassan) named Mirza Safedkhan was Fanjar of Jessore in Bengal. (See Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I, pp. 314-315 and Mazirul-Umara). Mirzanaagar, a place close to Jessore town, probably was Mirza Safedkhan's Fanjar's head-quarter, and received its name from him. He died in 1073 A.H. Mirza Safedkhan's son, Mirza Safin-d-din Safavi, accepted the titular distinction of Khan under Aurangzeb.
his army. On hearing of the blazing of the fire of discord, Shâh Jahân sent to the Emperor along with a letter Afsâl Khân, son of Abul Fuâl Allami, who after his dismissal from the Governorship of Bahar, held the office of Diwan to the Prince, so that with the aid of cajalery 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, Afsâl Khan 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 Shâh Jahân, in the Sarkars of Hisar and Doab, should be transferred to Prince Shaharyâr. And injunctions were issued to Prince Shâh Jahân, intimating that the Sâbahs of the Dakhin, and Gujrat and Malwâ 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 Qandahâr. And in the beginning of the month of Kharidâd, in the 18th year of the Emperor's accession, in the year 1032 A.H. Asaf Khân, was appointed Sâbahâdâr of the Province of Bengal and Orissa. Since a daughter of Asaf Khan had been married to Shâh Jahân, some malicious persons imputing

1 In the Ain-i-Akhbar, Sarkar of Hisar (or Hisar Fimark called after Emperor Firaq Shâh Taqbiyâz, who founded the city of Hisar about 1354 A.C.), is described as one of the Sarkars or districts included in the Sâbah of Delhi. This Sarkar is described as containing 27 mahals, with revenue of 52,554,905 Dama, (Jarrett's Tr. of Ain, Vol. II, p. 203).

2 Under the Sâbah of Lahore (Jarrett's Tr. of Ain, Vol. II, p. 315), five Doab Sarkars are mentioned. These five Sarkars were: (1) Sarkar of Bokhara, (2) Sarkar of Jalandhar Doab, (3) Sarkar of Bari Doab, (4) Barahat (Jeh) Doab, (5) Balmur Sagar Doab.


4 See Ain, Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 195.

5 He was Mirza Afsâl Husain Asaf Khân (IV) second son of Mirza Ghias Beg, and brother of Emperor Nûr Jahân, and father of Shâh Jahân's Queen, Mumtaaz Mahal or Taj Bibi, whose mausoleum, the Taj, is at Agra. He received from Shâh Jahân the title of Yamin-d-daulah and Khâm-i-Khâtîn Sepahsalar, and was made a commander of 5,000. He died in 1051 A.H. and was buried at Lahore, north of Jahangir's tomb. He married a daughter of Mirza Ghias-ud-din Ali Asaf Khan II. See Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, pp. 511 and 368 and Muzir al-Umar.
to Aṣāf Khān partiality for Shāh Jahān, induced the Begam to call from Kabul Mahabat Khān, who was an old enemy of Aṣāf Khān, and who was also ill-disposed to Shāh Jahān. And the Imperial order with the Begam’s message was sent for summoning Mahabat Khān. Mahabat Khān on arrival from Kabul, was honoured with an audience by the Emperor. Order was also passed to Sharif Khān, 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 Aṣāf Khān 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 Nūr Jahān Begam, Shāh Jahān arranged that Qāżī ‘Abdul ‘Aẓīz 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 Qāżī met the Imperial army on the banks of the river of Indianah. Insomuch as the Emperor’s mind was enamoured of the Begam’s seductions, the Qāżī 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, 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, who was ordered to proceed one kroh 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 Sāriyeh is meant; Ludhiana town is situate on its banks. See Aīn-i-Akbarī, Jarrett’s Tr., Vol. II, p. 319.
3 SARKER of Sirhind is mentioned by Abul Fāżī under Sāḥīb Delhi in the Aīn (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 armou).
with the Khan Khanan 1 and other officers, retiring by the right-
side road, he marched 20 arak northwards. He left, however, Rajah
Bikramajit 2 and Darab Khan, son of the Khan Khanan, 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 29th Jamadi-al-Awwal 1032 A.H.,
news of Shah Jahans withdrawal reached the Emperor. The
Begam, under the advice of Mahabat Khan, detached Asaf Khan
Khwaja Abul Hasan, 3 'Abdullah Khan, Lashtkar Khan, 4
Fdal Khan 5 and Nawazish Khan, 6 &c., with 25,000 cavalry
to fight. From Shah Jahans side, Rajah Bikramajit and Darub
Khan, arraying their forces, advanced, and on both sides the
fighting commenced with arrows and muskets. As 'Abdullah
Khan 7 was in intrigue with Shah Jahans, 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 Khan-i-Khanan Mirza Abdur Rahim, son of Baiman Khan.
rebelled, he sided with the latter. His second son's name was Darub Khan,
who fell into the hands of Prince Farris and Mahabat Khan, who killed him,
wrapped his head in a table-cloth, and sent it as a present of a 'casus' 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
succession created him Mir Azam or Superintendent of Artillery. When
disturbances broke out in Gujarat, he was sent to Ahmadabad to pacify the

3 The printer or editor of the text by mistake 'has put 3 between Asaf
Khan and Khwaja Abul Hasin.

4 The title of 'Lashtkar Khan' was held by (1) Mohammad Hassan
of Khurasan, under Akbar; (2) by Abul Hasan Makhani under Jahangir; and (3)
by Jan Numa Khan Yudgar Beg under Shah Jahans. The second is meant
here.

5 Mirza Rustam had the title of Fidal. (See p. 314, Bocch. Tr., Ains,
Vol. I). I am not sure if he is meant here.

6 Sadullah, son of Sadi Khan, Governor of Bengal, held the title of

7 Abdullah Khan Ushak was made by Akbar a Panjhaazari, and was sent
to Malwa with unlimited power. He 'reigned in Mando like a king.' See
Bocch., Tr., Ains, Vol. I, p. 321 and Manser-al-Umar. I am not sure if he is
meant here.
opportunity now, he with the greatest expedition joined Shāh Jahān’s army. Rajah Bikramajit who was aware of ‘Abdullāh Khān’s plan, with great delight went to Dārāb Khān, to inform the latter of ‘Abdullāh Khān’s desertion. As luck would have it, a cannon-ball hit the Rajah 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 Khān, destroying the basis of the Imperial vanguard, had joined the Prince’s army, Dārāb Khān and other commanders of Shāh Jahān’s army were not daring enough to hold their ground. On the Imperialists’ side, the desertion of ‘Abdullāh Khān, and on the Prince’s side, the fall of Rajah 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 Ajmir, whilst Prince Shāh Jahān retired towards Mando. On the 25th of the Jamādi-al-Awval, the Emperor detached Prince Parviz with a large army to follow up Shāh Jahān, and Mahābēt Khān was entrusted with the command of Prince Parviz’s army. When Prince Parviz with his army, crossing the delta of Chanda¹ arrived in the Vilāyet² of Mando, Shāh Jahān with his army saluted out of the fort of Mando, and detached Rustam Khān³ with a body of troops to encounter Prince Parviz. Bahān-d-dīn Barqandāz, one of the confidants of Rustam Khān, a servant of Shāh Jahān, held reasonable correspondence with Mahābēt Khān, and was waiting for an opportunity. At the time when the two armies fell into battle-array, Rustam Khān riding forward joined the Imperialists. This wretched Rustam Khān was by Shāh Jahān elevated from the mansab of a Sehzasti⁴ to that of a Panj hazari, and honoured with the title of Rustam Khān and appointed Governor of Gujrat, and he enjoyed the Prince’s full confidence. Now that the Prince

¹ It is a place mentioned under Sāhā Bera in the Ain-i-Akbari (Black Tr., Ain, Vol. II, p. 230), near it is Manikdrung fort.
² There is no such Vilayet, in the strict sense of the term, but only a Sarkar of Mando in Sāhā Malwa.
³ Rustam Khān-i-Dakhini is mentioned in the Ain, as Jagirdar of Samgargh. See Illich, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 478.
⁴ "Sehzasti" in the printed text seems to be a mistake or misprint for "Shamsi." (See Illich, Ain, Tr., Vol. I, p. 245, for a dissertation on the constitution of the Mughal Army.)
appointing him generalissimo detached him to encounter Prince Parvis, the wretch shelving the obligations of so many years' kindness, joined Mahabet Khān. 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 Nabādā, 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 'Abdu'llāh 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 Mahabet Khān, produced it before Shāh Jahān. On the top of the letter, this line was written:

مد کس با پرده گاه میدانند
ورنه برید به یک گرمسی

*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. Mahabet Khān 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: "زمانه با تو نسازد تو نباید زمانه بساز" (*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 Qurān. And the Khān Khānān placing his hand on the Qurān 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, Shāh Jahān sent off the Khān Khānān, and kept Dārāb Khān and his sons with himself. It was also settled that the Khān Khānān should remain on this side of the river Nerbudda, and by means of correspondence arrange terms of peace. When news of the conclusion of an armistice and of the departure of the Khān Khānān 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, Bairam Beg, ashamed of himself, went to Shāh Jahān. On hearing of the treachery of the Khān Khānān and of the crossing of the river Nerbudda by the Imperialists, Shāh Jahān deeming it inexpedient to halt any further at Burhānpur, crossed the river Tapti, in the thick of the rains, amidst a storm-wave, and marched towards Orissa, securing the Province of Qutb-ud-Daulah.2

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

"Shāh Jahān rebelled, returned with Mirzā Abdūr Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān to Mando, and then moved to Burhānpūr. On the march thither, Shāh Jahān intercepted a letter which Mirzā Abdūr Rahīm had secretly written to Māhābat Khān, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Dārā Khān, and sent them to Fātir Astar, but released them soon after on parole. Pāriz and Māhābat Khān had in the meantime arrived at the Nerbudda to capture Shāh Jahān. Bairam Beg, an officer of Shāh Jahān, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the Imperialists from crossing. At Mirzā Abdūr Rahīm's advice, Shāh Jahān proposed at this time an armistice. He made him swear on the Qur'an, and sent him as ambassador to Prince Pāriz. Māhābat Khān, knowing that the forces would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and Mirzā Abdūr Rahīm, forgetful of his oath, joined Pāriz and did not return to Shāh Jahān, who now fled from Burhānpūr, marching through Talinganah to Orissa and Bengal. Māhābat and Mirzā Abdūr Rahīm followed him up a short distance beyond the Tapti. ... Shāh Jahān then moved into Bengal and Behar, of which he made Dārā Khān Governor." Bloch, Tr., Ain, Vol. I, p. 337.

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2 In the Ain, it is stated as below:—"Talinganah was subject to Qutb-ud-Daulah, but for some time past has been under the Ruler of Berar." (See
AN ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCE SHAH JAHAN'S ARMY IN BENGAL, AND THE FALL OF IBRAHIM KHAN FATEH JANG.

When Prince Shah Jahans army reached Orissa, Ahmad Beg Khan, nephew of Ibrahim Khan, Nâsim of Bengal, who from before his uncle held the Deputy Governorship of Orissa, was out in the interior to chastise some Zamindârs. Suddenly hearing of the arrival of the Prince, he lost all courage, and abandoning his mission, he proceeded to Pipili which was the Headquarters of the Governor of that Province, and withdrew thence with his treasures and effects to Katak, which from Pipili is 12 kroâ towards Bengal. Not finding himself strong enough to encamp even at Katak, he fled to Bardwan, and informed Saleh Beg, nephew of Jafer Beg, of the whole affair. Saleh Beg did not credit the news of the arrival of Shah Jahan in Orissa. At this time, a letter of a soothing tenor came from 'Abdullah Khan to Saleh Beg. The latter, not being won over, fortified the fort of Bardwan, and entrenched himself there. And when Shah Jahans army arrived at Bardwan, 'Abdullah besieged the fort, and Saleh Beg was hard-pressed. When things came to their worst, and all hopes of relief were lost, Saleh Beg was obliged to surrender to 'Abdullah Khan. The Khan 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 Râjmahal. When this

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

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

The list of grandees in the Padshahnamah describes Muhammad Shah (or Saleh Beg) as a son of Mirza Shahi, and nephew of Mirza Jafar Beg Asaf Khan III. (See Bluck's Tr., Ain, Vol. I, pp. 411-412). Asaf Khan 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-ul-Mulk and a Commander of Five Thousand, under Emperor Jahangir. His son Mirza Zainul-Ahadin is mentioned in the Ain as a commander of 1,500 with 500 horses.
news reached Ibrāhīm Khān Fateh Jang, who was Viceroy 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 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 Jahan’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 Deccan (then the Mogul Viceroyal 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 Mags', or Arakan.

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 Daria Khan Afgan 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 Fateh Jang. 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 Faighahnamah 11,727 and Bloch, Tr., Ain. Vol. I, p. 511. Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri and Masnavi-ul-Umara.
But before the war-vessels arrived, Daria Khān had crossed the river. Ibrahim Khān on being apprised of this, directing Ahmad Beg to cross the river, sent him to oppose Daria Khān. 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 Khān with a corps of well-mounted cavalry, joined him. Daria Khān, on hearing of this, retired a few kāhs, and Abdūllāh Khān Bahadur Firuz Jang also advancing a few kāhs, under guidance of zamindars, crossed the river, and joined Daria Khān. 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 Khān, crossing the river Ganges, set to fight. He detached Syed Nūrullāh, an officer, with eight hundred cavalry to form

1 Daria Khān was a Rohilla general under Shāh Jahān. In the beginning, he was employed under Sheikh Farid, and under Sherīf-i-Mulk, distinguished himself in the battle of Bhojpur. After the battle of Benares, he deserted Shāh Jahān. (See Masa'ir-i-Umar, p. 18, Vol. II).

2 When Raja Bhātā, Raja of Bhojpur or Ujjain (west of Arrah) ravaged against the Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the 10th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, Abdūllāh Khān Firuz Jang besieged and captured Bhojpur (1048 A.H.) Parthab surrendered, and was executed; his wife became a Muslim and was married to Abdūllāh's grandson. (See Fudīkhānumā 1, b. pp. 271 to 274 and Masa'ir-i-Umar, p. 777, Vol. II). Abdūllāh Khān, though he was thoroughly loyal to Prince Shāh Jahān at the battle of Benares, subsequently expedited from the Prince, and submitted to Jahangir through the intercession of Khān Jahān. (See p. 248, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangīr).

3 One Mir Nūrullāh is mentioned in the Ain amongst the learned men of Akbar's time. It is evident the Nūrullāh in the text was a Syed of Bāshā; for the Syeds of Bāshā from Akbar's time were enrolled in the Army, and claimed their place in battle in the van or lead. Many of these Bāshā 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 Agha, son of Syed Muhammad of Bāshā, received the title of "Saif Khān" under Jahangir, his nephew Syed Jafar received the title of "Shujāj Khān," Syed Jafar's nephew, Syed Sulān, 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. Nurullah 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 Diwan and Mir Taqi Bakshi 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

* Solabat Khan alias Ikhlas Khan, the latter’s cousin, Syed Musaffar, received the title of ‘Himmat Khan.’ Again Syed Abdü Wahnab received the title of ‘Biler Khan,’ whilst Syed Khan Jahani-Shahjahan’s son, Syed Shor Zamin, received the title of ‘Musaffar Khan,’ another son, Syed Mumawar, received the title of ‘Laashkar Khan,’ whilst his grandson, Syed Firaq, received the title of ‘Ikhlas Khan.’ Again, Syed Qasim flourished under the title of ‘Shahamat Khan’ in Aurangzeb’s reign, whilst his nephew, Syed Naqit, held the title of ‘Yar Khan’ under Muhammad Shah. (See the Tanuk, Panjabkash, Massira-I-Umar, Alamgirnama, Massira-I-Alamgir, and also Professor Blochmann’s interesting note on Barha Syeds on his Tr. of Ain Akhare, Vol. I., pp. 300-302). The Massira-I-Umar mentions also one Mir Nurullah, as a son of Mir Khollilullah (p. 337, Vol. III, Monier).
neck, came and submitted to the Prince. As Ibrahim Khan's family and children, effects and treasures were at Jahangirnagar (Dacca), Shah Jahan's army proceeded there by river. Ahmad Beg

For a graphic contemporary account of this warfare, see Iqbalnami-i-Jahangiri (Pers. text, Faso. 3, pp. 218-221), and the Tuzuk (p. 383). Ibrahim Khan was killed near the tomb of his son at Rajmahal, on the banks of the Ganges. Our author appears to have borrowed his account (in an abridged form) from the Iqbalnami, though there are slight variations. In the text we are told that Ibrahim Khan at the battle had with him "thousands of cavalry and infantry," while in the Iqbalnami," it is mentioned that Ibrahim Khan had with him only "one thousand cavalry."

Ibrahim Khan Fatih Jang was a son of 'Isamul-din-ahab Mirza Ghaz. His real name was Mirza Ibrahim.

In the commencement of his career, he held the office of Balahat and Waza-sarai at Ahmadabad in Gujarat. In the 9th year of Jahangir's reign, he received the title of "Khur" and the manzil of hazar and partani, and was promoted to the office of Imperial Balahat, and was gradually further advanced to the rank of Persiani and to the office of Subedar (or Viceroy) of Bengal and Orya, receiving at the same time the titles of "Ibrahim Khan Fatih Jang." In the 18th year of Jahangir's reign, Prince Shah Jahan invaded Orya and Bengal via Telingana. On hearing of this news, Ibrahim Khan moved from Dacca (which was then the Viceroyal Capital, and where his family and treasures were) to Akhnagar or Rajmahal. Prince Shah Jahan sent messengers to him, to win him over to his side, but he proved unyielding in his loyalty to the Emperor, and fell fighting heroically in the battle of Rajmahal, near the mausoleum of his son. Ibrahim Khan's reply to Prince Shah Jahan is a model of dignified and firm protest, couched in the best diplomatic form of the Persian language, and is worth quoting:

فرمودند هر حوزه نمرد، ای اکبر پادشاه امکان پذیر، راجا و بالا بندن می‌کردند. 


At this time, the Muslim Viceroyal Capital of Bengal continued (See Mafzieel, p. 135, Vol. I), to be at Dacca or Jahangirnagar, which appears to have been so named during the Viceroyalty of Jahan Khan I, owing to the decisive battle which was fought under its walls on 9th Muharram 1021 A.H., or 2nd March, 1612 A.C., in the seventh year of Emperor
Khān, 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 Khujait Khān Rustam-i-Zamān (Shaikh Kalīr-i-Chishti),—a battle which finally crushed Afghan resistance in Bengal and Orissa, and firmly consolidated Mughal supremacy throughout these Provinces. (See pp. 60-61, Fasc. I., Pers. printed text of Iqbalnâmâ-i-Jahangirî, a contemporary record, and also Taṣāk for fascinating descriptions of this singular and decisive battle near Dacca). Stewart wrongly places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnarî in Orissa." Osman being absent, rode at the battle on a rogue elephant called Buṣṭu. Many Imperialist leaders, such as Syed Adam Bacha, Shaikh Agha, Iftihâr Khān, Kishwar Khān fell at the battle, which was half decided in favour of Osman, whom a chance arrow-shot wounded Osman on the forehead, and, coupled with the arrival of Mughal reinforcement under Māτāqiq Khān and Abūsâlām Khān, saved the Mughal disaster, and turned it into a victory.

It would appear that when in the 19th year of Jahangir's reign, corresponding to 1033 A.H., Prince Shah Jahan rebelling against his father, invaded Bengal, the Mughal Bengal Viceroy, Ibrahim Khān Fatah Jung (a Prefect of Empress Nur Jahan) had moved from his capital at Dacca or Janghnagar to Rajmahal or Akbar Nagar. The Iqbalnâmâ-i-Jahangirî (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 Maser explains otherwise), Ibrahim did not think of fortifying the fort of Rajmahal which was large, but entrenched himself in the mausoleum of his son, situated within the Fort and close to the river Ganges. Shah Jahan moved from Bachhapat in the Dakhatan across Taluqana into Orissa, overran it across Pipili and Katra, 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 previously retreated after Ibrahim's death. Ahmad Beg surrendered to Shah Jahan at Dacca (according to the Taṣāk and Maseri) with forty-five lacs of treasure and 500 elephants. Shah Jahan leaving Darsh Khān (son of Mirzâ Abdur Rahman Khān Khânān) as Governor of Bengal, marched back westward across Bengal, Behar and Jaunpur to Benares, where he was opposed and checked by Muhâfiz Khān. (See Iqbalnâmâ-i-Jahangirî, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, pp. 219, 216, 217, 222, 228, 232, 236, 238, 239). Shah Nasrūl Khān was the eldest son of Abdur Rahman Khān-i-Khamān, his life also is given in the Maser-ul-Caeva.

1 Ahmad Beg Khān was a son of Muhammad Shariq, and a nephew of Ibrahim Khān Fatah Jung, the Bengal Viceroy, and of Empress Nur Jahan. At the time of Prince Shah Jahan's incursions into Orissa and Bengal, he was Deputy Governor of Orissa. He was at the time engaged in an expedition against Khorda. On hearing of Shah Jahan's invasion, he withdrew to Pipili.
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 lacs of rupees were confiscated. The Prince released from confinement Darab Khān, son of the Khān-i-Khānān, 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 Nawās Khān. The Prince sent Rajah Bhim, son of Rajah Karan, 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 Akbarnagar, and joined his uncle Ibrahim Khān. Being defeated in the battle there, Ahmad Beg moved to Duana (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 Siwastan. (See Masir-al-Umara, p. 194, Vol. I).

1 In the text there is some mistake. When Darab Khān (second son of Mirza Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khānān) was made Governor of Bengal, Shāh Jahān took his wife, a son and a daughter, and also a son of Shāh Nawās Khān (elder son of the Khān-i-Khānān) as hostages (see Masir-al-Umara). Shāh Nawās was not taken as a hostage, as the text would imply. Darab was subsequently killed by Mahabat Khān, at the instance of Jahangir. The following chronogram is given in the Masir-al-Umara (p. 17, Vol. II), as yielding the date of Darab’s death (1034 A.H.):—

2 Rāma Dās, the Kachwah 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 Jahangir conferred on him the title of ‘Rajah Karan,’ but owing to his disgraceful flight during the wars in the Dakhin, he lost Jahangir’s favour. Jahangir is stated to have cursed him thus:—’When thou wast in Bai Sal’s service, thou hadst a thumbs per diem; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amir. Do not Rajputs think flight a disgraceful thing? Also, thy title, Rajah Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith.” His sons were Nāman Dās and Dalāp Dās—Bhim Dās is not mentioned amongst his sons (see Bich. Tr., Aīn, Vol. I, p. 483). But one Bhim Singh is mentioned (see Bich. Tr., Aīn, Vol. I, p. 418), amongst the grandsons of Madhu Singh, son of Rajah Bhagwan Dās. This Bhim Singh was killed in the Dakhin, in the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān’s reign. Another Rana Karan is mentioned in the Masir-al-Umara (p. 201, Vol. II).
Khān and other officers. As the Sūbāh of Patna was assigned as a jagir to Prince Parviz, the latter had appointed his Diwān, Mukhalas Khān, as its Governor, and Ālā Yār Khān, son of Itīkhār Khān, and Šer Khān Afghan, as its Faujdarās. On the arrival of Rajah Bhīm, 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 Bhīm without movement of the sword or the spear, entered the city, and subdued the Sūbāh of Behar. Shāh Jāhān followed, and the Jagirdārs of that tract went to meet him. Syed Mubarak, who was Commandant of the fort of Rohtās, leaving the fort in charge of a zamindar, hastened to pay his respects to the prince. The Prince sent Abdullah Khān with a body of troops towards the Sūbāh of Allahabad, and sent Darā Khān with another body of troops towards the Sūbāh of Oudh, whilst after a while, leaving Bairām Beg to rule over the Sūbāh of Behar, the Prince himself advanced towards those parts. Before Abdullah Khān crossed the river at Chausa, Jāhāngīr Quli Khān, son of Khān 'Āzīm Kokāh, who was Governor of Jaunpur, being

1 Mukhalis Khān was in the beginning in the service of Prince Parviz and gradually by his merit and ability advanced himself to the office of Diwān under the Prince. He was subsequently promoted to the office of Sūbādar of Patna (which was then in the jagir or jag of Prince Parviz). In the 15th year of Jāhāngīr's reign, when Prince Shāh Jāhān invaded Bengal and Behar via Telengana and Utrīs, and advanced towards Patna, after the fall of Ibrahim Khān Fāṭih Jang (the Bengal Viceroy), accompanied by Rajah Bhīm, son of Rana Āmar Singh (in the text Rana Kān), Mukhalis Khān (though he had with him Allāhyār Khān, son of Itīkhār Khān, and Šer Khān Afghan), instead of holding out in the fort of Patna, fled to Allahabad. After Shāh Jāhān's accession, Mukhalis Khān was appointed Faujdar of Gorakhpur, and in the seventh year of Shāh Jāhān's reign, was appointed a commander of Three Thousand and also Sūbādar of Telengana. He died in the 10th year of Shāh Jāhān's reign. (See p. 428, Vol. III, Monir-ul-Umara).

2 His real name was Mirza Shamsi, and he was the eldest son of Khān 'Āzīm Mirza 'Āzīm Kokāh. At the end of Akbar's reign, Shamsi was a Commander of Two Thousand, and in the third year of Jāhāngīr's reign, he received the title of "Jāhāngīr Quli Khān," vacant by the death of Jāhāngīr Quli Khān Līlah Beg, Governor of Behar, and was sent to Gujarat as deputy of his father, who was Governor of Gujarat. Subsequently, Shamsi was made Governor of Jaunpur. When Prince Shāh Jāhān invaded Behar from Bengal, and the Prince's vanguard under Abdullah Khān Fīrūz Jang and Rajah Bhīm crossed
panic-stricken, had fled his post, and had fled to Mirzá Rustám to Allahabad. Abdullah quickly advanced to the town of Jhoji, 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 Sháh Jahán’s army pushed up to Jaunpur.

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PRINCE SHÁH JAHÁN’S FIGHTINGS WITH THE IMPERIAL ARMY, AND HIS WITHDRAWAL TO THE DAKHIN.

When news of Sháh Jahan’s advance towards Bengal and Oриса reached the Emperor, he sent orders to Prince Parviz and Mahabat Khán, who were in the Dakhin, to march quickly towards the Subahs of Allahabad and Behar, so that in case the Náźim of Bengal was unable to oppose successfully the advance of Sháh Jahan’s army, they were to engage Sháh Jahan. In the meantime, news of the fall of Nawab Ibrahim Khán Fateh Jang, at Ghazna to proceed to Allahabad, Jahangir Quli Khán fled from Jaunpur to Allahabad and joined Mirzá Rustam Safavi there. He subsequently became Governor of Allahabad, and on Sháh Jahan’s accession, was appointed Governor of Surat and Janagahr. He died in 1641 A.H., at Surat. [See Munir-al-Umara, p. 524, Vol. I, Pers. text].

1 Mirza Rustam Safavi was a son of Sultan Husain Mirza, grandson of Sháh Ismáil, king of Persia. Mirza Rustam was appointed by Akbar, Governor of Multán; Akbar also made him a Panjáhārī, and gave him Multán as Jagir. One of his daughters was married to Prince Parviz, and another to Sháh Shińa’. He enjoyed great influence with Jahangir who made him a Sháhshahārī, and also Governor of Allahabad, which he successfully held against Sháh Jahan’s General, Abdalláh Khán, forcing the latter to retire to Jhoji. He was subsequently Governor of Behar. Sháh Jahan persuaded him off, and he died at Agra in 1651. It is worthy of interest to note that his grandson, Mirza Safiškán (son of Mirza Hasan Safavi) was Faujdar of Jessore in Bengal, where he died in 1673 (see Bloch, Tr., AIN, p. 314, Vol. 1). After him, I guess Mirzanagar (a seat of old Jessore Musulman Faujdars) is named. The family still survives there, though impoverished. Safiškán’s son, Mirza Safiš-d-jín, Safavi, accepted the title of “Khus” under Emperor Aurangzeh. [See Munir-al-Umara, Pers. text, p. 475, Vol. III].

The Munir (printed text) states that on the death of his father, Mirza Hasan Safavi, Mirza Safiškán was appointed Faujdar of ‘Hazr’ in Bengal. ‘Hazr’ is evidently a misprint or a misreading for ‘Jesore’. (Jesore).
Nāzim of Bengal, reached the Emperor, who thereon repeated his previous orders to Prince Parviz and Mahabet Khān. Prince Parviz with Mahabet Khān and other officers marched towards Bengal and Behar. As the Commander of Shāh Jahān’s army, drawing the boats towards his side, had fortified the ferries of the river Ganges, 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 Shāh Jahān’s army did not number more than 10,000, the advisers of Shāh Jahān dissuaded the Prince from offering battle. But Rajah Bhim, son of Rana Karan, unlike other advisers, displayed rashness, and with the rashness common to Rajputas insisted that he would part company, unless they agreed to fight. Prince Shāh Jahān, of necessity, considered it expedient to humour Bhim’s wishes, despite paucity of troops, and passed orders for fighting. Both sides rallying into ranks, commenced to fight.

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

1 Prince Parviz was the second son of Emperor Jahangir, and a great favourite with the latter. He imitated his father in everything, “in dress, in quaffing wine, in eating, and in night-keeping” (Iqbalamam-i-Jahangiri, Fase 3, p. 270), 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 Jahangir’s accession to the throne. He rendered also important services to his father, in opposing Shāh Jahān’s invasion of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and with the help of his generalissimo, Mahabet Khān, defeated Shāh Jahān at Benares, and obliged the latter to abandon Behar, Bengal and Orissa, and to beat a hasty retreat to the Dakhin. (See pp. 233, 239, 240, 273, 279, Iqbalamam-i-Jahangiri, Fase 3, Pers. text, which is a contemporary record).

2 See description of this battle at Benares between the Imperialists under Prince Parviz and Mahabet Khān, and Shāh Jahān’s troops, in the Iqbalamam-i-Jahangiri, a contemporary record, p. 233, Pers. text. Shāh Jahān 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 Nahr-i-Tuman states that the battle took place on the side of Shāh Jahān (Nahr-i-Tuman) 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 Com-
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-rending 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 Shâh Jâhân’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 flight,
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 Shâh Jâhân),
Could not advance to his (Bhim’s) rescue.

The gunners, on seeing this crisis, leaving the artillery,
bed, and the arsenal was captured by the Imperialists. Daria Khān and other Afghāns 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 'Abdullāh Khān 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 'Abdullāh Khān 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 Baksh1 was born, and long marches could not be made, leaving him to the protection of God and appointing Khedimīt Pirāst Khān and some other trusty servants to take care of him, Shāh Jāhān 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 'Ambar2 the Abyssinian.

1 He was the fourth and youngest son of Shāh Jāhān, whose other sons were (1) Dara Shikoh, (2) Shāh Shuja (3) Aurangzeb.—See p. 286, Igba-launmah-i-Jahangiri, Fasā 3, Pers. text.

2 His name on the rolls of trouble to Jahangīr. His insurrection is fully described in the Igba-launmah-i-Jahangiri, a contemporary record, Fasā 3, pp. 234 to 238. The author of the Igba-launmah-i-Jahangiri pays a high tribute to his military genius and generalship, to his administrative capacity and vigorous rule in the Dakhin. (See p. 271, Fasā 3, Igba-launmah-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, Yaqūt Khān the Abyssinian, together with Malik Ambar's son, Fatīh Khān, and other officers of Nizam-ul-Mulk, submitted to Khān Jāhān, Jahangīr's Viceroy or Subadar in the Dakhin, in the twenty-first year of Jahangīr's ascension. (See p. 280, Fasā 3, Pers. text, Igba-launmah-i-Jahangiri).

The Munṣir-al-Imāra (Vol. III, p. 7) gives some additional facts about him. It states that Malik Ambar was an Abyssinian slave of the Bijapur king, Nizam Shāh. When in 1656 A.H., Queen Chamā Sultan or Chand Bibi was killed, and the fort of Ahmadnagar fell into the hands of Akbar's officers, and Bahadur Nizam Shāh was taken prisoner, and kept in the Gwalior fort, Malik Amier and Raja Minā proclaimed their independence. Malik Amber brought to his control the territory extending from the limits of Telingana to a point, four kroh from Ahmadnagar and eight kroh from Daulatabad. In
requesting the Prince’s return towards the Dakhin. Shāh Jahān, 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 Abdullah Khān, to march towards Akbarsagar (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 Mirza Iraj, son of Abdul Rahim Khān-i-Khānān. Malik Amber was wounded, but the Khān-i-Khānān, 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 Dumālahād, between the Shrines of Shāh Muntajab-ud-dīn Zarbakhsh and Shāh Rajavi Qattāli. The author of the Musarrat-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 Khurki (which was subsequently named Aurangabad), 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.

در خدمت رسول خدا بیک بلال بود
بعد از مزار ملک علی باد

1 From the battle-field of Benares, after defeat, Shāh Jahān retreated to Rohat (up to which desultory fighting was kept up between the Imperialists and Shāh Jahān’s troops), thence marched to Panau and Bhabar town, and thence to Garhi or Talagarthi fort. Whilst at Garhi, Shāh Jahān summoned his Governor of Bengal, Dārāb Khān, to join him, but the latter made excuses, wherein Shāh Jahān becoming dissatisfied, went to Rajmahal, and retreated thence to the Dakhin (being hotly pursued by Prince Parris and Mahbub Khan) across Sackar Madaran, Midnapur, Orissa and Telingana. (See Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Fasc, 3, pp. 239-240).
the Dakhin by the same route that he had come. Abdullah Khan, on knowing the disloyalty and villainy of Darub Khan, slew the latter’s grown-up son, and satisfied his grudge. Although Shah Jahan sent orders to prevent the son being killed, these had no effect. When the news of Shah Jahan’s retreat from Bengal to the Dakhin reached the Emperor, the latter ordered that Mukhalas Khan should quickly go to Prince Parviz, who had gone to Bengal in pursuit of Shah Jahan, and taking up the office of Sarwast (Superintendent of Revenue), should send the Prince with other leading noblemen to the Dakhin. Consequently, Prince Parviz left for the Dakhin, entrusting the Suhah of Bengal to the Jagir of Mahabet Khan and his son Khanahsud Khan.

THE ASSIGNMENT OF BENGAL IN JAGIR TO MAHABET KHAN AND HIS SON

When the Suhah of Bengal was assigned, in the shape of Jagir, to Nawab Mahabet Khan and his son Khanahsud Khan,

Mahabet Khan distinguished himself under Emperor Jahangir in the long war carried on in the Dakhin. He was early attached by the Emperor to Prince Parviz, as attaej and generalissimo, when the Prince was sent to the Dakhin to quell the insurrection there. Where Prince Shah Jahan subsequently rebelled against his father (Emperor Jahangir), and marching out from the Dakhin across Talingana invaded Orissa and over-ran Bengal and Behar, the Emperor ordered Mahabet Khan along with Prince Parviz to oppose Shah Jahan’s progress. In this, Mahabet Khan (along with Prince Parviz) completely succeeded, inflicted a crushing defeat on Shah Jahan 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, Mahabet Khan received from Prince Parviz (no doubt, with the previous sanction of the Emperor) Bengal in jagir. 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 Mahabet Khan 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 he was rescued by the bold stratagem of his Queen, Nur Jahan Begam. Mahabet was then sent away in disgrace to Thatta, whence he went to Gujarat, and joined the rebel Prince, Shah Jahan. (See pp. 228, 233, 234, 246, 247, 250, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 276, 277, Fasc. 3, Pers. text Ishtilamak-i-Jahangiri, a contemporary record, and also Musarrat-ul-Umara, p. 385, Vol. III)
they, parting company with Prince Parviz, marched to Bengal. And orders were given to the zamindars of that country to cease impeding Dārā Khān, and to allow him to come. Dārā Khān, without any impediment, came to Māhābet Khān. But when the news of Dārā's coming to Māhābet Khān reached the Emperor, the latter sent an order to Māhābet 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." Māhābet Khān, carrying out the Emperor's order, beheaded Dārā Khān, and sent the latter's head to the Emperor. And as Māhābet 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 'Arāb Dast Qhāib should go to Māhābet Khān, confiscate the elephants and send them to the Emperor, and tell Māhābet 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. Māhābet Khān first sent the elephants to the Emperor, and subsequently after appointing his son Khānahzād Khān to be Subadar of Bengal, set out to meet the Emperor with four or five thousand people.

From the Masa'ir-ul-Umara (p. 385, Vol. III), the following additional facts about Māhābet Khān are gleaned. His real name was Zamannah Beg, his father's name being Ghīwar Beg Kabuli. He was a Razavī Sayyid. Ghīwar Beg came from Shiraz to Kabul, and thence to India, and entered Akbar's service, and distinguished himself in the battle of Chitor. Zamannah Beg, in youth, entered Prince Salīm's service as an adābi, and soon was advanced to the office of Bakshi under the Prince. In the beginning of Jahangīr's reign, Zamannah Beg was appointed to be commander of three thousand, and received the title of Māhābet Khān. He was deputed to serve with Prince Shāh Jahān in the Dakhin, and in the 12th year of Jahangīr's reign, was appointed Subadar of Kabul. In the 17th year, dissensions broke out between Emperor Jahangīr and Prince Shāh Jahān, and Māhābet Khān was recalled from Kabul. When Shāh Jahān ascended the throne, he advanced Māhābet Khān to the rank of Haft hāmīri, and conferred on him the title of "Khān-i-Khānān Sīsḵālī," and appointed him Subadar of Ajmir and next, Subadar of the Dakhin. He died in 1044 A.H.

He appears to have been employed by Emperor Jahangīr on similar missions with reference to other refractory princes and officers, such as Hosḥang, son of Prince Dānyal, and Akbar Rahim Khān-i-Khānī and Māhābet Khān. (See p. 344, Iqbalnamak-i-Jahangiri Pura, text, Fasc. 3, and also Masa'ir-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 the public grievances against him. Afterwards summoning to his presence Bakhurdar, son of Khwaja I. Nakhshbandi, to whom Mahabat Khan, without 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, Mahabat Khan 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, entered it with four hundred or five hundred Rajputs, saluted the Emperor in hunting and travelling suit, and marched back towards his own residence.  

1 In p. 233, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, "Khwaja 'Umar Nakhshbandi."  

1 In the printed text, the words occur "محمم شامشامی" which is obviously a mistake. The words should be "یک حكم شامشامی" (See p. 233, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri).  

1 In the printed Persian text, there is a mistake; the word "غسلعید" (see p. 236, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnamah) is misprinted in the Risus as "کلاب باری." The Ghussalkhana 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 Omars passed much time in it, transacting business. Thus, 'Ghussalkhana' gradually came to signify a 'Private Chamber, or a 'Khakhana.'  

4 The author of the Risus has borrowed the account from the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri (see pp. 236-237, Fasc. 3), but in his attempt to condense it, he has rendered his account slipshod and confused. The author of the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri, named Mu'tamad Khan, was Jahangir's Bakhshi 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 Bihat (or Jumna), that he was alone there with some courtiers, such as 'Arab Dast Ghah, Mir Masum Bakhshah, Jawahir Khan the Kunnah, Firuz Khan, Khurmat Khan the Kunnah, Isband Khan, Bakhshest Pasht Khan, Fush Khan, and three or four others, that all the rest of the Imperial officers and attendants, including Asif Khan the Prime Minister, had left and crossed over to the eastern banks of the river. Seizing, therefore, this opportunity, Mahab
In short as the Imperial army had gone towards Thatah, Māhābēt Khān was ordered to join it there. In the meantime, Prince Parvīz died. As Sharīf Khān had entrenched himself in the fort of Thatah, Shāh Jāhān’s army marched back to the Dakhin. Māhābēt Khān after reaching Thatah sent letters to Shāh Jāhān, avowing his loyalty, and Shāh Jāhān being conciliated, Māhābēt Khān entered the former’s service. In consequence, the Šāhāb of Bengal was transferred from Khānahzād Khān, son of Māhābēt Khān, to Mūkkārām Khān, son of Mūzzam 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 Khahānā. Māhābēt Khān fearlessly broke open the door, and entered it with about 500 Rajput cavalry, and paid obeisance to the Emperor. The Emperor coming out of the tent, seated himself on the Imperial Palaquin, which had been in front of the tent. Māhābēt Khān came quite close to the palanquin, and addressed the Emperor as follows: “Feared through the vindictiveness and malice of Asīf Khān, I should be disgraced, tortured and killed, I have dared to take this daring step of personally throwing myself on the Imperial protection. Sire, if I deserve to be killed and punished, kill and punish me in your Imperial presence” (p. 256, Fasc. 3, Iqbalṣamāh). In the meantime, Māhābēt Khān’s Rajput cavalry surrounded the Imperial tent from all sides. Then Māhābēt 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. Māhābēt Khān in hunting dress accompanied the Emperor and led the latter to his own camp. Finding that Nur Jāhān Begam had been left behind, he led back the Emperor to the Imperial tent, but in the meantime Nur Jāhān had gone across the river and had joined her brother, Asīf Khān and was busy concocting 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 Jāhān succeeded in rescuing her Royal Consort, and in banishing Māhābēt Khān, who was sent in disgrace to Thatah. (See p. 270, Fasc. 3, Iqbalṣamāh i-Jahangīrī) Māhābēt Khān subsequently joined Shāh Jāhān in the Dakhin.

1 In the Iqbalṣamāh, “Sharīf-i-Mulk” it appears that Prince Shāh Jāhān had gone from the Dakhin to invade the province of Thatah. Then Sharīf-i-Mulk, on behalf of Prince Shāhniyār, 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 Jāhān’s invasion, and Māhābēt Khān was sent on the same errand. Shāh Jāhān was obliged to raise the siege, and to march back to the Dakhin via Gujurat. (See Iqbalṣamāh and also Majīs al-Imārāt, Pers. text, Fasc. 3, pp 281-282).

2 Mūkkārām Khān was a son of Shaikh Bayāzīd Mūzzam Khān, grand-
Patna was entrusted to Mirza Rustam Safavi. It is said that on the day the patent transferring the Sibahdari of Bengal from Khānahzād Khān to Nawab Mukarram Khān was drawn up at Shāh Jahānābād (Delhi), Shāh Neematullāh Fīrūzpurī composing a Qāsidah (an Ode) in praise of Khānahzād Khān, transmitted it to the latter, and in this Qāsidah, there was one line which was indicative of Khānahzād’s supercession, and that line was this:

من دوهایت ای گل خندان جهور عندابیب
سیر تو دویستار و تماماشی دیگرستان

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 Khānahzād Khān 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 Salīm Ghīshtī of Fatehpur-Sikri. Jahangir conferred on Shaikh Bayazīd the title of Musammat Khān and made him Subadar of Delhi. Musammat Khān’s son, Makkara Makhān, was a son-in-law of Islam Khān 1, Jahangir’s Viceroy in Bengal and rendered important services under the latter. He conquered Kuch Hājo (a portion of Kuch Behar) and captured its zamīn of Rajah, Parichat (Pulghānasah 11, 64), and for some time remained as Governor of Kuch Hājo. Later, he was appointed Governor of Orissa, and conquered Khuridah (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 Khānahzād Khān, Māhāt Khān’s son. (See pp. 286, 287, 291, Fasc. 3, Iqbalnsmah-i-Jahangiri, and also Munṣir-al-Umara). A gale upset his boat, and he was drowned in the river with all his companions.

1 See n. ante.

The author of the Iqbalnsmah-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. 286, Fasc. 3, Pur. text. Iqbalnsmah-i-Jahangiri, and also Munṣir-al-Umara).

1 Later on in the text, he is described as a Saint, in whom Prince Shāh Shujā had great faith.
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 Sāhab of Bengal.) Many months had not elapsed, when by chance, an Imperial āfzāna 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 FIDĀI 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 āfzānas, existed throughout the Mughal regime.

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

3 "Fidāi Khān," and "Jān Niār Khān" or "Jahāb Khān" were his titles, his name being Mirza Hedaitullah.) He should not be confounded with Mir Zarif, who also received the title of "Fidāi Khān." When Mir Zarif received this title of Fidāi Khān, Mirza Hedaitullah who held the same title from before, received the new title of "Jān Niār Khān" from Shāh Jahān the Emperor. In the beginning, in the reign of Emperor Jahangir, Mirza Hedaitullah was "Mir Bahār-i-Nasrūn" or Admiral of the Imperial Fleet, and being patronised by Māhāl Khān, he advanced rapidly in influence. In the quarter between Māhāl Khān and Emperor Jahangir, he took sides with his patron, Māhāl Khān, and subsequently fled to Rohān. 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 Naur Jahan (no doubt, over and above the annual Imperial revenues). In Shāh Jahān's reign, he was recalled from Bengal and received Jaunpur in tīqal (or jagir) and subsequently was appointed Faujdar of Gomākpur. He then helped Abdullah Khān, Governor of
corresponding to 1036 A.H., Nawab Fidai Khan was appointed Viceroy of the Súbah of Bengal. Since at that period, besides rare silks of this country, and elephants and aloes-wood and ambergris and other presents and gifts, no specie need 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 Núr Ján Bégam—in all ten lacs of rupees should be remitted to the Imperial Exchequer. When on the 27th of the month of Safar 1037 A.H., Emperor Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir, whilst returning from Kashmir, died at Rajor, his son Abul Muzzafar Shaháuddin Shah Jahan (who was then in the Dakhin) marched out, and through the noble exertions of Asaf Jah Ásaf Khan (after destroying and extirpating his brothers) ascended the Imperial throne at Delhi. Then the Súbah of Bengal was transferred from Fidai Khan to Qásim Khan.

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

(1) This Fiscal Provincial Contract under Fidai Khan is also noted in the Iqbal'anshá-i-Jahangír, Fascc. 2, Pers. text, p. 291

(2) In the Iqbal'anshá, "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 Núr Ján Bégam. (See Iqbal'anshá, Fascc. 2, p. 294).

(3) His titles were "Asíf Khán Asíf Jah," his name being Mu'ináb Abul Hasan. He was a son of 'Imám-ud-daulah, and the eldest brother of the Empress Núr Ján Begam, and he was father of Arjunrud Banu Begam alias Mumtaz Mahal, the beloved Consort of Emperor Sháh Jahan, (whose memory is enshrined in marble by the Taj at Agra). In the 9th year of Jahanír's reign, he was appointed to the Mazul of Sháh hozír, and subsequently raised to a hozír hozír, and was also appointed Súbah of the Panah, and Vakil or Prime Minister. In 1037 A.H. when Jahangir on return from Kashmir died on the way near Rajor, Núr Jánán (who espoused the cause of Prince Sháhriyár) wanted to imprison Asíf Khán (who espoused Prince Sháh Jahan's cause), but Asíf Khán could not be seized or brought back. Asíf Khán sent a swift runner, named Benaresi, a Hindú, to Sháh Jahan who was then in Rajor. Sháh Jahan quickly marched out to Agra, where he was installed as Emperor, whilst Sháhriyár and other princes were soon imprisoned and made away with. On his accession Sháh Jahan gave Asíf Khán the title of "Emínu-d-daulah," and made him a "Náh hozír." He died at Lahore in 1051 A.H. "النبر رحمت أسد خان" is a chronogram which yields the above date. (See Manzir-ul-Usúra, p. 151, Vol. 1).
(NEZÁMAT OF NAWAB QÁSIM KHÁN.)

When Qásim Kháń succeeded to the Nezámát of Bengal, like his predecessors in office, he devoted himself to the affairs of

It is strange that the Rijál should give such a meagre account of the Administration of Nawab Qásim Kháń, the first Bengal Viceroy appointed by Emperor Sháh Jahan. Yet this Administration is peculiarly interesting and significant from the modern stand-point, 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 Muslim Viceroy of Bengal. To supplement the account of this Muslim Viceroy with some additional facts gleaned from the Musarr al-Ummara, would therefore be interesting.

Qásim Kháń was a son of Mir Murald of Jussín (in the Vilayet of Bóliha). Mir Murald was a leading Sayyid of that place, whence he migrated into the Dakkhán. He was brave and a capital archer, and was engaged by Emperor Akbar to train up Prince Khurrám. He was subsequently appointed Bāšah of Lahore, in the 46th year of Akbar's reign. His son, "Qásim Kháń" (this was evidently his title, his actual name is not given in the Musarr) was a man of culture and literary habits. Under Islam Khán Chishti Fariqí (Jahangir's Bengal Viceroy), Qásim Kháń served as Kuzzaschí or Treasurer-General of Bengal. Islam Khán took particular interest in training him up. Some time after, Qásim Kháń was lucky in getting married to Maníjah Begum, sister of the Empress Nár Jahan. This matrimonial alliance was a turning point in Qásim Kháń's fortune: he was soon advanced in rank and dignity. The witty courtiers of the time called him "Qásim Kháń Maníjah." He soon became an associate of the Emperor Jahangir. Towards the end of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed Sáhbadar (or Viceroy) of Agra. In the first year of Sháh Jahan's reign, the Emperor (Sháh Jahan) raised him to the Mansab of Poonjízâri, and appointed him Sáhbadar (Viceroy) of Bengal, in place of Fidál Kháń. During his stay in Bengal (during Jahangir's reign), Sháh Jahan had become personally apprised of the excesses practised by the Christians (Portuguese, obviously) resident in the Port of Hughli. For instance, Sháh Jahan had come to know that these often took unauthorised leases of adjoining parganas, oppressed the tenantry of those parganas, and sometimes by tempting offers, converted them to Christianity, and even sent them to Farâg (or Europe). Further these Christians (Portuguese, obviously) carried on similar malpractices even in parganas, with which they had no connection. Further, these Christians, under the pretext of carrying on trading transactions, had in the beginning established someware-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 Surat, was diverted to the new port of Hughli. In consideration of the above circumstances, the Emperor Sháh Jahan, whilst sending Qásim Kháń to Bengal

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administration, and to the putting down of disturbances. In the sixth year of Shāh Jahān’s accession, he marched against the Christians and Portugese who had become insolent in the port of Hūghli, 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 Khān¹ was appointed to the Nezāmat of Bengal. As he could not properly discharge the

¹ ‘Azīm Khān’s real name was Mîr Muhammad Baqīr, his titles being “Irail Khān,” and subsequently “‘Azīm Khān.” Hān was a Sayyid of Sava which is in Irāq. On arrival in India, he was appointed Pānjdar of Sīnkot and Gujrat, through the interest taken in him by ʿAsif Khān Mīrza Jafīr, who married to him his daughter. Then he was presented to Eμπīr Jahanīr, who gave him (on the recommendation of Emīn-d-dānīh ʿAsif Khān) a good Manṣūb and the office of Imperial Khānanas. In the 15th year of Jahanīr’s reign, he was appointed Sābūdar (Governor) of Kāshmīr and next Mir Bakhshī under the Emperor directly. On Shāh Jahān’s accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān raised him to the rank of Pānjhūzār, and also to the office of Wazīr of the Supreme Diwān. (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 “‘Azīm Khān,” and was employed by the Emperor for chastising Khān Jahān Lōdī and for the conquest of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom in the Dakhin. Though he succeeded in dispersing Khān Jahān’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, 1 who had gone on an expedition to Gauhati with 1,000 Cavalry and numerous infantry. When this news reached the Emperor, the latter superseded ‘Agam Khan, and appointed Islam Khan, who had much experience in the work of administration and was one of the principal ‘Omar of Jahangir, to the office of Subadar of Bengal.

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RULE OF NAWAB ISLAM KHAN.

When Nawab Islam Khan was appointed Subadar of Bengal, as he was an experienced and a sagacious ruler, on his arrival did not satisfy the Emperor, who sent him to Bengal as Viceroy, in succession to Qaisim Khan, who died in the 5th year of Shah Jahan’s reign. He continued in Bengal as Viceroy for three years only, and in the 8th year was transferred to Allahabad, and subsequently to Gujarat, and lastly to Jaunpur; where he was Rector of the Jaunpur University, and died in 1650 A.H., in his 70th 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 Shih Shuja (after the latter had lost his first wife, a daughter of Mirza Rustam Safavi). He possessed many good qualities, and was very strict in auditing the accounts of ‘Amilis (Collectors of Revenue). (See Nasir-ul-Umara, p. 174, Vol. I).

1 This ‘Abdus Salam would seem to be the ‘Abdus Salam (son of Munagam Khan, Subadar of Delhi) who opportunely reinforced Shujait Khan at the decisive battle near Dhaka (Dacca) with the Afghan leader Osman Lohani. He would seem, therefore, to have been a brother of Mukkaram Khan (another son of Munagam Khan) 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 Khan, and to have invaded Assam. (See n. ante). The Almagirnawah (p. 630, Fasc. VII, Pers. text) calls him “Shahsh Abus Salam,” and states that towards the early part of Shah Jahan’s reign, he was “Faujdar” 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 Islam Khan II alias Mirk Abus Salam) sent out under command of Siadat Khan (Islam Khan’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 Islam Khan was shortly after recalled by the Emperor to assume the office of Imperial Vizier at Delhi.
the Sūbah, 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 these tracts and fighting many battles, he chastised these wicked tribes, recovered the Imperial maulus which had been over-run by the latter, and marched against Kuch Behar. After much fightings, he stormed numerous forts, and then extirpated the refractory Assamese. At this juncture, Islām Khān was recalled by Shāh Jahān, for the purpose of being installed in the office of Vāzir. And order was sent to Nawab Saif Khān to the

1 Islām Khān Masheeri; his actual name was Mir Abbas Salām, and his titles were "Ikhtisār Khān" and subsequently "Islām Khān." He should not be confounded with "Islām Khān Chishti Faruqi," whose real name was Shāh Allah-d-dīn, and who was Viceroy of Bengal, under Emperor Jahangir.

Mir Abbas Salām was in the beginning a Munshi or Secretary of Prince Shāh Jahān. In 1090 A.H. (during Jahangir's reign), he was Fakīr-i-Darbār or Prince Shāh Jahān's Political Agent at the Imperial Court. Shāh Jahān being engaged at the time in affairs connected with the Dakhin, and at the same time received the title of "Ikhtisār Khān." When dissensions broke out between Shāh Jahān and Emperor Jahangir, Mir Abbas Salām joined Shāh Jahān. On Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne, he raised Mir Abbas Salām to the rank of Chagēh-każirī, bestowed on him the title of "Islām Khān," and appointed him Bakhsāsh and subsequently Governor of Gujarāt, with command of Five Thousand. In the 8th year, on the recall of A'gam Khān (the Bengal Viceroy), Mir Abbas Salām alias Islām Khān Masheeri 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 Rajah, (3) capture of fifteen Assam forts, (4) capture of Sirjāt and Maund, (5) successful establishment of Imperial military out-posts or Thomas in all the sinhais of Koch Hojo (the western portion of Kuch 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 13th year (in the text, currently, 11th year), Islām Khān was called back by Shāh Jahān from Bengal, and installed in the office of Imperial Vāzir. He was subsequently appointed Viceroy of the Dakhin, where he died at Aurangabad in the 21st year of Shāh Jahān's reign, in 1057 A.H. He was buried in a mausoleum at Aurangabad, He was a learned scholar; a brave general; and a sagacious administrator. (See Māleys-ul-'Umar, p. 162, Vol. I).

2 Saif Khān Mīrza Ṣafī was a son of Amanat Khān. He married Malikah Bānū, sister of Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and a daughter of Aṣif Khān Rumi-d-dinah, and was thus closely connected with Emperor Shāh Jahān, by marriage. He first became Diwan of the Sūbah of Gujarāt, and for his victory over 'Abdullah Khān under during circumstances, was appointed Sūbadar 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 Sháh Jahán's reign.

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**RULE OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD SHUJA'.**

In the 12th year of Sháh Jahán'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 Sháh Jahán to be Governor of Behar (where at Patna he built several lofty public edifices). [Saifabad 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 "Saif Sarai" or "Saif's inn." If my memory serves me right, I found a big well in Monghyr town near the Club, which bears an inscription to show that it was built by Saif Khan]. In the 5th year of Sháh Jahán'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 12th year, when Jalán Khan Mashid was summoned back from Bengal to Delhi, to assume charge of the portfolio of Imperial Fauz, Bengal was assigned to Prince Sháh Shuj'a. As the Prince was at the time away at Káhal, Saif Khan received orders to administer Bengal on behalf of the Prince, during his absence. In the 13th year of Sháh Jahán's reign (in 1049 A.H.) Saif Khan Mírza Saíd died in Bengál, and his wife Malikah Khánum died the following year. (See Muqarrír-ut-Umma, p. 416, Vol. II).

Prince Sháh Shuj'a was the second son of Emperor Sháh Jahán, whose other sons were (1) Dírás Shékoh; (2) Anarrá Initialization, and (3) Muraíd. Sháh Shuj'a was married to a daughter of Mírza Bastaum Šáfívi, and subsequently (on the death of his first wife) to a daughter of Nawáb 'Azám Khánum (a former Bengal Viceroy). (Sháh Shuj'a, on appointment to Bengal, temporarily removed the Viceregal Capital from Dáccca 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. Sháh Shuj'a's rule over Bengal was marked by the introduction of financial reforms and by the growth of revenue. "About 1658 A.C. he prepared a new rent-roll of Bengal, which showed 34 Sarkars and 1,830 mahals, and a total revenue on Khalsa and Jagir lands of Rs. 13,113,907 exclusive of absentees." (See Blochmann's Coitr. to history of Bengal and the Fauzul-Abbas). Sháh Shuj'a was a lover of architecture, and he built numerous marble edifices in Rajmahal, Monghyr and Dáccca. He also
seat of his Government, and adorned it with grand and handsome edifices. The Prince deputed to Jahangirnagar or Dacca his Deputy and father-in-law, Nawab 'Azam Khan. The affairs of administration which had fallen into confusion by the departure of Islām Khan, received now fresh elat. For a period of eight years, the Prince devoted himself to the work of administration. In the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, the Prince was recalled to the Imperial presence, and Nawab 'Itaqād Khān was appointed to the Nizamat of the Sūbah of this country.

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**NIZAMAT OF NAWAB 'ITAQĀD KHĀN.**

When Nawab 'Itaqād Khān 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 Alamgirnāmah), 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.

8 In the text یہ ہے is evidently a misprint for یہ ہے.

4 'Itaqād Khān Mirza Shāpar was a son of 'Isam-ud-daulah, and a brother of 'Asif Khān Mirza Abul Hassan, and therefore, a brother also of Empress Nūr Jahān (Mansir-ud-Ulama, p. 163, 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 5th year of Shāh Jahān's 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 (Palomow) under Zahurīstân Khān, and defeated its zamindar or Rajah, named Partab, who submitted to the Emperor, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of one lac of rupees. In the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when Prince Shāh Shuja was recalled from Bengal, 'Itaqād Khān in addition to his Governorship of Behar was appointed Viceroy of Bengal, where he continued for two years. In the 23rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign (1060 A.H.) 'Itaqād Khān 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 Shuj’ā was for the second time re-appointed to the Nizamat of Bengal.

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

When, for the second time, Prince Muhammad Shuj’ā 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 become protracted,¹ and the Members of

¹ Emperor Shāh Jahān fell ill at Delhi on 7th Zil-haj 1067 A.H. (Alemgir-nama, p. 27). At the time of the Emperor’s illness, Prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son, was at Agra. Prince Shuj’ā, the second son, was in Bengal; Aurangzeb, the third son, was in the Dakhin; whilst Prince Murad, the fourth son, was in Gujrat. 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 Shikoh went to the Emperor, and took into his hands the reins of Government. In order to make himself thoroughly master of the situation, Dara Shikoh aimed to keep the Emperor fully under his control, and so forcibly removed the Emperor together with all royal treasures from Delhi on 20th Muharram, 1068 A.H. (1068 in the printed Per. text is a misprint) to Agra, which was reached on 19th Safar, 1068 A.H. In the meantime, Murad proclaimed himself King in Gujrat, whilst Shuj’ā similarly proclaimed himself King in Bengal, and invaded Patna and Benares (Alemgir-nama, p. 29).

Dara Shikoh’s plan was first to vanquish Shuj’ā, next Murad, and to reserve the final blow for Aurangzeb, whom he dreaded most. In pursuance of this scheme, he first detached a large army under the command of his son Sulaiman Shikoh together with Rajah Jai Singh to operate against Shuj’ā. The army under Sulaiman Shikoh on the 4th Rabi-al-Awwal 1063 A.H. reached Bahadarpur, a village on the banks of the Ganges, 2½ lees from Benares, and 1⅓ lees from Shuj’ā’s encampment. Shuj’ā had brought with him a large number of Navarah or war-ships from Bengal, and so was sanguine of success, and treating the foe with contempt, he had dismissed all ordinary precautions of war. Sulaiman Shikoh made a feint retreat which further took in Shuj’ā, and then suddenly wheeling round, made a bold dash which completely surprised Shuj’ā, 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 Shikoh’s army pursued Shuj’ā 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 Shikoh by making a move from Aurangabad towards Burhanpur on Friday, 12th Jamadi-al-Awwal 1068 A.H. (Alamgirnamah, p. 43). After halting for a month at Burhanpur to get news of the state of things at Agra, Aurangzeb learnt that Dara Shikoh had detached a large army under Rajah Jasswant Singh, who had already arrived at Ujjain, in Malwah. This made Aurangzeb decide his plans. He immediately on 25th Jamadi-Al-Akhirah on a Saturday marched from Burhanpur, reached the banks of the Narhadda, crossed it, and on the 26th Rajab encamped at Dhabpur. On the 31st Rajab, setting out from Dhabpur, 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 Jasswant Singh's army, and pitched his camp on the banks of a rivulet, called Chur Naraishah. (Alamgirnamah, p. 56). Rajah Jasswant 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 Jasswant Singh at Dharmatpur. (See charming description of this battle in the Alamgirnamah, Pers. text, pp. 61, 62 to 74). Marching quickly from Dharmatpur, Aurangzeb passed through Gwalior. In the meantime Dara Shikoh 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 Bhuduresh, 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 Shikoh was completely defeated by Aurangzeb. (See description of the battle of Dholpur in the Alamgirnamah, pp. 100 to 104). Dara Shikoh 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 Shah Shuja's who had advanced, and occupied Rohas, Chunar, Jumapur, Beaurs and Allahabad. The battle between Aurangzeb and Shuja was fought at Kachwa, a place close to Korah, and resulted in Shuja's defeat. (See description of the battle in the Alamgirnamah, Pers. text, p. 249). After his defeat, Shuja fled to Bahadarpur, thence to Fateh, thence to Moughyr which he fortified, and thence (owing to the treachery of Rajah Bahazin, zamindar of Khurshpur) to Bangamati, and thence (owing to treachery of Khwajah Kamal-d-din, zamindar of Bhirbhum) to Rajmahal, thence through minor places to Bacca, thence through Ullahabad and minor places to Arrakhan, always heroically contesting every inch of ground against the hosts of Aurangzeb, led by his General Mumurr Khan ulius Mir Juma, but every time baffled by the treachery of so-called adherents, barring a noble band of Barha Syeda who clung to him to the last. (See pp. 495 to 561, Alamgirnamah, Pers. text).
Princes Royal, no one except Dara Shukoh was near the Emperor, the reins of Imperial administration were assigned to him. Dara Shukoh, 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 Shuja'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 Shukoh, during the serious illness of the Emperor, marched with the latter from Shahjahanabad (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 Shukoh detached Raja Jai Singh Kachahah, who was a leading Rajah and a principal member of the Empire, together with other leading noblemen, such as Dilir Khan, Salabat Khan and Izad Singh, and other officers holding the ranks of Punjaizari and Chaharzaria, besides a large army composed of his own and the Imperial troops, along with guns and armaments, under the general command of Sulaiman Shukoh, his eldest son, in order to fight against Muhammad Shuja'a. Accordingly, these marched from Agra on the 4th of the month of Rabini-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 Shuja'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 Jamadiil-Awwal, the Imperialists made a feint as if to shift their camp, but suddenly wheeled round, and rushed Shuja'a's army, which was completely taken by surprise. On hearing the news of the feint retreat of the Imperialists on the previous day, Shuja'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 flank movement from the left side, closed in upon him. Seeing no alternative, Shâh Shuja'a got into his war-vessels which he had brought
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 Sheikh’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 Akbarwag (Rajmahal). The Imperial army reduced to subjection the Subah of Patna and Behar. But in the meantime, Aurangzeb had marched from the Dakhin# 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 Shâhjahanabad, and entered the Capital. Deputing his eldest son, Sultan Muhammad, to be near the Emperor, Aurangzeb put the latter under surveillance, and killed Dara Shukoh after much warfare, and in the holy month of Ramzan 1069 A.H. ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi. Sulaiman Shukoh, on hearing the news of Dara Shukoh’s defeat, gave up the pursuit of Shâh Shuj’a, and retreated towards Shâhjahanabad (Delhi). Muhammad Shuj’a fancying that the struggle between Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb would be a protracted one, thought his opportunity had come, and by the bad advice of Allivardi Khan and Mirza Jan Beg and other members of his Government,

1 The Alamgirnamah, p. 31 (from which the account here in the text appears to be borrowed) says: “From Mughry to Patna became annexed to the Surasy (1648) of Dara Shukoh.”

2 Aurangzeb moved from the Dakhin in 1668 A.H., inflicted a crushing defeat on Dara Shukoh’s troops led by Maharaja Jaswant Singh at Ujjain, and also defeated Dara Shukoh near Agra, and then informally proclaimed himself Emperor in 1069 A.H. (See Alamgirnamah, pp. 69 to 85, and pp. 87 to 108).

3 Dara Shukoh, after his defeat by Aurangzeb near Agra, fled to Delhi, and thence to Lahore, and after various adventures in the Punjab, Gujar and Kabul was captured by Jiwang, zamindar of Daud, 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 Alamgirnamah, pp. 433 and 408). Those who take an interest in Dara Shukoh’s adventures after his flight, will find a full account of the same in the Alamgirnamah. Dara Shukoh was a free-thinker and a pro-Hindu, and if he had succeeded to the throne, he would have out-Akbared Akbar in his pro-Hindu policy. Aurangzeb was the reverse of Dara Shukoh; he was a champion of Islam, and an iconoclast like Mahmud of Ghazni or Shâhâb-d-din Ihtir. 
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 Shikoh 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 Khān, the generalissimo of Shāh 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 Khān 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 Kháń, seduced by the bait held out by Aurangzeb, played false with his own old benefactor, and spoke to Muhammad Shuj'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 Shuj'a mounted a horse, the aforesaid Kháń sent information 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 Shuj'a on the elephant, news spread in the army about the victory of 'Alamgir and the defeat of Shāh Shuj'a. Shuj'a's force fled panic-stricken, thinking that Shuj'a had been killed. Although Shuj'a made exertions to stop the panic and prevent the flight, these were in vain. Hence the adage is "Shuj'a lost a winning game." The army of Aurangzeb collecting together, made an onslaught. When Shāh Shuj'a found that he had lost the game, he was obliged to take to flight, and fled to Bengal, and fortifying the passes of Telangadhi and Sakrigali, he entrenched himself at Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). 'Alamgir appointed Nawab Mu'azzam Kháń, Kháń-i-Khanan, the Generalissimo, to be Subadar or Viceroy of Bengal. And detaching twenty-two renowned noblemen, like Nawab Islám Kháń, Diler Kháń, Daud Kháń, Fateh Jang Kháń, and Ihtisham Kháń, etc., under the command of Sultan Muhammad, to pursue Shāh Shuj'a, Aurangzeb himself triumphant and victorious marched back towards the Capital (Delhi).

VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB MU'AZZAM KHÁN, KHÁN-I-KHANAN.

When Nawab Mu'azzam Kháń was appointed Subadar of Bengal, he marched towards Bengal with a large army. As the passes of Telangadhi and Sakrigali had been fortified by Shāh Shuj'a, viewing the forcing of those defiles to be a difficult operation, with twelve thousand soldiers he swiftly marched to Bengal.
by way of Jharkand1 and the mountains. When the contending armies approached each other, Shāh Shujā’ 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 Tandah, 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 Sharīf Khān landed, the soldiers of Shāh Shujā’ 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’ ordered the wounded persons to be killed; but Shāh Nematullah Firuzpurī expostulated. Shāh Shujā’ who had great faith in this Saint made over to the latter Sharīf 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 Muḥammad, 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’ gave his daughter in marriage to him. Sultān Muḥammad, on the side of Sultān Shujā’, fought several battles with the Imperialists, consisting of the Khān-i-Khanan2 and Dīler Khān, &c.

1 The Almeqirnasah indicates that at the time Shāh Shujā’ had halted at Monghyr, fortifying the place. Then Rajah Bahroz, zamindar of Rajah of Khasakpur, who professed loyalty to Shāh Shujā’, but in reality was a traitor secretly intrigued with Aurrangzeb’s general, Mir Jumla azzā 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’, 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 Telisadghi and Sakrigali, which were then regarded as the ‘key’ to Bengal.

2 A full account of his life will be found in the Manṣir-ul-Umara, Vol. III., p. 580, Pesh. text.

From it, it appears that his name was Mir Muḥammad Sai’d Mir Jumla, and his titles were “Mu’azzam Khān, Khān-i-Khanan Sipasalār.” He came from Ardastan, first served under Sultān Abdullah Qutb Shāh, ruler of Golconda, where he attained great eminence. Falling out with Qutb Shāh, he joined Prince Aurrangzeb who was then in the Dakhan. His great services were (1) the conquest of Bijapur, (2) the extirpation of Shāh Shujā’, (3) the conquests of Kuch Behar and Assam. He was a statesman of great sagacity
At length, on finding Sultan Shuj'a 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-Khânan to pursue Sultan Shuj'a. In short, one day when Dîlêr Khân, &c., crossed the river at Paglughat, Dîlêr Khân's son, with a number of efficient men, was drowned. Sultan Shuj'a 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-Khânan also followed him up by land. Finding it impossible to make a stand at this place either, Sultan Shuj'a 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 Shuj'a, Bim 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 Mâsur-ul-\textit{Cuara}, p. 555, Vol. III., Pers. text).

1 Details of Sultan Muhammad's desertion to Shâh Shuj'a, and his subsequent accession, are given in the \textit{Allamgirnamah}.

2 Details of Shuj'a's fightings and adventures are given in the \textit{Allamgirnamah}. See notes, ante.

3 The description in the \textit{Allamgirnamah}, pp. 557 to 562, shows that the ruler of Arrakan was neither a Syed nor a Mussalman, but a Buddhist. It also appears from the \textit{Allamgirnamah} that setting out from Tandah on boats, Sultan Shuj'a reached Dacca (Jahangirnagar) where his eldest son Zainul-din had been from before. Zainul-din had arranged with the Rajah of Arrakan to escort Sultan Shuj'a to Arrakan, on the latter's arrival at Dacca. At this time, Manâr Khân, a zamindar of Jahangirnagar, proved obstructive to Zainul-din's plans, and so he (Manâr) was first chastised with the help of the Arrakuses. Starting from Dacca on boats, guarded by the Arrakuses, Shuj'a passed through Dhupa (4 kes from Dacca), Siripur (12 kes north of Dacca), Bhishma (which then formed the southern limit of the Moghul dominions in Bengal), and thence to Arrakan. One who cares to note names of old Bengal towns, may profitably read this portion of the \textit{Allamgirnamah}.

4 In the \textit{Allamgirnamah} (p. 676), he is called "Bim Narain, zamindar of Kuch Behar." It is stated therein that kitherto he used to regularly pay tribute to the Emperor, but that during the slack which arose owing to Emperor Shâh Jahân's illness, and owing to Shuj'a's march to Patna, in order to lay claim to the Imperial throne, Bim Narain ceased paying tribute, and invaded Ghoraghat or Bangpur 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 Sahuanath with a large force. On the news of this invasion, the Rajah of Assam, showing short-sightedness sent also a large force by land and water towards Kamrup. Mir Lutfullah Shirazi, who was Fanjdar of the Province of Kamrup, 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 Jahanigrinagar or Dacsu, and rescued himself from the impending danger. And Sahuanath, 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 Shuj’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 Jahanigrinagar, and placing a garrison at the village of Tabailah near Kadibari, raised the standard of daring and insurrection. Consequently, when the Khan-i-Khanan reached Jahanigrinagar, after devoting himself for some time to administrative business, he collected war-vessels and artillery and other armaments, and leaving Iltisaham Khan to protect Jahanigrinagar (Dacsu) and its environs, and appointing Rai Bhogati Das Shujai to charge of financial and internal affairs, in the 4th

According to the Ishbalamah-ja-Jahanir (p. 110), Lachmi Narain, “zamindar of Kuch-Bohar” also used to pay homage and tribute to Emperor Jahanir.


[2] His name was Ji duha Singh. (Alamgira-namah, p. 678).

[3] See Alamgira-namah, a contemporary record, p. 678. Lutfullah Shirazi, the Fanjdar of Kamrup, retired on war-boats from Kamrup to Jahanigrinagar (Dacsu). The Koch also withdrew, on finding that the Assamese had invaded Kamrup. The Assamese advanced up to Karibari which is five mansal from Dacsu, and established a military out-post at Mani Salah, close to Karibari. (See Alamgira-namah, p. 679).
year 1 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, up 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

1 The Khān-i-Khanan (Muṣamam Khān) set out from Khirapur (which has been identified to be a place close to Narainganj) with war-vessels, on 17th Rabī‘ul-Awwal 1072 A.H., for the conquest of Kuch Behar, leaving Mulkalīs, Khān as Governor of Akbarnagar (Hajmahal) and Iḥṣāshīn Khān as Governor of Jhangirnagar (Dacca) and Ḏagotī Dās as Diwan under the latter, and reached Burītīshah, the Imperial frontier out-post. The Alamgirnāmāk mentions that at the time three land-routes lay to Kuch Behar: (1) via the Murung! (2) via the Doars, (3) via Ghoraghat or Bangpur. The Khān-i-Khanan sent out scouts to ascertain which route was the best, and then chose the Ghoraghat 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 Alamgirnāmākh, p. 683, for a full description of this expedition to Kuch Behar and Assam). The war-vessels passed through a river which joins Ghoraghat with the Brahmaputra, and the Imperialists reached Kuch Behar town. The Rajah (Bān Nārīn) fled to Bhutan, his minister Sahanath fled to the Murung, and the Imperialists stormed Kuch Behar town, and named it Alamgirnagar. Syed Sadīq, Swār or Chief Justice of Bengal, shotted out the Asān from the terraces of the Rajah’s palace; the Rajah’s son Bīhuṇ Bhāsām embraced Islam, and Isfandiyar Bāg (who received the title of Isfandiyar Khān) was left by the Khān-i-Khanān as Fanjār of Kuch Behar, with Qut Samu (who was formerly Shāh Shuj’a’s officer) as Diwan of Kuch Behar. (See p. 684, Alamgirnāmākh, Pers. text).
provinces of Kuch Behar and Assam. After this, on the 27th Jamadi-al-Aani 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 Assamese, 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 reins 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 (Mungum Khan), proceeded to the banks of the Brahmaputra, with his military and naval forces, and passed through Kangmari. 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 Faujdar of that place, and then occupying Sirignat, stormed Gauhati, and appointed Muhammad Beg to be Faujdar of Gauhati. After halting at Gauhati for some time, the Khan-i-Khanan marched out, when the Rajas of Daraug (named Makrungan) and of Daromariah offered tribute and submitted. The Khan-i-Khanan then stormed the fort of Jamdara, appointed Syed Mirza Sahawari (together with Syed Tatar and Rajah Kehin Singh) to be Thananfar of Jamdara, and appointed Syed Nasir-ul-Din Khan (together with other Imperial officers) to be Thananfar or commandant of Kilahari, captured 400 Assamese war-vessels with numerous guns and armaments and stores, occupied Solagadha, Lakhokadh, Divalgacn, Kajpur, and Kargon or Gargoon, the capital of Assam, captured 309 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 Gargoon, the old Assam capital, in p. 725, Almugirnansah). When the rains set in, the Khan-i-Khanan encamped at Mathurapur, which was a high place, about 3 kroh distant from Gargoon, leaving Mir Murtaza with Rajah Amar Singh and others in charge of Gargoon, and appointing Syed Muhammad as Diwan, and Muhammad Abid to confiscate the effects of the Rajah who had fled to the hills of Kamrur, and Mirza Khan in charge of Salpani, and Ghaat Khan in charge of Despani, and Jallal to protect the banks of the Dhunk river. The whole of Dakhinul and portions of Uttarkul were subdued by the Imperialists (p. 736, Almugirnansah).
to set out for the Imperial capital. In that the sorcery of the Assamese is well known, the Khan-i-Khanan was affected by their sorcery. For some time he was laid up with pain 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 large for Jahangirnagar (Dacca). At a distance of two kroh from Khizarpur, on the 2nd of the month of Ramzan 1073 A.H., corresponding to the 5th year of Emperor Anrangzeb’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 failure of the Rajah of Assam with his army came down from the hills of Kamrup, and gave some trouble to the Imperialists, who suffered also fromague and diarrhoea. At length, the Rajah sued for peace and the Khan-i-Khanan, who had fallen ill, granted it on the following terms (Alamgirnamah, p. 601):

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 15 elephants for the Khan-i-Khanan, and 6 elephants for Dilor Khan.

2. That in course of next 12 months, the Rajah of Assam should send 3 lak tolas 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 Bilgali and Domarish (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 Banu, a daughter of the Assam Rajah, was given in marriage to Prince Muhammad Assam, her dowry being one lak and Rs. 80,000. (See Manzir-i-Alamgiri, p. 73).

4 See Alamgirnamah, p. 812. He was Viceroy of Bengal from 1665 to 1663. He died near Dacca in 30th March, 1663. In 1661, he had threatened to expel the English merchants from Hugli.—These, however, prudently submitted and were pardoned, on their tendering an apology through their Hugli agent, Trivina, on their agreeing to pay Rs. 5,000 annually. See Wilson’s Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. II, p. 35.
After the Khan-i-Khanan's death, the office of Subadar of Bengal being conferred on Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan, 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 Khan 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 Khelat of appointment, and sent back to Bengal. But as the Khan was

Shaista Khan was a son of Emin-u-d-daulah Aṣaf Khan, 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 Panjhairi and Nazir of Balaghat in the Dakhin, and subsequently Subedar of Behar and Patna, when he invaded Palan (Palamu) and subdued Partah, Zamindar of Palan (Palamu). He then became Subedar of Malwa and Gujar and subsequently Viceroy of all the Subahs of the Dakhin. He rendered good services to Auranzeb in the latter's fightings with Dara Shukoh and Salim-ud-Daula Shukoh. On the death of Mir Jumla, he became Viceroy of Bengal in 1664 A.D. He chastised thoroughly the Moghul pirates who harried the coasts of Bengal, and wrested from them feitiously through the exertions of his own son, Baxargh Umed Khan, the fort of Chittagong, and named it Shalimar (Alsafirnamah, p. 940). He subsequently became a Hafizwari and Viceroy of Agra, where he died in 1165 A.H. He was held in high esteem by Emperor Auranzeb, who bavished on him high privileges and semi-sovereign honours. With all his greatness, Shaista Khan was meek and humble, courteous and affable, just and liberal, brave, noble, and enlightened. He established mosques with minarets, rest-houses, bridges, and roads throughout India, and his charities were wide. He was married to a daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, son of Abdur Rahman Khan Khanan. 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. 48-50 and 111, and Hunter's "History of British India," Vol. 2, pp. 238-239). Nawab Shaista Khan's Viceroyalty in Bengal forms a brilliant chapter in the Moghul annals of Bengal, as during it many useful public works, such as sewras, bridges, and roads were constructed, and the economic and agricultural condition of the people attained an unique degree of prosperity, in that a mound of rice sold in the bazar for ten annas only (See Munis-i-Alamgiri, pp. 467 and 685; and Munis-ul-amara, Vol. 2, p. 690).

Shaista Khan was Auranzeb'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 Far Ofader. 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 damri, 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 show the selling rate of rice as cheap as this." From his time onward till the regime of Nawab Shuja'ud-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-umara up to this day exist in Jahangirnagar (Dacca)."

In the 228th year of the establishment of the Mughal Empire, which is 1663 A.D., he died in 1694 in his 33rd lunar year. For his perseverence of pardon to the English in 1687, see Hunter's History Vol. 2, p. 260, fn.

1 A dam was equal to the fortieth part of the rupee, and a damri was equal to one-eighth part of a dam (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 31), that is, 320 damris 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 Moseir-i-Alamgiri (p. 368) 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 extermination of the Moghul pirates; (3) the improvement of the economic and agricultural condition of Bengal; and (4) construction of numerous useful public works. (See also Moseir-ul-umara, p. 690, Vol. II). During his Viceroyalty, Daulat Namjul, Raja of Tihar (through the exertions of Saif Khan Subadar of Kashmir, Murad Khan, samindar of Tihar, and Muhammad Shah envoy) submitted to Aurangzeb (pp. 921-922, Alamgirnamah).

It is strange that the author of the Ruyas in his account of the Viceroyalty of Nawab Shaista Khan should have omitted all mention of the Nawab's greatest military achievements in Bengal, e.g., the chastisement of
Viceroyalty of Nawab Ibrahim Khan

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-namah (Pers. text, p. 943):

As the Mags emerging from Arrakan on war-vessels (Nawarah) and taking advantage of the struggle for supremacy between Aurangzeb and Shah Shuja', 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 outposts. He appointed an Afghan named Said with 500 rocketeers and musketeers to charge of the Noakhali out-post, Muhammad Sharif, Farukhar of Huggul, with 500 rocketeers, 1,000 infantry and 20 guns to defend the out-post of Sankram-Kadah, and set Muhammad Beg Abakash and Abul Hassam with the Imperial war-vessels which lay at Siripur to patrol the river. From Siripur to Allahgirnagar covering a distance of twenty-one kroli, 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 Abul Hassam to bring round Dilawar, zamindar of Sandip, or to punish him, as the latter secretly sided with the Mags. Abul Hassam attacked Sandip and fought with Dilawar, who being hit by an arrow fled to the jungle. Meanwhile, the Arrakanese fleet came up to Sandip to render assistance to Dilawar. Abul Hassam prepared to assault the Arrakanese fleet, which withdrew, and then Abul Hassam, 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 Bu-i-Husain, Superintendent of the Nawab (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-kazi, and subsequently a Funtazari. He became Subadar of Kashmir, of Labor, of Behar, and of Bengal in quick succession. His sons were Zahardad Khan (who chastised the rebel Afghan, Bahim Khan) and Yaqub Khan (who became Subadar of Labor). He was recalled from Bengal in 1103 A.H. (in the 41st year of Aurangzeb's reign), when Shahzadah Muhammad Azim, alias Azim-ul-Shan, was appointed to his place. (See Mirza-i-Alampir, pp. 71, 163, and 387, and Musir-ul-umara, Vol. I, p. 295). The English merchants styled him “the most famosuly just and good nabob” (see Wilson's Early Affairs of the English in Bengal, Vol. I, p. 124), as he allowed them to return from Madras and finally settle at Sutamuli (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).
(Dacca) and devoted himself to administrative affairs. He unfurled to the oppressed the gates of justice and clemency, and did

Jamal Khân, Secundar Khân, Qamruddin Khân and Muhammad Beg, to reinforce Abl Hassan, to co-operate with the latter and encircle Sandip (Sandip), and to extricate its samardin, Dilawar. Ibu-i-Husain with this re-inforcement moved up to Neakhali, which is in front of Sandip, and halted there with Muhammad Beg, in order to blockade the passage of the Arrakanese fleet. Abl Hassan with others then attacked Sandip, wounded and captured Surît, son of Dilawar, and captured also, after severe fighting, Dilawar with his followers, and sent them prisoners to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) in charge of Manar, samardin of Jahangirnagar, and subhadar Sandip. Nawab Shaita Khân, on getting news of the conquest of Sandip, appointed Abdâr Karim, brother of Rashid Khân, to the charge of Sandip, with 200 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. The Feringis (Portuguese) were at this time siding with the Arrakanese, so Nawab Shaita Khân 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 Karum Kibri, a Ng, 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 set fire to many of the Arrakanese fleet, and fled to Neakhali in the Moghal dominions. Farhad Khân, Commandant of Bhalash out-post, kept some Feringis with himself, and sent their leaders to Nawab Shaita Khân to Dacca (Jahangirnagar). The latter treated them generously. The Nawab then sent out an expedition to Chittagong in charge of his son, Bazurg Umed Khân, of Khutias Khan Barhe, Salai Singh Shenuqish, Maum Khân, Kuran Khaji, with 2,000 cavalry. Orders were sent out to Farhad Khân, Munsedar of Bhalash, to move up with Ibu-i-Husain and Manar samardin, with the fleet, and to Mir Muranza, Superintendent of Artillery, to join Farhad Khân and to cover the latter's front. Captain Moore, Chief of the Portuguese in Chittagong, with his fleet was directed to render loyal service. Kamal, son of the former Rajah of Arrakan, who had taken shelter in Dacca in the reign of Emperor Jahân, was also directed to go with Mir Muranza, and to send conciliatory messages to the Mag Commander of Chittagong. Farhad Khân and Mir Muranza proceeded by the land route, whilst Ibu-i-Husain, Muhammad Beg, and Manar proceeded by the river route. These reached (settling out from Neakhali) Thana Jagdiah, on 16th Rajab; on the 18th Rajab, Farhad Khân with his followers crossed Fenny river (Pahani), 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, Bazurg Umed Khân. The latter on 21st Rajab crossed Fenny river, and on 25th Rajab reached a point which was 10 krah distant from Chittagong, and 8 krah from Farhad Khân's encampment. The Imperial fleet halted at Domaria village, which was 20 krah from Bazurg Umed Khân'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, alias Tana Shah, the Ruler of that Province, and
with Siva and Sambha Mahrattas, rebellious zamindars of
Sattara, &c., disturbances broke out in several parts of the Empire
owing to the Emperor’s protracted absence from his capital.
In the Subah of Bengal, in the district of Bardwan, Subha
Singh, zamindar of Chitwah, and Bardah, revolted, whilst
Rahim Khan, the cut-nosed, who was leader of the Afghans,
joined the former with a contingent of Afghans, Kishan Ram,
zamindar of Bardwan, 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 Arrakasses were defeated. The Arrakasses
fleet then moved up to the Karamphuli river. Under orders of Buzurg Umed Khan, Mir
Murza cutting down the jungles, and laying down a road, moved up by land
to near the Karamphuli, to reinforce the Imperial fleet, Buzurg Umed Khan
himself similarly moving up. A severe naval engagement took place in the
Karamphuli river, in which the Mags were crushingly defeated, and Buzurg
Umed Khan stormed Chittagong fort, captured the Arrakasses fleet, and
subdued the whole tract of Chittagong, and 152 Arrakasses war-vessels, with
guns, armaments and elephants, were captured. Emperor Aurangzeb ordered
Chittagong to be named Islamabad, and conferred gifts on Nawab Shaista Khan,
and raised his son Buzurg Umed Khan to the rank of Hazur-o-Panadhi,
and Farhad Khan to the rank of Hazur-o-Panadhi, and conferred on Mir
Murza the title of ‘Majahid Khan,’ and on Isha-i-Hussain the title of
Muzaffar Khan, and raised Mansur zamindar to the rank of Hazur-o-Panadhi.
This conquest of Chittagong took place in the 8th year of Aurangzeb’s reign.
See Alangirmah, p. 325.
1 See pp. 299, 144, 143, 244, 245, 269, 285, and 309, Munsir-i-Alamgiri.
2 See pp. 142, 211, 319, 332, 308, Munsir-i-Alamgiri.
3 The text does not narrate another disturbance that had previously
broken out in the Assam frontier. The Assamese had attacked the Imperial
pension at Ganhati, and killed its Fanjdar, named Syed Firaq Khan.
For the purpose of chastising the Assamese, an Imperial expeditionary force
was sent out to Assam (Munsir-i-Alamgiri, p. 64).
4 Chitwah or Chittwah is mentioned in the Ains-i-Alhadi (see Jarret’s Tr. Vol.
2, p. 144) as a purjasa or mahal under Sarkar Madaran. I have failed to trace
Bardha, which may be a misprint in the text for Balgachi, another mahal
under the same Sarkar, or for Bharkondah (var. Bhargodha), a mahal under
Sarkar Sharifabad (see Ains, Vol. 2, p. 139).
5 Bardwan appears in the Ains (Vol. 2, p. 139) as a mahal under Sarkar
Sharifabad.
treasures, were captured, and his son, Jagat Rai, taking to his heels, fled to Jhāngirnagar (Dacca), which was the Viceregal capital of Bengal. On hearing of this, Nurullāh Khān, Faujdar of the Chaklāh of Jessore, Hugli, Bardwān, and Medinipur, who was very opulent and had commercial business, and who also held the dignity of a Schhazāri, marched out from Jessore 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 Chuchrah (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 Sādi’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 Chuchrah (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

1 This Nurullah Khan appears to have been subsequently promoted by Aurangzeb to the post of Deputy Subadar of Orissa. (See Manūr-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 rectitude of judgment, &c., he appurts several pargannahs to the care of one of his trusted, just and disinterested servants, called a Faujdar.” (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. 2, p. 40).

3 Apparently, Jessore or Jasar at the time formed the head-quarters station of the Moghul 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 Makhautabad. Amongst the women and children of the slain Kishan Ram that were captives in the oppressive grip of Subhå 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, 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 Shâh. Placing crookedly on the head of pride the cap of vanity, and collecting a large number of low and ignorant badshahs, he redoubled the flame of insurrection, 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 Shâh 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. Tasbar 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 Journals, 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 Shah. 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 Shah 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 Shah, 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 Shah 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 sirmures and the news-messengers, in succession, carried this woful news to Nawab Ibrahim Khan, to Jahangirnagar (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"\(^1\)

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\(^1\)

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\(^1\) Apparently, Zabardast Khan was appointed to the office of Faujdar.
of the chaklasar of Bardwan, Mednipur, etc., insisting on the chastisement of the miscreant enemy, and directing the Nazims and Fanjars of the Subahs 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 Subahdari of Bengal and Behar was conferred on Prince 'Azim-ah-shah, who was ordered to proceed to Bengal with a number of the Imperial officers. The noble Khan, named Zabardast Khán, 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. Rahim Sháh, 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 Khán, 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 Rahim Sháh, the latter became perturbed, but moved with his intrepid Afghan soldiers to encounter the Imperialists. From the side of the Imperialists, Zabardast Khán 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 chaklas of Jasur, Bagli, 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-waggons 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 saltness 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, posting 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 Shāh, stooping to the disgrace of flight, fled, and in a hapless state took the route to Murshidabad. Zabardast Khān to a distance of one \textit{farsa} rode forward, best 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 Bhagwangalah—See Stewart’s Bengal and Wilson’s Annals, Vol. I, p. 149.  
\(^2\) That is, the sun.  
\(^3\) That is, the sky.
triumphanty 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 Jahängirnagar (Dacca),
and detailed scouts in all directions for ascertaining the whereabouts
of those who had fled. Bahim Shāh, in a hapless condition
and in an anxious mood, reached Muregidadab, 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 Muregidadab. In the meantime, the zamín-
dars of the vicinity flocked in and joined the Imperialists. After
marching several stages, Zabardast Khān encamped on the east
side of the plain. Rahim 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-SHAN AND THE
FALL OF RAHIM KHĀN)

(As related before, Shāhzādāh Wālaguhar Muhammad 'Azimu-sh-Shān, son of Muhammad Mu'āz zam 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 Sāhadar of Oudh and Ajmir, and also to the rank of a Chakharzādī. His great service was the defeat of the Afghan insurgents led by Bahim Khān, during the Viceroalty of his father, Ibrahim Khān, in Bengal. (See Maušī'i-Umara, Vol. III, p. 300, and also Maušī'i-Ālmaqāri, pp. 397 and 497).

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

3 Prince Muhammad 'Azim alias Azimu-sh-Shān was a son of Aurangzeb's eldest son, Muhammad Mu'āz zam Bahadur Shāh, by the latter's wife, who was
received from the Emperor a special Khilāt, together with a jewelled sword, a high Maseeb and the Insignia of the Mahī Order, and was appointed Sāhadar of Bengal and Behar.

For the chastisement of the rebels, he started from the Dakhin with his two sons, named Sultan Karimuddin and Muhammad Farukh Sir for the Subah of Behar, and swiftly arrived in Behar via Subah Oudh and Allahabad. The Prince issued Royal mandates, as potent as God’s decrees, summoning to his presence the Zamin-dars, 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 Karkas, and Tahsildars were appointed to charges of Circles and Mahals.) All of a sudden, news of the victory of Zabardast Khán and of the defeat of Bahām 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 Khán, who was a grandson of Nawāb ‘Ali Mardan Khán, in recogni-

a daughter of Rup Singh Bathor. He was born on the 6th Jamadi-ul-Awal, 1074 A.H. (in the 8th year of Aurangzeb’s reign). (See Maseer-i-Allamgiri, p. 69.) He married in 1089 A.H. (in the 21st year of Aurangzeb’s reign) a daughter of Kerat Singh, who received as jīhar or dower Rs. 50,000, jewelors, one pulka, five dūltās with embroidered and jewelled pillows. (See Maseer-i-Allamgiri, p. 167.) He married in the 38th year of Aurangzeb’s reign (1103 A.H.) a daughter of Roh-Allah Khán (Maseer-i-Allamgiri, p. 347). In 1108 A.H. (in the 41st year of Aurangzeb’s reign), he succeeded to the Viceroyalty of Bengal, including Kabul, Behar, in succession to Ibrahim Khán. (See Maseer-i-Allamgiri, p. 357.) In 1114 A.H., Behar was added to his Bengal Viceroyalty (Maseer-i-Allamgiri, p. 470).

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

2 ‘Ali Mardan Khán Amir-ul-Umara rendered important services to the State in the reign of Shāh Jāhān, and rose to the offices of Sāhadar of Kamshir and the Panjak and to the rank of a Hajīshārī. In 1050 A.H., he became Sāhadar 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 Sāhadar 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 Shāhrādāh, moving from Subah 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 Khān’s services, and failed to bestow on him a single word of praise or encouragement. The aforesaid Khān, becoming depressed by the apathy of the Shahsāh, and finding his great labours wasted, resolved to proceed to the Emperor. Caring not for the power of the Shahsāh, he struck the kettle-drum of march, and took the route to the Dakhim. Raḥim Shāh 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 Khān the Prince, with great self-reliance, despatched mandates and orders to Jabāngirnagar (Dacca) for conciliating and reassuring the zamindars and fanjards. His Highness himself, slowly marching from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), advanced stage by stage, studying the convenience of his troops. The ‘Amils, Fanjards, 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 Raḥim Shāh, 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, bravely, soon gave him an unique position amongst the Imperial officials 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 Mauzir-ul-Umar, 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 Asam, 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 oath 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, assenting 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 Asam came to Agra from Saidabkhan, and subsequently received the titles of “Samson-ad-daulah Khan Dauran Amir-ul-Umara.” The Manar-ul-Umara, p. 819, Vol. I, says his elder brother’s name was “Khwajah Muhammad Jafar-Khan.” Dauran was wounded in the battle with Nadir Shah, and died in 1151 A.H.
complishing the object of his mission. Rahim Sháh, advancing forward, commenced fighting. Being compelled to encounter him, Khwajá 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 Khwajá 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 Kainaní bow.
He tied a noose to the top of his heedah,
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 Kainanian sovereigns of Persia or Iran were capital archers and marksmen. Their bows were famous for range and precision of shot. See Namá Khánán, p. 44, for an account of Kainanian Kings.
From the overwhelming number of his force, and from the Imperial prestige,
The world quaked with terror.
He rode up to the battle-field,
But was dilatory in delivering an assault.

When the battle-field was arranged, and the cavalry and infantry, like the men at chess, were set in their proper places, Rahim Shah made a hostile flank movement, and fought gallantly. A number of Afghan troopers clad in cuirass and armed with daggers, by a desperate sally, galloped right through the ranks of the Imperialists, reached the centre, and sought for the Prince, shouting out "Azimu-sh-Shāh." Attacking the Royal elephant with their horses, they prepared to give the final checkmate. The Imperial cavalry and infantry, unable to withstand the onslaughts of those villains, left the Prince in a corner before the enemy and fled. Thus the thread of the arrangement of the Imperial army was snapped. Rahim Shah, breaking through the entrenchments, attacked the Prince's elephant. At this crisis, and at the sight of this impudent daring, Hamid Khan Quraishi, who was standing at a short distance, spurred on his charger like an arrow shot from its bow, attacked Rahim Shah, and said, "Villain, I am Azimu-sh-Shāh." Promptly discharging a rock-piercing arrow from his quiver, he pierced Rahim Shah on the chest.

He pulled out his bow from its string
And drew out his Khudayr* arrow from its quiver.
He joined the arrow-notch to the ass's leather,
And aimed at that giant.
When the arrow-notch was shot to take aim,
It pierced through the breast of that fighting demon,
Piercing right through his breast,
It figured like the balance from weight.

In quick succession Hamid Khan shot other arrows at the neck of Rahim Shah's horse, and laid low both its neck and head. Rahim Shah, owing to two mortal wounds on the breast, was

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1 He was a son of Dad Khan Quraishi. See ante and p. 97 Muzee-ul-Umara, vol. 2.

2 Khudayr is the white poplar tree of which arrows and bows are prepared.
felled to the ground. Hamid Khan with great agility sprang down from his horse, and sat upon Rahim Shah's chest, and severing the villain's head from his body whirled it round on a spear. At the sight of this, the cowardly Afghan soldiery faltered and fled, whilst the standards of those insolent villains were turned upside down. The zephyr of triumph and victory once again blew on the tails of the Imperial banners, and the Imperial band of victory and triumph struck up loudly, whilst cries of "Allah, Allah" resounded from the earth to the sky. The cavalry of the victorious Imperial army chased the vanquished to their tents, and whoever amongst young or old fell across the range of its career became the food of the crocodile of blood-drinking swords; whilst the rest who escaped the sword, scampered off, covered with wounds and racked by anxieties. Much booty and numerous captives fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The fortunate Prince, an associate of triumph and victory, entered Bardwan, and made a pilgrimage to the noble shrine of the saint Shah Ibrahim. Making votive offerings, the Prince entered the citadel, and sent a congratulatory message on this victory to the Emperor, and despatched troops for chastising the adherents and abettors of the miscreant Afghans. Wherever trace could be found of their whereabouts, they were captured and slaughtered, and in a short time the districts of Bardwan, Hugli, and Jessar (Jessore) were purged of the defilement caused by the Afghan raiders. The tracts that had been desolated by the ravages of these rebels once again became fertile. Jagat Rai, son of Kishan Ram, the slain Zamindar of Bardwan, was invested with the khilat of the hereditary Zamindari of his forefathers. In a similar way, other Zamindars of that tract who had been oppressed and banished by the Afghans, were re-assured by Royal Proclamations of goodwill, and re-installed in their hereditary ranks and dignities. Taking fresh settlements of the Khalsa mahals (crown lands) and of Jagirs, these commenced making collections of rent; whilst the holders of Tiyala and Aimaal

1 In Stewart, "Bahram." He was a saint who lived at Bardwan, but I have not been able to get details of his career.

2 "Tiyala" or "Tiyula" and "Jagirs" are corresponding terms and signify the same class of land-tenure. These were conferred for a specified time on Munsaddars in lieu of salaries, and also on others by way of reward during lifetime or a fixed period. In the early Mughal period, the word "tiyul" is frequently mentioned, but it frequently gives way to the word
Altanghas re-entered into the possession of their respective mahals. Hamid Khan Qarnighi, in recognition of his gallantry was rewarded by the Emperor with the advancement of his mansab, with the bestowal of the title of Shamshir Khan Bahadur, and with the office of Fanjdar of Silhat (Sylhet) and Bandasail (?). 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 Fanjdars of that district, laid the foundations of buildings, and erected a Cathedral mosque. And in Hughli, he founded Shahganj, alias Jagir, from Akbar's time. In the time of Sher Shah, the Afghan king, the word Jagir is also frequently used. In the Ghorian, Khilji and Tughlak periods, the word 'Itqas,' corresponding to 'Jagir,' is frequently used. (See Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shab, and Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 279.)

Besides the "Jagirs" or "Itqas" or "tiyuls," 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 muzadd-i-mush, appasa and altanghas, but were denominated in Mughal times by the Ghoghal word "Sayyughals." An officer called Sadr-i-Jahan, or Administrator-General, was in charge of these Sayyughals. 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 equity; (4) on honourable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge are unable to take up a profession." (See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shab, pp. 331, 382, and 598, and Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 268, 270, 271, 272.)

Sher Shah was very liberal in conferring these siimahi and altanghas, which, however, were considerably resumed by Akbar who, on account of his hatred of the Ulama, deprived them of their muzadd-i-mush lands, and banished most of them to Bengal. (See note in Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 270, and Badashah, Vol. II, pp. 274, 275, 276.)

Altangha, 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 Ain, Vol. II, p. 57 n.) In founding this system of Sayyughals or Altanghaz, the Musulmon 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.

Shahganj town lies between Ramshahia and Hughli towns. When
'Azimganj, 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 customs-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 Mauhans Rûm (God's mercy be on him), and History. He showed 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 Karim-u-d-din and Muhammad Farukh-sir to invite over Sufi Bâzîd, who was the most glorious amongst the saints of Bardwan. On their approach the saint greeted them with the salutation of "Salam Alaakum." Sultan Karim-u-d-din, assuming the gravity of princely rank, did not respond; but Farukh-sir walking

I was at Rughli in 1887, I saw at Shahganj an old dilapidated mosque which was said to have been erected by Prince Asimush-Shau.

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 inveterate 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 Mauhans Rûm is the renowned Mystic or Sufi Persian poet. His name was Manhans Jalal-u-d-din. He was born at Balkh in 604 A.H., and died in 672 A.H. He was a great saint. His Masnaw was a storehouse of spiritual treasures, and has well been described thus—

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:

اَللَّهُ الْلَّهُ ﻻِإِرَاءِي ﻻِإِرَاءِي ﻻِإِرَاءِي

Again:

اَللَّهُ الْلَّهُ ﻻِإِرَاءِي ﻻِإِرَاءِي ﻻِإِرَاءِي

The word used is "Temple." "In every Kingdom, Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land-revenue, and this they call Temple." (See A'in-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 sirdar desired was bestowed on the son. When the saint arrived to meet Azimush-Shah, 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 Chakhlah of Bardwan, Hugli, Hijli, and Midnapur, &c., the Prince set out on Imperial war-vessels, constructed by Shah Shujah, 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-Khōṣ and Sauda-i-'Am, and the wearing of saffron-coloured red clothes at the time of the Ḥijjat, which is the Nauruz 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; kurrah on thy beard and moustache!" In regard to Sauda-i-Khōṣ 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 surpassed 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:

جہاد کیا کہ وہ اپنے جہادیوں کو آپ کے م_SO_ب جہاد کے جوہر کے ساتھ چھپ لیے ہوئے۔

- کاپرین
calling public oppression Sauda-i-Khāb, and what connection has Sauda-i-Khāb 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-Khāb and Sauda-i-Am are as follows: "All the goods which arrived on board the mercantile ships at the port of Chittagong, &c., were bought up on behalf of the Prince, and were styled Sauda-i-Khāb; afterwards those very goods were re-sold to the merchants of this country, when they were called Sauda-i-Am. When the newsletter 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 Ţalab Khān. The Mirza was a sagacious man, and an officer of honesty and integrity. He had already held the office of Diwān of the Šābah of Orissa. In several Mahāls 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 Šābah. The Nāzim 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 Nizāmat and personal Mansabs and presents, the Nāzim had no power to

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1 The reader might note that there is a pun here on the word 'mansab,' which in Persian means both 'trade' and 'madness.'

2 "Azmīn-al-Shāh was bashful and curious. 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, Sutanat, and Gobindpur. (See Wilson's Annals, Vol. I, p. 150).
meddle with the Imperial revenue. Both the Nazim and the Diwān
were guided in the administration of the affairs of the Šubah by a
Procedure Code1 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 Khan, being appointed by Emperor
to be Diwan of the Šubah of Bengal, arrived at Jahanirnagar
(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 Khan, the Prince’s control over the income and expendi-
ture ceased. The abovementioned Khan, finding that the country
was without thorns, and fertile and rich, commenced re-assessment,
and deputed sagacious and thrifty Collectors to every Pargana
and Chaklah and Sarkār. And after assessing accurately the
Imperial revenue and eair taxes, he remitted one Kror of rupees to
the Emperor, and prepared a complete Revenue-roll of the Khalsa
mahala (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, con-
ferred numerous Jagirs in Bengal on the Bengal Mansādars. 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 naqdi 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 Mansādars.2

1 The Procedure Code or Manual, containing set rules and regulations on
all revenue and administrative affairs, was called in Persian Dastur-al-Amel.
It was issued to all Provincial Governors, Administrators, and officials after
being personally approved by the Emperor himself, and every year modifi-
cations or additions were made to it with the Emperor’s approval. No
provincial Administrators, whether Nazims or Diwans, had authority to
deviate from the set rules contained in the Dastur-al-Amel. Budgeoni (Vol. I;
p. 334–335) states that in the time of Salim Shah, son of Sher Shah, the
Dastur-al-Amel was so comprehensive and explicit that even on Ecclesiastical
matters (not to speak of Fiscal or Administrative matters), no reference to
Qazis or Mufassis was necessary.

2 The Mansādars were the higher officials under the Mughal Emperors;
and this scheme met with the Emperor’s approval. The Khan thereupon resumed all Jagirs in Bengal, together with their said revenues, save and except such as pertained to the Nizamat and the Diwani, 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 Sahib, and thus became the recipient of Imperial favours. When the Prince (Azima-sh-Shah) 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 of envy 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 Naqvi troops.

The term, however, was also used in the times of Sher Shah. 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 Sahib, and Jagir lands in another. (See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 241-242, Blackmann’s trans.)

Revenue from land was called Khiraj. Jagir was capitation tax levied from non-Muslem subjects in exchange for protection afforded, at the rate of “33 darhaus for persons of condition, 24 derhaus for those of the middle class, and 12 for the lowest class.” Over and above the land-revenue, taxes on properties were called “Tanzia.” Imports on manufactures of respectable kinds were called Jihat, and the remainder Soir Jihat. Soir in its original purport, means “walking,” “moving,” or “nastable,” 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. 57 and 58 and p. 63, Ain-i-Akbari, for a list of Soir taxes abolished by Emperor Akbar.)

Jagirs were conferred on Mansabdars for military service, and on others they were conferred without requiring military service. Before Mughal times the word “Iqta” corresponding to “Jagir” is frequently met with in the Tahqat-i-Nasiri as well as in the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. But in histories of the Mughal 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 Wahed 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 Nazim 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 unbalance and bravado, they were widely known. These naqdi troops were incited to waylay the Khan 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 Khan. The Khan 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 Khan. The latter, displaying great nerve, faced them and drove them away. Ascertainining 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 Wahed with his corps, the Prince publicly forbade him from creating tumult and disturbance, and set about soothing the Khan by display of courtesy and affability. The Khan, 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 Zamindars, 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 Ahadi 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 Awa-i-Ashari, Vol. I, pp. 249 and 251).
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 Makhanabad, 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 chaklah of Akbar Nagar (Rajmahal) and the passes of Sakrigali and Tilisadali, the 'Key' to Bengal, on the south-west, Birbhum, Pachit and Bishanpur, the road to Juirand, 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 chaklah of Basilwan, the road to Orissa, and Hughli and Hijli (ports for the arrival of ships of Christian and other traders), and the chaklahs of Jusar (Jessore) and Bhuanah, and on the east the chaklah of Jahangir-nagar (Dacca), which then constituted the Viceroyal Capital of this Subah, and to which pertained frontier outposts like those of Islamabad, Chittagong, and Silhat and Bangamati, and on the north, the chaklahs of Ghoraghat and Rangpur and Kuch Behar. The above mentioned Khan, without taking permission from the Prince, migrated to Makhanabad with the officers of Zamindars and Qanungos 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

The terms used are "Wajshah" and "Sawanyh." 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 "Sawanyh-navis," and the other "Wajshah-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 "Wajshah-navis" was an official Court-Recorder, whilst the "Sawanyh-navis" was an official General Intelligence-giver. (See Azari-Azari, Vol. 1, pp. 258 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-Talab Khan containing denunciation of the Prince, an Imperial edict couched in threatening language was addressed to the Prince to the following effect: "Kar-Talab 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 Sarbadan Khan 1 with Sultan Farnab-sir as his Deputy in Bengal, the Prince with Sultan Karimu-d-din, his household attendants and bodyguard set out from Jahangirnagar, and reached Mungra (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 Talab Khan, at Makhunabad, after the lapse of a year, prepared the Annual Abstract Accounts, and started for the Imperial Camp. 2 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 Darah Nawab, 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 lacs 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 Sarbadan 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 Orenza. (See Wilson's Annals, Vol. I, p. 183).

2 No trace of these ruined white and black marble edifices was found by me at Mungra (Moughyr) when I was there in the years 1803, 1804, or subsequently.

3 Emperor Aurangzeb was at this time in the Dakhan busy warring against the Muslim Kingdoms of Golkondah, Ahmednagar and Bijapur, and
pay one lakh of rupees on his return from the Emperor, but Darab Naran would not accept this arrangement, and withheld his signature. But Jinarain Qasungo, who was a Joint-Qasungo, with Darab Naran, using foresight, signed the Accounts. Regardless of the hostility of the Prince, and regardless of the refusal of Darab Naran to sign the Account-papers, the Khân 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 Mastaufi 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 Musalmân States, as these had hitherto effectually curbed Mahratta and other outside ambition, and kept in order all disturbing elements in the Dakhan. 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 Musalmân 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 Naqir-i-Asmâ'î, 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-Musalm Common-wealth.

(1) This Qasungo "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.)

(2) Over the district Qasungos, there was a Provincial Qasungo as the text indicates. (See also p. 68, Vol. II, Ain-i-Akbari, which sets forth functions and emoluments of Patwaris, Qasungos, Shiqder, Karkuns, and Amins)

(In the Ain-i-Akbari (Vol. II, p. 49) it is stated that it was the duty of the Betikhi 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 Qasungo)

(3) These important functionaries are frequently mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. Their function was to check, overhaul, and audit important State
Kul, and proving his good and faithful services, the Khān became the 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 Diwān. He was also given the title of Murshid Quli Khān, and further received a valuable Khilat, with a standard and a kettle-drum. His mansab was also raised.

(BESTOWAL OF THE NIZAMAT OF BENGAL ON NAWAB JĀFAR KHĀN, AS DEPUTY TO PRINCE AZIMU-SH-SHĀN.)

(When Murshid Quli Khān being invested according to the former usage with the Khilat of the offices of Deputy Nazim of Bengal Diwān of Bengal and Odiss (Orissa), reached the Subah, he appointed Syed Akram Khān to be his Deputy Diwān in Bengal, and Shujau-d-din Muhammed Khān, his son-in-law, to be his Deputy Diwān in Odiss (Orissa). After his arrival at papers, such as Royal grants, payment-orders, annaids, saruns, state-accounts, etc., and then to sign and seal them. (See Din-i-Akhari, Vol. 1, pp. 262, 263, 264).)

The Din-i-Kal was the Central Imperial Diwān-in-Chief. It would appear the keen administrative genius of the Moghul 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 Patwaris kept one independent set of accounts, and the Bītāchis, (Accountants) another. The first submitted their accounts to local or district Qanānis, who submitted their Consolidated Accounts to the Provincial Qanānis. 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 Dinās who collected them, and compared them with the Consolidated Accounts (independently prepared) in the hands of the Provincial Qanānis. Then both the Provincial Dinās and the Provincial Qanānis 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 Munsafi and next audited by the Din-i-Kal (after reference to the set of accounts already received regularly in the Royal Courts from district Bītāchis 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 Din-i-Akhari.)

1 Murshid Quli Khān was son of a Brahmin and embraced Islam. Haji Shafi Iqbalani purchased him, and named him Muhammed Hadi, treated him
Makhanabad, he improved that town, and named it after himself, Marshidabad, and founded a mint there. And separating the chakila of Midnapur from the Subah of Odiss (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 Nankar 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 Khurram, Diwan of Subah Bencar. He subsequently entered Imperial service, and received the title of Kar Talah Khan, and was employed in the Dakhin. He rose there to be Diwan of Haiderabad—and then to be Diwan of Bengal (on the transfer of Zainullah Khan), with the title of Marshid Quli Khan. Previous to this, he was Diwan of Orissa (Mansir-i-Mahommi, p. 483), in the 8th 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 Hajji Bencar. His advancement is an eloquent testimony to the Islamic toleration (even under the much-abused Aurangzeb) that made no distinction between converts and born Muslims in matters of official preferments. He died in 1138 A.H. at Marshidabad, which he had founded as the new Viceroyal 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 ‘Balkant’ or ‘Paradise’, and confined in it zamindars who defaulted in revenue. He re-surveyed and re-assessed Bengal, divided it into Chakils, and prepared a new Perfect Revenue-Roll. [See Mansir-i-Mahommi, p. 483, and Mansir-al-Urorn, p. 751, Vol. III (Pers. text)].

A list of mint-towns in Hindustan in Akbar’s time is given in the Jivi-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 21. 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 Tundah), and that minting of silver and copper coins took place in Bengal in Tundah.

In Akbar’s Raja-Roll, Midnapur is shown as a city with two forts (caste, Khudai) under Sarkar Jaleasar of Subah Orissa. It continued to form a part of the Orissa Subah, until it was transferred from Orissa to Bengal by Marshid Quli Khan.

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 Aminis to every village of the Fergana, measured the cultivated and waste-lands, and leased them back to tenants, plot by plot, and advanced agricultural loans (Taqqi) 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, soil 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 Birbhum duties, and were held responsible for maintenance of peace in their mahals—the village chowkidars 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 seads 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 Musalmans sovereigns for State purposes. They were quite a different species from the Bengali zamindars of to-day. ([See Alumgirnamah, Manzor-ul-Alumgiri, Jina-i-Abbasi and the text])

(As has been remarked before, Murshid Quli Khan was an able financier, and prepared a perfect actual Revenue-Roll of Bengal, after carefully re-surveying lands in all the mahals in Bengal, and re-assessing them on the basis of increases in actual areas as ascertained by measurement, and of increase in the actual produce of the soil. He sent out for this purpose Aminis (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 (tapori or taccam), and encouraged them to till their lands and improve agriculture. Murshid Quli Khan 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 Jina-i-Abbasi, Vol. II, p. 45, which shows that the measurement of lands and
and Bishapur, 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 Birbhum, was a pious and saintly person and had bestowed half of his property as Hadad-i-mah 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 Bishapur, 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 charar dahr 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 overpowering, that his peons sufficed to keep peace in the country, and to oversee 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 muftis and 'amils and leading zamindars had not the heart to sit down the ascertainment 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 palkis, but were permitted use of Jawalaks. The mutasads, 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 repose no confidence in the mutasads, 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 Khālsah (crown lands) and Jagirs. Till the dues on account of those agreements were paid up into the Imperial Treasury, he caused mutasad, amils, zamindars, qanungos and other officers to remain in duress in the Diwan Khana of the Chāhel Satān 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 showed no quarter. And he converted to the Muhammadan religion the ahal of zamindars with their wives and children, who, in spite of being scourged with

1 In the text apparently, “the” has been by mistake dropped.

2 Murshid Quli Khān’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 Qakhah of Rajshahi, who was the descendant of a Hindustani, and who was both capable and efficient, held charge of the revenue-collections of the Qakhah (crown lands). With him were in league Ghulâm Muhammad and Kalia Jamâdar with two hundred troopers, Andinarain demurred to the payment of the demand, and prepared to fight. Murshid Quli Khân sent his officer, Muhammad Jân, with a force to chastise him. Close to Rajbari, the contending forces approached each other, and a battle ensued. Ghulâm Muhammad Jamadar was killed, whilst Andinarain from fear of Murshid Quli Khân’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 crore and three lakhs of rupees on account of the Imperial revenue, loading the same on two hundred wagons,

non-Muslims, that is, by Hindus themselves who had embraced the Islamic religion; namely (1) by Jaha-alias King Jallal-ad-din, son of Rajah Kass and (2) by Murshid Quli Khân, 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 non-Muslim 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 insurrection, therefore, against Muslum 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 Muslum saints, like Nur Quli Aîm and others, naturally told on Hindu society (disorganised and demoralised by the caste-systems of the later days, and short of the oId 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 Rajhouse. 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 ‘Potadar’ or the ‘Treasure’, that the term foza (not, podar) is applied in Arabic to cloths used as waist wrappers. A podar meant ‘a banker, a cash-keeper, 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 Jagirs, together with other fees. And also at the beginning of each year he sent to the Emperor elephants, Tungah horses, buffaloes, domesticated deer, and game dressed specially at Jahangirnagar (Dacca), wolf-leather shields, sital pati mats mounted in gold, and mosquito curtains made of Ganga jali 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 Subah, the Subdar 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 Aurangzeb. And when the Khan’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 Moatamaun-l-Mulk’Alum-d-daulah Jafar Khan Naauri Najir Jang. He was also rewarded with the personal Mansab of a Haft Hazari 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 Mansabdars hearing that the country of Bengal had been turned into a fertile garden without thorns, sought for offices in Bengal. Nawab Jafar Khan appointed the applicants to offices under him. One

Therefore سیئت کرنے کا معنا 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 jali was a kind of cotton stuff manufactured in Bengal in the times of the Mughals. See Jau-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 94 (Blochmann’s trans.)
of these was Nawab Saif Khan, whose application for appointment being received through the Emperor, Nawab Jafar Khan conferred an office on him. A short account of Saif Khan's career is mentioned in the body of this History. Nawab Saif Khan 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. 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 Purne, Nawab Saif Khan advanced with his troops and blocked his progress. But whenever Nawab Mahabat Jang had need of auxiliaries, Saif Khan furnished efficient contingents. After Saif Khan's death, his son, the Khan Bahadar, succeeded to the office of Fanjdar of the tract of Purne and its environs. Nawab Mahabat Jang gave in marriage the daughter of Nawab Said Ahmad Khan Bahadur Sanat Jang, his nephew, to the Khan Bahadur, but that lady died four days after the wedding. On account of this, confiscating the treasures and effects of the Khan Bahadur, Nawab Mahabat Jang kept the latter under surveillance. The Khan Bahadur of necessity was obliged to mount a horse and escape to Shah Jahanabad (Delhi). Nawab Mahabat Jang bestowed the tract of Purne on Sanat Jang. The latter proceeding there with a large force, devoted himself to its administration, and held away. After Sanat Jang's death, his son, Shaukat Jang, succeeded him. Nawab Sirajuddaulah, who was the latter's cousin, during the period of his Nizamat, killed Shaukat Jang in battle, and deputing Diwan Mohan Lal, confiscated Shaukat'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 Khan was seeking

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1. He received the office of Fanjdar of Purne, held the rank of a Haft Nasiri, and was a son of 'Ummatu-l-mulk Amir Khan, Sahadar of Kabul. See Sear, Vol. II, p. 574.


3. In Seari Mutabker, Vol. II, p. 552, the name of Saif Khan's son is mentioned as Fakhruddin Husain Khan.
an opportunity to avenge himself on Darāb Nārāin Qānūngo, who, during the Nawab’s incumbency of the office of Diwān, had declined to sign the accounts. Inasmuch as the office of Qānūngo corresponded to the office of Registrar of the Conquered dominions, and the Diwān’s Statements of Account and Revenue-roll without the Qānūngo’s signature were not accepted by the Central Imperial Diwān, the Nawab sought for an opportunity to tarnish Darāb Nārāin’s reputation, by doubling the sphere of Darāb Nārāin’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 Peñkhār of the Khalsah was also bestowed on Darāb Nārāin. 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 Qānūngo 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 Qānūngo-ship to Dārāb Nārāin’s son, Sheo Nārāin, and six annas thereof to Jai Nārāin, who at the period of the Nawab’s Diwān, when the Nawab was setting out for the Imperial Camp, had shown good-will, and had signed the Nawab’s Statements of Accounts.) And dismissing Ziau-d-din Khān, Fanjdar of Hughli, 1 he with the Emperor’s sanction brought the Fanjdar of that Port under his immediate autho-

1. The office of Fanjdar of Hughli was hitherto directly under the Emperor, and was independent of the Šāsadar of Bengal. Murshid Quli Khan succeeded in reducing the Fanjdar of Hughli to the position of his own immediate subordinate. For Murshid Quli’s relations with the English merchants, see Wilson’s Asaads, Vol. i, pp. 301, 309, 308, 307, 390, 289. The English merchants secured a great patron in Ziau-d-din, who was appointed by Shah Alām in 1710 to be Fanjdar of Hughli and Admiral of all the seaports on the coast of Coromandel. See Wilson’s Asaads, Vol. i, pp. 185 and
rity as an appendage to the Nizamat, and appointed Wali Beg on his own authority as Fanjdar 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 Pesakkar of the dismissed Fanjdar, for submission of papers relating to receipts of revenue and the office-records, together with the clerks and subordinate officers of the office of Fanjdar. Ziau-d-din Khan turned to Kankar 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 above-mentioned Khan with his army, on the field of Chandanagar (Chandanagore) 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,'1 on the bank of the tank of Debi Das, to a distance of one and a half krahs, drew up his forces, constructed entrenchments, and transmitted an account of the state of affairs to Nawab Jafar Khan. And both the quandams and the new Fanjdars were busy fighting from behind their respective entrenchments, and reviewing their forces. Mulla Jursam Juri, 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 Insuri with a force of cavalry and infantry came from Nawab Jafar 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 red seal 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 bronze\(^1\) gun (the range whereof extended over one and a half \(\)koh\) 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 bareheaded and barebodied 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 Khan 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 Khan, 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 Hugli, returning from the Imperial Capital, arrived in Murshidabad, and fearlessly waited on Nawab Jafar Khan, and with the left hand saluted the latter, wishing to convey that with the hand that he had saluted the Emperor, to salute Jafar Khan would be profane. Nawab Jafar Khan retorted by saying: "Kankar is under the shoe." And Kankar\(^*\) with fath\(^*\) on both the \(\) and the s\(\)k\(\)a\(\)a of the \(\) and \(\) in Hindustani means "a gravel." Nawab Jafar Khan, feigning forgetfulness of

\(^{1}\) It would appear the French, Dutch, and English were all backing up the dismissed Fanjdar Ziau-d-din Khan against the new Fanjdar, Wali Beg. See Wilson's Asans, Vol. II, pp. 65, 72, 75, 79, 81, 82. The skirmishes between Ziau-d-din Khan and Wali Beg occurred in 1712 A.C. 

\(^{2}\) "Kankar" means a "pebble" or a "gravel" or a "brick-bat." Murshid Quli Khan was punning on Hindu Naib's name of "Kankar." So, it would seem that Murshid Quli Khan, the stern iron-man, could now and then unbend himself and receive humorous flashes.
Kankar's past and present misconduct, and outwardly showing reconciliation, appointed him to the office of Chaklhadär ofHughli. 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 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 Khan who held the office of Diwán of Bengal died, and Syed Razi Khan, husband of Naísáh Khanam, a daughter of Shujâ‘-ud-dîn Muhammad Khan, (Nawab Nazim of the Šubah of Orissa and son-in-law of Nawab Jâfâr Khan,) who was the scion of a leading Syed family of Arabia, was appointed Diwán 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 sneringly named this Reservoir “Baikanta.” He used to thrust into this Reservoir the defauling 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 Sitâram Zamindar, and of the murder of Mir Abû Tûrâb, Faujdar of the Chaklâh of Bhasnâh, in the Sarkar of Mahmûdâbâd, was received. The details of this affair are as follows:—Sitâram, zamindar of Parganâ Mahmûdâbâd, being sheltered by forests and rivers, had placed the list of

1 The text is ambiguous. This sentence refers probably to Murâšîd Qûl Khân.

2 Sitâram had his residence at Muhammâdpâr or Mahmuâdpâr, at the junction of the Barasâi and Muhammâti rivers, in Jessore district. See Westland’s History of Jessore. Muhammâdpur is now a police circle. Ruins of his tanks still exist there. Bhosâma lies near Buntâlîah (formerly in Jessore now in Faridpur district), an old Mussalman colony, on the Chandara river. Ruins of a fort lie at Bhosâma. Close to Muhammâdpur or Mahmuâdpur, lies an old Mussalman colony at Bhirgum, on the Barasâi river. See also Wilson’s Annals, Vol. II, pp. 166, 167, 168. Sitâram was “executed for murder and rebellion” by Murâšîd Qûl’s order. Sitârâm family and children who had taken refuge in Calcutta, were in 1718 surrendered by the English to Mir Nâṣîr, Faujdar of Hughli, for being made over to Murâšîd Qûl Khân.
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 Fanjars. Mir Abu Turab, Fanjdar of the Chakirah of Bhunah,¹ who was the scion of a leading Syed clan and was closely related to Prince Azimun-shah and the Timuride Emperors, and who amongst his contemporaries and peers was renowned for his learning and ability, looked down upon Nawab Jafar Khan. Mir Abu Turab tried to capture Sitaram, but was not successful. At length, he detailed his General, Pir Khan, with 200 cavalry to chastise Sitaram. 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 Khan was not in Abu Turab’s company. The Zamindar (Sitaram) on hearing of this, fancying Mir Abu Turab to be Pir Khan, suddenly issued out from the forest with his forces and attacked Mir Abu Turab from the rear. Although the latter with a loud voice announced his name, Sitaram not heeding it inflicted wounds on Abu Turab with bamboo-clubs, and felled him from his horse. When this news reached Nawab Jafar Khan, his body trembled from fear of the Emperor’s resentment. Appointing Hasan Ali Khan who had married Nawab Jafar Khan’s wife’s sister and was descended from a noble family to be Fanjdar of Bhunah, and supporting him with an efficient force, Nawab Jafar Khan 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 Khan arrived and captured Sitaram together with his women and

¹ It was formerly in the Jessors district, but is now included in the modern district of Faridpur. Close to Bhunah, on the banks of the Chanda-na river, lie several other ancient colonies of Syeds or Mira, such as those at Kalmaldi and Dakhinbati, 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 Aurangzeb 'Alamgir had died in the Dakhin on Friday, 28th of Zilqadh 1119 A.H., Muhammad Muazzam Shahan 'Alim Bahadur Shahan 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 Khilafat including a fringed palanquin, Prince Azimu-sh-Shah, leaving Sarbland Khan as his Deputy at Azimabad, set out for the Imperial Capital. And that very year Sultan Farrukh-sir, prior to the accession of Bahadur Shahan, came to Murshidabad from Jahangirnagar (Dacca) at the invitation of Nawab Jafar Khan, and put up at the Lalbagh palace. The above-mentioned Nawab, paying proper deference to the princely 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 Shahan. After a reign of five years and one month, in the year 1124 A.H., Emperor Bahadur Shahan died, and his eldest son, Sultan Mazud-din, under the title of Jahandar Shahan, 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.D. at Ahmadnagar, and was buried at Aurangabad. See Seir Vol. II, p. 375, and Khan Khan. He left the following sons—Muhammad Muazzam (at Kabul), 2, Muhammad Azam (at Malwah), 3, Kam Baksh (at Bijapur.)

2 Muhammad Muazzam after Shahan 'Alam the eldest son became Emperor in 1707 with the title of Bahadur Shahan, after defeating and killing his two brothers. He died in 1712.—See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 375-379, and history of Khan 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. After removing the causes of anxiety, and with the exertions and help of Asad Khān the Prime Minister and Amīru-l-Umārā Zā'ī-fuqār Khān, the new Emperor killed his other two brothers. Indeed, after Bahādur 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 'Amīru-l-Umārā who was Pay-Master-General of the Army to the office of Grand Vizir and Amīru-l-Umārā's father 'Asāfu-d-daulah '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 Jāfar 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 Māzā-d-din, planned to start for Shājhānābād (Delhi), and demanded money and troops from Nawab Jāfar 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 Māzā-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, 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 ascendency and their selfish policy are fully related in the Scitua Matalkhāria.

1 See Scit and irina's Later Moghals, J.A.S, for 1890.
2 i.e., Jahan Shāh and Rafiʿah Shāh.
3 Farrukh-sir's mother, Sahel-un-Nisa, was a brave and resourceful lady, and when Farrukh-sir contemplated flight across the sea, she inspired her son with a noble ideal by addressing him thus: "If the 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 Jahandar Shāh, at the end of 1712, and became Emperor.
expedition against Sultân M'aza-d-din. Summoning his own army and artillery from Jahângîrmâgâr, Farrukh-sir set out for Shâbjâhânâbâd, and by the time he arrived at 'Azimâbâd (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 kro o rupees on the security of the Empire from Nagar Set and other leading bankers of Banaras, he raised a levy of efficient troops. Syed Ahmad Khân and Syed Husain Ali Khân, the two Syeds brothers of Barhâ, who were Nazims of the Subâhs of Oudh and Allahâbâd and were matchless in courage and heroism had been dismissed by Sultân M'aza-d-din, and consequently were smarting under a sense of wrong. They, therefore, espoused the cause of Sultân 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 Jâfar Khân, which owing to the revolution in government Shûjâû-d-din Mâhâmûd Khân, Darogha of Allahâbâd (untying 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 vizirat on Syed Husain Ali Khân, and had the Khâshbah 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 Jâfar Khân, he appointed Rashid Khân, elder brother of Afrasiab Khân Mirza-i-Ajmîrî, 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 Jâfar Khân in the Subâhâdâri of Bengal. It is said that when Sultân Farrukh-sir set out from Akbarnâgar (Rajmahal) towards 'Azimâbâd

2 See Wilsoi's Adwaat, Vol. II, p. 90. This was in 1712.
(Patna), the cannon of Malik Maidan\(^1\) which required a mound 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. Farrokh-sir himself going up to the cannon brought into requisition the ingenuity of Christian gunners, but even that was of no avail. Mirzā-i-Ajmīri making his obeisance, said: “If ordered, thy slave might try his strength.” The Sultan gave permission. Mirzā-i-Ajmīri, 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 “wherever 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 Mirzā at that very moment was rewarded with the manush of a Sīh hāzārī together with the title of Afrasiāb Khān. Rashid Khān set out with a large army for Bengal, and entered it vid the passes of Tīlāgadhi and Sakrigali. On hearing the news of his entry, Jāfar Khān shewed no signs of anxiety. Besides the regular war-establishment of the Subah he mobilised no extra troops. Rashid Khān reaching three kroh distant from Murshidabad arrayed his troops for battle. Next morning, Nawāb Jāfar Khān detailed Mir Bangali and Syed Anwar Jaunpuri with two thousand cavalry and infantry to encounter Rashid Khān, whilst the Nawab himself, according to his daily practice, set to copying the Qurān. 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 Khān surrounded him from all sides. Although these tidings reached Nawab Jāfar Khān, the latter remained unconcerned and quietly went on with his work of copying the Qurān. At last the news of Mir Bangali’s retreat arrived. It was then that the Nawab detached his special disciple, Muhammad Khān, who was Fanjdar of Murshidabad and

\(^1\) He was apparently a Turk, as the title Malik would indicate, but I cannot trace who this notable was.
an Officer of the Army, to reinforce Mir Bangali. The former with the swiftness of lightning and breeze joined Mir Bangali, and threw in the auxiliaries. Subsequently, Nawab Jafar Khan, after having finished his work of copying the Qur'an, recited the Fatiha-i-Khair and armed himself for battle. And mounting an elephant, with a force of cavalry and a retinue consisting of kinsmen and Turkish, Georgian and Abyssinian servants he encountered Rashid Khan on the field of Karimabad outside the City, and commenced chanting the Duni-Saifi. It is said that he had so persistently practised the Duni-Saifi, that when he commenced chanting it his sword of itself unsheathed itself from its scabbard, and through invisible help he vanquished the enemy. On the arrival of Jafar Khan, the courage and boldness of Mir Bangali and his army increased ten-fold and hundred-fold. With his elamorous force Mir Bangali attacked the centre of the enemy. Rashid Khan, who considered Jafar Khan no match for himself, swaggering of swordmanship and his capacity to easily rout the enemy, mounted a rogue elephant, and charged Mir Bangali who was in the van. The aforesaid Mir who was an unerring marksman

Placed a wooden arrow in his bow-string,
And stretched his bow, and extended his arm-pit.
When the arrow-notch came up to his ear,
He shot the arrow straight at the struggling enemy.
As luck would have it, the arrow hit the enemy on the forehead,
And pierced right through the hind-head.
That leader of the heroes was pierced by the arrow;
That brave lion rolled on the elephant.
At that juncture, the troops forming a solid column,
Made one united rush at the enemy.
The ground was trodden down into furrows by horses' hoofs,
The sky was cut to pieces by cannons and spears.
With swords, daggers, iron-maces and spears,
They charged the enemy.

1 This du'a or prayer, meaning literally the "prayer of the sword" is said to have been uttered by the Prophet at the battle of Badr, when it is related angels descended to fight in his ranks, and turned disaster into victory.
Owing to the 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  
mimaret 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 Akbarabadi (Agra) a battle ensued between Farrukh-sir and Sultan M‘azu-d-  
din Jahandar Shah, the Syeds of Barha, on the side of Muham-  
mad Farrukh-sir, displaying self-sacrifice, exhibited heroic valour.  
On the side of M‘azu-d-din, Khan Jahangir Bahadur Kokalta Khan, who was the Pay-Master General of the Army, was killed,  
owing to the carelessness of the Amirul-Umara Zu-t-foqar 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 Jahandar Shah. Becoming  
depressed by observing the fate of Khan Jahangir Bahadur, Jahandar

1 See description of the battle in December 1712 in Seir-ul-Mutakheris,  

2 The Syed brothers of Barha were Syed Hussain Ali Khan, Nazim of the  
Subah of Patna and Syed Abdullah Khan, Nazim of the Subah of Allahabad.  
The Seir-ul-Mutakheris (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 Hussain Ali  

3 He was a son of Asad Khan, the Prime Minister of Aurangzeb. His name  
was Muhammad Ismail, and his titles were Zu-t-foqar Khan Amir-ul-Umara  
Shah fled straight to Shabjahánábâd to the house of ‘Aṣâd Khán Āṣīf-ud-daulah, the Chief Minister of the Empire. Immediately after, Amír-i-Umrâ, son of Āṣīf-ud-daulah, presented himself before his father, and counselled the latter to shelter the Emperor. The father, not considering it expedient to throw in his lot with Jahândâr Shâh, kept the latter under surveillance. Then Sultân Muhammad Farrukh-sir, without encountering any further opposition, ascended the Imperial throne at Akbarâbâd (Agra), towards the end of the year 1124 A. H. From Akbarâbâd (Agra), Farrukh-sir swiftly marched to Shabjahánábâd (Delhi), where he slew Jahândâr Shâh and the Amîr-i-Umrâ.

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**ACCESSION OF SULTÂN FARRUKH-SIR TO THE THRONE OF DELHI**

On hearing of the accession of Emperor Farrukh-sir, Nawâb Jâfar Khân sent presents and tribute, and remitted the entire balance of the Imperial revenue. In return, the Nawâb received patents confirming him in the united offices of the Niẓâmat and Dewâni of the three Subahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The Nawâb was also recipient of a rich Khilat. The Nawâb’s representations to the new Emperor continued to receive attentive consideration, as during former regimes. The Nawâb became an object of envy to his contemporaries and peers. For instance, on Jâfar Khân’s representation to the Emperor, Nagar Sot’s uncle

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1 His name was Muhammad Ibrahim, and his titles were Āṣīf-ud-daulah Jumlãlam-Mulk Āṣâd Khân. He was related by marriage to Āṣīf-ud-daulah Aṣâf Khân, and became Prime Minister under Emperor Aurangzeb. (See his life in Nâzir-al-Usn, Vol. I, p. 310, and in Sîr, Vol. II, p. 406.) He was a statesman of eminence and sagacity. On his son, Zulfquar Khân’s assassination, he composed the following pathetic epitaph:

هائف شام غريبان با دو جنده خون‌فشان
غنت ابراهيم اسماعيل وأبراهيم فور

2 See Sîr-al Mubâhara, Vol. II, p. 305 (Pers. text). The corpse of Jahândâr Shâh was placed on an elephant, and the corpse of Zulfquar Khân was tied to its tail.

3 This was a very unwise departure from the old Mughal policy of keeping the two offices distinct, in that it encouraged later on the growth of disloyal intrigues against the Central Authority in Delhi.
and agent, Fateh Chand Sahn, whose services had won the good graces of the Khān, was invested with the title of Jagat Set, and appointed to the office of Treasurer-General of Bengal. Syed Ḥusain ‘Ali Khan, the Paymaster-General, who was a brother of Qutb-ul-Mulk ‘Abdullah Khān Vazir, aspired after the title of Naṣirjang, which title Jafar Khān held. As it was not consonant with the Imperial regulations that two persons should simultaneously hold one title, an Imperial mandate was issued to Jafar Khān, suggesting an exchange of titles. Although the Syed brothers were personages of immense influence and power, Jafar Khān resented their impudence, declined to exchange his title, and sent the following manly reply to the Emperor: “This old servant has no hankering after names or titles; but the title which it pleased the late Emperor ‘Alamgir (Aurangzeb) to confer on him, he declines to barter.” When Syed Razi Khan died, at the desire of Jafar Khān, Emperor Farrukh-sir conferred the Diwāni of the Subah of Bengal on Mirza Asadu-l-lāh, son of Shuja‘u-d-din Muhammad Khān, Naqīm of Orissa, by the daughter of Jafar Khān, bestowing at the same time on the Mirzā the title of Sarfarāz Khān. As Jafar Khān had no son, and Sarfarāz Khān was his maternal grandson, shewing foresight, he purchased from the income of his personal jagir the samindāri of Qismat Chunakhali in Parganah Kholharbāh in the district of Murshidabad from Muhammad Amān, the Taluqdār of the aforesaid Qismat, in the name of Mirzā Asadu-l-lāh Sarfarāz Khān, named the said samindari Asaadnagar, and caused it to be entered in the Imperial and Provincial Qānūngo’s registers. This estate came to be known as Khās Taluq, so that after his death it might afford subsistence to his descendants, and after the payment of revenue from its income its surplus might be at their disposal. And in the same year, the Deputy Governorship of Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) was bestowed on Mirzā Lutfu-l-lāh, a son-in-law of Shuja‘u-d-din Muhammad Khān. The Mirzā at the same time received the title of Murshid Quli Khān. In that on the 9th Rabin-l-Sani 1131 A.H. the Emperor Farrukh-sir was slain,”

1 Between Farrukh-sir and the Syed brothers, ill-feeling broke out through the instigation of one Mir Jumla (who possessed great influence over Farrukh-sir, having been Qazi of Dacca, when Farrukh-sir was there as Deputy Nazim). This ill-feeling was fanned by Ratan Chand, the crafty Diwan of the Vazir Qutb-ul-Mulk. Syed Abdullah, brother of Syed Husain Ali Khān. This ill-feeling which not only paralysed the Administration,
through the treachery of 'Abdullāh Khān the Vīzīr and Husain 'Abdul Khān, the Paymaster-General, the Syeds of Barha raised Sultan Rāfi‘u-d-darajāt, 1 son of Prince Rāfi‘u-sh-shāh, son of Bahādur Shāh, to the throne. For four or five months, ruling nominally, this Emperor died of consumption. After this, Rāfi‘u-d-darajāt’s second brother, named Sultan Rāfi‘u-d-daulāh, 2 was brought out from captivity, and placed on the throne, and was styled Shāh Jahān the Second. The latter also, like his elder brother, for five or six months sat nominally on the throne. At the time when the Imperial army was engaged in repelling Sultan Neko Sir, son of Sultan Akbar, and grandson of Emperor Alamgir, who had invaded Akbarābād (Agra), Shāh Jahān the Second also died. And the Syeds of Barha and other Imperial noblemen, at the end of the year 1131 A.H., bringing out Sultan Rauṣan Akhtar, son of Jahān Shāh, from the citadel of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), and marching with him day and night, reached Akbarābād (Agra), and in the beginning of 1132 A.H., they placed him on the Imperial throne, and styled him Abūl-Fattāh Naṣīr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Ghaus. 3 A poet has said:

روشس اختر برون - إكنون ماه شد
بوسف از زدین براکه ماه شد

"He was a bright star, now he has waxed into a moon,
Joseph has returned from captivity, and has become a king."

Nawāb Jafar Khān, hearing of the accession of Muḥammad Shāh to the Imperial throne, sent presents and tribute, and received but undermined for ever the prestige of the old illustrious Timuride House is detailed in the Seir-al-Mutakherin. Vol. II, pp. 407, 409, 415, 418, 419, and 420. The Syed brothers, to the detriment of the State and to their own lasting dishonour, made the Imperial Mughal throne of Delhi, at this time, a football for their own selfish aims and personal ambitions. (See extracts from Khāf Khān’s history at p. 430, Vol. II, Seir).

1 In Seir-al-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 419, it is related the Syed brothers raised to the throne Shāhām-d-dīn Abūl Barkat Rāfi‘u-d-darajāt, son of Rāfi‘u-l-Qādir, and grandson of Bahādur Shāh, at the age of twenty, in 1381 A.H.


3 See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 422, 423. At this time Rātan Chand was the evil genius of Qutb-ul-Mulk Syed Abdullah the Vīzīr, and had the impudence of nominating persons to even the Qazihips, for which he was once snubbed by his master.
in return patents confirming him in his former offices, and adding thereto the Şubahdari of Orissa. In short, owing to the undue influence exercised over the administration by Syeda Hussain 'Ali Khan and 'Abdu-l-lâh Khan from the reign of Farrukh-sîr till that period, the affairs of the Empire had suffered much in relic, and owing to constant changes in Emperor the administration of the country had fallen into chaos. The people of Bengal were, however, free from the troubles incidental to revolutions in the kingly office, as Jafar Khan ruled over that Province with great vigour. In his time no harm ensued to Bengal at the hands of the Maharattas. The Christian Danes who had no factory in Bengal, and carried on commercial transactions through the agency of the French, with the advice of the latter, offering suzur, applied for permission to erect a factory at Bangibasir. Obtaining suzur from Nawâb Jafar Khan, they erected mud-walled houses, established themselves there, and laid the foundation of a factory with strong towers, surrounded by a deep and broad moat, into which the river water flowed, and wherein sloops could move about. Working day and night, and spending much money, they set about building the same. Placing obliquely the cap of vanity on the head of pride, they gave themselves airs at the expense of other Christian nationalities, and bragged they would sell woollen-stuffs, velvet, and silk-stuffs at the rate of gunny-cloth. The English and Dutch Christians, seeing the loss in their own markets,

1. This place is marked between Ichapar and Chank, on the map in Wilam’s Atlas, Vol. I, p. 150.

2. یکی is a silk-stuff with figures of leaves and branches woven on it. The Ain-i-Akbari (Blockmann’s tr., pp. 92–93) gives a list of the gold-stuffs, cotton-fabrics, and woollen-stuffs current in India in Akbar’s time. It would appear therefrom that out of 23 gold-stuffs only two were imported from Europe, out of 39 silk-stuffs only seven were imported from Europe, out of 29 cotton-stuffs all was imported from Europe; whilst out of 26 woollen-stuffs only one was imported from Europe, all the rest being either manufactured in India, or imported from Asiatic countries, like Arabia, Persia, China, &c.

3. Richardson’s Dictionary does not seem to give the word یکی, but it occurs in the following charming lines of the great Persian poet, Omar Khayyam:

در جهان خلقان چه و چون چه زشت
منزله باشان چه دوز خ چه دوزت
conspired to have the former’s factory closed, intrigued with the Mughal merchants, and undertook to pay themselves their nazars. Relating to Ahsann-ul-lah Khan, Fanjdar of the Port of Hooghly, tales of their bloodshed and oppression in Europe and also exaggerated accounts of their having erected forts and towers with moats at Bangibazar, and of their past misdeeds in the Emperor’s dominions, they induced Ahsann-ul-lah 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 Ahsann-ul-lah 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 cannons on the heights of the ramparts, and prepared to fight. The aforesaid Mir, erecting entrenchments facing the ramparts, commenced fighting with cannons, 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, Khwajah Muhammad Kamal, eldest son of Khwajah Muhammad 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 Khwajah, 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,
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'ait Khan and Nijat Khan, zamindars of Tonki Sarübápur, in the Sarkar of Mahmúdábád, who were notorious for their lawlessness, had plundered the revenue of Mahmúdábád amounting to sixty thousand rupees, whilst on its way to Murshídábád. Nawáb Jafar Khan, 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 Ahsánul-läh Khan, Faujdár of the Chakísh of Húngli, directing their arrest. The aforesaid Khán, 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 Nawáb Jafar Khan. The Nawáb imprisoned them for life, and confiscated their treasures. After they were thus banished and extirpated, the Nawab settled their aforesaid zamindārī with Róm Jívan. Levying indemnity equal to the plundered revenue from the landholders of the neighbourhood, the Nawab credited it to the Imperial treasury. During the Nawáb'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 Anale, 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 Thana of Katwah and Murshidgunj, on the highway leading to Bardwan, were established by the Nawab in the early part of his Nizamat, whilst he held the title of Murshid Quli Khan. He established these Thanas for guarding the above highway, and their control and administration was entrusted by the Nawab to his special disciple, Muhammad Jbn. In that, in the environs of Fanachor, which is on the highway leading from Nadia to Hugli, in the plantain groves the thefts took place in broad daylight, Muhammad Jbn established an outpost at Pupthalt, subordinate to the Thana of Katwah. Capturing the thieves and robbers, and chopping them into bits, Muhammad Jbn 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 Jbn Kotharikhan. 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, Nawab Jafar Khan was a second Amira-I-Umarah Shaiista Khan. 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 Qur'an. 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 Qur'an, and he slept little. From morning to midday, he devoted himself daily to transcribing the Qur'an. And he used to send, every year, copies of the Qur'an transcribed by his hand, together with votive offerings and gifts, through the headmen of the pilgrims and other caravans bound for pilgrimage, to Mecca, Medina, Najaf, Karbala, Baghdad, Khorasan, Jadah, Basrah, and other holy places, like Ajmir, Pundak, &c. For each of these places, he allotted votive offerings, endowments, and reciters of the Qur'an. The humble author of this History has seen a torn copy of the Qur'an, every chapter of which was detached, in the shrine of Hazrat Makhdum Akhi Siraju-d-din, at Sadu-I-lahpur, written in large characters in the handwriting

1 I do not know if that copy is still there. See also note ante.
of Nawâb Jâfar Khân. The Nawâb had in his employ 2,500 reciters of the Qurân, who completely recited the Qurân daily, and corrected what the Nawâb transcribed from the Qurân; and their meals were supplied twice daily from the Nawâb'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 Muhammad (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 Marshalâbâd, 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 Mâhânagar to Lâlbâgh, on the banks of the river, he used to arrange illuminations with chirâghs, 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 Qurân engraven 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 lak of labourers to light the chirâghs under the supervision of Nagîr Ahmed. After sunset, as soon as the gun was fired to signal that the illumination should commence, all the chirâghs 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 Shângarî 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 dâna over the prices stated in the price-current reports, he had the dealers, malahidârs, 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 mandla (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 polao 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 flotilla of boats. In the rainy seasons, when the Imperial war-vessels came for review from Jahangirnagar (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 saw dancing nor heard singing. In his whole lifetime, besides 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 proficiency. He abstained from delicious and luxurious dishes; nor did he taste anything of luxury except ice-water and ice-preservation. And Khat Khan, Deputy of Nizam Muhammad, was deputed for four months in winter to the mountains of Akbar Nagar for storing ice. The Nawab had stores of ice full for twelve months, used ice daily and received his supplies of ice from Akbar Nagar. 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 Mir Shab Quli Khan. Polao and Qaliak are rich Hindustani dishes. See As-i Akbari (Blech's Tr., Vol. I, pp. 60 and 62) for a list of Hindustani meals, and also for statistics of prices of certain articles in Akbar’s time.

2 For a detailed description of the Fruitory in India, in Akbar’s time, see As-i Akbari (Blech’s Tr., p. 64.)
Chaklah of Akbarnagar, and he, counting the mangoes of the Khās 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 Maldah, Katvāh, Hussainpur, Akbaranagar, and other places. And the zamindars had no power to cut down the Khās 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 Nāzīma of Bengal. Even at present,† when the administration of Bengal is virtually in the hands of the Christian English, and only the nominal Nīgāmat rests with Nawāb Mubāraku-d-daulah, son of Nawāb Jāfar Ali Khān,‡ in the mango-season the Superintendent of the Khās mangoes proceeds to Maldah on behalf of the aforesaid Nawāb Mubāraku-d-daulah, attaches the mangoes of the Khās trees, and sends them to the Nawāb, and the zamindars do not go near the Khās mango-trees. But the Superintendent no longer obtain 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 Jāfar Khān, that the agents of zamindars used to loiter about—from the Naqīr Khānānah to the Chāhal Satān,§ 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 repressed their grievances. In administering justice, he did not allow consideration and partiality to be shown 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 “Adalat Gaṭar” (or Justice-Strewer). He used to dispense justice, basing his orders

† i.e., when the history was written (1788.)
‡ i.e., Mir Jāfar Ali Khān.
§ The Chāhal Satān was a Public Audience Hall built by Murshid Qulī Khan, at Murbidabad.
§ This incident of stern and blind justice recalls to memory the glorious career of another Mussulman sovereign in the far West—that is, of Abūr Rahman, the Khalifa of Spain. (See Amir Ali’s History of the Saracens, p. 510)
on the injunction of the Qur'ān, and on the expounding of the law by Qāzi Muhammad Shārīf, 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 Chunākhali begged for alms from Bindrabān, the Talqadar. The latter got annoyed, and turned him out from his house. The mendicant on his (Bindrabān'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 Bindrabān passed that way, he shouted out still more loudly the call to prayer. Bindrabān, 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 Jāfar Khān. Qāzi Muhammad Shārīf, with the concurrence of other Ulama, acting on the injunction of the sacred Law, ordered the execution of Bindrabān. Jāfar 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.' The Prince Azim-ush-shān also interceded for Bindrabān; but that, too, was of no avail. The Qāzi killed him by shooting him with an arrow with his own hand. Azim-ush-shān wrote to Emperor Aurangzeb as follows: 'Qāzi Muhammad Shārīf has turned mad; for nothing he has killed Bindrabān 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 Qāzi Muhammad Shārīf must have been.

2 Mark the pun on the word "Azim" in the text. "Azim" means 'great' as well as it may refer to the name 'Azimushshān'. So it may mean 'it is a great or gross calumny' and also 'it is a calumny on the part of Azim (Azimushshān)." 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:
the side of God.\textsuperscript{1} Till the close of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, Qazi Shafir continued to hold the office of Qazi. On the death of the Emperor, the Qazi resigned his office; though Jafar Khan pressed him to continue, he did not. And during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb and during the Nizamat of Jafar Khan, only the nobility, the scholars, the learned, and the excellent who passed examinations were appointed to the office of Qazi, which was never bestowed on the illiterate or the low. No changes or transfers in the offices of the pious and hereditary Qazis existed, nor was any tax levied from them; in fact, they were subordinates to no superiors, nor answerable to any.\textsuperscript{1} For instance, Ahsanul-lah Khan, Fanjdar of the port of Hughli, grandson of Baqir Khan, the Senior (after whom a kind of Indian bread has acquired the name of Baqir Khani), was a protege of Nawab Jafar Khan, and he possessed great influence with the Nawab. During his administration, Imamud-din, Kotwal (Police Superintendent) of the port of Hughli, who had acquired a high position and much influence, enticed away the daughter of a Mughal from the latter’s house. The aforesaid Ahsanul-lah Khan, conniving at this offence, shewed partiality towards his Kotwal, and stood surety for his future good behaviour. The Mughals carried their complaint to Nawab Jafar Khan. The Nawab, according to the injunctions of the Holy Book, had the Kotwal stoned to death, and did not listen to the intercession of Ahsanul-lah Khan for the offender. Towards the close of his career, on the eastern plain of the city of Murshidabad, on the grounds of his Khas Taluq, the Nawab erected a Treasury, a Katbir, a Cathedral mosque, a monument, a Reservoir, and also sank a large well, and under the staircase of the mosque, he located his own tomb, so that it might be safe from damage, and might also, owing to the proximity of the mosque, be blessed with perpetual benedictions for his soul. When his life drew to its close, finding that he had no son, he proclaimed Sarfaras Khan, who was his maternal grandson, and who had been brought up by him, as his heir and successor, and he entrusted to him charge of the treasures

\textsuperscript{1} Emperor Aurangzeb, though rather a bigot in some points, had scrupulous regard for the majesty of the Shafi or Law, and took considerable pains to improve the administration of Justice. The Qazis, or Magistrates and Judges, were exclusively recruited from the ranks of eminent scholars, and they were not subordinate to any except the Law itself, and their offices carried great prestige.
and effects and the control of both the Nizamat and the Imperial offices. In 1139 A.H. he died. From the following Mayer, the date of his death is obtained:

\[\text{زورلأا مالقث جنور أفاث} \]

(Translation) From the Imperial Capital, the rampart has fallen.

When the numerical value of the word جنور is deducted from the word دارلأا مالقث the date of his death is obtained.

He spurred on his steed of march towards eternity;

He has passed away, but his good name survives.

Aye, what better can anyone aspire to than this?: That after he has passed away, his many virtues might survive.\(^1\)

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**NIZAMAT OF NAWAB SHUJA-UD-DIN\(^2\) MUHAMMAD KHAN WHO WAS ALREADY NAZIM OF THE SUBAH OF ODISHA (ORISSA).**

When Nawab J'afar Khan passed to the regions of eternity, Sarfaraz Khan\(^3\) following the Nawab's dying wish, laid the former in the tomb under the staircase of the Katrah mosque, and himself ascended the masnad of Nizamat as his successor. And conciliating the Nizamat and Imperial officials, like Nawab J'afar Khan he administered fiscal and administrative affairs. Save and except the Public Funds and Imperial treasures, he removed to his private residence the private treasures and effects of J'afar Khan. He reported J'afar Khan's death to Emperor Muhammed Shâh

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\(^1\) These beautiful lines, I suspect, are borrowed from Saadi, the great Persian Moralist and Poet of Shiraz.

\(^2\) He was called "Mirza Dakni," and he hailed from Barhanpur. His father's name was Nara-d-din, who came originally from Khorasan. He was son-in-law of Marched Quli Khan, and was Nazim of Orissa, when Marched Quli Khan became Subadar of Bengal. He received the title of Muntaman-ul-Mulk, Shujah-d-daulah Aam Khan (See *Masir*, Vol. 3, p. 963, and *Seer-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. 2, p. 409).

\(^3\) His name was Mirza Asad-d-din, and his titles were Ahun-d-daulah Sarfâns Khan Haidar Jang. He was a son of Shujah-d-din Khan, and a maternal grandson of Marched Quli Khan. (See *Masir-ul Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 756, and *Seer-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. 2, p. 408).
and to Qamru-d-din Husain Khan Bahadur. He also communicated the intelligence to his father, Shuja'u-d-din Muhammad Khan, who was Naqim of Orissa. The latter on hearing the news said:

"The sky has turned towards the fulfillment 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.

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END OF FASC. 3.

1 His name was Mir Muhammad Fazil, and his title was Itamadu-d-daulah Qamruddin Khan Bahadur. He was a son of Itamadu-d-daulah Muhammad Amin Khan. On Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah resigning the office of Vazir, Qamruddin Khan became Vazir of Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1137 A.H. He was liberal, affable, and polished. (See Mansir-ul-Umara, Vol. 1, p. 358, and Sur-ul-Matatheria, Vol. 2, p. 457).
A list of contents with an Index will appear in another volume.

A. Salam.
Shajān-d-din marched with a large army towards Bengal. In order to obtain the Imperial Sanad of the Nizāmat 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 Khān, at the Imperial Court, who enjoyed more confidence and eminence than Ja'far Khān's other agents. He also sent messages to other agents of his own.

Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, on receiving news of Nawab Ja'far Khān's death, had conferred the Sūbahārī of Bengal on Amir-ul-Umrāā Šamsānu-d-daulah Khān-i-Daurānī Khān Bahādur, Chief Pay-Master-General of the Army. The latter was Emperor's loyal friend and intimate associate both in social gaieties as well as in State deliberations, and was his comrade, companion, and councillor in matters pertaining to feasts, as well as to wars. The Amir-ul-Umrāā misled by the intrigues of the aforesaid agent, sent the patent and Khila'at of the Deputy Nizāmat of Bengal in the name of Shajān-d-din Muḥammad Khān. Shajān-d-din Khān had reached this side of Medniḍhār, when the patent addressed to his name arrived, and viewing this event as a good omen, he named that place "Mubarak-Mansūl" or "the Auspicious place," and ordered a Katārā (a Tower) and a masonry-built Caravanserāi to be erected there. When news of the approach of his father reached

1 Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was raised to the Imperial throne of Delhi by the Syed brothers in 1131 A.H. See Sīru-i-Masā'ūs, Vol. II, p. 422.
2 His name was Khwajah Aṣam. His ancestors had come from Badaḵshan to India, and settled at Agra. He held a small Mandżub in the beginning under Prince Aṣimū-al-Shāh, and was in the latter's company in Bengal at Dacca. When the Prince in obedience to the summons of his father, Muḥammad Munṣūm (afterwards Emperor Bahādur Shāh), on the death of Emperor Aḥangābād, left Bengal to join his father at Agra, he left Khwajah Aṣam in the company of his son Farrukh Sir, who resided in Bengal on behalf of his father. He soon made himself a person of great esteem of Farrukh Sir, and exercised considerable influence over his conduct and policy. Farrukh Sir conferred on him the title of 'Aṣimū Khān,' and on accession to the throne conferred on him the further titles of "Šamsānu-d-daulah Khān Daurānī," and created him a Haft Ḥaṇari, and second Bakshī. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, on the fall of Syed Ḥusain Ali Khān, he received the title of 'Amir-ul-Umrāā' and also became the Supreme Bakshī or Generalissimo, or Paymaster-General of the Army. He fell during the war against Nadir Shāh who had invaded India in 1161 A.H. See Munṣūm-i-Umrāā, Vol. I, p. 819.
Sarfaraz Khan, owing to recklessness of youth, the latter intended marching to Katwah, in order to oppose his father's advance. The Dowager Begam of Nawab Ja'far Khan, who was a very wise and sagacious lady, and who regarded Sarfaraz Khan 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 Sarfaraz Khan: "Your father is old; after him, the Subahdari 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 Diwani of Bengal." Sarfaraz Khan, who never acted against the advice of his grand-mother, acquiesced in her counsel. Advancing, he received Shujau-d-din Muhammad Khan, and escorted him to Muraqid-Bad. Making over to his father the Fort and the offices of the Nizamat, Sarfaraz Khan retired to his private residence at Naktakhali. 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 Qur'an-readers, hymn-reciters, and scholars belonging to Nawab Ja'far Khan's household, Sarfaraz Khan employed them on devotions and on recitations of the Qur'an, as was the practice under Nawab Ja'far Khan. He further consecrated his life to winning the hearts of people, and also sought for help and blessings from saints and hermits.

Shujau-d-din Muhammad Khan,¹ who in point of bravery and

¹ The author of the Seir-i-Mu'taharon also pays a glowing tribute to the memory of Nawab Shujau-d-din Khan, and styles him a second Nushirvan 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 best talent flocked into Bengal from all parts of Hindustan, and found a ready friend and helper in him. Bengal which enjoyed the title of 'Jinnai-ul-Bilad' or 'Paradise of Provinces,' now literally became so, under Shujau-d-din Khan's wise and beneficent administration. His charities were most munificent and catholic, and his liberality was mostured. His subjects, during his administration, enjoyed perfect peace and happiness. See Seir-i-Mu'taharon, 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 Bharanpur. As
he ascended the mastab of the Nizam of Bengal in his old age,
he felt compassion for the condition of the Bengal Zamindars, who
being in duress 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 Nuzara over and above the amounts of
revenue assessed by Nawab Ja'far Khan. By this stroke of policy,
over and above the profits of Jātirs and fees on ware-houses and
factories, he easily raised one krur and fifty laks of rupees, which
he remitted to the Imperial Treasury through the Banking Agency
of Jagat Seth Fatih Qasim. 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
Nizam, besides the Imperial Revenue, according to the established
usage. And sending to the Emperor, at their proper seasons, ele-
phants, Tangra horses, special cotton-fabrics, and qahkhana and
enjoyed by Bengal during the vigorous regimes of Murshid Quli Khan and
his successor, Shuja-ud-din Khan (whilst the whole of Upper India was
conquered and torn by fratricidal wars and foreign invasions which corrected
these farr regions into human shambles), would in a large measure account
for the existence of a comparatively large Musalmân 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.

1 Bharanpur is described in the Asiœ (see Vol. II, p. 223) as "a large city,
three leagues distant from the Tapti, in Subah Dandes or Khandes. It was
embellished with many gardens, inhabited by people of all countries, and handi-
craftsmen plied a thriving trade."

2 Khadi is mentioned in the list of cotton-fabrics manufactured in India. See
Asiœ, Vol. I, p. 94. for a list of cotton, silk and woollen manufactures of
India, in Akbar's time. Emperor Akbar took great pains to improve all indi-
genous manufactures. "Skilful masters and workmen were settled in India to

3 _combo means "small-bodied (man)." I do not exactly understand what
signifies. It was apparently some sort of cotton or silk-stuff manu-
factured in Bengal, with human figures woven thereon.
other manufactures, he attested thereby his loyalty to the Imperial throne, and was in consequence invested with the titles of Mautamann-1-Mulk, Shuja’u-d-daulah, Shuja’u-d-din Muhammad Khan Bahadur Asad Jung. He also received the personal Manzab of a Haft Hazari, with seven thousand troopers, besides a fringed Palki, together with the insignia of the Mughal Order, and a Sthali 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, a Public Audience-Hall, a Private Office, a Boudoir for Ladies, a Reception-Hall, a Court of Chancery and a Court of Justice. He lived in magnificent splendour, and used to ride out in right royal state. He attended constantly to the well-being of his Army, and to the happiness of his subjects. On his officers, he lavished largesse 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

1. 'The Diwan Khana' is a building containing the office of Diwan or Finance Minister.
2. A ‘Chahar Satran’ means literally ‘forty-pillared.’ It was a large building intended as a Public Audience-Hall.
3. ‘Khadijat Khana’ means a ‘Private Chamber.’
4. ‘Jalal Khana’ means ‘Office-room or building.’
5. ‘Azamshah Khazri means the ‘Court of Exchequer,’ or the Revenue Court.
6. ‘Farnamdar’ means a ‘Court of Justice.’
God, he uprooted from his realm the foundations of oppressions and tyrannies. Executing Nāzir Ahmad and Murād Farrāgh, the employees 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 Dehpara on the banks of the river Bhāghirati. Shujā'-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 Kāshān paled like withering autumn-gardens; nay, the garden of Iran itself seemed to draw its inspiration of freshness and sweetness from it. Shujā'-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'-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'-d-daulah entrusted the duties of the Nizāmat to a Council, composed of Hāji

1 'Iran' or 'Pāl' "is the celebrated but fabulous garden said to have been anciently laid out in Arabia Felix by a king named Shudud-bin-l-Ad or Irani 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 variant account in the 'Sīrāl-Mutakāhirin,' which shows that Mirza Ali Vardī Khān was the leading spirit in Shujā'-d-din's Council or Cabinet. See Sīrāl-Mutakāhirin, Vol. II, p. 473 Pers. text. On ascending the seat of Nizāmat, Shujā'-d-din Khān constituted a Cabinet of Advisers or Council of State, consisting of (1) Mirza Muḥammad Ali Vardī Khān, a kinsman of Mirza Bandi, (2) Hāji Ahmad, brother of No. 1, (3) Bai Ṣulṭān 'Alam-ud-dīn (formerly Shujā'-d-din's Diwan in Orissa), (4) Ḥajjāyat Ṭūltān Ghând, the banker. In all important matters, he used to consult them before passing orders. His first measure was to release the Bengal Zamindars who had been imprisoned by Ja'far Khān. This measure brought him not only
Ahmad, Râi 'Alâmchând Diwân, and Jagat-Set Fakhriâbând, whilst the Nawab himself indulged in pleasures. 2 Râi 'Alâmchând Mukhtâr, 3

popularity but also an increase to the revenue (as Nâzir was levied), and at the same time contributed to the fertility of Bengal, the Jâlisat-ul-Dilâd. (See Sevâr-i-Mutâ'âberis, Vol. II, p. 473). For purposes of administration, he maintained his son Surfaraz Khân as the nominal Diwan of Bengal, conferred the Sasâhds of Orons on his son (by another wife), named Muhammad Taqi Khân, the Deputy Nizâmât of Jahangîrmâgar or Dacca on his son-in-law Murshid Quli Khân II, the Fanâjdarship of Bangpur on Sayid Ahmad Khân (nephew of Ali Vardi Khân), the Fanâjdar of Râjamâul or Akhunâgar on Zain-ul-d-din Ahmad (another nephew and son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khân); Nawazish Mîd Khân (another nephew of Ali Vardi) was created Generalissimo of the Army. See Sevâr-i-Mutâ'âberis, 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 Mughals Satraps and Emperors delegated the unchecked 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-aggrandisment.

It was a falling which stood out in jarring contrast to the noble traditions and examples of a Babar, a Sher Shah, an Akbar, and an Aurangzeb, each of whom 'served delightfully and lived laborious days.' 4 As bearing on the same point, I may also quote from Bernard's Travels, pp. 129-130 the weighty words of Aurangzeb, whilst admonishing one of his Omans 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 defense 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 Vizier; he seems not to consider that, being born the son

2 The Sevâr-Mutâ'âberis describes Alamchand as having formerly held the office of Diwan under Shuja'u-d-din Khân, when the latter held the office of Naazim of Orissa. Sevâr, Vol. II, p. 473, Pera. text. It is worthy of note that in Kattak (Cutlack) town, there is still a quarter or Mahalla known as 'Alamchand Bazar.'
in the period of Shujâ’-ud-daulah’s Nizâm of Orissa, was a Muhtarr attached to the latter’s household. At this time, he was invested with the Deputé Divân of the Sâbah of Bengal, and being appointed Superintendent-General of the Affairs of the Nizâm and the Divân, he effected considerable retrenchments in the public expenditure, and received the personal Mansâb of a Hazâri with the title of Râi Râîân—a title which until that time no officer of the Bengal Nizâm or Divân had enjoyed. And Háji Ahmad and Mirzá Bandi were sons of Mirzá Muḥammad, who was a cup-bearer of Ā’zam Shâh, a son of Emperor Aurangzeb Ā’lamgîr. Háji Ahmad, on the death of his father, was appointed Cup-bearer and Superintendent of the jeweller-stores of Sultan Muḥammad Ā’zam Shâh. As Ā’zam Shâh fell in the struggle for the Em-
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 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 consequences of the inroads he recommends, and he is ignorant of the evils that attend upon delegated power. It was not without reason that our great Sa’di emphatically exclaimed:—‘Cense to be kings; Oh, cense 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 counsellors. 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 Seurat-Mutakherin and Stewart’s History of Bengal, it is stated that Mirzá Muḥammad’s eldest son was Háji Ahmad, and his second son was Mirzá Muḥammad Ali (the latter received the title of Muḥammad A’li Vârdi Khân, through the favour of Shujâ’-ud-dîn Khân, whilst the latter was Nâṣir of Orissa). See Seir, Vol. II, p. 470.

2 Ā’zam Shâh, surnamed Prince Muḥammad Ā’zam, was the second son of Emperor Aurangzeb, his eldest brother being Prince Muḥammad Manṣūr, afterwards surnamed Emperor Bahadur Shâh. On Emperor Aurangzeb’s death, there was a fratricidal struggle for the Empire between the above two brothers, with the result that at the sanguinary battle of Jâo, near Agra, in 1129 A.H., Ā’zam Shâh, or Prince Muḥammad Ā’zam, was killed, and Bahadur Shâh became victorious. See description of this sanguinary battle with the slaughter of several Princes Royal in the Seurat-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 377. Emperor Aurangzeb’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 Odiss (Orissa), and entered there the service of Shujā‘u-d-daulah. Adopting a policy of tact and prudence which “is a friend, and likewater, takes to every hue,” these two brothers got into the good graces of Shujā‘u-d-daulah. When Shujā‘u-d-daulah acquired the Nizāmat of the Sūbah of Bengal, Háji Ahmad became his intimate associate and counsellor in all affairs of the Nizāmat; whilst Mírzá Bandi was invested with the Mansab and title of Áli Yardi Khán, and appointed Faujdar of the Qohlah of Akbarsagar (Rājmahal). Similarly, the Háji’s eldest son, named Muḥammad Rizá, received the office of Dāroghah or Superintendent of the Bajūtrah of Murshidabad; his second son, Agá Muḥammad Sa‘íd, was appointed Deputy Faujdar of Rangpur; whilst his youngest son, Mírzá Muḥammad Hāshim, was invested with the Mansab and title of Hashim Áli Khán. Pir Khán, who during Shujā‘u-d-daulah’s stay at Būbhānpūr 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‘ Qalī Khán, and given the Faujdar of the Port of Húghi, on the transfer of Aḥsanul-lah Khán.

Merit is no passport to worldly advancement,
When times are propitious, failings seem accomplishments.

The new Faujdar of Húghi commenced exactions and oppressions. The Port of Húghi from his rapacity was ruined; and he commenced quarrelling with the European merchants. On the pretext of collecting the customs-duties 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 Timuriye Dynasty, than the ravages of Mahuratta freebooters or the incursions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani.

1 Mírzá Bandi was another surname of Mírzá Muḥammad Áli (subsequently styled Muḥammad Áli Yardi Khán). In Seir it is stated that he formed the leading spirit in the Council or Cabinet of advisers of Nawáb Shujá‘u-d-din Khán, and that the Faujdarship of Akbarsagar or Ràjmahal was bestowed by Shujá‘u-d-din Khán on Áli Yardi Khán’s nephew and son-in-law named Zām-udd-in Ahmad. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 472.

2 During the Nizāmat of Áli Yardi Khán, Muḥammad Riza received the title of ‘Nawázish Muḥammad Khán,’ and was advanced to the office of Diwan of Bengal. I do not quite understand what the word ‘Bajūtrah’ 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 Nagars 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 Shujah'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 lacs of rupees as nagar to Shujah'ud-daulah. The Chief of the English Factory in Calcutta, borrowing the nagar and money from the Calcutta bankers, remitted it to Shujah'ud-daulah.

In short, as the good services of Shujah'ud-daulah came to the notice of the Emperor through the medium of Khun Dauran Khan, in recognition thereof, the Nizamat of the Shahah of Behar on the transfer of Fakhrud-daulah, brother of Raunshamud-daulah Turabbeg Khan, was also conferred by the Emperor on Nawab Shujah'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 'Agmabaid (Patna) with five thousand cavalry and infantry. Ali Vardi Khan, arriving in the Shahah of Behar, associated with himself, in the administration, General Abdul Karim

1 Fakhrud-daulah was Shahdar of Behar from 1140 A.H. for about five years. He was given ease and pleasures, and ill-treated not only his minister, Shaitkh Abdullah, who enjoyed the confidence of the public, but also insulted Khwajah Mu'tasam (brother of Amiru-l-Umar Shaamsamud-daulah Khan Dauran Khwajah A'lam). 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 suvarpy under Nawab Shujahud-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 Mahabat Jang, and promoting him to the rank of a Pandshahari. Ali Vardi ruled over Behar vigorously. See Surat-Mula-Merou, Vol. II, pp. 460, 472. For Raunshamud-daulah see page 462, Vol. II, Sec.
Khān, Chief of the Afghāns of Dārbhangu, 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'li Vardi Khan 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'li Vardi, by chastising the Banjarah tribe, achieved a high reputation. And being aided by the Afghāns, Ā'li Vardi advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rājahs of Bittah and Bhawārah, who were refractory and turbulent. Their regions had never previously been trod by the feet of the armies of former Nāgins, nor had their proud heads ever bended before to any of the former Sūhaldārs. Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After fighting with them incessantly, Ā'li Vardi Khān became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ā'li Vardi Khān carried off a large booty, amounting to several lakhs, in specie and other effects. And settling with the Rājahs the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiery 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 Bhōjpūr, and of Rājah Sundar Singh, Zamindar of Tikari, and of Nāmdār Khān Maḥīn, 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. 473.
2 Banjarah is described as a zamindari with 100 horses and 1000 foot, under Subah Bencor in the Aina-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 230. The tribe of Banjarah were Rajputs in caste.
3 Bharamah or Bhawārah is mentioned as a Mahal under Sarkar Turān, in Subah Bencor. See Aina, Vol. II, p. 159. Stewart inaccurately calls it Philwarah. Phulwarī is a Mahal under Sarkar Behar.
4 Bhōjpūr, a pargana in Sarkar Rohins, Bihar, west of Arrah and north of Bassam. The Rājahs of Bhōjpūr called themselves Ujjainī Rājahs, as they claimed descent from the ancient Rājahs of Ujjain in Malwah. See his Block. IV, Vol. I, p. 513 n.
5 I cannot trace of which place in Bihar he was a local chieftain,
had not cared for former Nāzīma, 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 Karīm Khān held control over all the State affairs, he exercised absolute sway, and ignored Muḥammad Ali Vardi Khān. Hence the latter becoming suspicious 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 Iṣbāq Khān, Diwān of the Imperial Khālīfah, Ali Vardi Khān opened negotiations with Qamru-d-din Khān, the Imperial Vizier, and also with other Imperial Ministers, and succeeded in obtaining directly from the Emperor the title of Mahabat Jang Bahadur, without Shuja’u-d-daulah’s recommendation. Shuja’u-d-daulah, who possessed full confidence in Hāji Ahmad and Ali Vardi Khān, viewed without misgivings this elevation of Ali Vardi’s rank; but his son, Sarfarāz 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 Shuja’u-d-daulah by a different wife was Muḥammad Taqī Khān. He was Deputy Nāzīm of Orissa, and was not only brave and bold but was also popular with the Army. Hāji Ahmad 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, Hāji Ahmad secured the adhesion of Rāi Rāiān Alam Čānd and Jagatset Fātch Čānd; and the

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3 The Scīr-i-Matahēris, however, (see n. ante) states that Shuja’u-d-din Khān secured from Emperor Muḥammad Shāh the title of ‘Mahabat Jang’ for his favourite and protege, Ali Vardi Khān.
Triumvirate now waited for the development of their conspiracy. Shuja'-u-d-daulah, by the advice of the Triumvirate, was induced not to entrust the control of any affair to Sarfaraz Khan. 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, Muhammad Taqi Khan, ascertaining the real origin of this misunderstanding, proceeded from Orissa to Bengal, to personally interview his father and brother. The Councillors of Shuja'-u-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. Muhammad Taqi Khan 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 Bhagirathi. Thence he advanced to interview his father, but did not plunder the City. And the army of Sarfaraz Khan was arranged in battle-array from Naktakhali to Shahnagar, and was ready to kindle the fire of war and slaughter. Secretly tempting by offers of bribe the commanders and officers of Muhammad Taqi's army, Sarfaraz Khan won them over to his side, and sending messages for Muhammad 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 Muhammad Taqi and bring him in. Muhammad Taqi Khan, who in bravery was the Rustam of his day, did not care for the enemy. The negotiations for peace and war passed and repassed between the two brothers. When Nawab Shuja'-u-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 Sarfaraz Khan and the Begams, rebuking several times Muhammad Taqi Khan, Shuja'-u-d-daulah prohibited the latter from coming to see and salute him. At length, at the intercession of Sarfaraz Khan's mother, he pardoned Muhammad Taqi Khan, and permitted him to go back to the Sambah of Orissa. But on arrival in Orissa, in the year 1147 A.H., owing to the witchcraft of the enemy, he died. On this, Murshid Quill Khan, surnamed Majbur, who was a son-in-law

1 The Persian Hercules. His dauntless bravery and splendid heroism has been immortalised in the Shahnameh of Ferdousi, the Persian Homer.
3 Muhammad Taqi Khan, the Nizam of Orissa and a son of Nawab Shuja'-
of Shuja’u-d-daulah and was already Deputy Naqim of Jahangir-nagar (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 calligraphy, enjoyed great excellence, was appointed Deputy Naqim of the Subah of Orissa.

During the Viceroyalty of Nawâb Ja’far Khán, whilst the abovementioned Murshid Quli Khán stayed at Murshidâbâd, a person named Mir Hábib, a native of Shirâz, spoke Persian very fluently, though he was not read in that language. By chance, Mir Hábib arrived in the Port of Húgil, 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 Hábib quickly ingratiated himself with Murshid Quli Khán, and entered the latter’s service. When Nawâb Ja’far Khán conferred the Governorship of Jahangir-nagar (Dacca) on Murshid Quli Khán, Mir Hábib also went in the latter’s company to Jahangir-nagar (Dacca), and was attached to the latter as his Deputy. By personally attending to minute details, and by adopting a policy of economy, Mir Hábib curtailed the State expenditure on account of the Nawârah (war-vessels), the artillery, and d-dín Khán, lies buried in the Qulâs Rasul building at Cuttack, which had been erected by Nawâb Shuja’u-d-dín Khán, when the latter was Naqim of Orissa. The tomb of Muhammad Taqí Khán is now in a dilapidated condition. On it I found still the following inscription:

I may add that the Sirr-i-Mutâhkîn (Pers. text, p. 534), makes mention of this Kataq Qulam Rasul building, and of the Deputy Governor, Abdul Nabi Khán (father of Abdur Rasul Khán, another Deputy Governor of Orissa), being entombed there. In this connection, I may point out there is a historical synchronism in the Qulâs Rasul building inscription which states “It was erected by Shuja’u-d-dín Khán in the time of Alamgir II.” Shuja’u-d-dín was not a contemporary of Alamgir II at all, he was a contemporary of Alamgir I whilst at Kataq, and of Emperor Muhammad Shah, whilst Naqim of Bengal.

The reader must not confound this Murshid Quli Khán (son-in-law of Shuja’u-d-daulah whose real name was Mirza Lutfullah) with Nawâb Ja’far Khán, who had formerly held the title of ‘Murshid Quli Khán.’ On reference to the account of Ja’far Khán in the text, it would appear that Ja’far Khán received several titles in succession; first he received the title of ‘Kutulab Khán,’ next that of ‘Murshid Quli Khán,’ and lastly that of ‘Munam-un-Mulk Alam-d-daulah Jafr Khán 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 Jahāngir-nagar (Dacca) to be fertile, profit-yielding, and suited for trading business, he revived the system of Sauda-i-khas current during the Viceroyalty of Prince Agimah-Shān, and by means of other exactions, both he and his Chief amassed wealth. On the pretext of collecting the Imperial revenue, he induced Nūr-al-lah, Zamindar of Pargana Jalālpūr, who was the leading Zamindar, together with other Zamindars, to attend his Kachirī (Court). Adroitly dismissing the other Zamindars, one after another, Mir Ḥabīb kept Nūr-al-lah under duress. At midnight, he permitted him to return home, escorted by a number of Afghāns. The latter, at the instigation of Mir Ḥabīb, slew Nūr-al-lah, in a narrow and dark alley. Next morning, Mir Ḥabīb announced that Nūr-al-lah had fled, sent a detachment to his house, confiscated his treasures and jewelleries and effects and silk-stuffs, amounting in value to several lakhs, as well as his Abyssinian male and female slaves. Mir Ḥabīb possessed himself of the above, and thus acquired aristocratic paraphernalia.

Subsequently, leaguing with Aqā Sādiq, Zamindār of Patpasār, who in artfulness and cunning was his match, Mir Ḥabīb sent him on an expedition against Tiprah. By chance the Aqā met the nephew of the Rājāh of Tiprah, who having escaped from the com-

1 On reference to the Ain-i-Akbari (Vol. II, pp. 132-133), I find two parganahs with the name of 'Jallapur,' one being Sawaiñ (apparently, Sarai), commonly called Jallapur (revenue, 1,557,230 dama) under Sarkar Fathabad, another being Dablat Jallapur (revenue, 1,200 dama) under Sarkar Mahmoudabad. The first Jallapur or Sarai 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 Fardipur 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 Habīb; specially as there was formerly a "Chakūh Habibganj."

4 I fail to find Patpasar in the Ain-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 Horaibpur (another old family of Musalmān Zamindars, now in an impoverished condition) had something to do with the old Tiprah Rājāhs, and with their conquest by the Mughals. I am not sure if Aqā or Āga Sādiq of the text was connected with the above family.
trot of his uncle was wandering away from his native country, and who at this time happened to stay within the Imperial dominions. The aforesaid Aqā considering his company very lucky kept him in his company, promising to instal him in the Zamindārī. The Rājāh’s nephew, according to the saying,—

“The hare of that country can assuredly catch the dog of that tract,”—

guided the Aqā 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 onrush 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 Chandigadah, 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 Aqā Ṣadīq as Faujdār of Tiprah, and the

1 The present residence of the Rājāh of Hill Tiprah is at Agartala. I do not know where Chandigadah 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 Seivr-i-Muḥāfiz, Vol. II, Persian text, pp. 593, 591, 590, &c. (also see Nusair-i-Umar, Vol. II, p. 844). He subsequently joined the Mahārattas, and induced the latter to invade Orissa and Bengal in order to have his revenge against Ali Vardi Khān for upplanting from the Governorship of Orissa his old master and benefactor, Marshall Quli Khān (son-in-law of Shujāʿu’d-dīn 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 Mahārattas, by appointing Mir Ḥabib as his Deputy Nazim in Orissa, the arrangement being that Mir Ḥabib was to pay the Mahāratta army of occupation from the revenue of Orissa, besides receiving from Ali Vardi an annual subsidy of twelve lakhs. Mir Ḥabib’s signal services to the Mahārattas in the end were most churlishly requited by the latter, for Janoji, son of the Mahāratta Rāghojī Bhonsla, treacherously murdered him at Katak (see Seivr-i-Muḥāfiz, Vol. II, p. 592, Persian text), after having invited him to a feast. But throughout their rise, treachery was their great weapon of offence and defence, and the Mahāratta 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.
Rajah's nephew as the Rajah, whilst he himself returned to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) with treasures, valuables and elephants. Murshid Quli Khan sent to Nawab Shujah-ud-daulah an account of the conquest of Tiprah, together with the best specimens of the wares and silk-stuffs of that tract. The Nawab named that tract (of Tiprah) Rausanabad, and invested Murshid Quli Khan with the title of 'Bahadur,' and conferred on Mir Habib the title of 'Khana.'

In short, when the Deputy-Nizamat of the Subah of Odisah (Orissa) was bestowed on Murshid Quli Khan, the latter, on the recommendation of Nawab Shujah-ud-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, Sarfaraz Khan detained at Murshidabad as hostages Rustam-Jang's son, named Yahya Khan, and his wife, named Durdannah Begam. Although this incident caused some bitterness of feeling to Murshid Quli Khan, the latter had no alternative but to endure it in silence. Murshid Quli Khan with his army arrived in the Subah of Orissa, and appointed Mir Habib-ullah Khan to be his Deputy there, in the same way as the latter had been his Deputy at Jahangirnagar. By use of diplomacy, and by dint of statesmanship and energy, Mir Habib succeeded in chastising and reducing to order all refractory Zamindars 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 Muhammad Taqi Khan's time, the Rajah of Parsutam had removed Jagannath, the Hindu

1 Evidently, the Rajah was no longer an independent Rajah, but was left more or less as a vassalary prince.

2 When I was at Brahmanbaria in 1886, I found the Court peons' badges still bearing the word "Chaklah Rausanabad." I do not know if they have been since changed.

3 Murshid Quli Khan II Rustam-Jang was a son-in-law of Nawab Shujah-ud-din Khan, having married Durdanna Begam, step-sister of Sarfaraz Khan. Syed Bazi Khan was another son-in-law of Shujah-ud-din Khan, having married Nafisah Begam, uterine sister of Sarfaraz Khan.

4 He was hitherto only 'Mir Habib.' His name was changed to 'Mir Habib-ullah Khan,' on his receiving the title of 'Khana' from Emperor Muhammad Shah, in recognition of his services in connection with the conquest of Tiprah. See note ante in regard to the title 'Khana' and its significance, under Muslim 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 Ḥabīb-Allah Khān, and paying nazār to the Nazim of the time, Rājāh Daud Deo brought back Jagannath the Hindu God to Pārṣūtām (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-Nizam of Odisah (Orissa) was conferred on Murshid Quli Khān Rustam-Jang, the Deputy-Nizam of the Chaklāh of Jahāngir-nagar (Dacca) was bestowed on Sāfarz 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. Sāfarz Khān also appointed Jaṣmat Rai, the late Nawāb Jafar Khān’s Secretary, and his own tutor.

¹ 'Parsūtām’ 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 Aurangzeb’s reign. The offices of Nazim and Diwan had been hitherto kept quite distinct, but a retrograde step towards their eventual amalgamation was taken by Aurangzeb, when the latter appointed his favourite officer Murshid Quli Khān I. (afterwards Nawāb Jafar Khān) to the dual offices of Diwan of Bengal and Orissa and Deputy Nazim of Bengal and Orissa. Murshid Quli Khān I. could not personally perform the functions of these dual offices, and whilst himself personally holding the portfolio of Deputy Nizam of Bengal (the Chief Nazim being still Prince Ṭimūn-šāh-šāh), he delegated the office of Diwan in Bengal to Syed Akrum Khān and, on the latter’s death, to Syed Bāzī Khān, (son-in-law of Shuja’u-d-dīn Khān,) and that of Deputy Nazim and Diwan of Orissa to Shuja’u-d-dīn Khān (his son-in-law.) Emperor Farrukh Śir, on his accession to the throne of Delhi, further confirmed and accentuated the above administrative change by uniting in the person of Nawāb Jafar Khān the offices of Nazim 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 Satrap, and gave him almost a semi-regal aspect. This regal aspect was further broadened by Emperor Mahjūn-šāh adding Behar to the Bengal Satrapy, whilst Nawāb Shuja’u-d-dīn was the Bengal Vicerey. For purposes of administration, Shuja’u-d-dīn appointed a State Council of three members to help him in the administration, and divided his entire Satrapy, 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) Jahāngir-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 Naflisah Bāgam, his sister, he bestowed the office of Superintendent of the Nawarā (war-vessels) on Muḥād Aʿlī Khān,1 son of Syed Rażī Khān. He had control over Fiscal and Home affairs, and the management of Crown-lands, Jāgīra, war-vessels, artillery, Accounts and Customs-house were all entrusted to Munshi Jashānat Rāğ. In that the aforesaid Munshi had been trained up by Nawāb Jaʿfar Khān, by dint of honesty and integrity, by thorough attention to details and by wise wisdom, he effected not only an increase in the State Revenue, but secured the happiness of the people. He completely abolished the system of Sāndā-i-ṭār,1 and banished the exactions and innovations introduced by Mir Ḥabīb, during the ṭarāt of Murshid Qull Khān. 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 Amīr-i-Umārā Shāstā 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) Bahar Division, (4) Orissa Division. 3 Shujāʿ-u-ṭ-din Khān directed administered the first Division, and appointed a Deputy Nazīm or Deputy-Governor to hold charge of each of the other three Administrative Divisions, under his general control and supervision.

1 Muḥād Aʿlī Khān was a son of Naflisah Bāgam, uterine sister of Sarfarāz Khān. Naflisah Bāgam was a daughter of Shujāʿ-u-ṭ-din Khān, and was married to Syed Rażī Khān, who was Diwān of Bengal, on the death of Syed Akram Khān, during the ṭarāt of Nawāb Jaʿfar Khān. On Syed Rażī Khān’s death, during the reign of Emperor Farrukh Si, on the nomination of Nawāb Jaʿfar Khān (his maternal grandfather), Mirzā Asadu-l-Aḥā 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 Shujāʿ-u-ṭ-din Khān succeeded Nawāb Jaʿfar Khān as Nāṣim of Bengal, being deprived, however, of all real power, which was transferred to the State Council, consisting of Hāji Aḥmad (brother of Aʿlī Vardī Khān), Diwān Alamgīnd, and Fatihchand Jagāt Set.

2 Mirzā Lutfullah, surnamed Murshid Qull Khān II, son-in-law of Shujāʿ-u-ṭ-din 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 Jaʿfar Khān who also held the title of Murshid Qull Khān.
the price of food-grains to one seer of the Bazaar 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 Iran, 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 Begum, Murad Ali Khan was married to a daughter of Sarfaraz Khan, and was appointed Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) in the place of Ghalib Ali Khan. Murad Ali Khan now promoted Raj Bahadur, a clerk attached to the Admiralty, to the office of Peishkar thereof, and commenced oppressions. Munshi Jaswant Rai, who had acquired a good name amongst the people, apprehending that his reputation might be tarnished, resigned his office of Diwan, and the Province of Jahangirnagar or Dacca turned to desolation through the tyranny of the new oppressive Deputy Navig.

Mirza Muhammad Said, the second son of Hajji Ahmad, who was on behalf of Sarfaraz Khan Faujdar of the Chaklah of Ghoraughat and Rangpur and Kuch Behar, desolated the Mahals of Rangpur by his exactions and oppressions, and acquiring the treasures of

1 See n. note and the text with reference to Nawab Shaitan Khan.
2 See n. note.
3 Nafisah Begum was a sister of Sarfaraz Khan, and Murad Ali Khan was a son of Nafisah Begum, by Syed Razi Khan, Sarfaraz Khan's predecessor in the office of Diwan of Bengal. Thus, Murad Ali Khan was a nephew of Sarfaraz Khan. He, hitherto, held the office of Superintendent of the Nusserah (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 supersession of Ghalib Ali Khan. It may be interesting to note that there is a place called Muradnagar, near Dankandi, in Comilla, which is associated with some former Nawabs of Dacca, and where some landed property is still, I believe, owned by the Bikhnapshari 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 Rajbhallah's son, Kishan Ballah, in the time of Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah, fled from Dacca to Calcutta, and by his intrigues brought about a rupture between Siraj-ud-daulah and the English. See Sircu-l-Mutaffia, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 621. Rajbhallah was the evil genius of Murad Ali Khan, as Amanghal was the evil genius of Shuja'ud-din Khan, and Ratanchand that of the Syed brothers. See note ante. Rajbhallah subsequently ingratiated himself with the infamous Miran, son of Mir Ja'far.
those whom he oppressed, he mobilised an army. Requisitioning troops from the Emperor, he marched with his troops against the Rājahs of Kuch Behār 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 war and battles, Mirzā Muhammad Sa‘īd conquered those tracts, and acquired possession of the treasuries, buried hoards, jowelleries and effects of those Rājahs. Owing to the immense treasure—indeed the treasure of a Ceresus—that thus fell into his hands, he acquired much power. After the conquest of Kuch Behār, by humouring Hāji Ahmad, on the recommendation of Nawāb Shuja‘u-d-daulah and Sarfarāz Khān, Mirzā Muhammad Sa‘īd received the titles of ‘Khān’ and ‘Bahādur’ (Nawāb Shuja‘u-d-daulah, on the advice of his Triumvirate Connell, deputed Sarfarāz Khān to chastise Bādi‘u-z-samān, zamindār of Bīrbhām. Sheltered by rocks and forests and supported 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 lakhs of revenue derived from the measured and cultivated lands, that had been endowed for the express purpose of helping the poor and the scholarly. The zamindār himself was plunged in dissipations and frivolities. On the ridges of Khubra Kandi and Lakra Khondah 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, Azam Khān, to administer his State, and his son, A‘lī Quli Khān, to command his army, and Nauhat Khān to be his Diwān and Minister. Bādi‘u-z-samān 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 Shuja‘u-d-daulah, and embodying also threats and punishments in the event of his recalcitrance and disloyalty. Subsequently, Sarfarāz Khān despatched via Bardwan his special confidants, Khwajah Basant and Mir Shafī‘u-d-din, the second Paymaster-General, with a large army. Bādi‘u-z-samān now prudently woke up from the slumber of vanity, and ten-
dered his homage and submission. Inducing the aforesaid Mir and the above Khwajah 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 Sarfaraz Khân, through the introduction of Mir Sharfu-á-d-din, Badi'u-z-zaman was granted an audience by Nawáb Shuja'ú-d-daulah, who not only pardoned his past misdemeanors, but generously bestowed on him khilâts. Badi'u-z-zaman agreed to pay three lakhs 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 Karatchand, zamindar of Bardwan. He was then allowed to return to Birbhum.

Towards the close of the year 1151 a.H., when Nâdir Shah invaded the Imperial Capital, and Şâmuñ-e-d-daulah Khân-daurán fell in the battle against Nâdir Shah, Nawáb Shuja'ú-d-daulah being ill and confined to bed permitted Yahya Khân and Durdânah Begam (son and wife respectively of Murshid Quli Khân) to go to Orissa, and proclaimed Sarfaraz Khân as his heir. Earnestly exhorting the latter to confide in Ḥāji Ahmad, the Rai Bahān and Jagatset, and always to respect their feelings, and entrusting to him control over the offices of the Nizamat, Nawáb Shuja'ú-d-din Khân died on the 13th Zilhâj of the aforesaid year. After laying to rest Shuja'ú-d-daulah's corpse in the sepulchre which he (Shuja'ú-d-daulah) had in his lifetime erected at Debpara, opposite to the Fort and the City of Murshidabad, Sarfaraz

1 Badi'u-z-zaman Khân of Birbhum, and Karatchand of Bardwan, appear to have been the two principal zamindars in Western Bengal at the time. I understand the descendants of Badi'u-z-zaman still survive at Birbhum, but are in an impoverished condition.

2 A full description of Nâdir Shah's invasion will be found in all Indian histories, and also in Seircul-Muatorio, Vol. II, p. 482.

3 This battle took place at Naraul, 3 stages (munsal) distant from Shahjahabad or Delhi, in 1151 A.H. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 482.

4 That is, Rai Ahmed, Shuja'ú-d-din Khân's de facto Diwan. He received the title of 'Rai Rahin' from the Emperor, on the recommendation of his master, Nawáb Shuja'ú-d-din Khân. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 471.

5 It should be noted that both Shuja'ú-d-din Khán and Shuja'ú-d-daulah signify one and the same person. These were his titles. This Shuja'ú-d-daulah, better known as Shuja'ú-d-din Khân, must not be confounded with the Nawab Vizier Shuja'ú-d-daulah of later history.
Khān mounted the masnad of the Nizāmat in the place of his father.

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 Hajī Ahmad, the Rāl Ḳa’in and Jagatast to be his Councillors in respect of Revenue and Administrative affairs. But these meddled 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 ‘Azimabād (Patna) under pretence of visiting the Nāzim, 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 Nizām-ul-Mulk, Burhān-ul-Mulk, Qamruddin Khān, and Muḥammad Khān Bangash, &c., who were the pillars of the Mughal Empire, and en-

1 The author of the Mawsul-l-Usūr 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, Hajī Ahmad, who was Sarfarāz Khān's chief councillor. See p. 844, Mawsul-l-Usūr, 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 Tahmāsp, King of Persia, he held a Council of State, and got himself elected as King of Persia. See his life in Namā Mauṣūm (p. 153), which also gives his portrait.

3 For details, see Seïm-l-Matūheres, 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) 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. The Trimvirate Council persuaded Sarfarāz Khān to introduce in Bengal the coins and the Khūṭbah of Nādir Shāh, and about the same time they remitted the confiscated treasures of Shujā'-ud-daulah and the Bengal tribute in charge of Murid Khān, who had arrived in Murahidābād on behalf of Qamru-d-din Khān 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 Shāhī coin and Khūṭbah 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, they secured a royal patent granting to them the Nizāmat of Bengal, and authorising the execution of Sarfarāz Khān, on account of his treason in introducing the coin and Khūṭbah of Nādir Shāh. When the Muḥammad Shāh could not put aside personal feelings and childish jealousies—the great bane of all Moslem races and the grave of so many Musalmān Empires,—nor could combine loyally in one common and sacred cause to repel the enemy’s invasion of India. Bāburu-l-Mulk was the greatest delusion in this respect. Only Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Qamru-d-din Khān appeared in better light, and seem to have worthily maintained the high traditions of their great offices. For Nizāmu-l-Mulk Asif Jula, and Qamru-d-din Khān, see Moasaur-ul-Umar, Vol. III, p. 837, and Vol. I, p. 355.

1 For some gruesome details of the sack of Delhi and the general massacre of its population, see Seer-i-Mahbarat, Vol. II, p. 455.

2 Nādir Shāh’s invasion was one of the great external calamities that overtook the Mughal Empire and hastened its ruin.

3 Khūṭbah was also recited after Nādir Shāh’s name in all the mosques of Delhi on his entry there. See Seer.

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 Mutamam-d-daulah Ihaq Khān. The latter exercised at the time great influence over Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. See p. 450, Seer-i-Mahbarat.

6 The Trimvirate 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 desppicable game of villainy,
arow 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 Ḥāji Ahmad 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, Rohilhās, and Bhalīs, set out for Bengal; whilst Ḥāji Ahmad 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 communications of emissaries, 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 of Azimābād (Patna) on his son-in-law, Syed Muhammad Ḥasan, in succession of Ali Vardi Khān, and the Faujdār of Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) together with the command of Sakrīgāl and Tēlāgādhi passes on Mir Sharuf-tdin Bakhshī, in succession of Aṭāū-l-lah Khān, son-in-law of Ḥāji Ahmad. Sarfarāz Khān also determined to appoint Munžīd Jasnāt 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 outstandings 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. Sarfarāz Khān, who owing to guilelessness of

1 See slightly varied accounts in the Seera-i-Mutahharra (p. 489), which states that Sarfarāz Khān transferred the office of Diwan from Ḥāji Ahmad to Mir Murtaza, and contemplated transferring the Faujdār of Rājmahal from Aṭāū-l-lah Khān to his son-in-law, Rasūl Muhammad 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 prodigality, 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 wives. A'lî Vardi Khân, utilising this short respite, secured the adhesion of Mustafa Khân, Shamscher Khân, Sardar Khân, Umâr Khân, Bahim Khân, Karam Khan, Sirãndãz Khân, Shaikh Ma'sum, Shaikh Jahangir Khan, Muhammed Zulfiquar Khan, Oh którą iu Narâi (Bakhshi of the Bhalishe), Bakhtawar Singh, and other Generals and officers of the Army. Under the false pretext of waiting on Sarfaraz Khan, A'lî Vardi Khân marched swiftly, crossed the passes of Tiliagadh and Sakrigali, and reached the frontiers of Bengal. At the instigation of Hâji Ahmad, Ataullah Khan, Fanjdàr of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), had taken steps to prevent all movements of messengers and spies, and to interdict all intercourse through news-letters between Agimâbad (Patna) and Bengal via the passes of Tiliagadh and Sakrigali, until A'lî Vardi Khân had crossed through those passes. In consequence, no news of A'lî Vardi Khân's movements had reached Sarfaraz Khân. It was only when the vanguard of A'lî Vardi Khân's army had actually reached Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), that all of a sudden the news of A'lî Vardi Khân's movement reached Sarfaraz Khân. This news threw both the City of Murshidabad and its Bazaar into commotion. Perplexed by this news, Sarfaraz Khan instantly imprisoned Hâji Ahmad. Although the Râi Râsan treacherously explained that A'lî Vardi's arrival was for the purpose of waiting on Sarfaraz Khân, this explanation had no reassuring effect. Detailing Ghans Khân and Mir Sharif-ud-din, who were his old officers, to lead the vanguard, and leaving his son, Hâfizâ-l-lah as-surnamed Mirzá Amâni, together with Yasin Khan Fanjdâr, to guard the Fort and the City, Nawab Sarfaraz Khân together with Ghazanfar Hussain Khân and a son of Muhammed Taqi Khân, (both of whom were his sons-in-law), and with Mir Muhammed Baqir Khân, Mirza Muhammed Irâj Khân, Mir Kâmil, Mir Gudâi, Mir Haifâr Shâh, Mir Diler Shâh, Bajj Singh, Rajjâl Chandrab Singh, Shamscher Khân Qurishi, (Fanjdâr of Silhat), Shujâ Quil Khân, (Fanjdâr of the port of Hûgh), Mir Habib, Murshid Quil Khân Fanjdâr, Mardân A'lî Khân (the late Shujâ Khân's Bakhshi) and other Generals and Munshidars 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 Bahmaniah, which is two fars distant from Murshidabad. Marching on the second day, the Nawab reached Sarai Dīwān, and marching on the third day, he encamped at Khurmah, where he mustered his army and reviewed its strength and armaments. In that the officers of Shujā Khān’s regime were in league with Hāji Ahmad, brick-lasts instead of shells were discovered in the arsenal, and rubbish was found inside guns. Consequently, cashiering Shahrār Khān, the Hāji’s brother, who was General Superintendent of the Artillery, and making him over to the custody of his retainers, Nawab Sarfarāz Khān appointed in his place Pancho, son of Antony the Portuguese, to be General Superintendent of the Artillery. The forces of Mahābat Jang were arranged in the form of a circle from Aurangābād, at the mouth of the Sāthi (where the shrine of Shah Murtaza’ Hindi exists) to the plain of Balkātah.

On the fourth day, when the silvery-crowned King (i.e., the Sun) proceeded 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 Sarfarāz Khān, selecting an auspicious moment according to astrologers, advanced to assault the enemy. By one single assault, the troops of Mahābat Jang were thrown into panic and confusion, were set a-reeling, and were nearly routed. The Rai Raian, finding that the table was being turned, at this moment treacherously represented to Nawab Sarfarāz Khān 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 foot.

This Rai Raian Dīwān Alamchand, the protege and favourite of Sarfarāz Khān’s father, under the false mask of loyalty, did more damage to Sarfarāz Khān’s cause, than even A’li Yarri Khān and his brother Hāji 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 Gherah river. Meanwhile, a letter from Mahābat Jāng 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 Aʿlī Vardi Khān Mahābat Jāng, 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 guage correctly the dispositions of Aʿlī 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 Ḥāji to be auspicious, nay as the first angury of victory, Mahabat Jang (Aʿlī Vardi) enclosed in a casket a brick, giving out it contained the Holy Qoran, 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 Aʿlī 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 Alamshah’s memory to add that he was only one of the faithless out of a faithless herd.
After the withdrawal of Sarfaraz Khan's emissaries, A'li Vardi Khan 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 Sarfaraz Khan's army who from before were in league with A'li Vardi Khan, were all ready for treachery and regicide. The only exceptions were Muhammad Ghans Khan and Mir Sharfu-d-din, Commanders of the vanguard of Sarfaraz Khan's army, who were posted at the ford of the river Geriah. Ascertaining through messengers and spies the secret plot of treachery that was hatching, both the above Generals at midnight hastened to Sarfaraz Khan, 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 Sarfaraz Khan. Placing no reliance on their loyal representation, Sarfaraz Khan treated those two Generals in a rude and threatening manner, and by way of menace added: "You opening a shop of self-aggrandisement desire that I should be involved in war against Mahabat 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 Sarfaraz Khan, in the slumber of heedlessness, lay intoxicated with the wine of sleep. At the instigation of Haji Ahmad, in the dead of night, under the pretext of visiting relations and friends, the officers and soldiers of Mahabat Jang's army, with their light baggages, by ones and twos, mingled with the army of Sarfaraz Khan, and forming rings round the Royal tent looked out for an opportunity to strike.

The officers of Shuj'a Khan's regime, upon whom Sarfaraz Khan placed great reliance, from the very beginning were in intrigue with the Haji, and seeing and knowing all connived at and concealed the conspiracy; whilst the loyal adherents of Sarfaraz Khan held their tongue from fear of being snubbed. Whilst one hour of the night yet remained, A'li Vardi Khan and
Haji Ahmad divided their forces into two divisions. They detailed one division under the command of Nandil Jama'dar, together with the standard and the kettle-drum, and flags and elephants, to attack Ghang Khan and Mir Sharfa-d-din, whilst with another division, consisting of Afghan and Bhaliah troops, in the darkness of the night, under the guidance of the men of the zamindari of Ramakant, Zamidur 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 protos wrote 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, "Alli 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 Alli 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 condemn or extenuate the black ingratitude and treachery of Alli Vardi and the Trisvirsate Counsellors, Dewan Alamgird, Haji Ahmad and Jagat-set, who were all protos of Sarfaraz Khan's father.
solved to sacrifice their lives, and firmly stood their ground. Nawâb Sarfarâz Khân, after finishing his morning-prayer, also armed himself, seized the Holy Quran 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 Afghan generals of Mahâhat Jang’s army, covered by a squadron of Bhâlîk(f) infantry, charged Sarfarâz Khân’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 bands 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, Mardân A’li Khân, the Bakhshî of Shujâ Khân’s regi(m)ns, who was now the generalissimo of Sarfarâz Khân’s army, and commanded the van, feeling himself incapable of continuing the contest any longer, fled. At the sight of this flight, Sarfarâz Khân’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 mock-heroes remained to cover Sarfarâz Khân’s elephant. The elephant-driver perceiving that victory had declared itself for the enemy, said to Sarfarâz Khân:—’If it be your Highness’s pleasure, I shall carry you to Bichhâm to the Zamindâr, Badi’u-z-zaman.’ Sarfarâz Khân, 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 Barqūdūzās and the Khāvrāhs of the enemy's army, who had from before ranged themselves like a ring round Sarfarāz Khān'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 Gādāī, who was a special favourite of Sarfarāz Khān, was shot down by a rocket. Mir Kāmil, brother of Mir Muḥammad Bāqīr surnamed Bāqīr Aʾlī Khān (nephew of Shujāʾ-ud-daulah), and a young unmarried boy of Mirzā Muḥammad Irāj Khān Bakshā, and other personal attendants, including Baham, Saʾid 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 Sarfarāz Khān's elephant. Mirzā Irāj Khān was also mortally wounded. Mir Diler Aʾlī gallantly attacked the Afghān column of Aʾlī Vardā Khān, exhibited heaps of prowess and bravery, but receiving swordcuts gallantly fell with a number of his companions.

At this moment, Sarfarāz Khān 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 Ḥābīb, Murshīd Quli Khān, Shamsīr Khān Quraishī (Faujdār of Silhāt) and Rājāh 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 Nandīlal Jamādār, Ğhaṇ Khān and Mir

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1 Though exceptionally humane and forbearing in disposition, it is refreshing to note Sarfarāz Khān could fight and fall bravely like a hero.
2 The word used is میکیہ دامبر (Mīkīyeh Dambar), which means a royal litter, carried on elephants. It is called Mīk Dambar (میک دامبر) in the Ṣeeyal-Muṭaḥārīn (p. 378) which explains its significance. It is possibly a Turkish word.
3 A four-wheeled carriage; whilst Ghurghā is a two-wheeled carriage.
Sharfuddin mistook the latter for Mahābatjang, and commenced fighting. By means of Rastam-like onslaughts and brave assaults, they killed Nandīlāl, and cut him up with their swords. Routing those who escaped the sword, they captured the Standard, kettle-drums, 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 Ghang Khān received on the breast mortal wounds from the bullets of Qhidan Hazāri’s musketeers, and fell. Ghang Khān’s two sons, Qutb 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 Bhalials.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 shoulders.

Qhidan Hazāri also received sword-cuts at their hands. After much slaughter and daring, being hit by the bullets of muskets, Qutb 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 Muhammad Zuflūqār, 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 Mir bravely replied: "Hitherto I fought from a sense of loyalty for the salt 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 Mir with his followers set out for Birbhûm. Notwithstanding that his gunners had run away, Pancho Ferangi, Superintendent of Sarfarâs Khan's artillery, served his guns and bravely stuck to them, and kept up an incessant cannonade. After Mir Sharfu-d-din's withdrawal, the Afghans in large numbers attacked Pancho, and killed him. Bâji Singh, a Rajput General, who with the rear-guard was at Khamra, 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 onslaughters, he dashed through the enemy's force to a point where Mahâbat Jang stood. With one stroke of his sharp spear, Bâji 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. Mahâbat Jang made him out on seeing his heroism and agility, and ordered Damr Quli Khan, superintendent of the artillery, to quickly oppose him. Damr Quli Khan encountering him shot a bullet through his breast, and Bâji Singh being mortally wounded fell on the ground.2 Zâlim Singh, Bâji Singh's son, aged nine years, with that inherent bravery which is characteristic of the Rajput race, unsheathed his sword from the scabbard, and stood up to guard his father. People from all sides surrounded him like a ring. Nawâb Mahâbat 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 (Ferangi) a word of terror, until the strong rule of the Moghal Empire turned it into one of contempt."—Sir W. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 184. The name 'Ferangi' was, however, more especially applied to the Portuguese settlers in India, whilst the term 'Nasara' (or Nasara) was a generic term for all Christians.

3 It is an eloquent testimony to the goodness of Sarfarâs Khan, that even in those treacherous times, and in such a trying crisis, he could command the unyielding 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 Baji Singh's corpse, and carried along with it Zalim Singh on their shoulders. During the fightings of Ghauz Khan, Mir Sharifuddin, Baji Singh and Pancho Fernati, both the sons-in-law of Sarfaraz Khan, named Ghazanfar Husain and Hasan Muhammad, together with other Mongolmers and vanquished soldiers, had fled from the battle-field, and had in one day marched back to Murshidabad. And the Rai Raiyan Amanchand, 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-slings. In short, when Sarfaraz Khan was felled on his elephant-litter, the elephant-driver carried his corpse swiftly to Murshidabad. Yasin Khan, Faujdar of Murshidabad, who together with Hafiz-ullah Khan, son of Sarfaraz Khan, had been left to guard the City, the Citadel and the Nawab's family, buried at midnight the corpse of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan at Naktahali. Hafiz-ullah and Ghazanfar Husain 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 Vardi Khan. This Revolution in the Government threw the City, as well as the Army and the people of Bengal, into a general and deep convulsion. Haji Ahmad first entering the city of Murshidabad, proclaimed peace.

1 The Rai Raiyan Amanchand (the recreant and creature of Sarfaraz Khan's father Shujaud-din Khan) was after all a prudent sinner, and, therefore his character stands out in a less hideous light, than that of Haji Ahmad and Jagat Seth, who do not appear to have been similarly disturbed by qualms of conscience for their black ingratitude and treachery.

2 Ali Vardi Khan himself entered the city of Murshidabad 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 Nasirah Begum, a daughter of Shujaud-din Khan, and sister of Sarfaraz Khan. He next held a Darbar in the Chehel Sotun palace of Shujaud-din Khan, and though at first he was detained 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-Mutahhari, Para text, p. 494). He appointed in his place as Naib Nazim of Patna (Azimabad) his son-in-law, Zaimuddin Khan Haibat Jung. (See p. 499, Seiru-l-Mutahhari).
and security on behalf of Ali Vardi Khān. Yāsin Khān Fanjdar, under the order of the Hāji, set guards on Sarfaraz Khān’s treasury and family, officers and servants, as well as on his Saraglio, so that none could escape. This battle of Gheria took place in 1163 A.H.

NIZĀMAT OF NAWĀB ALI VARDĪ KHĀN MAHĀBAT JANG.

After obtaining victory, Ali Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang, in order to overlook the sack of the City and the loot of Sarfaraz Khān’s treasures at the hands of Afghāns and Bhaftahs, for three days encamped outside the City, on the banks of the river Gobrah. On the fourth day, with a sense of perfect security entering the Citadel, he seated himself with extended thighs on the musamad of the Nizamāt of Bengal, and consecrated without any trouble Sarfaraz Khān’s treasures which the past Nāsims with considerable self-denial had hoarded. In that Nawab Mahābat 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. Hāji Ahmad and his sons and relations possessed themselves of Sarfaraz Khān’s fifteen hundred pretty female dependants and slaves. Mahābat Jang banished to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) the wedded Begams of Sarfaraz Khān with their children, and fixed small allowances for them from the income of the Khās Ta’lūqah.

1 Compare the description of this battle with that given in the Seīr-i-Mutahharis, pp. 402-403. The author of the Seīr, 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 Khān at this battle. Bīrān’s account of this important battle seems much richer in details, as well as more graphic and more exact than that of the Seīr. This important battle took place about 11 months after Nadir Shāh’s return to Persia after the sack of Delhi, and about 14 months after Shajā’u-d-din Khān’s death.

2 This fact which redounds to the discredit of Ali Vardi Khān is suppressed by the author of the Seīr-i-Mutahharis, whose father was employed in a high capacity under Ali Vardi’s son-in-law, Zainād-din Khān, at Patna. The author of the Seīr, 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 Nafisah Begam, Sarfaraz Khan’s sister, who had adopted as her child Aqa Baha Kuchak who was her nephew, entered service as a governness in the Seraglio of Nawazish Ahmad Khan, ¹ the eldest son of Hajji 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 Munsad of the Nizamat of Bengal reached Emperor Nasiru-d-din Muhammad Shah, the latter wept and said: "Owing to Nadir Shah, 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 Jung, through Murad Khan, ² who was one of the associates of the Prime Minister, Nawab Qamaru-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 Qamaru-d-din Khan Vasir, and one lakh of rupees to Aasaf Jaha Nizamul-Mulk. He similarly conciliated and bribed other Imperial Officers according to their ranks. Intriguing with Raja Jugal Kishor, agent of Sarfaraz Khan, Mahabat Jung obtained in his own name the patent of the Nizamat of all the three Suhbas of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, according to the usual practice. He then exacted double the usual

¹ He was then Deputy Naqib of Jangibarnagar or Daoca.
² Emperor Muhammad Shah was not quite fair to Nadir Shah in his political diagnosis. He ought to have added, the glorious Timurid Empire in India had been shattered and undermined by the luxury and love of ease, and fratricidal jealousies and strife of himself and his immediate predecessors, and principally by the venality and corruption, joined to unmanly jealousy and personal ambition that had seized the later Mogul 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 virtue, first, and next their Empire; whilst Nadir Shah’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 Scir, p. 496.
⁴ It is humiliating to observe that even ministers of the calibre and position of Qamaru-d-din Khan and Nizamul-Mulk Aasaf Jaha were, at this dark period of Indo-Musulm History, not above corruption.
amount of revenue, presents and tribute from the Zamindārs of Bengal.

For the purpose of overthrowing Murshid Qutb Khan, and for conquering the Sūlah of Odisha (Orissa), Mahābat Jang now girded up his loins, mobilised troops and collected armaments, and bestowed the office of Generalissimo on Mir Ja'far Khān Bahādur, who was Mahābat Jang's brother-in-law, and who in the war with Sarfarāz Khān had rendered Mahābat Jang good services. Mahābat Jang bestowed on Mir Ja'far a corps of bodyguard, together with a mansab, a title, and a pension. He bestowed the office of Diwān with the title of Rāi Rāiān on Chin Rāi, who was a clerk in charge of the Jāgira of Jā'far Khān, and who was a person of probity and honesty. And he bestowed on Muḥammad Rizā Khān, the eldest son of Ḥāji Ahmad, who had married Ghassīt Khānām, daughter of Mahābat Jang, the title of Nāsrān-i-Mulk Iḥtisām ud-daulah Nawāzīḥ Muḥammad Khān Bahādur Shāhāmat Jang, together with the nominal office of Diwān of Bengal, and the Deputy Nigāmat of Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), including Chittagong, Rāmshamābād (Tipperah), and Silhat. And he bestowed on

1. He was a son-in-law of Shujā'ud-dīn Khān, and had been appointed by the latter Deputy Nazim of Orissa, on the death of Muḥammad Taqi Khān (a son of Shujā'ud-dīn Khān). Ali Vardi and his unholy Hāji 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 Hāji brother quickly met with his proper deserts, by being tortured and butchered, along with his son Zainūd-dīn Khān, by the Afghan rabble who sacked Patna. Ali Vardi himself was continually distracted and harassed by Mahārāta freebooters, who swept 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 Mahārātās, 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, Sirajūd-daulah, was tortured to death, and Ali Vardi's ill-gotten Satrapy dissolved for ever, and was transferred to other hands. Verily, Divine retribution was not slow in overtaking Ali Vardi Khān.

2. Chin Rāi was the Peshkar under the Diwan Alam Ghānī. Mahābat Jang, on Alam Ghānī's death, appointed Chin Rāi as his Diwan. (See Sīr, p. 405). Chin Rāi proved very honest, and was held in high esteem by Mahābat Jang. (See Sīr, p. 575).
Hāshim Ali Khān, the youngest son of Ḥājī Ahmad, who had married the younger daughter of Mahābāt Jang, named Amanah Khānām, the title of Zainu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān Haibat Jang, together with the Deputy Nizāmat of the Province of Bihār and Aṣimābād (Patna). And he advanced to ranks, titles, and Jaspīs his other relations and connexions, according to their ranks and aspirations. But the Afghāns and the Bahlīlāhs, who owing to their large numbers were haughty, meddled so much in all the affairs, that they did not care for Mahābāt 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 Mahābāt Jang.

The following details of the administrative arrangements made by Ali Vardī Khān on his usurpation of the Nizāmat of Bengal are summarized briefly from the Seera-y-Mustāṣāara, p. 495. Zainu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān, Ali Vardī's youngest son-in-law, was appointed Subadar of Behar and Patna. The Deputy Nizāmat of Jahanārgarh, including the Faqirāri of Sillhāt, Chittagong, and Tipperah, was given to his eldest son-in-law, Nawzul Muhmmad Khān. The Deputy Nizāmat of Urissa was bestowed on his second son-in-law, Said Ahmad Khān (after Murshid Qull Khān was defeated). The Superintendency of the Nureab or Imperial Fleet at Jahanārgarh (Dacca) was bestowed on his grandson, Mīrzā Muhammad (son of Zainu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān), named Sīraja-d-daulah Shīkh Qull Khān Bahlīl. Sīraja-d-daulah's brother was adopted as a son by Nawzul Muhmmad Khān, and named Sīraja-d-daulah Fadlīlah Qull Khān Bahlīl. With nominal command of the Jahanārgarh or Dacca army, Aṣūr-ī-lah Khān, a son-in-law of Ḥājī Ahmad (Ali Vardī's brother) was appointed Fāqirāri of Hājmaul (Akbaranagar) and Bhūgālpur. Alah Yar Khān (step-brother of Ali Vardī), Mrī Jafar Khān (brother-in-law of Ali Vardī), and his other connexions like Fāqir-i-lah Beg Khān, Nural-ī-lah Beg Khān and Mustaफ Khān were given states and possessions with titles and body-guards. (Mahī Rāy [Peshīvar under Diwan Aḥmadān] received the title of 'Rāj Rāim,' and was appointed Deputy Diwan of Bengāl, Bahār Jānāk Khān, who was the old household Diwan of Mahābāt Jang, was appointed Diwan of Miscellaneous departments. The Seir's author's maternal uncle or Kholī, Abdul Ali Khān (who was also a connexion of Ali Vardī), received a manor, together with the parganas of Naṅ Ṣamāl and Belār.

For its revival, Ali Vardī Khān Mahābāt 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. He taught the lesson of ingrati-
Towards the commencement of the insurrection of Ali Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang, Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān had asked for help from Murshid Quli Khān, the Governor of Odissah (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 Sarfarāz Khān’s fall and of Ali Vardi Khān’s mastery over the Šubah of Bengal. It was then that Murshid Quli Khān woke up from slumber, and was plunged into shame and sorrow.

General well-being follows mutual union; General ruin follows disunion.

In short, from fear of Ali Vardi Khān, Murshid Quli Khān made preparations in self-defence, and exerted himself strenuously towards the mobilisation of an army, and deputed to Murshidābād Muhālīs Ali Khān, son-in-law of Hājī 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 Khān and Hājī Ahmad sending a reassuring and diplomatic message to Murshid Quli Khān, set him at ease, and sent back Muhālīs Khān, in order to sow treason secretly amongst the Officers of Murshid Quli Khān’s army. Muhālīs Khān presenting himself before Murshid Quli Khān 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 Khān Mahābat 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, Durdānah Bégam, and his son, Yahyā Khān, undaunted by his own treacherous conduct, and so others took their cue from him.

1 The Persian couplet is:

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2 Ali Vardi and his worthy Hājī 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 Barahbatti, Marshid Quli Khan with an efficient force and requisite war-paraphernalia, together with his two sons-in-law, named Mīrāʾ Muḥammad Bāqīr Khan, a Prince of Persia, and Alāʾ-d-dīn Muḥammad Khan, marched out from Cuttack (Cuttack) in order to fight, and advanced to the port of Ballasore (Balasore). At the ferry of Phulwar, from the neck of Tilgaudi to the river Jum, he threw up an entrenchment, and remained behind it waiting for the enemy. Unfortunately, Marshid Quli Khan was ignorant of the wiles of the traitor in his own camp in the person of Mukhīlis Ali Khan, and had, therefore, failed to take any precautionary steps against that double-faced scoundrel, and had thus ignored the saying of Saʿdī:

1 The construction of Fort Barabati has been assigned to various monarchs with various dates. Sterling thinks it was built by Rājāh Anuṅg Bhusn Deva in the fourteenth century. The stone work 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 ... Rājāh Mukund Deo built a palace here with nine courts ... The palace was in time abandoned by the Mussulman 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 Cuttack, called 'Bakrabad,' named so, probably, after Bāqīr Khan.

3 Tilgaudi in the text is apparently a mistake for the hill 'Tulimunda' marked on the maps of Orissa, near Balasore.

4 'Jum' in the text is also obviously a mistake; I do not find any river of that name near Balasore or in Orissa. It is a mistake probably for the river near Balasore, called 'Nunajuri,' Balasore itself being situated on the Buribhalung river.

5 In Sīra-ī-Mutakarra (p. 497), it is stated Murshid Quli Khan passed through Balasore port, and encamped on the banks of its river, in the Mouza of Bhalwar. The encampment is described in the Sīr 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 Vardī Khān passing through Modnipar and Balasore, took up a position on the north banks of the Buribhalung river. The position taken up by Murshid Quli Khān is described as very impregnable, and he might not have been dislodged from it, but for the rash folly of his son-in-law, Mīrāʾ Bāqīr Ali Khān, and the treachery of his Afghan General, 'Ahīd Khān, who deserted Murshid Quli Khān, his old master and benefactor, and joined with his Afghan contingent Mustafa Khān, the Afghan General of Ali Vardī Khān. The crafty Ali Vardī Khān had by means of bribes swung treason amongst the Afghan troops of Murshid Quli Khān (497 Sīr).

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 Khan reached Medipur, secured the adhesion of the Zamindars of that district by bestowing on them Khilas and gifts, and encamped at Jalaisar (Jalasore), which was an Imperial outpost. On the banks of the river Sabaurikha, at the ferry of Rajghat, Rajah Jagirdhar Bhanj, Zamindar of Morbhanj, had established a garrison of his Chawans and Khandsaitas, and had erected entrenchments. To cross, therefore, at the ferry of Rajghat, which was protected by dense jungles and thorny trees, was found to be a difficult operation, and therefore, Ali Vardi Khan had to ask for help from the Rajah. The Rajah, however, was haughty owing to his command of a large army, and did not care for Ali Vardi Khan. He refused to side with the latter, or to permit him to cross at the Rajghat ferry. Ali Vardi Khan placing his artillery-waggons in front of the Rajghat ferry, commenced bombarding it. The Rajah's army were unable to hold the ground in their entrenchment, and fled to the jungles. Ali Vardi Khan with troops and artillery crossed over at Rajghat, and encamped at Ramchandarpur which was at a distance of one and a half karas from Murshid Quli Khan'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 Khan had not advance across the ferry of Phulwar. Having

1 This is an error in the text, or a misprint for 'Subarnarika' river, on which Jalaisar 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 Musulman ladies in Bengal, even towards the middle of the eighteenth century, it may be noted that Murshid Quli Khan himself was averse to fight with Ali Vardi Khan, owing to a sense of feebleness, but that his brave wife, Durjanah Begum, encouraged and inspired him to fight, in order to avenge her brother Sarfaraz Khan'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 Afghan 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 Subah 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 Abid Khan and other Afghan Generals, owing to the sedition sown amongst them by Makhaliq Ali Khan, treacherously advised Mirza Baqir 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 Baqir from attempting a sally. But as the period of stay within entrenchments was tediously protracted, Mirza Baqir, 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-Aziz, 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 ened that in case her husband failed to do so, she would supplant him from the Government of Orissa, and raise to the padi her son-in-law, Mirza Baqir Ali Khan, in his place. Thence, Murshid Quli gave way to his wife’s influence, and resolved to fight with Ali Vardi. (See Seera-i-Mutanassir, Pers. text, p 496).
Vardi Khân with his Begam 1 was mounted, was withdrawn half a farash away from the battle-field. At this crisis, Mukhalis Ali Khân and Abid Khân surnamed Farzand Ali Khân, upon whose loyalty Murshid Quli Khân repose implicit confidence, together with Muqarrab Khân 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 Khân, and retired from the battle-field. At this juncture, Mânikghând, 2 Peshkâr of the Râjah of Bârdwân, who had arrived with an appropriate auxiliary force to serve under Ali Vardi Khân, reflecting that results of war were dubious, and speculating about the

1 This is a remarkable incident illustrating that Musalmân 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 Seisr-i-Mutâžâsera (Pers. text, p. 550), that one day Ali Vardi at Patna after fighting with the Mahrattas under Baghoji Bhoela, 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 organized a political mission, and sent it to Baghoji's camp, to arrange for a treaty of peace. Baghoji fell in with the proposal, but his Chief Advisor, Mir Hâlib, 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 Mânikghând who was afterwards left as Governor of Calcutta, when Siraju-d-daulah conquered it, was a shrewd and time-serving man, and regulated his loyalty by prudential considerations. He was a prototype of Nubo-khân 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 Mânikghând 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 Seisr makes no mention of Mânikghând having taken any part in the battle, and ascribes Murshid Quli Khân's disaster to the treachery of his Afghan general Abid Khân, and to the rash sally of his son-in-law, Mirza Basîr Ali Khân. At this battle near Balsore, the Syeds of Bâtra fought bravely on the side of Murshid Quli Khân, and several of them, such as Mir Ali Akhâr and Mir Mũjtâhâ Ali fell, whilst Mirza Basîr Ali Khân himself was severely wounded. (See Seisr, p. 407.)
future, covertly honoured Murshid Quli Khan, 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 Mirza Baqir Khan was marching in pursuit of Ali Vardi Khan, Manikchand shewed himself, and displayed Murshid Quli Khan’s flag. Inasmuch as the aforesaid Mirza was unaware of his aim, he opposed his progress. Manikchand was obliged to fight. Mirza Baqir’s efficient soldiers were already exhausted by warfare, so they fought in broken lines, and by the vicissitudes of times, the corps of Mirza Baqir was defeated. Ali Vardi Khan, on being apprised of this, hurriedly collected his vanquished troops by use of persuasions, and a second time engaged in fighting. Mir Abdulla Asa 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 Khaliqah corps. Murshid Quli Khan being thus defeated retired to the Port of Balasore (Balasore), and there embarking on a sleep which had been kept ready from before, he sailed for the Dakhin, and presented himself before Nawab Asaft Jah. A providential victory thus fell to the good fortune of Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang. The latter pursued the vanquished army up to the Port of Balasore. From there, he detached Mirza Khairu-Ilah Beg, Faqire-Ilah Beg,

1 It is stated in the Seer that after his defeat at the battle of Balasore, Murshid Quli Khan together with his son-in-law, Mirza Baqir Ali Khan, 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 Mirza Baqir Ali moved towards the sea-shore. At this time it so happened that a friend of his, Hajji Moheen, a merchant of Surat, had his mercantile ship in the port, and also a pinnace. Murshid Quli Khan got into the pinnace along with Mirza Baqir Ali and Hajji Moheen and some servants, embarked on board the ship, which sailed down to Manilpatam. From Manilpatam, Murshid Quli Khan sent Mirza Baqir Ali towards Sikakul and Ganjam, to bring away Durbanah Begam and her daughter from Catak (Cuttack).

2 Nizamu-I-Mulk Asaft Jah was Viceroy of the Dakhin under Emperor Muhammad Shah, at this time. He had made himself semi-independent there, owing to the feebleness of the Central Government at Delhi. See note 2.
and Nur-ul-hah Beg to capture Yahya Khan 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), Murad Khan, the generalissimo of the Rajah of Parsam (Puri), who had been detailed for guarding Yahya Khan and the Begam in the Fort of Barabhati, planned to send instantly the Begam and Yahya Khan together with all their chattels and treasures to the Dakhin, by way of Sikakal. Baggages and equipages were kept ready, and jewelleries, gold coins, treasures, and other precious things were loaded on elephants, camels, and waggon, when all of a sudden the army of Ali Vardi Khan made its appearance. The elephant and camel-drivers, &c., leaving behind the loaded treasures and chattels with their baggages, fled, and all those treasures fell into the hands of the aforesaid Mirzas, who divided the precious jewelleries,

1 Murshid Quli Khan had left his wife Durdamah Begam and his son Yahya Khan, together with his treasures, in the Fort of Barabhati at Katak, whilst advancing to Balaore.

2 The Rajah was Hafiz Qadir, a Muhammadan. See n. 3 below and Seiir-i-Muttaferias, Pers. text, p. 498.

3 Sekakul or Chicacoole is a place in the Ganjam district, over 100 miles south-west of Puri. The land-route from Orissa to the Dakhin lay in olden days via Sekakul or Chicacoole across the Chilka lake. It is stated in the Seir that after arrival at Masulipatam, Murshid Quli Khan sent his son-in-law, Mirza Baqir Ali Khan, towards Sekakul and Ganjam, to proceed to the relief of Durdamah Begam and her daughter. In the meantime, on hearing of Murshid Quli Khan's defeat, Murshid Quli's friend, Hafiz Qadir, Rajah of Ratipur, Khurshid, who was Superintendant of the temple of Jagannath, (Note by Translator.—This is an interesting and remarkable fact showing that a Mussalman was once at the head of this Hindu Temple. See Seir, Pers. text, p. 498) of his own motion had sent his general, Muhammad Murad, with a force to guard and relieve Durdamah Begam and her daughter. Murad succeeded in bringing away the Begam and her daughter with their treasures and effects to Inshapur, which is in the Ganjam district. Awwaruddin Khan, Governor of Inshapur, treated the Begams very hospitably. At this time, Mirza Baqir Ali Khan reached Inshapur, and proceeded from there with the Begams and their treasures to Masulipatam, whence Murshid Quli Khan, Mirza Baqir Ali Khan and the Begams, together with the treasures and effects, proceeded to the Dakhin and took shelter with Asif Jah, its ruler. (See Seiir-i-Muttaferias, 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, zemar, and tribute, as well as of the jagirs. And in the course of one month, having finished the organisation and settlement of the Sābah of Orissa, he entrusted the charge of that Province to Said Ahmad Khan, his nephew, who had previously served as the Fanjdār of Raŋpur, procuring for him from the Emperor the title of Naṣir-ul-Mulk Said Ahmad Khan Bahādur Šaũlat 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 Said Ahmad Khan at Katak (Cuttack). Ali Vardi Khan then returned, triumphant and victorious, to Bengal.

Šaũlat Jang was of a charlful disposition and regulated himself by avarice. For effecting retrenchment in the military expenditure, he took into his service Šalim Khan, Darvēš Khan, Nia'mat Khan, Mir A'zīzu-l-īah and other generals, and sent back Gujar Khan 3 to Murshidabād, on the plea of smallness of the revenue of

1 It would appear the account in the Šeiru-l-Mutaffifin, as regards the fate of the Begams and their treasure is somewhat different from that in the Rīpas, which states that the Begams’ treasures and effects were captured by Ali Vardi Khan’s officers. The Rīpas is, however, strangely silent as to the fate of the Begams who were with the treasures. Obviously, the account in the Rīpas is incomplete and halting, whilst that of the Šeir is more consistent and comprehensive and, therefore, more acceptable.

2 The account in the Šeir is somewhat different from that in the Rīpas. In the Šeir, it is stated, in pursuance of a policy of economy, Šaũlat 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. Šaũlat Jang subsequently, at the instigation of one Šah Yātun 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 declined. 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. Sa'ulat Jang sent to them Qasim Beg, Superintendent of the Artillery, and Shaikh Hidai'tu-l-lah, Fanjdar (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 Hidai'tu-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 Sa'ulat 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 Silkakul across the Khilkah lake, they placed him on the mast of the Negamit 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 Sa'ulat 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 R notify and Phulwar, and then encamped2 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 Sa'ulat Jang, together with his wife and children, in the Port of Barabhati, and installed himself on the padi of Orissa. (See Seir-1-Mutakherin, Pers. text, p. 302.)

1 The Editor of the printed Persian text has inserted, after فروج كنون, though he says in his MSS. text, ي occurs. I consider, makes the text unintelligible, and ي 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. 303-306) of Ali Vardi's expedition to Katak, to relieve Sa'ulat 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, Shams-1-lah Khan, Haidar Ali Khan, Faqir-1-lah Beg Khan, Mir Jafar, Mir Sharaf-1-din, Shaikh Muhammad Musam
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, which is the ferry of the river Mahändi 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 Katjuri. Mahābat Jang was encamped on the banks of the river Kambariah, at a distance of forty karah from Katak, and there at midnight messengers bought him news of Mirza Baqir’s flight. Immediately summoning Mir Muhammed Ja‘far the generalissimo, Muṣṭafā Khan, Shamsīr Khan, Sardār Khan, Umar Khan, Buland Khan, Sirāndız Khan, Balisar Khan and other Afghan 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 Khan to pursue Mirza Baqir Khan. Soon after, Ali Vardi Khan himself with the remainder of his army set out. When the aforesaid generals with their army arrived five karah from Katak, Mirza Baqir Khan being apprised placed Šaulat Jang in a fringed Rath, placed in it Hājī Muḥammad Amin, brother of Murshād Quli Khan, with a drawn dagger, to be his companion and attendant, and also set two armed horsemen on two sides of the Rath, with

Amanāt Khan, Mir Kazim Khan, Bahadur Ali Khan. 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 (as the Jobra Ghat, as would appear from the Rajas), and rescued Šaulat Jang who was encaged in a Rath (a four-wheeled carriage) covered over with a white sheet and round it with white strings. Šaulat Jang’s escape from certain death was almost miraculous.

1 “Chaprah” of the text is known locally as “Jobra” ghat. It is situate midway the town of Katak, alongside the Mahanadi river. Close to the ghat, there is an old munshoom.

2 “Kambariah” river of the text is probably a misprint or misreading for “Phumra” river, down Jaipar, which would be about 40 Krah from Katak.
instructions that should the army of Mahabat Jang overtake them, they should instantly back up Sanaat 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 Sanaat Jang he left the La' il Bagh 1 Palace situate in the city of Katik, and arrived at Malisar. 2 At this time, Balisar Khan 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, Sanaat Jang changing his seat inside the Rath sat in the place where Haji Muhammad Amin had hitherto sat, and gave his own seat to the Haji. At the very sight of the flags of Balisar Khan's cavalry, the two armed horsemen who rode alongside the Rath thrust their spears through the Rath—screen, wounded Haji Muhammad Amin whom they mistook for Sanaat Jang, and fled. As fate would have it, as soon as the spear-thrust pierced the Haji's hand and shoulder, the Haji's dagger fell from his hand, and shouting out, "you have killed me; you have killed me," the Haji 3 tumbled down inside the Rath Sanaat Jang, the cup of whose life was not yet full to the brim, remained unscathed. When the Afghan troops were busy looting the vanquished, Mir Muhhammad Ja'far Khan Bahadur and Muhhammad Amin 4 Khan Bahadur, with a few men fell in with the runaways, and moved in every direction in quest of Sa' id Ahmad Khan Bahadur Sanaat Jang; but Sanaat Jang fearing lest some enemy might be searching for him,

1 LalBagh, on the banks of the Katjuri, now forms the residence of the Commissioner of the Orissa Division. It was built by Munsilman Governors of Orissa for their residence, in preference to Fort Barabati on the banks of the Mahanadi.

2 Malisar is apparently a mistake for Mukammur, 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 Haji 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 Muhhammad Amin was a step-brother of Ali Vardi Khan, surnamed Mahabat Jang, and brother-in-law of Mir Jafar, the latter having married an uterine sister of Mir Muhhammad Amin. Neither Ali Vardi nor his father was a Syed; they were Mirs; and therefore, Muhhammad Amin (Ali Vardi's stepbrother) 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 Muhammadans (and the usage has the sanction of authority) to call themselves Syeds, if their mothers are Syedas.
held his breath quietly. When Muhammed Amin Khan came up quite close, Saulat Jang, recognising his voice, answered him. The aforesaid Khan, on hearing the response, immediately tearing the screen of the Rath, and cutting up the tent-ropes brought out Saulat Jang, and dismounting from his horse embraced him. And Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan also coming up, they embraced each other, and after offering thanks to Providence for the safety of Saulat Jang's life, they indulged in jubilations. At the time when they were busy with embraces and hand-shakings, Hajji Muhammad Amin, finding an opportunity, nimbly got out of the Rath, and mounting the horse of Muhammad Amin Khan fled to the jungle, and vanished. When after enquiries into the condition of Saulat Jang they mounted their own horses, Muhammad Amin Khan was confounded at the disappearance of his own horse. On subsequently ascertaining the secret, they were all sorry. When the Afghan soldiers, after finishing their work of plunder and sack, rallied round Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan, they sent Saulat Jang to Mahabat Jang, whilst they themselves set out in pursuit of Mirza Muhammad Baqir. Finding the chance of his escape to be slender, the Mirza 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, Murad Khan, the generalissimo of the Rajah of Puri, who with a large contingent of troops supported Mirza Baqir, seizing the rein of the Mirza's horse, and by use of great persuasion, pulled him back from the battle-field. Becoming his guide, Murad Khan led the Mirza by a route across the forest towards the Dakhin. Ali Vardi Khan, after holding a thanksgiving service for meeting Saulat Jang and obtaining victory, allowed Saulat 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 Mirza Baqir, Ali Vardi confiscated all the branded horses of Mirza

1 If Mir Ja'far and his friends were capable of appreciating a practical joke, instead of being sorry, they might have enjoyed a hearty laugh.
2 This was Hafiz Qadir, Rajah of Ratipur, Khurdah, and master or Superintendent of the Jagannath Temple. (See Seiva-l-MutaMerin, Pera. text, p. 408, and note ante.)
3 That is, the horses which were supplied to, or had to be kept by military.
Bāqir, appointed Shaikh Maṣum, who was an able General, to the office of Deputy Nāzīm of the Șūbah of Odisah (Oriisa), and after finishing the administrative arrangements of that Province returned to Bengal.

Inasmuch as Jagat Isur, Rājah of Murbhanj, 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 Harharpur, 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 Chawars and Khandaitis, 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 Khandaitis and Chawars, and sowed discontents 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 Murbhanj, showed 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 ʿAv-i-Āberi, Vol. I., p. 255; Blochmann's translation for the Dāgh or branding regulations.

1 The Seir states that his name was "Shaikh Muhammad Maṣūm, Panī Ẓāt." He was appointed Deputy Governor of Oriisa, in the place of Jaulat Jang, on the recommendation of Ali Vardi's Afghan general, Mustafa Khān, who now got the upper hand in all political affairs. The Shaikh is described as a veteran and brave general. (See Seir, Pers. text, p. 505).

2 I am told 'Chawars' is a mistake for 'Chowana' who are Khotris by caste. 'Khandaitis' are also mixed Khotris; they are to be found in large numbers throughout Oriisa.

3 This story shows that one of the most prominent Muslim 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 Oriisa 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 Dakhin, 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 Pandit, and Ali Qarawāl, who was an able general, with a contingent of sixty thousand Mahratta cavalry from Nāgpūr, in the company of Mir Ḥabīb, by the route across the forest, in order to invade and pillage Bengal. On receiving news of the approach of Mahratta freebooters, Mahābat Jang abandoned the pursuit of the Morbhunj Rājah, and withdrew towards Bengal.

As yet Ali Vardi Khān had not passed through the forests of Morbhunj, when the army of Mahratta freebooters swooped down from the direction of the chākla of Bardwān. 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 Bengal army, which was ignorant of the tactics of Mahratta freebooters, but which had heard tales about their barbarity and ravages, 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 cut off. 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 oumlaughts 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 Seīr-ul-Munawwīrā (Pers. text, p. 507), whose author’s father, Syed Hedait Ali Khān, was at the time employed as Fanjdar 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 Pandit, general of Raghoji Bhoslah, swooped down through the above passes, cut through Pachhit and Morbhunj, and appeared near the outskirts of Medinipur. Raghoji Bhoslah (misquoted in the Pers. printed text of the Riṣāl, Raghoji Bhoslah) was a nephew of Rājah Soho and Mahastar (probably Governor or Chief) of the Šūbah of Berar, and his capital was at Nāgpūr in the Central Provinces.
elephant Landäh on which Mahâbat Jang’s Begam ¹ was mounted, and capturing the elephant dragged it towards their own camp, Musâhib Khân Mohmand, ² son of U’mar Khân the General, having his Hindustâni 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, Musâhib Khân 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, Mahâbat 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 Khân’s Begam matron beside her husband on an elephant at the battle of Balsaore, and we find her again by the side of her husband at this battle with the Mahrrattas, near Bardwân. 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 Nafisâ Khâmân and sued for pardon from her. From such incidents, the inference is not without warrant that Musulman 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 beneficent influence both in the domains of politics and Society.

² His name would indicate he was an Afghan belonging to the Mohmand tribe.

³ The Seir-i-Mutâfâria (Pers. text, pp. 607-613) gives a very graphic description of this first Mahrratta 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 Habib, according to the Rûfs which seems more probable; for Asif Jah was too high-minded to set loose Mahrratta freebooters on a Musulman satrapy); the second cause was the discontent of Ali Vardi Khân’s Afghan troops and officers, notably of Mustafa Khân, as Ali Vardi Khân had disbanded many Afghan levies after the Kalâk expedition to rescue Saâlat Jang; the third cause was the treacherous assassination by Ali Vardi of the Bajah of Morchmîn, whose cause was espoused by Mustafa Khân. The Seir further states that when Bhaskar Pandit reached near Bardwân and Pachit with 25,000 cavalry (given out as 40,000 cavalry), Ali Vardi Khân 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 Murshidabad with Saâlat Jang. Ali Vardi reached Bardwân with this small army. Bhâs-
Thus diverting the freebooters with the work of picking up coins, Mahabat Jang seized this respite, and with the celerity of lightning and wind riding out at full gallop arrived at Bardwan. 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 Bardwan. 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 Bardwan 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 Afghan and Bhahiah troops becoming desperate, determined to die hard. Mahabat Jang, seeing signs of defeat, owing to the exhausted condition of his soldiers, 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 Bardwan to Katwah, where food and fodder would be either procurable, or could be imported by waterways or highways from the environs of Muzafdarbad, to relieve the distressed soldiers. In short, in pursuance of kar Pandit having heard of Ali Vardi's bravery, proposed to the latter to give him ten lacs 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 Afghan officers and troops. Ali Vardi then with Siraj-ud-daulah waited on his Afghan General-in-Chief, Mustafa Khan, told him to kill him with his grand-son, or else to give him his support, in order to oppose this Mahratta invasion. Mustafa Khan, together with other Afghan officers now fought bravely against heavy odds with the Mahrattas, and Ali Vardi succeeded in retiring to Katwah, where provisions with a reinforcement came up under Saulett Jang from Muzafdarbad. At Katwah, Mustafa Khan inflicted a severe defeat on Bhakar Pandit, who now seriously thought of returning to his own country via Bhirbhum, but his chief adviser, Mir Habib, dissuaded him and brought him back from Bhirbhum to Katwah, holding out prospects of loot, and making himself responsible for the Mahratta conquest of Bengal.
this plan, setting out at night from Bardwân, Mahâbat Jang’s army marched towards Katwâh, and in a short interval by forced marches reached Katwâh. The light Mahratta cavalry, however, covered forty kâroh a day, and thus before Mahâbat Jang’s arrival at Katwâh, they had already burnt down its fields, farms, and granaries, and reduced them to ashes. The army of Mahâbat 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, Háji Ahmad collecting the bakers of Murshidâbâd got breads prepared, and sent these together with other eatables and food-stuffs on boats to Katwâh. Other provisions and food-grains were also similarly conveyed gradually and in large quantities. At last, Mahâbat Jang’s army were saved from starvation, and their cattle also received a grateful supply of fodder and grass. Mahâbat Jang’s soldiers, whose houses were in Murshidâbâd, fell home-sick, and gradually drifted away towards their homes.

As Mir Sharîf, brother of Mir Ḥabîb, together with the family treasures, dependants and children, was at Murshidâbâd, Mir Ḥabîb with seven hundred Mahratta cavalry swooped down on Murshidâbâd, in order to relieve his brother. Marching expeditiously, night and day, early at day-break, Mir Ḥabîb reached Dihpârah and Ganj Muhammad Khân,1 to which he set fire. And opposite to the Citadel, crossing the river Bhâgirati, Mir Ḥabîb reached his residence, and taking out Mir Sharîf, 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 Murâd Ali Khân,2 a son-in-law of Sarfarâs Khân, and Râjah Dûlahb Râm3 and Mir Shujâ-u-d-din, Superintendent of the

1 These would seem to have been suburbs of Murshidâbâd.
2 He was a son of Naîsah Begam, sister of Sarfarâs Khân, and subsequently became the latter’s son-in-law, and in Sarfarâs Khân’s time held the office of Deputy Governor of Jahanâgirnâgar. See n. ante.
3 Dulâb Râm was a son of Râjah Janokiram Peshkar, and was appointed by.
Bajutarah Sair duties, he encamped at Tiraktonah, which was to the west of the City, at a distance of one farsakh. Hajji Ahmad, Nawazish Ahmad Khan and Husein Quli Khan, 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 gate of the Citadel, entrenched themselves, but found it impossible to fight and disperse the enemy, or to defend the City. On the next day, Mahabat Jang, with his army marching night and day, entered Murshidabad. Then the Mahrattas abandoned the idea of assaulting the City, and after desolating the surrounding tracts across the river returned to Katwah. The rainy season now set in. In view of the tumultuousness of the river, the Mahrattas now suspended their fighting, established their quarters at Katwah, and from thence commenced making administrative arrangements. Giving Mir Habib a free hand in all affairs, Bhaskar Panjiti himself remained at Katwah, and sent out detachments in all directions for raid and plunder. Similarly, Mahabat Jang, in view of giving rest to his army, did not move out of the City.

As in his earlier years, Mir Habib had lived at Hugli, the latter place still abounded with many of his kinsmen and friends. Their headman, Mir Abu-l-Hasan Sarkhel, now laid plans to surprise Hugli. He won over many of the Mughals to his side, and held secret correspondence with Mir Habib. Mir Muhammad Riza, the Deputy Panjigar of Hugli, used to treat Mir Abu-l-Hasan as his right-hand in all affairs.

Mahabat Jang Subedar of Orissa, in place of Abdul Rasul Khan who was recalled. Dulab Ram had been before Pedshar in Orissa. Dulab Ram 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 Sanyasi, who turned out to be Mahratta spies. See Seera-i-Mutakheria, p. 345 (Pers. text).

1 In the Seera-i-Mutakheria (Pers. text, p. 514) it is stated that Muhammad Yar Khan, a step-brother of Ali Vardi Khan, was at the time Governor of the Port of Hugli, and that Mir Abu-l-Hasan and Mir Abu-l-Qasim, who were intimate with the above Governor, conspired with Mir Habib, and induced the Governor by their treacherous assurances to admit Mir Habib into the Port of Hugli. After thus treacherously seizing Hugli, Mir Habib installed as its Governor Sia Kao, a Mahratta, whilst he himself played the role of the Chief Administrator of Mahratta affairs in Bengal, and divided his residence between Hugli and Katwah.
In blissful ignorance of the fact that he had a traitor in his camp, the Deputy Fanjdrar passed nights and days in carousals. At length, at the instigation of Mir Abū-l-Hasan, Mir Habib 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-Hasan. Whilst Muḥammad Riẓā, arranging a feast of revelry, was quite absorbed in watching the dancing of some pretty women, Mir Abū-l-Hasan said to the former: "Mir Habib has come alone to visit you, and is waiting at the gate of the fort." Under the influence of liquor, the Deputy Fanjdrar unhesitatingly ordered the gate of the Fort to be thrown open and to admit Mir Habib. Entering the Fort, Mir Habib with the concurrence of Mir Abū-l-Hasan placed Muḥammad Riẓā and Murzā 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 Chūchrah (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 Muḥāfaẓ residents who were Mir Habib's acquaintances were introduced to Sis Rāo by Mir Habib. The Rāo treated them courteously and deferentially, reassured every one of them, and issuing proclamations of peace and security forbade the Maharras from looting or sacking the town. He persuaded the Zamindārs to assess and collect the revenue, and appointing as usual Qāzis, Mahātāsibs, and other officers to administer justice, he bestowed the office of Fanjdrar on Mir Abū-l-Hasan. Mir Habib, carrying off some guns and ammunitions together with a flotilla of sloops from Hugli, rejoined Bhāskar Pāṇḍit at Katwāh.

As it was the rainy season, Mir Habib deputed Mir Mihāl with a detachment of musketeers on boats for collecting revenue from the mahals across the Ganges. But Mir Mihāl, from fear of Mahābat Jang, did not land. The agents of the Zamindārs proceeded to Mir Habib, and paying him large sums obtained guards for the immunity of their tracts from the ravages and loot of Maharatta freebooters. The wealthy nobility and gentry, to save their family honour, quitted their homes, and migrated across the Ganges.1 The whole tract from Akhīnagar (Rajmahāl)

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1 That is to say, there was a general exodus of the Muslim nobility and gentry from the western side of the Ganges (that is, from Southern and West-
to Mednipur and Jalissar (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 burned them with indescribable tortures. Thus they desolated and dishonoured the family and children of a whole world. Mahabat Jang, making strenuous efforts towards the chastisement and expulsion of the insolent enemy, set about collecting troops and armaments. Requisitioning to Murshidabad a large flotilla of boats from the neighbourhood of Jahangirnagar (Dacca), from the Jilangi, from Maldah, and Akbaranagar (Rajmahal), &c., he constructed a road leading to Katwa. From the eastern bank of the Bhagirathi 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 Zaminbars, Revenue-Collectors and Administrators, Mahabat Jang seized this opportunity of Eastern 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 Muslim 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 summarise from the Seir-i-Mutakkerin (a contemporary account). The Seir states that in this wave of Mahratta invasion of Bengal, the whole of the Chakliches of Bardwan, Mednipur, Balasore, Katik, Birbhum, some pargamans of Rajshahi (probably those on the south side of the river) Akbaranagar (Rajmahal) were overwhelmed, whilst only Murshidabad and the countries on the other side (that is, Eastern and Northern sides) of the Ganges remained peacefully in possession of Ali Yardi Khan, that in the rainy season, even the populations of Murshidabad, apprehending Mahratta raids, migrated en masse on boats to the other sides (that is, Eastern and Northern sides) of the Ganges, such as Jahangirnagar or Dacca, Maldah, Rampore Beauliah, &c., and that even Nawab Shamsuddin Jang (Ali Yardi’s son-in-law) with his family and children moved across the river to Godagari, a place close to Rampore Beauliah, on the north bank of the Ganges or Peda. These historical facts occurring as they did only in the middle of the eighteenth century, would sufficiently explain why the Muslim populations in Western Bengal and even near Murshidabad (the latest Muslim capital in Bengal) are numerically much less than those in Eastern or Northern Bengal (See Seir-i-Mutakkerin, Pers. text, pp. 164 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, Mahābat Jang marched expeditiously with a large and efficient army, and by forced marches, at midnight, reached a place just opposite to Katwāh. 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 Afghāns and Bhaliah were drowned in the river. Mahābat 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 Khān, the Deputy Fanjdār, and Mānkant, the commandant of the pioneers and sappers, quickly rendered the damaged boats water-tight by plastering their cracks and rends with mud and bits of wood, and thus displayed Luqmān-like skill. An army, waving like the sea, swiftly crossed the bridge, rallied round Mahābat 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 Ḥālīb and Bhāskar Pandit with other Mahāratta 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. Bhūskar and other Mahratta Generals fell back to Rāmgadh, from where with common consent they marched with celerity across jungles, to invade and ravage the Šāhāb of Orissa.

Shaikh Muḥammad Maʾṣūm, the Deputy Nazīm 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 Maʾṣūm stood his ground dauntlessly on the field. The Mahratta army, which was more numerous than ants and locusts, surrounded Shaikh Maʾṣūm from all sides like a circle, and slaughtered him together with his comrades. The Šāhāb of Odiṣsa (Orissa), together with the Fort of Bārabāti 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 Barādān. He paid to each soldier two months' pay and also other gifts on account of the victory of Kautāh, advanced to Katak, and repeatedly assaulting the Mahratta troops drove them from Katak, and victoriously entered its citadel. Leaving General Abdu-l-Rasūl Khān, who was a second Maṣtafa Khān, and

1 This defeat of the Mahrattas at Kautāh took place in 1155 A.H. The Seer states that after his defeat at Kautāh, Bhūskar Pundīt, the Mahratta General, fled through the hill-passes of Pōghāl into a forest, but losing his way, and not succeeding in making his retreat to his own country (Nagpur), under the guidance of Mir Ḥabīb, came back to the jungles of Bahānpur, passed through them to the jungles of Chandrakonāh, emerged at Mūnspar, and made for Katak, fought with and killed Shaikh Maʾṣūm, Šābādār of Orissa. Mahābat Jang hotly chased Bhūskar Pundīt up to the confines of the Chīkā Lake; but Bhūskar succeeded in effecting his retreat into the Dakhīn. Then Mahābat Jang returned to Katak, where he installed Abūl ṫabī Khān (nephew of Shaikh Maʾṣūm) as Šabādār of Orissa, and left Dālāb Rām (son of Rajā Jānākī Rām) as Peshkār under the latter, and then returned to Murshidabād (p. 619, Seer-i-Muṭakārrīn, Pers. text).

There is a village called MasīmPUR about 11 miles north from Katak. It is a colony of respectable Mussalmans, and is probably named so after the above Shaikh Maʾṣūm Pānīpatī. Six miles from MasīmPUR, is another colony of respectable Mussalmans at Sahīhpur.
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 Sūbah of Bengal.

On receiving news of the defeat of Bhāskar Pandit, Sis Rāo evacuating the fort of Hugli retreated to Bishnapūr. Other Mahārāta officers, who were posted at different places for the collection of revenue, also fled. The Collectors and Fanjdāras of Mahābat Jang entered the ravaged tracts, and again set about to re-settle them.

But Bhāskar Pandit, after his defeat, sent Bairāgis dacoits towards Akbarānagar (Rajmahāl), Bhāgālpūr, and Behār. Mahābat Jang, who had not yet breathed freely, again set out from Bengal for those places. He had not yet reached the Sūbah of Behār, when the Bairāgis retreating from those parts swooped down on Murshidābād. Mahābat Jang fell back from Behār, and pursued them. These Bairāgis freebooters were busy with looting Balūchār, 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 Balūchār. Mahābat Jang chased them up to Rāmgadh, from where he returned.

In short, this sort of guerrilla 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 Qarawāl, who was one of the Mahrātta leaders that had embraced the Muhammadan faith, and was nicknamed Ali Bhai. 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 Mahrātta Generals. Heeded of the duplicity of the times, that simpleton was taken in, and arrived at Diknagar. He induced Bhāskar and other Mahrātta Generals to meet Mahābat Jang, by conveying to them the assurances and avowals of Mahābat Jang with reference to the settlement of the Chautā and the establishment of friendly relations. And these, in accordance with the saying;—

“One perceiveth according to the length of his sight,” placing

1 The Arabic saying is: إذا حلم الفرد 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 religions and creeds. Muṣṭafā Khān had with him, under a cover, a brick instead of the Qura'n, and holding it he repeated oaths. Falling into the trap laid by Mahābat Jang, and reiterating the vows of peace, Ali Bhāī and Bhāskar with other Mahratta Generals promised to meet Mahābat Jang at a place called Mankarāh,¹ 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 khilats and jewelleries, 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 of horses and elephants, to be pitched at Mankarāh. 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 Bhāī 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 Bhāī and twenty-one other Mahratta Generals. The tent-pitchers following the signal dropped down the screens of the pavilion, tied them strongly with tentropes, 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."¹ Instantly, swords sprang up from every side on the Mahrattas.

¹ In Sew (p. 539) Mankarāh is described as lying on the banks of the Bhagirath. How the wily Ali Vardi Khān treacherously inveigled Bhāskar, Peedi, and other Mahratta Generals into his tent, is lucidly described in the Sır-i-Mushkāma (p. 520). In this game of treachery, Ali Vardi Khān's principal confidants were Muṣṭafā Khān and Rājah Jānaki Rām, the Peedi. It must, however, be added that the Mahrattas were well paid back in their own coin.

² The expression given in the Sew (p. 520) is: "Kill this enemy."
The clamber of assault rose up to the skies,
Brests were pierced through by swords.

Bhūskar and twenty-one other Mahratta Generals were butchered. In the midst of this carnage, Mahābāt 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. Mahābāt Jang's soldiers pouncing like lightning 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 Bardwān and Diknagar, etc., or patrolled the tracts between Mednipur and Akbarangar (Rājmāhal) fled to Nāgpūr.

When news of this disaster reached the ear of Raghoji 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, Raghoji Bhoslah mobilised a large force, and marched towards Bengal, to avenge the

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1 His name was Bhagho Gaakwar. (See Seir, p. 531). Mustāfā Khān tried hard to inveigle him also into Ali Vārdi's tent, but this Mahratta General appears to have been an uncomprising shrill man, and said he would wait on Ali Vārdi Khān on the following day, after Bhoskār Paśīdi and Ali Bāshí had returned from their interview with Ali Vārdi.

2 In the printed Pers. text 'Diknagar,' which place I cannot locate.

3 The Bābā-e-Mutahfīr (Pers. text, pp. 543–549) gives a very lucid account of this second Mahratta invasion of Bengal by Raghoji 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, Mustāfā Khān, the Afghan General-in-Chief and the chief pillar of the State of Ali Vārdi Khān, fell out with the latter, and was locked up in fighting against Ali Vārdi's son-in-law, Zain al-Dīn Khān, Subdār of Ahamdābād (Patani).Whilst hardpressed by the well-formed battalions of Zain al-Dīn Khān, Mustāfā Khān, like Mir Hašib, took the unusual step to invade over to Bengal. Raghoji Bhoslah, who seized the invitation with avidity and marched with Mir Hašib (the implacable foe of Ali Vārdi and the inspiring genius of the Mahratta), towards Katak. At this time at Katak, a cowardly person ruled as Ali
slaught of Bhuskar and other Mahratta Generals, and engaging on massacres, captures, and plunders, tortured many of his cap-

Vardi's Subedar in Orissa. His name was Dulab Ram, and he was a son of Raja Janoki Ram, Ali Vardi's Faghisar. Ali Vardi had appointed Dulab Ram as Subedar, in the place of Abdul Nasir Khan (son of Abdul Nabi Khan) who had resigned his office and joined Mustafa at Patna. Dulab Ram was not only cowardly, but superstitious, and most probably, also treacherous (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 unflinching loyalty, once more relieves the darkness of the moral chaos that had seized the times. When exchanged and threatened by Raghoji Bhoslah's friend, Mir Habib, and enticed 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 master nor any other master; I acknowledge only one master, namely, Mahabat Jung; true, some cowards have joined you; but from regard for the soil 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 Madnapur, Rughli and Hardwar. Ali Vardi was occupied at this time in Patna in crushing out the Afghan revolt under Mustafa Khan. When Mustafa Khan was slain and the Afghan revolt was crushed, Ali Vardi hastened back to Bengal. At this time, Raghoji was encamped at Birbhum. Meanwhile the Afghan comrades of the late Mustafa Khan, who lay in a death-trap in the Jungles of Tikari asked Raghoji to help them, and promised him their adhesion. Baghoji marched to Tikari to their rescue via the jungles of Birbhum and Kharkpur, looting en route the villages of Shalpura and Tikari, etc. Mahabat Jung followed quickly in their heels and moved to Patna. From Patna, Baghoji (on the advice of Mir Habib, who was the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas, also in this second Maratha invasion) turned towards Murshidabad, pursued closely by Ali Vardi, whose pursuit was hot and unslacking. At Katwa, 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 Nargur, leaving in Bengal his friend, guide, and philosopher, Mir Habib, with 3,000 Mahratta and 7,000 Afghan troops. (See Seir-i-Mutakherin, Pers. text, p. 551). It would seem a despicable moral chaos had at this time seized the country, in which neither religious ties
tives. All Vardi Khān with a large army again advanced to encounter the enemy. At this juncture, Balāji Rāo, 1 son of Bāji Rāo Pāṇḍit, Peshwā and generalissimo of Rājah Sāhū, who was young, and had enmity with Raghoji, under orders of Emperor Muhammad Shāh, came from the Imperial Capital (Dīhilī) to Bengal with sixty thousand Mahratta cavalry, to re-inforce Ali Vardi Khān. Mahābāt Jang, finding floods of disaster approaching Bengal from two sides, shewed firmness and foresight. He deputed experienced envoys with presents to Balāji Rāo, won him over to his side by display of courtesy and sincerity, met him at Birbhūm, estab-
lished friendly relations with him, and both unitedly resolved to drive out Raghoji Bhosalah. 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 Bhosalah, Mahābāt Jang presented a large amount of cash to Balāji Rāo, and thence 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, Mahābāt Jang set about mobilising troops.

At this moment, a rupture occurred between All Vardi Khān and nor national sentiments were held of any account. One finds now Musalmān Afghans (as the instigation of two Musalmān leaders, Mir Hānīb and Mustaфа Khān), fighting the battles of Hindu Mahratta freebooters against a Musalmān 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 seised the Muslam race in Bengal or, for the matter of that, in India. (See Scīr, Pers. text, pp. 558-566).

1 Balāji Rāo (the generalissimo of the Imperial Army in the Dakhin) and Safdar Jang, son-in-law of Burrham-i-Mulk, the Subādar of Oudh, were ordered by Emperor Muhammad Shāh, to help All Vardi against the Mahrattas under Raghoji. Whilst seeking Imperial assistance, All 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 Scīr, p. 516, Pers. text). These words had reference to the fact that Bengal had ever been the best milch-cow of the Empire. Safdar Jang did not pull on with All Vardi, and so was recalled by the Emperor, whilst Balāji Rāo (whose designs were also suspected by the shrewd All Vardi) who had come to Mankar by way of Patna, was courteously shown out of Bengal by the latter. (See Scīr, pp. 522 and 524). In this connection, the Scīr (p. 524) gives the story of a Musalmān amanān in the person of the widow of the late Muhammad Ghans Khān who resided at Bhagalpur, and who held out bravely against Balāji Rāo.
Muṣṭafā Khān, the Afghan General, and it was so far accentuated that all the Afghans combining with the latter, broke out into revolt, and set out with a large force for Azimābād (Patna), in order to storm that City, and to capture Ḥājī Ahmad and Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān. On reaching Mungir (Monghyr), Muṣṭafā Khān besieged the Fort of Monghyr. The Commandant of the Fort prepared to fight. Abdu-r-rāsāl 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 Azimābād, (Patna), engaged in besieging the latter City, and commenced fighting with Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān. Most of the detachments of Zainu-d-din Khān, not being able to stand their ground in the face of the onslaughts of the Afghans, retreated to the citadel, but Zainu-d-din Khān himself with a small squadron of cavalry, artillery, and Bāllūh musketeers remained out in the open to encounter the enemy. At this moment, the Afghans fell to plundering and pillaging the tents of Zainu-d-din’s troops who had retreated. Seeing Muṣṭafā Khān now left with a small force, Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān formed a van-guard of artillerymen and Bāllūh 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-din’s other troops who had retreated to the citadel also rushed out, attacked the Afghans, and put them to the sword. Muṣṭafā Khān on being defeated retreated to Jagdishpur. Becoming victorious and triumphant, Zainu-d-din 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, and asked for help.

1 He was Subādar of Orissa before Dalab Rani. See note ante.
2 The whole thing would seem to have been a well-planned tactical move on the part of Zainu-d-din Khān, who was a good General, strong in tactics.
3 The printed Persian text of the Rīyas has throughout “Raghoji Bhoslah.”
4 Bhoslah is obviously a misreading or misprint for ‘Bhoslah.’
5 Jagdishpur, or ‘Jagdispur, is mentioned in the Ain-J-Akbari (Vol. I
Raghoji, who was waiting for such an opportunity, was delighted, and prepared to despatch reinforcements. But Mahabat Jang, on being apprised of this news, swiftly marched to Azimabad (Patna). The Bengal and Azimabad (Patna) armies forming a junction combined to attack Mustafa Khan. After much fighting, Mustafa Khan, finding it impossible to hold his own, retreated in a hapless condition across the frontier of Azimabad to Ghazipur; whilst Mahabat Jang becoming victorious and triumphant returned to Murshidabad. Mustafa Khan again collected a large force of cavalry and infantry, and again invaded Azimabad. Zainud-din Ahmad Khan, 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 Mustafa Khan, as a retribution for his disloyalty, was slain on the battle-field. Zainud-din Khan 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 Bhosle despatched to Bengal a Mahratta army under the command of his son Rajah Jaoji, his adopted son, Mohan Singh, and the miscreant Mir Habib, in order to demand the Chauth. A large number of Mustafa Khan’s Afghan ad-

pp. 400 and 498, Blochmann’s Tr.) It was the “stronghold in Akbar’s time of Rajah ‘Gajpate’ or ‘Rachite,’ who was the greatest Zamindar in Behar at the time.” In the 16th year of Akbar’s reign, Akbar’s General, Shakhoo Khan-i-Kambu, operated against this Rajah who fled, and Shakhoo then conquered Jagdispur, when the whole family of the Rajah was captured. Shakhoo then conquered Shergudh, which was held by Sri Ram, Gajpati’s son, and about the same time took possession of Rohtas.

1 This third Mahratta invasion of Bengal under Jaoji, son of Raghoji Bhosle (with him being of course the invariable Mir Habib as the Chief Adviser and as guide, friend and philosopher of the Mahrattas), is also incidently narrated in the Seera-i-Matakhri (Pers. text, pp. 605-607). Jaoji came to Katak, whilst Ali Vardi’s newly-nominated Deputy Subadar of Orissa, Mr Jafar, was still at Medinipur, on his way to Katak. On hearing of the Mahratta incursion, Mr Jafar (who secretly was conspiring against Ali Vardi) retired to Bardwan. The Mahrattas then advanced to Bardwan. After some indecisive skirmishing, Jaoji made for Murshidabad, and after doing some looting in its neighbourhood retreated to Medinipur, pursued by Ali Vardi Khan. In the meantime, Jaoji’s principal adviser, Mir Habib, had opened treacherous negotiations with the late Mustafa Khan’s Afghan adherents.
herent also joined them, and the market of flight and slaughter once again became warm in the conflict between Mahabat Jang and the Marhattas. The Suhbah of Orissa fell into the hands of Janoji, whilst weakness set in in the Province of Bengal. Mir Habbob opened negotiations for the settlement of the Chauth of Bengal. Nawaizah Ahmad Khan, Afsan Quli Khan, Jagat Set, and the Ral Ralain* exerted themselves strenuously on the side of peace. But

in Darbanga and its neighbourhood, and these had affected a sanguinary revolution by treacherously killing at a Darbar Zainu-d-din Khan, Suhbah of Patna. Now Janoji moved to Patna (with him being Mir Habbob), and Ali Vardi also proceeded to Patna. 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 Seer, p. 566). Janoji, now receiving news of his mother’s death, retreated to Nagpur, leaving Mir Habbob towards Katak and Mednipur with some Marhatta and Afghan troops (Seer, p. 576). Shortly after, Habbob sent to Mir Habbob another Marhatta reinforcement under Manaji, younger brother of Janoji [Mohansingh of the text is obviously a mistake or misprint for Manaji] Ali Vardi marched out with his army from Murshidabad and passed through Katwah, Bardwan, Mednipur, Baidrak, and Jaipur; whilst Mir Habbob with his Marhatta and Afghan troops fell back from Mednipur towards Katak. Ali Vardi triumphantly entered once more the City of Katak, and recaptured the Port of Bara-bati, after killing its commandants, Serandes Khan, Syed Nur, and Dhamma Dass (p. 578, Seer), Pars. text. This re-conquest, however, proved abortive, for whilst Ali Vardi was still at Balasore on his way towards Murshidabad, Mir Habbob with his light Marhatta and Afghan cavalry swooped down on Katak, and killed Shajik Abnas Subhan, who had been left there as Deputy Governor by Ali Vardi. (See pp. 579-580 of the Seer, which also gives a good description of the Katak City). The Marhattas, 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 Marhatta troops, that the British had in encountering the Boers 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.

* In a former part of the text, he is named “Hussain Quli Khan,” which appears to be correct. (See Seer, Vol. II, Pars. text, p. 498). Hussain Quli Khan was Naib or Deputy of Nawazish Muhammad Khan, son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khan, and Governor of Chakla Jahangirnagar (Dacca), including Silhot and Chittagong.

* Nawazish Muhammad Khan was Governor of Jahangirnagar, and also held the portfolio of Supreme Diwan of Bengal under Ali Vardi Khan, the Deputy Diwanship being held by Ghin Rai (who had been Peshkar under Alau
Mahābat Jang, considering the acceptance of Chautā 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 Khan, Sardar Khan, Murad Sher Khan, Haiat Khan, and other Afghan Generals of Dārbhāṅgā, who, during the late insurrection, had sided with Muṣṭafā Khan. And, as a matter of fact, these Afghan Generals had opened at this time reasonable correspondence with Mir Habib and his Mahrattas. These Afghan Generals, following the example of Muṣṭafā Khan, 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 Dārbhāṅgā, after a short time, leagued amongst themselves in pursuance of designs of treachery, and made offers of service to Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khan. As Zainu-d-din Khan 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 Khan and Murad Sher Khan with a corps of Afghans arrived at Ḥajipūr, and encamped on the banks of the river. According to the order of Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khan, they left behind all their soldiers, and crossing the river came to Azimābād (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-din Ahmad Khan. On obtaining an audience, they observed all the points of etiquette, and sat in the Chaibil satāns Palace, ranged on the right and left of Zainu-d-din. Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khan reclining against pillows on a Marmad, made polite enquiries regarding each. Murad Sher Khan, nephew of Sham Sher Khan, finding Zainu-d-din off his guard, pulled out a dagger from his waist, hit the latter so hard with it on the stomach, that his intestines came out. By that single blow, Zainu-d-din was killed. The traitors, lifting

shand, Deputy Diwan of Shujān-d-din Khan). (See Seir, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 495). See also note ante. Chīn Rai, on death, was succeeded in his office by Bhirūn Dutt, who again was followed by Khirānchand (son of Alasgānd) and by Usīnd Rai (See Seir).

1 It would appear from the account given in the Seir-e-Mutahāber (p. 586), alluded to before, that the Afghan adherents of the late Muṣṭafā Khan were in secret conspiracy with Mir Habib, the inspiring genius, and the guide, friend and philosopher of the Mahrattas, and that in consequence of Mir Habib’s instigation, they had enacted this cruel tragedy at Patna.

A very lucid account of this tragedy is given in the Seir-e-Mutahāber
up their swords, cut down Zainu’d-din’s companions, looted all his treasures and effects, captured the Begum 1 with her daughter and also Hāji Ahmad. They suspended the Hāji 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 Rohilkh Afghanis 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 Azimābād, and he further cherished visions of conquering Bengal. Mahābat Jang, who was at this time encamped at Amāniganj 4 on some important business connected with the Mahratta

(Pers. text, p. 559). Zainu’d-din (son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khān and Subsādār at Patna), was holding a Darbar for the reception of the Darbhanga Afghan General who were adherents and connections of the late Mustāḥ Khan. The Darbar function was nearly over, and Zainu’d-din Khān was handing boteṣ to his own hand to the Chief Afghan Generals, when one of these, Abdur Rashid Khān, whilst receiving a boteṣ, treacherously gave Zainu’d-din 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-cut to Zainu’d-din Khān, and instantly killed him. The Afghans showed ferocious barbarities in their conduct towards the ladies and children of Zainu’d-din’s household. The Seir (p. 501), notes commencement of Ahmad Shah Abdali’s invasions of India at this time.

1 Her name was Ameena Begum. She was a daughter of Ali Vardi, and wife of Zainu’d-din Khān.
2 The Hāji after all met with his desert, for his black ingratitude to his benefactor’s (Shujā’u’d-din 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 Mussulman 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 Mussulman 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 Amaniganj, in order
freebooters, suddenly received the terrible intelligence of the 
slaughter of Zaim-d-din Ahmad Khan and Hajj 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 Bazar 
to the Mahratta freebooters. His generals employing various 
consolations and assurances recited passages insculpting 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, Mahabat Jang plead-
ed he had no money. Then Nawazish Muhammad Khan Shahamat 
Jang, standing surety for the expenses of the soldiery, paid to the 
soldiers eighty laks of rupees in cash from his own treasury, and 
made them agree to undertake the avenging expedition. Mahabat 
Jang, being somewhat now relieved from anxiety, left Nawazish 
Muhammad Khan Shahamat Jang at Murshidabad, and him-
self marched to Azimabadd with a large army. Mir Habib, at 
the instigation of Sham Sher Khan, with hordes of Mahratta free-
booters, pursued Mahabat Jang from the rear, tracking jungles 
and setting fire, right and left, to the villages, with their granaries. 
Mir Habib looted Mahabat Jang's baggages and tents, and 
did not allow Mahabat Jang's army a breathing interval either for 
sleep or for food, nor suffered a single day to pass without skirt-
to march out against the Mahrattas under Mir Habib and Janaji. 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 on 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's 
Khan's appeal, and resolved to fight and fall with him.

1 The account in the Eov (p. 565), shows that Mir Habib with his Mahratta 
friends opposed ineffectually Ali Vardi's march on the banks of the Champa-
gar stream, and then dispersed to the jungles, whilst Ali Vardi moved on to 
the Monghyr Fort, where he halted some days. Then Rajah Sundar Singh, 
Zamindar of Tikari, and Kangar Khan Mno, Zamindar of Tirthun, came to 
pay homage to Ali Vardi. A saint, Maulana Mir Muhammad Ali, also visited 
Ali Vardi at this time at Monghyr.
mishes with swords and spears, till they passed beyond Bārbh. At Bāikantpūr an engagement took place with the army of Shām Sher Kān. Rājāh Sundar Singh, Zamīndār of Tikari, with a powerful corps, joined Ali Vardi. 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, Shām Sher Kān, Sardār  Kháns, Murād Sher Kān, 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 Vardi’s glorious victory, retreated, and dispersed like the constellation of the bear. Mahābat Jang after prostrating himself in thanksgiving to God, triumphantly entered Aqīmābād, and rescuing the family and children of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad  Kháns and Ḥāji 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-

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1 The Seir (p. 567), which gives a very lucid account of this battle, states that Ali Vardi who in generalship was next only to Asaf Jah, took up a position on an isle, in front of Bārbh, having on one side the river Ganges and on another the old bed of the same river. This place is called in the Seir "Sadri Rani," a fork to the west of Bārbh, on the side of the river Ganges.

It would also appear from the Seir (p. 568), that Mir Hālib and the Mahrattas held a conference with the Afghan robbers, Shām Sher Kān and Sardār Kān, in order to concert measures for attacking Ali Vardi Kān. The Afghans and Mahrattas under Mir Hālib now made a common cause against Ali Vardi who, however, crushingly defeated both, owing to his superior generalship (See Seir p. 568).

2 It reflects credit on Ali Vardi that he treated honourably the women and children of Shām Sher Kān and other Afghans. He not only generously
ling expenses to the Afghan ladies, and allowed them to depart honorably to Därbhängā, and followed the adage "Turn Evil by Good." Appointing Sirāj-ud-daulah, son of Zainu-d-din Ahmad Khān, to be Sūbādār of Aḡmābād, in succession to his father, and leaving Rājah Jamāl Kān as Sirāj-ud-daulah’s Deputy there, and finishing the administrative arrangements of that Sūbā, Mahābāt Jang returned to Bengal, in order to drive out the Mahratta freebooters.

About this time, the office of Faujdār of the tract of Parniah was vacant, owing to the flight to the Imperial Capital of the Khān Bahādur, son of Nawāb Saif Khān. Ali Vardi Khān conferred the above Faujdārship on Sayd Ahmad Khān Šulhat 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 Mahābāt Jang was engaged in fighting with Shām Šer Khān, Sirāj-ud-daulah shewed his temper to Nawāb Isaq-ud-daulah Aṭān-l-lāh Khān Šulhat Jang, a son-in-law of Hājī Ahmad, who held the office of Faujdār of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). Knowing Aṭān-l-lāh Khān to be brave and popular with the army, and ambitious and sound-headed, Sirāj-ud-daulah set to work his rmin, and plying Ali Vardi Khān with his suspicions gained over the latter, and induced him to send a message to Aṭān-l-lāh to quit the country, or else to prepare for death. The aforesaid Khān, after fūrgār them, and set them at liberty, but bestowed properties at Därbhängā for their maintenance. (See p. 570, Sair). He never addressed the Afghan ladies except as ‘Madams’ or ‘Bible’. He studiously maintained the sanctity of their seclusion, and this, too, after the gross provocation he had received at the hands of Shām Šer Khān and other Afghans. Ali Vardi’s chivalry towards women seems to have been remarkable, and his forbearance after victory is also commendable. A vaunting 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-d-din Huain Khān. He succeeded his father, Nawāb Saif Khān, in the Faujdārship of Parniah. Ali Vardi Khān got him dismissed, and kept him under surveillance for some time at Murshidabad. Through the help of Mir Habib and his Mahrattas, Fakhru-d-din managed to make good his escape to Delhi, where he died after a short time. (See Sair, Vol. II, p. 382, Pers. text).

2 He was a son-in-law of Hājī Ahmad, brother of Ali Vardi Khān. He was Faujdār of Rajmahal or Akbarnagar during Ali Vardi’s reign.
fghting some time in self-defence, set out at length for the Imperial Capital, remained in the company of Nawab Vazir-ul-mulk Safdar Jang, and then joining Raja Nil Rai in the Rohilla Afghan war was killed at Farrukhabad.

As in consequence of the insurrection at Agra Mubad, the Mahratta freebooters had taken possession of the Suhah of Orissa, Mahabat Jang, not halting in Bengal, set out for that Suhah. Expelling the Mahratta freebooters from that Suhah, Mahabat Jang put to death Syed Nur, Sarandaz Khan, and other officers, who were adherents of the Mahratta freebooters, and who were entrenched in the fort of Barahbati, 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, Mahabat Jang returned to Bengal.

As Muf Habib was the root of all the mischiefs and troubles, Mahabat 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." Mahabat Jang sent this message through a courier, in-

1 Safdar Jang was appointed Subadar of Oude by Emperor Muhammad Shah, and in the reign of Emperor Ahmad Shah became Chief Vizier of the Empire, on the death of Qamruddin Khan. At this time, Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India several times, and the Rohilla Afghans of Farrukhabad and Moradabad became a power in the land. Safdar Jang appointed as his Deputy in Oude a Koyt, named Raja Nil Rai. (See Seir-i-Mutabferin, Vol. II, Pers. text, pp. 574-576).

2 Raja Nil Rai was a Koyt. At first he was an obscure servant of Nawab Vizier Safdar Jang, but subsequently rose to the office of Deputy Subdar of Oude under the latter. He resided at Kanaj, twenty kosh from Farrukhabad, the Rohilla stronghold. Nil Rai ill-treated the Rohillas of Farrukhabad, who combined and attacked Nil Rai who was killed. Aamul-Jah Khan (son-in-law of Haji Ahmad) who fought in this war on the side of Nil Rai, was also killed. The reinforcements sent by Nawab Vizier Safdar Jang to support his Deputy in Oude, Nil Rai, were also routed by the Rohillas. (See Seir-i-Mutabferin, Vol. II, p. 576, Pers. text).

3 See the account of the capture of the Fort of Barahbati in Seir, 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 case proved a complete success, and the Mahrattas suspecting Mir Habib slew him.

To sum up, for twelve long years the fires of war and slaughter kindled between the Mahrattas and Mahabat Jang, and the Mahrattas did not retire without levying the Chauth. And owing to Haji Ahmad and Zainuddin Ahmad Khan having fallen, the power of Mahabat 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 Nawazish Muhammad Khan Shahamat Jang, Mahabat Jang at last concluded a peace with the Mahratta freebooters, agreeing to pay the latter Chauth for the three Suhbas, and through the medium of Masiluddin Muhammad Khan, nephew of Mir Habib, and Sadrul-Haq Khan, 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 Suhba of Orissa to the Mahrattas, and appointed Sadrul-Haq to be its Administrator and Governor. After settling this important affair with the Mahrattas, Mahabat Jang regained peace

1 Mir Habib, the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas, and their ‘guide, friend, and philosopher’ for over a decade,—was at last butchered by Jangaji, son of Raghooji Bhosla. 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 Habib was inveigled into a house by Jangaji, and there treacherously murdered in 1166 A.H., is detailed in the Seer, Vol. II, p. 593, Pers. text. The Seer (p. 593), also states that after a treaty of peace was concluded between Mahabat Jang and the Mahrattas, Mir Habib ruled over Orissa as Governor, on behalf of Mahabat Jang, whilst a Mahratta contingent of troops under a Mahratta officer was stationed at Katak. Mir Habib was succeeded in the office of Governor by Masiluddin Muhammad Khan, who, however, enjoyed less prestige, and regarded himself as a servant of the Mahrattas (Seer, p. 593, Vol. II, Pers. text.

2 There is some difference between the account here and the account in the Seer. From Seer’s account (p. 592), it would appear Mir Habib was the first person who held the office that is assigned to Sadrul-Haq in the text, after the conclusion of the peace. The details of this treaty of peace in 1165 A.H., are given in the Seer (pp. 590-591). The Seer states that overtures for peace came from the side of the Mahrattas (represented by Mir Habib) who had first been defeated again in 1164 A.H. at Mednipur. As Mahabat 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 Khvah Bagh, Sirajuddaulah, who was his heir, then mounted the masnad of Nizamut.

now 73 years old, and physical ailment and infirmity had seized him, and as the war between him and Mahratta had been protracted to ten years, and as the chief Afghan pillars of his State had revoluted against him, and as the people had suffered indescribable miseries during this long struggle, Mahabat Jang accepted the overture 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 Baghoji Bhosala's Mahratta army of occupation. (3) That over and above the revenues of Orissa, twelve lakhs of rupees should be annually paid by Mir Habib to Baghoji Bhosala (presumably from the revenues of other provinces), on condition that Baghoji's troops should not raid the dominions of Mahabat Jang. (4) The river Satamakhs (or Subarnarikha) near Jalaiar (Jsalore), was to form the demarcation-line of the boundaries of Orissa and Bengal; Mediapur at this time being separated from Orissa and annexed to Bengal.

The author of the Seir (who was a connexion of Mahabat Jang) praiseth the memory of Mahabat Jang. (See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 600-611.) He states that Mahabat Jang abstained from pleasures, was regular in his prayers, abstemious in habits, and methodical in business. He slept little, and passed most of his time in attending to State affairs, or in the company of scholars and sages 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 Musaf Khan, his Afghan General, and his relatives, Shahamat Jang and Saniat Jang, used to press Mahabat Jang to fight and drive out the English from Calcutta, Mahabat Jang used to reply: "Musaf 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 panegyricon, 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 grandsire back in the same coin. In this connection, one may read an interesting old little work in Persian, called 'Ibrat-i-Abub-Beghr (meaning 'a Moral for people with eyes') each sentence of which contains
NIZĀMAT OF NAWĀB SIRĀJU-D-Daulah.

When Nawāb Ali Vardi Khān Mahābat Jang passed to the regions of eternity, Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah, son of Zainuddin Ahmad Khān Haibat Jang, and maternal grandson of Ali Vardi, who from before had been declared heir-apparent by Ali Vardi Khān, and whom Ali Vardi Khān had in his life-time placed on the cushion of the Nizāmat, 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, Behār, and Orissa Sirāju-d-daulah exhibited insolence and arrogance, which are the worst of attributes, and are displeasing to God. At that time, owing to certain reasons, Ghasitī Begam, widow of Nawāzish Ahmad Khān Shahāmat Jang, who resided at Mutijhāl, resolving to oppose Sirāju-d-daulah, appointed Mir Nagar 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 Nawāb Bairām Khān to be generalissimo of her army. Then the Begam of Mahābat Jang, and Jagat Set, as an emissary of Sirāju-d-daulah, went to Ghasitī Begam and gave her assurances; and so the latter refrained from hostility, whilst Nagar Ali fled, and Bairām Khān taking refuge with one of the generals fell into disgrace. Sirāju-d-daulah’s army arriving captured Ghasitī Begam, together with all her effects. The Begam saw what she had never seen, and heard what she had never heard. Sirāju-d-daulah’s army roared to the ground her buildings and her palace, and unearthing her buried treasures carried them to Mansūrganj. Owing to Sirāju-d-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 Sirāju-d-daulah despaircd of life and honour, and whoever returned without being disgraced and ill-treated offered thanks to God. Sirāju-d-daulah treated all the noblemen and generals of Mahābat 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

¹ The Seir (Vol. II, p. 621) mentions that Sirāju-d-daulah, on accession, ap-
epithets came to his lips, Sirajuddaulah uttered them unhesitatingly in the face of everyone, and no one had the boldness to breathe freely in his presence. Appointing a Kyeth, named Mohanlal, to be the minister and controller of all affairs, Sirajuddaulah bestowed on him the title of Mahārajah Mohanlal. Bahadur, 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 Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan, a brother-in-law of Nawab Mahābat Jung, and the generalissimo of the army, who refused to pay respect to Mohanlal, and for some time ceased to pay respect even to Sirajuddaulah. But Raja Mohanlal, coiling himself round the brain and skin of Sirajuddaulah, 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, Raja Mohanlal sent a message to Nawab Ghulam Husain Khan Bahadur 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 Kabah, set out for Hūgli.

Inasmuch as before Mahābat Jung's death, in the beginning of that year, on the 13th of Rabīn-Il-Awāl, Nawāb Nawāzish Aḥmad Khan Shahamat Jung, who held the office of Diwan of Ben- pointed a Kyeth named Mohanlal as his Supreme Diwan. This elevation of an obscure Hindu to the highest civil appointment naturally caused great offence to the old nobility, and especially to Mir Jafar, who conspired with other officers of the late Mahābat Jung in order to bring about a Revolution to destroy Sirajuddaulah's power, and to place himself on the summit of Bengal.

1 The Seir, the Ṣhrauti-Ārba'-i-Baṣr, and the Rihāy all condemn Sirajuddaulah for appointing this obscure and insolent Hindu, Mohanlal, as his Supreme Minister, and mention the disgust it caused amongst the old nobility, who chafed under this indignity, and were therefore anxious to throw off Sirajuddaulah's yoke. (See Ṣhrauti-Ārba'-i-Baṣr, p. 20, Seir-i-Mutanbārīn p. 621, Vol. II.)

2 He was author of the splendid Persian History of India entitled Seir-i-Mutanbārīn. He was a partisan of Mir Jafar and the English East India Company. Sirajuddaulah had ordered his banishment from the country.

3 He held the office of Deputy Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) under Ali Vardi Khan, whose son-in-law he was. He also held nominally the office of Diwan of Bengal, though the practical work of Diwan was actually performed by Hindu Deputy Diwans. Shahamat Jung had also at Jahangirnagar.
gal, had died, Sirāju-d-daulah arrested Rājah Rājballab, Pashkār 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 Chaks of Jahan-giriragar or Dacca, of which he (Shahāmat Jang) was Deputy Governor.

1 The Seer, the Ikbat-i-Arbāb-i-Bālr and the Rājbar mention that the new Nawab, Sirāju-d-daulah, inaugurated his regime by (1) the plunder of Ghassīt Begam, (2) the dismissal of Mir Jafar and the appointment of a Hindu, Mohual, as the Supreme Minister, &c., (3) imprisonment of Rājballab, (4) the conquest of Calcutta, and (5) conquest of Purniah. When dispassionately viewed, the particular measures noted above (excepting one, namely the appointment of Mohund) do not appear to have been unjustified, though they were impolitic. Ghassīt 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 khan in the struggle with the Mahrattas (See the Seer); and Sirāju-d-daulah was, therefore, not unjustified in suspecting 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 Pashkār of Jahan-giriragar 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 rebellious subject. Kishan Das, though had Sirāju-d-daulah been less impulsive and more prudent, it is possible he might have affected 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 Purniah, it was a necessary political measure in self-defence, as Shahāmat Jang, as Mir Jafar's instigation, had publicly avowed his pretensions to the gadi of Bengal. The only wise measure was the elevation of an obscure Hindu, named Mohual, to the highest civil State office. This measure caused great disgust to the old nobility, who chafed under the insolence of this upstart.
Jang) would himself summon them. At this time, Sirāju-d-danlah ordered Bājah Rām, head of his spies, to proceed to Calcutta and arrest and bring over Rājballab’s family and children, and himself in the mouth of Shāhān, on the plea of touring, proceeded towards Akbari-nagar (Rājmahal). Whilst Sirāju-d-danlah 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-danlah’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 Murshidābād, but that all should proceed straight from here to Chanakhali and encamp there.” Next morning, setting out, Sirāju-d-danlah reached Chanakhali, and from there proceeding by forced marches invaded Calcutta. In the month of Ramzan, fighting with the English, Sirāju-d-danlah 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-danlah left Rājah Manikôbānd with a large detachment as Governor of Calcutta. Posting strong garrisons at Makhāl and Bajbajia (Budge-Budge) and other fords for the crossing and passage of English ships, Sirāju-d-danlah at the end of the above month returned to Murshidābād.

Ṣāulat Jang, Fanjār of Purnāb, that year, previous to Mahābat Jang’s death, in the month of Jamādi-l-Awāl, had died, and

1 Both the Seīr and the Ikhtel-Arba‘-Bawr give his name as Mr. Drake.
2 That Sirāju-d-danlah plundered Calcutta, is also mentioned in the Ikhtel-Arba‘-Bawr (p. 29), as well as in the Seīr (p. 632, Vol II), but none of these more or less contemporary Musalman accounts make any mention of the “Black Hole” incident, generally associated with Sirāju-d-danlah’s conquest of Calcutta.

The Seīr 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 seamen were captured. In this connection, the Seīr also mentions the fact that some English ladies who were captured in this fight were well-treated by a Muhammadan nobleman, Mīrza 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 Seīr, Vol. II, p. 632, Footnote).
his son, Shaukát Jang, who was a cousin of Sirajú-d-daulah, had succeeded his father. At this time, Sirajú-d-daulah desiring to displace Shaukát Jang demanded the revenue of Parniah.\(^1\) Shaukát Jang replied: "You are lord of three Súbahs (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." Sirajú-d-daulah, on receipt of

\(^1\) The account in the Seir (Pure, text, Vol. II, pp. 624-632), is quite different, and is more reliable, as its author was attacked at the time as a Chief Adviser to Shaukát Jang. It would appear from the Seir that Mir Jafar, in pursuance of his conspiracy to effect a Revolution, had written a letter to Shaukát Jang requesting the latter to place himself at the head of the revolutionary party in view of the prospect of succeeding to the Nizamí of Bengal. Shaukát 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 Ghassán and Kandahar, and to conquer Bengal. Sirajú-d-daulah hearing of the disloyalty that was being essayed in the Parniah Court, deposed Rai Ras Behur (a son of Rájah Janoki Ram and brother of Duháh Ram) to Parniah, with a letter to Shaukát Jang, calling upon the latter to make over the Júraí of Gondwarnah and Sírnagar (which pertained to the Bengal Nizamí) to Rai Ras Behur. When this letter was received, the author of the Seir (who was then Shaukát Jang's principal adviser) being consulted advised Shaukát Jang to temporize, to treat Rai Ras Behur 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 Sirajú-d-daulah and that then Shaukát Jang's turn would come to join the winning party. However that may be, Shaukát did not adopt the above advice, and sent an insolent reply to Sirajú-d-daulah, adding that he (Shaukát Jang) had received aid of the Súbahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, that Sirajú-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 Jangír-nagar or Daíra. Sirajú-d-daulah answered the above insolent reply by at once advancing with his army to Manihari, together with his Diwan Mohanlal. Ramnáraí from Patna was also ordered to join Sirajú-d-daulah with the Patna army. In this battle which took place between Manihari and Nawábganj, Shaukát Jang was killed, through his folly in leaving his entrenched position and marching through marshy swamps. Sirajú-d-daulah appointed Mohanlal to the office of Faujídar of Parniah, and the latter left his son as Deputy Faujídar there.

I have given the above details from the Seir, in order to show that the war with Shaukát Jang was not of Sirajú-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 Sirajú-d-daulah's authority, and that Sirajú-d-daulah had no alternative but to fight in self-defence,
this reply, which did not satisfy his designs, despatched Diwân Mohanlal, together with other Generals such as Dost Muḥammad Khân, Shaikh Din Muḥammad, Mir Muḥammad, and Jafar Khân, &c., with a large army, to fight with Shankat Jang; and he also wrote to Râmnârân, the Šâhâbâd of Azīmâbâd, to march quickly to Puranâh. From the other side, Shankat Jang detailed for fighting Shaikh Jahân Yâr and Kârguzâr Khân, the generalissimo, and Mir Murâd Ali and others, and subsequently he himself set out and assaulting and sacking and burning Hazâtpârogulâh returned to Puranâh. On arrival at Manihari, Sirâjûn-d-danlah’s army encamped, whilst Shankat Jang’s army at a distance of one Karch at Nawâbganj entrenched itself. On the next day, Shankat Jang also arrived and joined his army; and on the same day, Râjâh Râmnârân, the Šâbâbâd of Azīmâbâd, with his contingent of troops, joined Sirâjûn-d-danlah’s army. On the morning of the following day, Râjâh Mohanlal advanced with his force in order to fight, and unfurled his flag carrying the ensign of the Mâhi Order which he held. Shankat Jang, on seeing the ensign of the Mâhi Order, fancied that Sirâjûn-d-danlah himself had joined his army, and was marching up for fight, and so Shankat Jang advanced also with his army. Shaikh Jahân Yâr 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.” Shankat Jang, paying no heed to this dissuasion, marched up to the battle-field. Shaikh Jahân Yâr was also obliged to advance with his corps, and whilst fighting bravely he received a gun-shot. Shaikh Abû-r Râshîd, his brother, and Shaikh Qudratul-lâh, his son-in-law, together with Shaikh Jhahan Yâr, 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 Jahân Yâr, 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 Bignagar, he expired. At that crisis, Shankat Jang, himself joining in the fight, advanced, discharging arrows, and came in front of Dost Muḥammad Khân. The aforesaid Khân said, “Come on my elephant, as you will find security then.” Shankat 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 Habib Beg, no one else was with Shaukat Jung. Habib Beg 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 Muhammad Khan hit Shaukat Jung on the forehead, and the bird of his soul flew away, and nestled on the branches of annihilation. And Karguzur Khan, the generalissimo Shaikh Bahadur Narnuti, Abu Tarah Khan, Murad Sher Khan, nephew of Shaikh Jahangir, Shaikh Murad Ali, disciple of Nawab Saif Khan, Mir Sultan Khalil, the archer, Loha Singh Hazar, and Mir Jafuru Jio, &c., displayed gallant bravery, and tasted the potion of death on the battle-field. Sirajud-daulah had advanced to Akbaragar (Rajmahal), when the tidings of victory arrived; and he ordered the music of victory to strike up. He also caused the adherents of Shaukat Jung, such as were captured, to be punished in various forms. Raja Mohanal confiscating fifty-one elephants, and horses, and camels, and other treasures of Shaukat Jung, and leaving his own son as Deputy-Governor of the Fanjir of Purniah, returned.

When Sirajud-daulah, after the fall of his cousin, arrived in Marahidabad, the chess-board of time presented a new game. Of the English, who had been routed by Sirajud-daulah in Calcutta, and whose treasures worth several lakhs had been plundered, some escaped and fled to an island. 4 Thence they sent messages to Eng-
land and other ports, and in a short time obtained reinforcements. After some months, the English chiefs, under the command of Šāhīt 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 Rājah Mānikchān. The Rājah suffered a heavy defeat. The English advancing to Ḥāglī, raised its fortifications with the cannonade of their artillery, and the Fanjdār of that Fort fled. Sirāj-ud-daulah, on getting news of the English victory, set out for Calcutta from Marsjidābād, and encamped in the garden of Kushtā, in the suburbs of Calcutta. The English made a night-attack. The next day, Sirāj-ud-daulah, not having the boldness to advance, and outwardly proclaiming the conclusion of peace, marched back anxiously to Marsjidābād. After arrival in Marsjidābād, Sirāj-ud-daulah found that all the Nobles and Generals were disaffected. Foremost amongst them was Mir Mubāmmad Jafār Khān Bahādur, from whom the office of generalissimo had been transferred to Khwājah Ḥādi Ali Khān, and who had shut himself up in his house. Sirāj-ud-daulah placing large batteries in front of Mir Jafār's palace was ready to blow him up, and ordered him to quit the City. Mir Jafār tendering excuses and apologies, secretly set about making warlike preparations in self-defence, and tampering with the Bhaiyah Generals and Commanders and with Jagāt Set. Ratifying their conspiracy by mutual oaths and promises, Mir Jafār 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 Bhaiyah nobles, Clive resolved to fight, and fought against Mānikchaṇ, Nawab's Governor of Calcutta, who fled.‡

‡ Besides Mir Jafār who was the soul of this conspiracy, some other prominent persons, like Dulābh Ram (son of Jambu Ram) Jagāt Set and Ghasāī Begām (widow of Nawab) Mānumāt Khān, son-in-law of Ali Vardī Khān, were active colleagues of Mir Jafār in this conspiracy. Ghasāī Begām helped Mir Jafār with the State treasures that she had secreted. One may understand the resentment of Mir Jafār (who had been disgraced and dismissed from the office of generalissimo) and of Ghasāī Begām (who had been obliged to disgorge a portion of the State treasures that she had hidden), but the loyal conduct of Dulābh Ram, Jagāt Set, Ram Naran, Rājah Abīl 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, Sirajud-daulah had adopted an extremely pro-Hindu policy, and that it was Sirajud-daulah's elevation of an obscure Hindu, named Mohanbai, to the highest civil State office that to a great extent alienated from the Nawab the sympathies of his Mussulman adherents, who would have perhaps otherwise stood by him in this crisis. (See Ibynt-i-Arhab-i-Basr, p. 26.)

This Amir Beg is mentioned in the Sair as having conducted some English ladies honourably to Mr. Drake's ship, after Sirajud-daulah's capture of Calcutta. Amir Beg, in consequence, enjoyed the confidence of the English. See note ante. On Mona 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 Sirajud-daulah, and inviting the English to deliver them from the Nawab. Jagat Set instructed his Calcutta Agent, Amin (known popularly as Onighand), to work in the same direction, whilst Dulah Ram also instanced 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 craves of rupees would be presented to Clive for this service. Clive yielded to Mir Jafar's importunities and advanced towards Palai (Plassey). (See Sawai-Mutahara, Vol. II, p. 637.) In regard to these events, Turah-i-Musuri may also be referred to. Professor Bioehmann gives some notes from the Turah-i-Musuri 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 Tarunwala, who harboured a grudge against the French Governor of Chandernagore, named M. Reunel (p. 88, J.A.S. referred to above) and that after the fall of Chandernagore, Mona Las, a French officer, became an attendant at the Court of the Nawab Sirajud-daulah, for whom he fitted out a detachment by the name of Teluga. 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 Marahshah Mona Las to humour Clive. At this time (1757), Clive built the present Fort William and a Mint in Calcutta, without waiting for permission of the Nawab. A few letters written by Sirajud-daulah to M. Bussy, in the Dakhin, had been intercepted by the English, and Sirajud-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 Palliš (Plassey). When the 
moment for action had passed, Siraj-ud-daulah on hearing the 
Wazir, the English Resident at Murshidabad, 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 Khidat, and wrote an excuse to 
Clive. But Clive had already flung himself into the conspiracy headed by Mir 
Jafar, to dethrone Siraj-ud-daulah. According to the Tarikh-i-Moazzam, the 
conspiracy was planned by Mir Muhammad Jafar, Anisghund Rana (gener- 
ally called Omichand) and Khwajeh Vizier, but according to the Seerat-
Matakhkera, by Mir Muhammad Jafar, Rajah Dihub Rum and Jagat Set, who 
had each their agents in Calcutta. (See quotation from Seer 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 Anisghund 
(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 Siraj-ud-daulah, but were vigorously opposed by Mr Madan (call- 
ed Moondam Khan in Thornton, Vol. I, p. 240), one of the Nawab’s faithful 
squires. About 12 o’clock Mr Madan was struck by a cannon-ball and carried 
to Siraj-ud-daulah’s tent, where he died. The fighting was, however, continued, 
Mohanlal having taken Mr Madan’s place. But nothing decisive was done. 
Afraid of a conspiracy Siraj-ud-daulah sent for Mir Jafar, who had 
taken no part in the fight. After some 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. Siraj-ud-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 Tarikh-i 
Moazzam referred to above.

The Seerat-Matokhkera’s explanation regarding (p. 637, Vol. II), Clive’s 
breach of the treaty with Siraj-ud-daulah is apologetic in tone. The Seir 
states that the English had joined Mir Jafar’s conspiracy, but as this was 
recoever, 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 Siraj-ud-daulah.

I will now summarize 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,

Scire.-Munngho (Vol. II, p. 638). On hearing of Clive’s movement, Sirajud-daulah tried to conciliate his disaffected officers, who outwardly professed loyalty to him, but inwardly plotted his ruin. Sirajud-daulah sent Rajah Dulab 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 Omjibhund 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 cannonball and was removed to Sirajud-daulah’s tent, where he died. Sirajud-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 hear to me, and in the name of the bounties that you received from my grandfather, Mahbub Jang, 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.” Sirajud-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. Sirajud-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 Sirajud-daulah’s army, who dispersed in all directions. Sirajud-daulah then returned swiftly to Mirshidabad, halted for some time at Mansanjan, but found he was surrounded on all sides by false courtiers and traitors. So he left with his Begams and gold for Bhagwangolah, whence on boats he sailed for Azimabad sending at the same time a letter to Musa, Lao to join him. Before Lao’s arrival, Sirajud-daulah was on his way to Patna. Owing to his Begamas and children having had no food for some days, Sirajud-daulah, whom misfortune was dogging, landed at Rajmahal, went to the house of a fakher named Dena Singh, who undertook ostensibly to prepare Khichri for him, but who inwardly harboured resentment against the Nawab, owing to previous ill-treatment. This fakher promptly sent news of Sirajud-daulah’s arrival to Mir Daad (brother of Mir Jafar), who was at Rajmahal. Mir Dada and Mir Qasim Khan
he displayed towards the aforesaid Khán (Mir Jafar) flattery and
endearment, and sending the Begam of Mahabat 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 Sirajud-
daulah's assurances and actions. After this, when Sirajud-
daulah advanced from Chenahkhal, the aforesaid Khán (Mir Jafar)
also marching encamped at a distance of half a farsak from the
army of Sirajud-daulah. Mir M丹d, Superintendent of the Artillery,
told Sirajud-daulah that the English were coming at the
instigation of Mir Muhammad Jafar, and that it was, therefore,
expedient to finish first Mir Muhammad Jafar, and that after the
latter was killed, the English would not have the daring to ap-
proach 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 (Sirajud-daulah) was deaf.

When next day, Sirajud-daulah reached Dandpur, tidings came
(son-in-law of Mir Jafar), came and captured Sirajud-daulah, carried him to
Marghidabad where he was murdered by Mir Jafar and his son Miran. Sirajud-
daulah's corpse was placed on an elephant and paraded. The Seir winds
up its account of this tragic murder of Sirajud-daulah with the following
pathetic lines:

I have already quoted the moral which the author of the Ibrat-i-Arab-i-
Baw draws from this tragic event. See n. 34.

This account, compiled from Seir-i-Mutakkerin, Bijnor-i-Julatia, Ibrat-i-
Arab-i-Baw, and Professor Blochmann's notes from Turki-i-Masnavi may pro-
fitably be compared with the accounts in Orme's History of the Military Trans-
sactions 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. 36).
to the effect that the English had set fire to Katwâb. At that
time Mohanlal reproached Siraju-d-daulah, and said: "You have
ruined me, and rendered my children orphans. If you had not
removed Mir Muhammed Jafar Khân and Dullah Ram from the
Katwâb outpost, things would not have taken this turn." In short,
on the morning following that day, which was 5th Shawal of the
3rd year of the reign of Emperor Alamgir II, the English army
from Palâsi (Plassey) on one side, and Siraju-d-daulah from Dând-
pûr on the other encountered each other, and opened the battle with
a cannonade. Mir Muhammed Jafar Khân, with his detachment,
stood at a distance towards the left from the main army; and
although Siraju-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 Siraju-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 Siraju-d-
daulah's army changed, and the artillerymen with the corpse of
Mir Madan moved into tents. It was now midday, when the peo-
ple of the tents fled. As yet Nawab Siraju-d-daulah was busy
fighting and slaughtering, when the camp-followers decamping
from Dândpûr went the other side, and gradually the soldiers
also took to their heels. Two hours before sun-set, flight occurred
in Siraju-d-daulah's army, and Siraju-d-daulah also being unable
to stand his ground any longer fled. On arrival at Mauûrganj,
which had been founded by him, he opened the Treasury gates
and distributed money to the army. But owing to grave anxie-
ties, being unable to halt there, the Nawâb abandoning his trea-
urses 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 Purniah and Azimâbâd. After Siraju-d-
daulah's defeat, Mir Muhammed Jafar entered his camp, in the
night held a conference with the English Chiefs, and early next
morning marched in pursuit of Siraju-d-daulah, and arrived in
Murshidâbâd. Finding the sky propitious towards his views,
Mir Jafar entered the citadel, struck up the music announcing his
accession to the sazmad of Bengal, issued proclamations of peace
and security in the City, and unfurled the standard of Sûbâhâdâri.
Mir Jafar then detailed his son-in-law, Mir Muhammed Qâsim
with a corps to capture Siraju-d-daulah, and quartered the Eng-
ish army at Bahnosh. But Siraju-d-daulah, travelling in the night, had sailed swiftly from below Maidah, and reached Babial. When news reached him that the mouth of Nagirpur was unnavigable and boats could not pass by that way, he was obliged to disembark, and went to the house of Dân Shâh Pirzâdah, whose house was at that place. Dân Shâh who previous to this had suffered some injury at the hands of Siraju-d-daulah, finding the latter in his power, and seeing the times favourable, by giving assurances and consolations, detained Siraju-d-daulah in his house, and ostensibly engaging on preparing food, sent information to Mir Dâud Ali Khan, Fanjilâr of Akbarnâgar (Râjmahal), who was brother of Mir Muhammad Jafar Khân. The spies of Dâud Ali Khan who were searching for Siraju-d-daulah, fancying it to be a grand victory, swiftly arrived, and capturing Siraju-d-daulah carried him from the house of Dân Shâh to Akbarnâgar, from whence the spies of Dâud Ali Khan and Mir Muhammad Qasim Khân carried him in their company to Murshidâbâd. Mir Muhammad Jafar Khân threw Siraju-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 Khosâr Bâgh in the Mausoleum of Nawâb Mahabat Jang. After some days, Mir Jafar killed also Mirzâ Mihdí Ali Khan, the younger brother of Siraju-d-daulah, by stretching him on an instrument of torture, and buried his body by the side of his brother’s grave. The Nizâmat of Nawâb Siraju-d-daulah lasted

1 I am not sure if this word is correctly printed in the Pers. text.
2 In Sâr, Dân Shâh.
3 I have noticed in a previous note the principal measures of Siraju-d-daulah’s administration.

The Jârât-i-Asbâh-i-Bâr (p. 36) characterises Siraju-d-daulah as ‘light-hearted, unsparing, self-milled, petulant, short-tempered and sharp-tongued.’ The Sâre-i-Mutakhsâra (vol. II, p. 621) states in condemnation of Siraju-d-daulah that Siraju-d-daulah’s ‘harsh and unseemly utterances, his derision and jesting in respect of the offices 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 Siraju-d-daulah.

The explanation accounting for the tragic fate of Siraju-d-daulah is, however, attempted by the author of the Jârât-i-Asbâh-i-Bâr (p. 32). This author
one year and four months, and he was slain at the end of the month of Shawal 1170 A.H.

NIZĀMAT OF SHIJĀU-L-MULK JAFAR ALI KHĀN.

When Jafar Ali Khān ascended the shawal of the Nizāmat of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, he set himself to the conciliation of the siutou, in order that Sirju-d-daulah was a victim of intrigues and misfortunes left as a legacy by his grandfather, Ali Yarz Khan, who had inaugurated in Bengal an era of violent intrigues and dark treachery, by killing his own master, Nawab Sufkur Kahn (son of Ali Yarz's benefactor, Nawab Shujah-ud-din Khan), and who was, therefore, now punished by an avenging Providence; in the person of his grandson Sirju-d-daulah, whom Ali Yarz had regarded as dearer than his own life. That Sirju-d-daulah did not bring on the misfortunes on himself by his own incapacity, is proved by what the Seven-Metathesis (Vol. II, p. 623), states, namely, that Sirju-d-daulah had attained the zenith of power and opulence, and that, therefore, a dissolution was inevitable according to the laws of nature.

This Revolution in the history of Bengal which is effect supplanted 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 utmost good of the people. At the time, it is abundantly clear, the people in Bengal were sunk in the abyss of moral degradation, and the more of dark ingratitude and treachery, unrivaled in the world, had crept deep into the vitals of their hearts. In the pursuit of the ambitions of individual self-aggrandizement and of personal ambitions, they had taken advantage of the youthful failings of their sovereigns and of the intersecting jealousies that distracted his family, forgotten and forsaken all sentiments of gratitude and honour, and yielded to their instinct of intrigue by fraternizing with the Nawab's disloyal relation, Mir Jasper. These, therefore, vervy seduced a Chefter—a Mason—to save them from further moral dissolution, and so Providence is His inscrutable wisdom sent to them. One from across the sea 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 Sitar (Vol. II, p. 640). After the battle of Plessey, Mir Jasper and Clive had a conference on the battlefield, and they together entered Murshidabad. Mir Jasper occupied the palace of Manpurgar, which was the residence of Sirju-d-daulah, and they visited the Iqamaat Treasury, in order to distribute the treasures between themselves, Dalib Ram, and Clive, as had been agreed to mutually. Dalib Ram now became Mir Jasper's most influential collague in the administration. Their friendship, however, did not last long, and shortly after Dalib Ram contemplated placing Sirju-d-daulah's brother, Mirzâ Mahdi, on the shawal. See Sitar, Vol. II, Pars. text, p. 644).
army and the nobility, who had joined him in his conspiracy to destroy Siraj-ud-daulah. He appointed his nephew, Khadiim Husain Khan, to the office of Fanjdar of Purniah, and conferred on Ramnarain a robe of honour, confirming him in the Deputy-Governorship of the Suhbah of Azimabad (Patna).  

At this time Shahr Alam invaded the Suhbah of Azimabad.

1. See Seir (Vol. II, p. 645), for an account of Khadem Husain Khan. Khadem Husain Khan’s father, Syed Khaadem Ali Khan, was husband of Mir Jafar’s sister, but Khadem Husain was not from this sister, but born of another wife of Khadem. Khadem Husain was a close companion of Mir Jafar, who was fond of pleasures and carousals (p. 645, Vol. II, Seir).

2. Mir Jafar was quite incompetent for the office of Subedar of Bengal. As soon as he ascended the second of the Nizamat, he flung himself into pleasures, neglected State affairs, and left them in the hands of his son, Miran, and others. Jahangir Negar or Dacca fell into the hands of Bajullah, Diwan of Miran; this Bajullah in the time of the late Shahamat Jang was peshkar of Shahamat Jang’s Diwan, Husain Quli Khan. Bardwan and some other districts were ceded to the English, in lieu of cash payment of a part of the Bengal revenue. Hugli was assigned to Mir Beg Khan, who had rendered good services to the English. Rajah Ramnarain became supreme administrator of Bihar, whilst Purniah was bestowed on Khadem Husain Khan. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 651). It is stated in the Seir that shortly after Mir Jafar’s accession, people got tired of him and his son Miran, and sighed back for the old days of Siraj-ud-daulah, whom they regarded now as better in all respects than Mir Jafar (Seira-i-Mutaherin, Vol. II, p. 656).

A detailed account of this will be found in the Seira-i-Mutaherin, Vol. II, p. 656. It appears that many of the noblemen in Bihar and Bengal soon got into thorough disgust with Mir Jafar and his son, Miran, and opened correspondence with Muhammad Quli Khan, Subedar of Allahabad (a cousin of Shuja-ud-daulah, and a nephew of Safdar Jang). Muhammad Quli Khan took counsel with his cousin, Shuja-ud-daulah, Subedar of Oudh, who inwardly harboured ill-feeling towards his cousin and aimed at his ruin, gave him false advice, and encouraged him to invade Bihar and to entry with him Prince Ali Gauhar, surmounted Shahr Alam (who was heir of Emperor Alamgir-II). Ali Gauhar was harassed at this time by Janadu-I-Mulk, and was staying with Najib-ul-daulah Najib Khan Afghan at Mirzapur, Ootamah. At first Ramnarain, Deputy-Governor of Bihar, took counsel with Mr. Amyot, the Chief of the English Factory at Patna, enquired what courses of action should adopt, and suggested that the English should help him in opposing Prince Ali Gauhar’s invasion. Mr. Amyot said he could give no decisive answer. Finding that no help was coming from the Nazim of Bengal, Mir Jafar, nor from the English, Ramnarain became anxious, opened political conversations with Prince Gauhar and Muhammad Quli Khan, waited on them in Darbar, and professed allegiance to the Prince. Both the Prince and Muhammad Quli
Rahim Khan and Qadirdad Khan, &c., sons of Umar Khan, and Gulam Shahr and other commanders and generals in the service

Khan being thus reassured, let Ramnarin return to the fort of Azimabad. Shortly after, on getting news of the approach of Miran and the English, Ramnarin threw off his mask of loyalty to the Prince and Muhammad Quli Khan. The latter pressed the siege of Patna, assaulted the Fort, and Ramnarin being hard pressed was about to surrender and run away. Then news arriving that Shujah-ud-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. 659, Seir, Vol. II.) At this time, Muns. 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, Shujah-ud-daulah, instead of being meanly treacherous to his cousin, had supported him, the fate of Bihar might have been different. See Muns. 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 Shujah-ud-daulah, whilst Prince Ali Gauhar with Muns. Las was allowed to pass on to Mirzapur to Chattarpur towards Bundelkund. Muhammad Quli Khan was carried to Shujah-ud-daulah who had the meanness to imprison him. In the meantime, Miran with Col. Clive came to Patna, and Ramnarin 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 Diler Khan and Kamgar Khan, Zamindar of Tirhat Sambal, Prince Ali Gauhar again invaded Patna. At this time, the English army under Captain Cockrane supported Ramnarin. Mr. Amyot 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 Imam-ul-Mulk (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 676), and Ali Gauhar consulted Ghulam Husain Khan's father, who resided at the time in Hussainabad in Bihar Province and proclaimed himself Emperor under the title of Shah Alam in 1783, A.H., appointed Shujah-ud-daulah as his Vizier, and Najib-ud-daulah as his General. Then Kamgar Khan Mu'in and Aqalat Khan and Diler Khan met the Emperor, and induced the latter to invade Bihar. At this time, Ramnarin was encamped on the banks of the river Diamah. At this battle, Shah Alam defeated Ramnarin, who was wounded. The English army who supported Ramnarin 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, Diler Khan and Aqalat Khan, sons of Umar Khan, fought and fell heroically on the side of the Emperor. Shortly after, Miran, with the English troops under Colonel Clive arrived. On the side of the Emperor, Kam-
of Sirajud-daulah, whom Jafar Ali Khan had previously from policy shifted to the province of Bihār, now joined the Imperial Army. At Fatūlah, a battle took place between the Imperialists and Rāmnarāin. Rāmnarāin was wounded, and fled to the fort, and the Imperial troops laid siege to the fort. Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, on getting this news, despatched to Bihār his son, Nawab Naṣiru-l-Mulk Sadiq Ali Khan Shahāmat Jang, surnamed Miran, with a detachment of English troops. On the banks of the river Adhūnā, adjoining Bāch, a battle ensued with the Imperialists. On the side of the Imperialists, Qadīrīdād Khan and Kamgar Khan displayed feats of bravery. Muhammad Amin Khan was wounded, whilst Rājballah fell back, and both contemplated flight. Qadīrīdād Khan, 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 Qadīrīdād Khan was shot by a bullet. Qadīrīdād

gar Khan, Qadīrīdād Khan, Ghulam Shāh were the Generals. Qadīrīdād Khan made a bold movement to the rear of Miran, heroically fought, killed Muhammad Amin Khan (maternal uncle of Miran), wounded Miran, and worked havoc in Miran’s army. Miran fled. Then the English opened a brisk cannonade, and one canister-ball hit Qadīrīdād Khan who was killed. Then the tide of victory turned in favour of Miran, whilst Kamgar Khan, with the Emperor, proceeded towards Bihār (Seir, Vol. II, p. 680). Now Kamgar Khan, with the Emperor, contemplated surprising Murahiddahad, and proceeded to Bardwan. Mir Jafar, with the English army and his own troops, proceeded to Bardwan. Kamgar Khan with the Emperor now turned back towards Azimabād, while Mons. Las also arrived. (Seir, Vol. II, p. 680). At this time Khandim Haseen Khan and Dulab Ram (who had got sick of his old fellow-conspirator, Mir Jafar) went help secretly to the Emperor. The Emperor and Kamgar Khan with Mons. Las and Zainuddin Khan 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 Khan now went some distance from Patna, and was busy collecting revenue. In the meantime, Khandim Hussain, 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 Shītāb Šāh (Seir, Vol. II, p. 685). Shortly after Miran, with Colonel Clive and another English army, arrived, and pursued Khandim Hussain Khan, who felt himself too weak to oppose their united forces, and retired towards Jitālah, where of a night Miran was killed by lightning, whilst sleeping in his tent. (Seir, Vol. II, p. 688).
Khān spurred on his elephant with his feet, and shot arrows. Nawāb Sadiq 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 Sadiq 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 Sadiq 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 cannoneade of the English artillery, they were unable to stand their ground, and were defeated. After defeat, the Imperialists retired towards Bardwān, and Sadiq Ali Khān, pursuing them, followed them up to Bardwān via Chakai, Khunti, and Birbhum. From this side, Jafar Ali Khān also marched expeditiously to Bardwān, and on the banks of the river below the town of Bardwān, a battle commenced with a cannonade. The Imperialists not being able to hold their own there, marched back to Agimābūd.

Jafar Ali Khān and Sadiq 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 Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), the Begam of Mahābat Jang with her two daughters, one named Amanah Begam, mother of Sirāju-d-daulah, and the other named Ghaisatt Begam, widow of Shahāmat Jang, together with other ladies of Mahābat Jang's harem. Jafar Ali Khān and Sadiq Ali Khān now sent Baqir Khān, the General, to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) with a corps of one hundred cavalry, and wrote to Jasarat Khān, Fanjdar of Jahāngirnagar, peremptorily directing the latter to capture and make over Ghaisatt Begam and

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1 In the printed Persian text 'Jakai,' which would apparently seem to be a misreading or misprint for Thakai, in Mungphyr district, which would be on the line of route.

2 'Khunti' or Contai is in Midnapur district. I think this must be a misprint or misreading in the Pers. printed text, as Khunti does not appear to be on the line of route from Birhar to Bardwān; probably Kandi is meant.

3 That is to say, Damudar river.

4 In Seiru-l-Mutahharen, 'Amanah Begam.'
Aminah Begam to Bāqīr Khān, as soon as the latter arrived. On the arrival of Bāqīr Khān at Jahāngirnagar, Jasārat Khān was obliged to pass the necessary orders. The Begams were placed on a boat, which was taken out some kaḥl from Jahāngirnagar 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 Qorān in their arms, embraced each other, and then plunged into the river. O, Gracious God, what inhuman barbarity was this! But at length, Ṣadiq Ali Khān also suffered retribution for it in his own lifetime.

At this time a misunderstanding had set in between Ṣadiq Ali Khān and Khādīm Husain Khān, on account of levy of revenue and also of other matters. Ṣadiq Ali Khān, resolving to expel and extinguish Khādīm Husain Khān, planned an expedition to Purnā. Khādīm Husain Khān advancing with his troops from Purnā, entrenched himself at Gandahgolāh (Carnagola) for fighting. Then, all of a sudden, news arrived that the Imperialists had besieged the fort of Agimābād (Patua), and were fighting with Rāmnāśīn. Consequently, Ṣadiq Ali Khān, abandoning his contemplated expedition to Purnā, set out for Agimābād. 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 Ganges, the army of Ṣadiq Ali Khān, and from that (i.e., the northern) side of the Ganges, Khādīm Husain Khān

1 To the credit of Jasārat Khān, Faujdar of Duca or Jahāngirnagar, it is related in the Seer that he had declined to be a party to such a diabolical murder, and had offered to resign his post. It appears from the Seer Mir Jafar subsequently hoaxed Jasārat Khān, and induced the latter to make over to Bāqīr 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 Sirjū-al-duālah. See Seaira-i-Motahāres, 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 Seer that Miran was killed by lightning in his tent the same night that Ghasit Begam and Aminah Begam (daughters of Ali Vardil Khān Mahālāt Jang, and wives of Shahamat Jang and Halbal Jang respectively) met with a watery grave in the river below Duca.
marched up. And when news of the approach of Sadiq Ali Khan spread at Agimabad, the Imperialists raising the siege of the fort of Patna retired by the highway towards Munir. Sadiq Ali Khan, thus finding himself at leisure, crossed the river, and marched in pursuit of Khudim Husain Khan. Khudim Husain Khan marched forward with the swiftness of lightning and wind, whilst Sadiq Ali Khan 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. Khudim Husain Khan reached the bank of a river, to ford which was difficult, and to cross which without a ferry boat was impossible. The army of Khudim Husain Khan, 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, Khudim Husain Khan 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 Sadiq Ali Khan, 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 karch from Khudim Husain Khan. In that the cup of the life of Khudim Husain Khan and his companions was yet not full to the brim, at midnight a lightning fell on Sadiq Ali Khan, and killed him and his personal attendant. This mishap occurred in 1173 A.H. Khudim Husain Khan, thus getting providentially rescued from the claws of certain death, marched away with the speed of lightning and wind, and went to the Sahib of Angh (Oudh). Raghballab and other comrades of Sadiq Ali Khan rubbed the ashes of sorrow and anguish on their heads, and together with the English army retired to Agimabad. There they directed their attention towards the Imperial army, including the Emperor's Maratta Contingent, who were encamped at Hilsah, and commenced warfare. The Imperialists were again defeated, and the French General who was in the company of

1 This was the river Gandak, as would appear from the description in the Seir.
2 Raghballab, a native of Basus, was Bakhsh of Husain Quli Khan, whilst the latter was Diwan of Shahamat Jung in Basus. After Husain Quli Khan's death, Raghballab rose to be Diwan of Shahamat Jung. 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 Rajballab followed up to Bihār. When the Imperialists marched towards Gya-Manpur and Kām-gār Khān fled to the hills, Rajballab 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 Sūbah of Bengal, as will be related hereafter. The period of the Nizāmat of Nawāb Mir Muḥammad Jafar Ali Khān lasted about three years.

NIZĀMAT OF ALIjah NAṢIRU-L-MULK IMTIĀZU-D-DAULAH QĀSIM ALI KHĀN BAHADUR NAṢRAT JANG.

Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān had sent to Calcutta his kinsman, Mir Muḥammad Qāsim, who was a son of Nawāb Imtiāz Khān, surnamed Kālīs, 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 Ṣādīq Ali Khān, the Army demanding their pay which had fallen into arrear for some years mutinied in a body, besieged the Nawāb in the Ghāziāl Sohā 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 Fanjārī of Parnāsh 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 Nazim of Bengal, Bihār, and Oṛissa, in supersession of Mir Jafar, who had proved himself an incapable ruler. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 690). 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 Murtaza, who was a son of Imtiāz Khān, surnamed Kālīs.
demand of pay was a very serious matter, and that it was advisable that the Nawab abandoning the Fort should come down to Calcutta, entrusting the Fort and the Subah to Mir Muhammad Qasim Khan. Mir Muhammad Qasim with full self-confidence, on attaining his aim, returned to Murshidabad. The English Chiefs leagueing with Mir Muhammad Qasim Khan brought out Nawab Jafar Khan from the Fort, placed him on a boat, and sent him down to Calcutta. Mir Qasim Khan entered the Fort, mounted the minar of Nizamat, and issued proclamations of peace and security in his own name. He sent a message to Rajaullah to bring back the Emperor to Azimabad, whilst he himself afterwards set out for Azimabad, 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 Turab Ali Khan, as Deputy Nazim in Murshidabad, Mir Qasim carried with himself all his effects, requisites, elephants, horses, and treasures comprising cash and jewels of the harem, and even gold and silver decorations of the Imambâra, 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 Sirajuddaulah. 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, Sirajuddaulah was superior to him, whilst as a man, Sirajuddaulah was much better than Mir Jafar or his infamous son, Miran. The Scîr states that shortly after the Revolution, even Mir Jafar's old adherents sighed back for the days of Sirajuddaulah. Mir Jafar was even incapable of retaining the friendships or attachments of his fellow-conspirators, Dalab Ram and Jugat Set. After ascending the minar 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 Qasim 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 Qasim was proclaimed Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar, and Oриса. (See Scîr, Vol. II, p. 65.)

2 Rajaullah was at this time in Patna in charge of Miran's army, as Miran had been killed by lightning.

3 From the Scîr, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 711, it appears that Mir Qasim went
Ağimabād (Patna), in order to wait on the Emperor. Before Mir Qāsim’s arrival at Ağımabād, 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 Jah Naqiru-l-mulk Imtiāz-d-danīlah Qāsim Ali Khān Nasrī Jang. But the officers of the Emperor marking some change in the conduct of Qāsim Ali Khān marched back with the Emperor to Bāvaras, without giving any intimation thereof to the aforesaid Khān. Nawāb Qāsim Ali Khān followed to Mungghyr and resided there in 1175 A.H., after having finished his expeditions to Tirhut, Shāhilād, and Ağımabād, and after having left Rājah Nāihat Rai as Deputy Subadar of Patna, in place of Rāmārāhnā and Ḥājībullah 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 appreciated 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 generalisation 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 Seir-i-Mafātīḥīra, 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 own self-interest, regardless of traditions and of sentiments. (See Seir, Vol. II, pp. 700, 708-709). At this time Ahmad Shah Abdali had again invaded India, defeated the Mahrattas, and instructed Shujān-d-danīlah, Najību-d-danīlah and other Afghans to show allegiance to Emperor Shah 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 Shah Abdali who had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mahrattas, Shujān-d-danīlah, Subadar of Oudh, had come at the time to the borders of Oudh, to receive the Emperor
them up to the confines of Baksar and Jagadhlpur, and after pillaging those places returned to Azimab¢d, halted at the residence of Ramnarain, and set himself to the work of administration of the affairs of that place. When Qasim Ali Khan demanded from the English duties on their trade-goods, the latter refused to pay the same, and carried on their trade duty-free. Nawab Qasim Ali Khan Shahr Alam and to escort him to Delhi, to install him on his ancestral throne. See Seir-e-Mutawakker, Vol. II, pp. 705-706.

1 Important administrative changes transpired at this time. Nawab Mir Qasim called for accounts from Ramnarain, who was Deputy Collector of Behar. Finding that Ramnarain had been guilty of malversation in respect of large amounts of the public revenues, the Nawab dismissed him from office and threw him into prison, at the same time confiscating all his treasures. Shaitab Rai, who was Ramnarain’s colleague, was also suspected, and dismissed by the Nawab, who took into his own hands the direct administration of Behar, retaining, however, Rajballah as his Deputy there. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 707. Subsequently Rajballah was thrown into prison, his office being given to Rajah Nandat Rai, who was replaced shortly after by Mir Mehal Khan. Gurjan Khan, an Armenian, was placed at the head of the Artillery, and the Nawab placed implicit confidence in him. But as later events would show, this Armenian proved a traitor. The Nawab employed a large number of spies, and thus kept himself well informed of everything that transpired. He also appointed Mir Mehal Khan as Fanjdar of Tihint, and Muhammad Taqi Khan as Fanjdar of Biriham.

4 This was the beginning and ascertainable cause of the rupture between Nawab Qasim Ali and the English. The Seir (Vol. II, p. 715), details these important events. In 1776 A.H., Mr. Henry Vansittart, then acting as Governor of the English East India Company in Calcutta, visited the Nawab at Monghyr, and held a conference with him on various matters. The Nawab 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 Nawab 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 Nawab. The Nawab 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. Bateson, of the Dacca Factory, and sent to Calcutta. The Nawab, on hearing this, directed reprimands, and ordered the arrest of theamils.
remitted therupon the duties leviable from all the traders of Bengal and Behar, 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 Nawâb 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 Faujdârs 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 Moughyr. And when on the day fixed, the army of Qâsîm Ali Khân prepared to discharge their commissioned task, a battle

tes 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 Nawâb to Moughyr to settle matters (p. 720, Seir, Vol. II). Mr. Vansittart also sent a friendly letter to the Nawâb requesting the latter to concede the demand of the Council. The Nawâb consulted his general, the Armenian Gurgan Khan, who advised the Nawâb not to listen to Mr. Vansittart’s advice (p. 760, Seir, Vol. II). In the meantime, Gurgan Khan had caused the flower of the Nawâb’s Army to perish in a fruitless expedition for the conquest of Nepal (p. 717, Vol. II, Seir). The Nawâb now solicited aid from Nawâb Yislar Shujâ’-ud-daulah and the Emperor, in order to repel the encroachments of the English (p. 718, Seir, Vol. II). The Nawâb also wrote to his capable and loyal Faujdar of Birbhum, Muhammad Taqi Khan, to send Jagat Set Mahtab Rai and his brother, Maharaj Surajchand, grandsons of Jagat Set Fatehchand, from Murâhâbad to Moughyr under proper escort, and Muhammad Taqi Khan accordingly sent them to Moughyr, where they were ordered to reside under surveillance (p. 721, Seir, Vol. II). On hearing that Mr. Amytt was coming to Moughyr, the Nawâb sent Mir Ali Bâhâ and Ghulam Husain Khan (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 Roper’s account is not quite accurate. What actually happened is detailed in the Seir, the author of which was an actor in these events. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 725). 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 Moughyr to Mr. Ellis of, Chief of the Patna Factory, to
ensued with the English army. At length after successive outrages, 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 Sei, Vol. II, p. 726). From Monghyr, reinforcements were hurried up by the Nawab, and with these reinforcements Mir Mohdi 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 Sarjua, when they were taken prisoners by the Bengalee Lann Nadil, Faujdar of Sarua, and Sumroo the Frenchman, and brought to Monghyr, where they were thrown into prison. It was then (See Sei, 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. Amyot was killed at Murshidabad, in pursuance of the above order (See Sei, Vol. II, p. 727). The Rijar’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 Sei’s version, which is more authentic and reliable.

4 It is not clear to which battle the Rijar 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 Sei’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 Sei, Vol. II, p. 757). In pursuance of the above general order, Mr. Amyot was put to the sword at Murshidabad, and the Quelmahazar factory was looted. (See Sei, 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 Sei, 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 Shaikh Nasrat-ul-Ilah with others to re-inforce Muhammad Taqi Khan. The above three officers proceeded to Murshidabad, took ammunition and armaments from Syed Muhammad Khan, who was Deputy Nazim of Murshidabad at the time, and marched to Pansy and Katwah, whilst Muhammad Taqi Khan, with his army, proceeded from Birbhum to Katwah. (See Sei, Vol. II, p. 728).
in capturing and killing slew all the English, and plundered their factories. But Şadrull-Haq Khan, Faujdar of Dinajpur, and the Raja of Bardwan held back their hands from this wretched work.

account of these events is neither so detailed nor so lucid as that of the Seer-ud-Daulah, whose author Ghulam Hussain Khan was an actor in, or actual spectator of, most of these scenes. From the Seer, it appears that after the re-capture of Farina, the next battle between the English and the Nawab’s troops was fought at Katwah. The Nawab’s Faujdar of Birbhum, Muhammad Taqi Khan, fought at this battle most gallantly, but his gallantry was of no avail, as Syed Muhammad Khan, Deputy Nazim of Murshidabad, failed, owing to jealousy that he bore, to support him, and prevented Jafar Khan, Alam Khan, and Shaikh Haidat-ullah also from reinforcing him. (See Seer, Vol. II, pp. 729 to 731.) After this, the English with Mir Jafar entered Murshidabad (Seer, Vol. II, p. 731). The news of the fall of this brave officer Muhammad Taqi Khan, disconcerted the Nawab, who hurried up reinforcements under Samroo, Malik Armenian, and Asafullah, and directed them to concentrate at Suti with the vanquished troops of Katwah. Major Adams commanded the English army. At the battle of Suti, the Nawab’s troops were defeated, and the English won the victory. (See Seer, Vol. II, pp. 732-733.)

On hearing of the defeat at Suti, the Nawab sent his Begums and children to the fort of Rohtas, whilst he himself set out with his general, the Armenian Gurgin Khan, to reinforce his army that was now concentrated on the banks of the Allah-nalla, a stream taking its rise from the hills north of Rajmahal 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 Seer, Vol. II, p. 734.) On 24th Muharram in 1177 A.H., in the night, the Nawab marched out from the Mughyr Fort. Suspecting treachery from his officers as well as from his prisoners, and his suspicion being confirmed by the Armenian Gurgin Khan, the Nawab before leaving Mughyr killed his prisoners, namely, Raja Ramnarin, the zamindar Naib Subadar of Balur, Raja Rajabullah, the zamindar Diwan of Nawab Shamsuddin Jang, Rai Rais Ramad Ram, Raja Fateh Singh, Raja Buniaid Singh (zamindar of Tikari), Shaikh Abdullah, as well as others. The Nawab caused Ramnarin to be thrown into the river below Mughyr fort with a pitchfork filled with sand tied to his neck. Gurgin Khan, not satisfied with this work of butchery, invited the Nawab to kill also his English prisoners, consisting of Mr. Ellis and Dr. Fulkheron and others of the Patna Factory. The Nawab, however, refused to kill them and placed extra guard on them. Kamgar Khan Main also joined the Nawab, who was encamped at the Champanagar-nalla, but was sent away to Birbhum by the traitor, Gurgin Khan. (Seer, Vol. II, p. 735.) At this time, Mr. Roju-d-din, son of the late Nawab Safi Khan of Purnia, deserted Mir Qasim’s army, proceeded to Purishah, and made himself its master, and opened correspondence with Mir Jafar Khan and the English (Seer, Vol. II, p. 736). At Allah-nalla, the Nawab’s troops
When Nawab Qasim Ali Khan made his entry into Monghyr, he summoned to his presence all the officers of the Nizamat of

were sent for some time to sally out in the night by the secret passage, and to do havoc amongst English troops. Once they went as 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. 727), 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 Abdallah Khan, the Frenchman Sumroo, the Armenians, Mulkar and Antony, were surprised by this night-attack of the English and defeated (Seir, Vol. II, p. 728), and dispersed on 29th 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 sectaro and creature of Gurgin Khan, and reached the Roha nulla. At this time, a leading nobleman named Ali Ibrahim Khan counselled the Nawab to release the English prisoners, named Messrs. Ellis, fees, and Lushington and others, or at least to send their wives by boat to Major Ashman. 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 humble counsel of Ali Ibrahim Khan. On the way, Gurgin Khan was beheaded to please with the sword by some horseman, whose pay was in arrear. The Nawab moved from Roha nulla to Bardi, where Jagat Sat and his brother Samruphaud 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 Bali 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 Maha- bbat Jung. That house has since become the English burial-ground in Patna. (See Seir, Vol. II, p. 739). None escaped except Dr. Fullerton (Seir, Vol. II, p. 740). The Nawab accused Dr. Fullerton of treachery, which the latter
Bengal, and set himself to the work of administering the several
disarrayed. The Nawâb 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 Nawâb now crossed the Karamuassa river, and entered the terri-
tory of Nawâb-Vizier Shujân-d-daulah. (Seir, p. 743). The Nawâb (Mir
Qâsim) now met the Nawâb-Vizier Shujân-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
Nawâb-Vizier and the Nawâb now marched to Benares where they encamped
for some time, in order to invade Behar (p. 746 Seir) Draining the approach
of the Nawâb-Vizier Shujân-d-daulah, the English with Mir Jafar, who had
gone in pursuit of Mir Qâsim, now retired from Bakkar towards Patna.
Shujân-d-daulah with his huge army and with Mir Qâsim now overtook the
English near Phultwari (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 Qâsim and Shujân-d-daulah
(pp. 749-750, Seir, Vol. II). At the same time, Mir Mehdi Khân, who had
before fought so bravely for Mir Qâsim and re-captured the Patna Fort from
the English, now deserted his old master, Mir Qâsim, and joined the English

The Nawâb-Vizier with Mir Qâsim now retired to Bakkar (Seir pp. 751). At
this time, from the English side, Dr. Fullerton used Ghulam Husain Khân, 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 Nawâb-Vizier
(p. 751, Seir, Vol. II). Ghulam Husain Khân and his father Hedait Ali Khân
who held jagir 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 Qâsim and the Nawâb-Vizier. They were all things to
all men, and enjoyed friendship and influence amongst both the hostile
parties. They opened secret correspondences 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 Khân 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 Khân and other spies to
the Emperor. In the meantime, Shujân-d-daulah fell out with Mir Qâsim
(p. 752). Mir Qâsim now assumed the garb of a faqir, but was shortly
after induced to give it up, at the entreaties of Shujân-d-daulah who found
his honour was at stake. Shortly after, Mir Qâsim's French officer, Sumroo,
the infamous perpetrator of the Patna massacre, mutinied against Mir Qâsim,
and was paid up and discharged by the latter. Then this infamous Frenchman
took service under Shujân-d-daulah with all the guns and ammunition of
his old master, Mir Qâsim (p. 755, Vol. II, Seir). The Nawâb-Vizier shame-
lessly imprisoned his fugitive Mir Qâsim; all people deserted the latter, except
his one old brave and loyal officer, Ali Ibrahim Khân, who clung to his old
master with a fidelity uncommon in those treacherous days. When Shujân-
Provinces. And summoning to Moughyr, one by one, the Bāi d-daulāh spoke ill of Mīr Qāsim, and wondered why Aīn Ibrāhīm Khān changed to Mīr Qāsim; in spite of the latter speaking ill of Aīn Ibrāhīm, the latter returned a manly and dignified answer which brought tears even to the eyes of the māsāṣ Baθā-al-Viṣāer. Aīn Ibrāhīm said: "To my knowledge, I have not been guilty of any dereliction in duty to my master (Mīr Qāsim), except that after the events at Pātnā, whilst his other officers counselled him to go to the Dakhīn, and secure support of the Mahrātās, I alone insisted on Mīr Qāsim to seek shelter with you, the Nawāb-Viṣāer, and with the Emperor!" (p. 757, Vol. II, Seīr.) At this time, Mājūr Munro, commander of the English army in Pātnā, wrote through Dr. Fullerton to Ghulām Hūsain Khān, the author of the Seīr, to use his influence in acquiring the Fort of Rohīnā for the English. Ghulām Hūsain Khān tampered with Mīr Qāsim's commandant Rājā Sahīm, and induced the latter to make over the Fort of Rohīnā to Captain Goddard of the English army (p. 758, Seīr. Vol. II). Mīr Jāfār now returned to Mūrājūdālāb, where he died (Seīr, Vol. II, pp. 758 759), on 14th Shābaθ, 1178. Mīr Jāfār before setting out for Calcutta had left his brother, Mīr Muḥammad Kazīm Khān, as Deputy Nazīm of Pātnā, with Dīhrāj Nāṣīr (Rāmānūn's brother) as Diwān under the latter. Mīr Jāfār appointed Nūnd Kūmar as his Diwān (p. 759, Seīr, Vol. II), and imprisoned Muḥammad Kīzī Khān, Deputy Nazīm of Dacca (Jahangīrmagar), who was son-in-law of Bahā'ī Ḍegām and Atu'llah Khān Sabāl Jāng. From fear of the prestige and power of Shujā'-d-daulāh and from fear of the odium they would incur by engaging in a war with the Emperor, both Mīr Jāfār and the English seriously contemplated patching up a peace with the Nawāb-Viṣāer and the Emperor, leaving to them the Behār Provinces, and stipulating to pay them a fixed revenue for Bengal (p. 760, Vol. II, Seīr). This was, however, not to be, owing to the Nawāb-Viṣāer's ambition which would accept no compromise, but aimed at an exclusive domination over the whole Empire. Whilst Mīr Jāfār was yet alive in Calcutta, Mājūr Munro succeeded Mājūr Cārus in the command of the English army, and was ordered in 862 A.H., to proceed to Bākshār to fight with the Nawāb-Viṣāer Shujā'-d-daulāh, who was offensive in his correspondence with the English Council in Calcutta.

The Nawāb-Viṣāer 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 Mājūr Munro's arrival, the Nawāb-Viṣāer with his army hurriedly took up a position on the north-west of a jālī or marshy sheet of water. The English army rested on the south-east of the jālī. The Nawāb-Viṣāer posted Sūnūrū and Mādāk with eight guns and eight regiments of Mīr Qāsim to cover his front. The Nawāb-Viṣāer's army was composed of three wings. The right wing was commanded by the Nawāb-Viṣāer himself, his centre was commanded by Shuja' Qulī Khān, with six thousand Mughal troops, and his left wing was under the command of Rājā Būnī Bahādur, Nawāb-Viṣāer's Deputy Subādar in Oudh and Aḥlābād. 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.
Baiān Umid Rāi, his son, Kāli Parāğdā, Rāmkīshōr, Rājballāb, on both sides. Then the Nawāb-Vizier with his Mughal and Durniān troops made a flanking sally from towards the right of his own artillery, assaulted 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 jhil lying in front of him, quickly detached a corps under Captain Nāo to make a flanking movement from the side of the river, in order to attack the Nawāb-Vizier’s left wing, commanded by Rājah Bēni Bahādur. This corps approached slowly, and reached the plain of the ruins amidst which Rājah Bēni Bahādur’s troops lay. Shaikh Ghulām Qādir and other Shaikhs Zada of Lucknow who formed the van of Rājah Bēni Bahādur’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 Ghulām Qādir and his kinmen 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 Ghulām Qādir and his kinmen, whilst others fled. At this time, Rājah Bēni Bahādur asked Ghulāb Khān, a notable of Dalhi, what course he was to follow. Ghulāb Khān answered that, if the Rājāh cared for his honour, he must dis fight, 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 Ghulām Qādir and Rājah Bēni Bahādur, Shuja Quli Khān’s jealousy was aroused, and fancying that the booming proceeded from the Rājāh’s army, and that the Rājāh would soon achieve the honour of a victory, without stopping to enquire into the matter, he forthwith sailed out of his position, advanced across Sumroo and Madak, who in consequence had to suspend their cannonade, and waited across the jhil 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 Rājah Bēni Bahādur 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 Nawāb-Vizier himself stood the ground for some time, but seeing himself deserted by his troops, retreated to Allahabad, whilst his Mughal and Durniān troops as well as English troops, commenced plundering his tents. Mir Qasim who was a prisoner in the hands of the Nawāb-Vizier had been released one day before this battle, and after the battle fled to Benares. (See Sec. Vol. II, pp. 761-763).
Jagat Set Mahtāb Rāi, Rājah Sarūp Chānd (Jagat Set's brother), the Zamindars of Dirajpur, Nadia, Khirāhpūr, Birbhūm, and Rājahāhī, &c., and Dulāl Rāi, Diwān of Bhujpur, Fasih Singh, the Rājah of Tikari, son of Rājah Sundar, and Rāmnarāīn, Deputy Governor of the Šūbah of Aqimābād, Muhammad Maṣūm, and Munshi 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 Adhūlah, he reviewed his army, and sent despatches to the Faujdar and the Deputy Nāzim of Bengal, directing and instructing them peremptorily to fight with the English. Amongst them, Shaikh Hīdāyīta-ī-lah, Deputy Faujdar of Nadīlah, with a large army, Jafar Khān, and Ālam Khān, Commandant of the Turkish bodyguard of the Nawāb, swiftly advanced to Katwah to fight. From the other side, the English army proclaiming Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān as Šubdār of Bengal, and taking him in their company advanced to fight, and at a distance of two kārāt entrenched itself at Dāināh. On the 3rd of the month of Muharram, both the armies arraying themselves for battle kindled the fire of warfare. The army of Qasim Ali Khān, after the fall of a number of men whose moment for death had arrived, being defeated, fled to Pulāsī (Plassey) to Muhammad Taqī Khān, Faujdar of Birbhūm. After two or three days, when the army of Bengal had collected together, the English Generals arrived pursuing them.

This decisive victory at Bākaur 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 Emperor Shāh Alān's grant of the Diwān of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa to the English in 1765. (See Sir, Vol. II. p. 728).

The English stipulated to pay annually twenty-four lākhs to the Emperor on account of the revenues of the above three Šubhās.

In this note, I have thought fit to summarise the events as narrated in the Seīr-i-Mutakābera, a contemporary record; the author whereof 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 Kharakpar.

2 In the Sir, his name is mentioned as Shaikh Halbata-ī-lah. (See Sir, Vol. II, p. 728, and n. note).

3 This must be the name of a market-place in Katwah itself.
Muhammad Taqi Khan, with a large army, advanced to fight, but fell on being wounded with a gun-shot. His army being defeated, retired to Murshidabad. Syed Muhammad Khan, who held the office of Deputy Nazim of Bengal after the departure of Mir Turab Ali Khan for Moughyr, came out of the City of Murshidabad with the troops at hand, and entrenched himself at Ghunakhal. But when the news of the approach of the English army arrived, his troops (many of whom had already received wounds in their fightings with the English) without engaging in battle and without firing their guns and muskets abandoned their entrenchments, and fled to Satti. The army of Qasim Ali Khan arrived at Satti, where Samru a Frenchman, with other Generals and troops, was already from before. But the English not abandoning their pursuit followed them up, and a great battle ensued at Satti. In that the star of Nawab Qasim Ali Khan's luck was waning, and the fortune of the English was in the ascendancy, 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 Adhunah Sella, 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 Moughyr. 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 Azimabad. The Nawab now killed Gurgin Khan on account of his treachery, and also slew Jagat Set 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, &c., who from before were in prison, and each of whom was unrivaled in his day for hatching plots and intrigues. After arrival at
Agīmābād, there, too, not finding himself secure, the Nawāb sent his Begums to the Fort of Rohīta, whilst he himself proceeded to the Sāhab of Oudh to the Vāziūr-Maulk Nawāb Shuja'ūn-d-daulah Bahādur. There also he fell out with the Nawāb-Vīzīr, who confiscated much of his treasures. From thence departing, the Nawāb retired to the hills, and in those tracts he lingered some years in various mishaps, and at length died.¹

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NIZĀMAT FOR THE SECOND TIME OF JAFAR ALI KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

After Qāsim Ali Khān's defeat, the English Chiefs again placed Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān on the masnad of the Niẓāmat of Bengāl. Ten annas of the revenue of the Provinces were allotted to the English for their service as Diwān, whilst six annas of the same were held by Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān. This time also for a period of three years, after displaying great feebleness in his Niẓāmat, in the year 1178 A.H., Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān died. The English Chiefs placed on the masnad of Niẓāmat his son, Najmu-d-daulah,² and appointed Nawāb Muḥammad Rizā Khān Bahādur Muzaffar Jang to the office of Nāib Nāẓīm (Deputy Nāẓīm). Najmu-d-daulah, after sitting on the masnad of Niẓāmat for two years, passed to the regions of eternity. After Najmu-d-daulah's death, his younger brother, Saifū-d-daulah,³ succeeded to the masnad of Niẓāmat, whilst Nawāb Muzaffar Jang continued to hold the office of Nāib Nāẓīm. Saifū-d-daulah after holding the Niẓāmat for two years died of small-pox; and another brother of his, Muḥārikūn-d-daulah, succeeded to the masnad of Niẓāmat. The English Chiefs removing Nawāb Muḥammad Rizā Khān Muzaffar Jang from the office of Deputy Nāẓīm, have fixed sixteen lakhs of rupees as an annual allowance for the Nāẓīm. This amount the English pay each year. The English have now acquired domination over the

¹ For some time, Mir Qāsim stayed in the Rohīla country, subsequently left Uterghamādi (the Afghan tract) and proceeded to the country of the Rana Gahad; thence he proceeded to Rājpūtana, whence again he moved to the tract between Agra and Delhi, where he died in distress. See Seir-i-Mutaḥārīn, Vol. III. p. 933.
⁴ In the Seir, "twenty-four lakhs," Seir Vol. II. p. 780.
three Şubahs, and have appointed Zilādārs1 (District Officers) at various places. They have established in Calcutta the Khālipah Kaghāri (the Court for Crown-lands), make assessments and collections of revenue, administer justice, appoint and dismiss Amils (Collectors of revenue), and also perform other functions of the Nizāmat. And up to the date of the completion of this History, namely 12022 A.H., corresponding to the thirty-first year of the reign of Emperor Şāh ʿĀlam, the sway and authority of the English prevail over all the three Şubahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

1 The English divided the country into six Zilahs, viz.: (1) Zilah Calcutta; (2) Zilah Bardwan; (3) Zilah Rajahshye-Murghidabād; (4) Zilah Jahangirnagar (or Dacca); (5) Zilah Dinajpur; (6) Zilah Azimabad (or Patna); and appointed English Zilahdārs to each Zilah with a Council. See Seir, Vol.II, pp. 782-783.

2 That is, 1783 A.C.
CHAPTER IV.

DESCRIBING THE DOMINATION OF THE ENGLISH CHRISTIANS IN THE PROVINCES OF THE DAKHN AND BENGAL, AND CONTAINING TWO SECTIONS.

SECTION I.—DESCRIPTIVE OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AND FRENCH CHRISTIANS, &c., IN THE DAKHN AND IN BENGAL.

Be it not hidden from the bright hearts of the bankers of the treasure of History and the appraisers of the jewel of Chronicles, that the Jewish and Christian communities, before the advent of Islam, used to come to many ports of the Dakhn, like Malabar, &c., for trading purpose by the sea-route, and after acquiring familiarity with the people of that country, they settled down in some of the towns, erected houses with gardens, and in this manner dwelt there several long years. When the planet of the Muslim faith rose, and the bright effulgence of the Muslim sun shone on the East and the West, gradually, the countries of Hindustān and the Dakhn were recipient of the rays of the moon of the Muhammadan faith, and Muslims commenced visiting those countries. Many of the kings and rulers of those parts embraced the Islamic religion, whilst the Rājaha of the ports of Goa, Dāhil, and Jahāl, &c., like Muhammadan rulers, gave Musalman 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. 39. Writes Dr. Hunter: "The Saracen Arabs who under the conquering impulse of Islam next seized the countries of the Indio-Syrian route (632-651 A.D.) soon realised its value. They were a trading not less than a fighting race, and Bussurah and Baghdad under the Calipha became the opulent headquarters of the Indian trade." The Saracens conquered Egypt, Syria, and Persia, 632-651 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 Muslim Emperor of Delhi, 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 in 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. 48, says Dr. Hunter: "It was a commercial dispute that brought about the first Muslim conquest of an Indian Province. In 711 A.D., Kasim led a naval expedition against Sind, 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 ebb and flow of Islām. 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 harbours of Guangzhou on their eastern limit. 'Abul-Feda, the prince geographer of the fourteenth century (1273-1331) mentions Malaca 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 Sinbad the Sailor are a popular romance of the Indian trade under the Caliphate of Baghdad, probably in the ninth century A.D.' From the above it is clear that India, including Bengal, was within the sphere of the commercial influence of the Saracen Arabs, from about the very dawn of Islām.

1 The first Muslim conquests in the Dakhin were made in the reign of Jalalud-din Khilji, Emperor of Delhi, through the military genius of his nephew, Ala-ud-din Khilji. See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 170, and n. 2, infra, p. 90.

2 "'In 1564, Vijayanagar finally went down before the Muslems in the field of Talikot after an existence of 4½ centuries. The Bahmani dynasty formed from the coalition of the Muslim 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 Muslim 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\footnote{1} came to the ports of Qandrinah\footnote{2} and Kālikot; and the Portuguese after ascertaining thoroughly the state of affairs\footnote{3} of the sea-board sailed back. And the next year, six Portuguese ships arrived at Kālikot,\footnote{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 him 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\footnote{5} becoming enraged ordered the former’s slaughter and massacre. Seventy leading Christians were slain; whilst the rest getting into sloops sailed out to save themselves, and alighted near the town of Kuchin,\footnote{6} the ruler whereof was on terms of hostility with the

\footnote{1} Colvihem, the first Portuguese explorer in India, stayed some time on the Malabar coast (having come there from Aden on an Arab ship), in 1487. Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on May 20th, 1498. See Dr. Hunter’s History, Vol. I, pp. 57-58.

\footnote{2} The European form of Qandrinah is, I guess, Coulon or Calicoulan. For Coulon, Calicoulae, Cochins, Calicut, see the map at p. 99, of the above History. Ibn-i-Batutah (1304-1377) mentions Quilon and Calicut amongst the five chief ports that he had seen. See p. 48, n. 2 of the above History.

\footnote{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-ı-Hasan of Siraf translated in Sir Henry Elliot’s History of India). Manicouans, Musalmans, Jews, and Christians were alike welcome at the Malabar ports. Not only Jews from the earlier times (from 6th century B.C.) and ‘St. Thomas Christians,’ from 68 A.D., but also Arab traders (Moplaha) both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times were settled on the Malabar coast. (See Dr. Hunter’s History, Vol. I, pp. 98-100).

\footnote{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 intrigues which nearly ended in a treacherous massacre, p. 103. Hunter’s History, Vol. I. The Riyas’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).

\footnote{5} In English histories, he is called the ‘Zamorin,’ which is the European form of the Tamil Saamari, meaning ‘son of the sea.’ See Hunter’s History of British India, Vol. I, p. 95, n. 1.

\footnote{6} Or Cochin. From Hunter’s History, Vol. I, p. 108, 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 Calera, who was well received by the Zamorin, and established a factory on shore at Callicut for purchase of spices. He captured an Arab vessel and a Moslem vessel. The Arab merchants were royally entertained, and asked the Portuguese factory at Callicut, saluting the chief agent and fifty-three of his men. Calera retaliated by burning ten Arab ships, and sailed down to Cochin, burning two more Callicut vessels on his way. Calera concluded a friendly treaty with the Raja of Cochin, promising to make him same day Zamorin of Cochin, 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. I, 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 Mughul Empire turned it into one of contempt." See also n. 2, ibid.

4 In 1502 Vasco da Gama as Portuguese Admiral of the India Sea came to India for the second time, with a fleet of twenty vessels. He bombarded Calicut
so that the Samuri 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 Gujurat. Complaining of the malpractices of the Christians, he asked for help, and sending out narratives of the oppressions practised by the Christians over the Musalmans, he stirred up the veins of their zeal and rage. At length, Sultan Qabur Ghuri despatched to the and destroyed its Arab merchant-flot. At Cochin, Cannanore, Quilon, and Battalna, he established factories. Da Gama's successes were stained by revolting cruelties never to be forgotten. For a gruesome detail of these barbarous cruelties, see Hunter's History, Vol. I., pp. 109, 139, 140 and 141. Da Gama now (1503) returned to Lisbon. The Zamorin and the Arab merchants burned to avenge the tortures and outrages inflicted by this Christian fanatic. They attacked the Cochin Reja, seized his capital, and demanded surrender of the Portuguese factors left under his protection. The Cochin chief bravely held out until relieved by arrival of the next Portuguese fleet in September, 1503. Hunter's History, Vol. I., p. 110. This fleet operated against India under Afonso de Albuquerque and his cousin Francisco de Albuquerque. In India, the two Albuquerquees built a fort at Cochin, established a factory at Quilon, and severely punished the Zamorin. Afonso returned to Lisbon in 1504, whilst his cousin was lost on his way home together with his squadron. See Hunter's History, Vol. I., p. 111.

The next expedition was sent in 1504 under Lopo Soares de Albergaria. He continued the policy of unsparring destruction against the ports in which Arab influence prevailed; laid part of Calicut in ruins, and burned Cranganore. Soares broke the Arab supremacy on the Malabar coast. In 1505, King Manuel of Portugal sent Don Francisco da Almada as the Portuguese Viceroy in India. His principal duty was to coerce the Malabar sea-coast chiefs who might be friendly to the Arab merchants, to strengthen the Portuguese factories on shore, and thirdly, to break the Muslim 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), Almada 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 Musalmans. See Hunter's History, Vol. I., p. 116.

The Mameluke Sultan of Egypt sent forth in 1508 a great expedition under Admiral Amur Hussain, 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. Lourenco Almada, son of the Portuguese Viceroy, attempted to oppose this junction, but was shot down. The Moslem victors chivalrously gave him honourable burial, and respectfully congratulated Almada on a son who at the age of twenty-two had covered himself with
Indian coasts a General, named Amir Husain, with a fleet of thirteen war-vessels, containing a naval force with armaments. Sultan Mahommed of Gujrat and Sultan Mahommed Bahmanii of the Dakhin also fitted out numerous ships from the ports of Deo, Sura, Kolah, Dabil and Jabul, in order to fight with the Portuguese. First, the ships from Egypt arrived in the port of Deo, and uniting with the ships of Gujrat set out for Jabul, which was the rendezvous of the Portuguese. And some ships of the Samri and some ships of Goa and Dabil having also joined them, they kindled the fire of war; but suddenly, one warship full of the Portuguese quietly sailed up from the rear. The Portuguese commenced a cannonade, and converted the sea into a zone of fire. Malik Ayaz, ruler of Deo, and Amir Husain were obliged to fight with them, but failed to effect anything. Some Egyptian galleys were captured, and the Moslems drank the potion of martyrdom, whilst the Portuguese triumphantly steered back to their own ports. Inasmuch as at that period, Sultan Sulim, Khaqan of Bum (Turkey), defeated the Ghuriah Sultan of Egypt, and the empire of the latter came to an end, the Samri who was the promoter of this war lost heart, and the Portuguese acquired complete domination. In the month of Rajab, 915 A.H., the Portuguese proceeded to Kallikot, set fire to the Cathedral Mosque, and swept the town with the broom of plunder. But on the following day, the Malabarese collecting together attacked

impeccable glory. In 1509, Almeida, the senior, defeated the combined Moslem fleets off Din, and slew 3,000 of their men. The aggressions of the Turks upon Egypt gave the Mameluke Sultan, of Cairo, work nearer home, and disabled him from sending further expeditions to India.

[The Turks wrested Egypt from the Mameluke Sultan in 1517].

Almeida's victory over Moslems off Din on February 2nd, 1509, secured to Christendom the Naval supremacy in Asia, and turned the Indian Ocean for the next century into a Portuguese sea. See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. 1, pp. 117-118.

"The first five years of annual expeditions from 1500 to 1505 had given the Portuguese the upper hand in the armed commerce of the Malabar coast. The following four years under Almeida (1505-1509) left them masters of the Indian Ocean. The next six years (1509-1515) were under Alfonso de Albuquerque to see them grow into a territorial power on the Indian continent." See ibid., p. 119.

1 In the printed Persian text, Khagan is obviously a misprint or misunderstanding for Khan, which is a title held by Sultans of Turkey.

2 I.e., the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt.
the Christians, killed five hundred leading Portuguese, and drowned many of them in the sea. Those who escaped the sword fled to the port of Kolam,1 and intriguing with the Chief of that place, at a distance of half a farsakh from that town, erected a small fort, and entrenched themselves there. And in the same year, they arrested the fort of Goa from the possession of Yusaf Adil Şâh; but the latter shortly after amicably got it back from their hands. But after a short period, the Portuguese offering a large sum of money to the ruler of that place re-acquired possession of it, and establishing their Capital at that port, which was very strong, fortified it further. And the Samri, from the humiliation and sorrow consequent on this, died in the year 921 A.H., and his brother succeeding him ceased hostility, and establishing peaceful relations with the Portuguese, gave the latter permission to erect a fort near the town of Kalikot, obtaining from them a stipulation to the effect that he would send yearly four ships of pepper and ginger to the ports of Arabia. For a short while, the Portuguese kept their promise and word, but when the fort was completed, they prevented his trading in the aforesaid articles, and commenced various malpractices and oppressions on the Musalmâns. And similarly, the Jews who were at Kadatkolor,â being informed of the weakness of the Samri, transgressed the limits of propriety, and caused many Musalmâns to drink the syrup of martyrdom. The Samri, repeating of his past policy, first proceeded to Kadatkolor, and completely extinguished

1 Perhaps 'Couzan.'
2 Albuquerque (1500-1515) succeeded Almeida as the Portuguese Viceroy in India.
3 Yusaf Adil Şâh was king of Bijapur, which was one of the five Musalmân States formed in Southern India out of the old Bahmani kingdom.
4 The fort of Goa was seized by the Portuguese in 1510.
5 The pirate chief Timoja proposed to Albuquerque that as the lord of Goa was dead (in reality absent) they should seize the place. This they really did in March, 1510. But the rightful sovereign, a son of the Ottoman Sultan Amurâd II, whose romantic adventures had ended, with his craving for himself the kingdom of Bijapur in southern India, hurried back to Goa, and drove out the Portuguese in May. The king being again called away by disturbances in the interior, the Portuguese recaptured Goa with the help of the pirate Timoja in November, 1510. Its rightful sovereign, Yusaf Adil Şâh, the king of Bijapur, died in the following month (December). His son was a minor." See Hunter’s History, Vol. I, pp. 152-153.
6 That is, 'Crangacor,' (See map in Hunter’s History, Vol. I, p. 90.)
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 Portuguese, and fighting bravely defeated the latter, and stormed their fort. In consequence, the power and prestige of the Malabar se Musalmāns grew, and without any pass from the Portuguese they despatched on their own behalf vessels loaded with pepper and ginger to the ports of Arabia. In the year 938 A.H., the Portuguese erected a fort at Jaliat, which is six rukh from Kālikot; and the passage of ships from Malabar was thereby rendered difficult. Similarly, the Christians in those years, during the reign of Būrān Nizām Shāh, erecting a fort at Raikūndah close to the port of Jabul, settled down there. In the year 943 A.H., erecting a fort also at Kadatklor, the Christians acquired much power. At this time, Sulṭān Sulaimān, son of Sulṭān Sulīm of Turkey, planted

1 The word تریا means both 'a Christian,' as well as a 'fire-worshipper.'

In the latter sense, it would imply the 'Parsa,'

4 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 'Rum.'

"To the 'martyr's blood' of the Portuguese, the Moslems opposed their Holy Fleet. First the Arabs of the Indian ports supplied the fighters for the faith. Then the Mameluke Sulṭān 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 Portuguese threatened the Red Sea. The Arabs of the Indian ports quickly succumbed to the cavaliers of the Cross. The Mameluke Sulṭān of Egypt, hard-pressed by the Ottomans from the north, could make no headway against the Portuguese in the east. But the Turks or 'Rumis' turned back the tide of Christian conquest in Asia. 'The cry, the Rumi are coming' which afflicted Albuquerque, for ever resounded in the ears of his successors. When the Portuguese 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 Maldivian Island or far out at sea. When the Portuguese secured the strong position of Dūn at the mouth entrance to Indian waters, the Turks constantly harassed that station and tried to outflank it by menacing the Portuguese factories westward on the Persian Gulf. When the Portuguese 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 passes 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, Sulaiman Pashâ, 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 India. Sulaiman Pashâ in that year wresting the port of Aden from Shaikh Daud, and slaying the latter, sailed out for the port of Deo, and commenced warfare. He had nearly stormed it, when his provisions and treasures ran short. Therefore, without accomplishing his mission, he sailed back to Turkey. And in the year 963 A.H., the Portuguese became dominant over the ports of Hormuz and Muscat, over Sumatra, Malacca, Malafar, Nak, Fatan, Nashikur, Ceylon, and over Bengal to the confines of China, and laid the foundations of forts at many places. But Sultan Ali Akhâi stormed the fort of Sumatra; and the ruler of Ceylon also defeating the Portuguese, put a stop to their molestation over his country. And the Samri, ruler of Kânikot, being hard-pressed, sent envoys to Ali Adil Shâh, and persuaded the latter to fight with the Portuguese, and to expel them from his kingdom. And in the year 979 A.H., the Samri besieged and stormed the fort of Jullat, whilst Nâzîm Shâh and Adil Shâh pushed on to Raïkandah and Goah. The Samri, by the prowess of his men of bravery and heroism, captured the fort of Jullat, but Nâzîm Shâh and Adil Shâh, owing to the venality of their disloyal officers who suffered themselves to be taken in by the bribes offered them by the Portuguese, had to retire without achieving their objects. From that time forward, the Portuguese

the Portuguese Dia; in 1547, their janissaries appeared before Portuguese Malacca; in 1551, and again in 1581, their galleys sacked Portuguese Muscat. My present object is merely to bring into view the struggle between Islam and Christendom for the Indian Ocean in the century preceding the appearance of the English on the scene. I dare not expand these preliminary chapters by the deeds of heroism and chivalrous devotion on both sides. See Dr. Hunter’s History of British India, Vol. I, pp. 130-132.

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 Musalmân ship could safely trade in Malabar waters without a pass from the Christians. See Dr. Hunter’s History of British India, Vol. I, p. 128.
Christians, adopting a settled policy of molesting and oppressing the Musalmans, perpetrated much highhandedness. Whilst some ships of Emperor Jalalu-d-din Muhammad 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 Musalmans, and set fire to the ports of Adilabad and Farahin which belonged to Adil Shah, and ravaged them completely. And coming under the guise of traders to the port of Dabli, the Portuguese schemed by means of fraud and treachery to get hold of it also. But the Governor of that place, Khwajah Aliu-Mulk, a merchant of Shiraz, 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 Jalalu-d-din Muhammad Akbar Padishah 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 Umar, like Nawab Abdu-r-Rahim Khan Khani-

1 "From the time of Albuquerque the inexcusable 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 government, 'to break the spirit of the Moors (Musalmans)." "We desire nought else but to be close to God" ran the Muslim summons in 1530. It denounced the aggressions of the Christians of Portugal, "and warned an Indian prince that if he hold back, his soul would descend into hell." (Subelman: Pleiš to the ruler of Cambay, 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.
Khānān¹ &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 Nur-ul-din Muḥammad Jahāṅgīr ascended the throne of Dehli, 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 Gujārat.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 Bahīn, Khān-i-Khānān, was a son of Rairam Khān, and was born at Lahore, 964 A.H. In 984, he was appointed to Gujārat. He conquered for Akbar Gujārat, and defeated Sūhīn Muzaffar, King of Gujārat, at the battle of Sarkat. His great deeds were the conquests of Gujārat and Sindh, and the defeat of Suhail Khān of Bijapur. (See Biochamain’s Translation of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. 1, p. 334).

² In 1607 Captain William Hawkins landed at Surat with a letter from James I. to the Mughal Emperor (Emperor Jahāṅgīr 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 1613. 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 foe 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 Shāh Jahan) who was then Mughal Viceroy of Gujārat. 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 Gujārat and the province on the shores of the Gulf of Cambay between 1572-1592; and these were finally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1592. Surat was the Capital of Gujārat 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 Suraqpatha which included not only Gujārat but part of Kadiwar. 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 up at different centres both in the Dakhin¹ and in Bengal,² and they paid

¹ For the first English settlements on the Madras Coast (1611-1658), see Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. II, Chap. III. Their first settlement under Captain Hipped on that coast was in 1611 at Masulipatam, the chief sea-port of the Muslim Golconda Kingdom (founded in 1512 under Koutal Shahi line on the breaking-up of the Musalmân Bahmanî Dynasty, and not subsisted by the Mogul Empire until 1687). In 1632, the English received the 'Golden Fowemoan' (faranum) of the Golconda King for their settlement at Masulipatam. In 1639, the English under Francis Bay built a factory at Madras. In 1645, the Mughul King of Golconda confirmed the grant of Madras for an English settlement. In 1653, Madras was raised to an independent presidency, and in 1658, the English Company declared all its settlements in Bengal and the Coromandel Coast subordinate to Fort St. George.


In 1632, by order of Emperor Shah Jahan, Qasim Khan destroyed the Portuguese settlement at Hugli, and expelled the Portuguese who had been intriguing the Muslims. The English Company's agent at the Masulipatam factory seized the occasion, and sent out, in 1633, on a country boat, eight Englishmen to try and open up trade with the fertile provinces at the mouth of the Ganges. These, headed by Ralph Cartwright, reached Harichpur in Orissa, and then quietly crept up to the court of Maksiandy, in Fort Baramati, in Cuttack, where resided a Mogul Deputy-Governor for Orissa, named Aga Muhammad Zaman. This polite Persian—the Deputy-Governor of Orissas—received the Englishmen in his Audiences-hall, affably inclined his head to Mr. Cartwright, then slipping off his sandal offered his foot to the English merchant to kiss, which he twice refused to do, but at last was fain to do it. (Hunter's History, Vol. II, p. 89). The Deputy-Governor on May 6th, 1634, sealed an order giving the English ample license to trade. (See text of order 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 Shah Jahan, confining them to Pipli near an old mouth of the Subarnamukha river. On May 6th, 1633, the English built a house of business at Harichpur, 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 1630, the English founded a factory at Hugli. Gabriel Bungton, an English Surgeon, who was in 1630 Surgeon to Shah Shuja (Mughal Viceroy of Bengal who resided at Rajmahal), used his influence in the Viceroyal Court, in getting favour extended to the English, who received in 1630
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 Forman, permitting them to erect trading factories in the Imperial dominions generally, and in Bengal especially, and also remitting customs-duties on the ships of the English Company, in consideration of an annual payment by the latter of three thousand rupees, as has already been mentioned in connection with the foundation of Calcutta. From that time, the English acquired much prestige in Bengal.

In the year 1162 A.H., Nawâb Muzaffar Jang, maternal grandson of Nizâm-ul-Mulk Aṣâf Jâh, at the instigation of Hasain Dost alias Chând, who was one of the leading men of Arkat (Arcot), allied himself with the Christian French, and attacked Anwâr-u-d-din Khan Shahâmat Jang Gopâmanî, who was Nâzîm of Arkat from the time of Nawâb Nizâm-ul-Mulk Aṣâf Jâh, in order to wrest the province of Arkat. A great battle was fought, and Nawâb Shahâmat Jang, on the battle-field, displaying bravery and heroism, was killed. Nawâb Nizâm-u-d-daulah, second son of Nawâb Aṣâf Jâh, who, on the death of his father, had succeeded to the masnad of the Viceroyalty of the Dakhin, on hearing of the hostility of his maternal nephew, with a force of seventy thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry, set out to chastise Muzaffar Jang. Arriving at the port of Bûlcharî (Pondicherry) on the 26th Rabi‘u-l-âwal 1163 A.H., Nizâm-u-d-daulah fought a battle, in which he triumphed, whilst Muzaffar Jang was captured. Nizâm-u-d-daulah spent the rainy season at Arkat. The Christians of Bûlcharî (Pondicherry) conspired with Hîmmat Khan and other Afghân generals of Karnatik, who were servants of Nizâm-u-d-daulah, and deceiving them by holding out temptations of lands and treasures, blinded their sense of obliga-

1 His Majesty Emperor Aurangzeb on 27th February, 1600, granted a forman to the English. The forman states 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, he turn out and expelled.' (See Hunter’s History, Vol. II, p. 296). In 1690, Charnock returned from Madras, and for the third time anchored at Calcutta.
tions. These traitors tied up the waist of mutiny and treachery, and conspiring with the Christians of Bûlchari (Pondicherry), on the night of the sixteenth Muharram, 1174 A.H., delivered a night-attack, and killed Nawâb Nizâm-d-daulah. After the fall of Nawâb Nizâm-d-daulah, the Afghâns and the Christians (the French) placed Nawâb Muazzaffar Jang on the masnad. Muazzaffar Jang proceeded to Bûlchari (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 Haidarâbad, and crossing the confines of Arkat came to the Afghân tract. From the vicissitude of fortune, hostility broke out between Muazzaffar Jang and the Afghâns, and it led to a fight. On the 17th Rabiu-l-awal of the aforesaid year, both sides arranged themselves in battle-array. On one side were arrayed Muazzaffar Jang and the Christian French, and on the other the Afghâns. Himmât Khân and other Afghan Generals, meeting with their deserts for disloyalty, were killed, whilst Muazzaffar 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 Jâh, received as jagirs Sikakul and Râjbandari, &c., and acquired so much influence, that their orders became current in the Dakhin. No Musalman 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 Muazzaffar 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 Anwâr-d-din Khân Gopamani, the Subahdâr of Arkat, and nominally installing another person at its head, had become dominant in the Dakhin, Nawâb Muhammed âli Khân, son of Nawâb Anwâr-d-din Khan, entered into an alliance with the English Chiefs. The latter advancing to the assistance of Nawâb Muhammed 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 Būlchārī (Pondichery), and wresting it from the hands of the French rased it, whilst Sīkakūl, Rājbandāri, and other Jāārīs were unexpectedly abandoned by the French. Nawāb Muḥammad Ali Ḵān, with the support of the English, succeeded his father on the throne of the Vicerealty of Arkat (Arcot), under the surname of Wālājah Amīr-ʿal-Hind Muḥammad Ali Ḵān 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 Nawāb Sīrāj-ud-daulāh, Nāṣīm of Bengal, owing to his inexperience, flung the stone into the hornet’s nest, he suffered of necessity the sting. And Nawāb Jāfār Ali Ḵān, treating the English as his confidants and colleagues in the Nīsāmat of Bengal, suffered them to acquire control over administrative affairs. Inasmuch as complete disintegration had overtaken the Moslem Empire of Delhi, in every Sūbah the Provincial Governors acquiring authority grew into semi-independent feudatories. Now, since a period of thirty years, the Provinces of Bengal, Bihār, and Orijās 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 Kuchirī (the Court of Crown-lands) in Calcutta, the English Governor settles on his own behalf the assessment of the revenue of each Zīla (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 victorious over Nawāb Vazir-ud-Mulk Shujaʿ-ud-daulāh, Nāṣīm of the Sūbah 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 Sūbah also, and seizing the district of Bānāras have separated it from that Sūbah. 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 Seīr-ud-Dawla, Mutahharīn.
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 Nigam Ali Khan, the towns of Ganjam, Barampur, Ichapur-Siskul, Isahqpatan, the fort of Qasim kotah, Raghbandur, Iloc (Ellore), Machilbandar (Masulipatam), Bajwrah, and the fort of Kondhali, &c., and the Zamludars of those places appearing before them pay in revenue. And whenever Nigam 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 alertness, 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 promises 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 have not learnt the letters of deceit, nor have they read the book of crookedness. And notwithstanding their difference in creed, they do not interfere with the faith, laws, and religion of Mussalmans.

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 Reign 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 Seer-ul-Mutaaffirin.

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